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Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Filologicznej we Wrocławiu
50-335 Wrocław, ul. Sienkiewicza 32
tel. (+48 71) 328 14 14, fax (+48 71) 322 10 06
http://www.wsf.edu.pl, e-mail: wsf@wsf.edu.pl

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Justyna Alnajjar
University of Warsaw

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From Researching to Teaching Organisational Communication: The Application of Communication Audits

Abstract

This paper presents how organisational communication, being an important component of organisational behaviour, can be researched from a linguistic perspective with the help of communication audits. Putting the linguistic viewpoint at the forefront means that apart from using established methods such as interviews and questionnaires, the communication auditor collects and analyses real-life oral and written texts produced by auditees. The paper showcases the results of linguistic research into the communication audit, such as the communication audit model and procedures additional to the linguistic form sheet. Following this the paper presents how these research findings may be utilised in teaching practice in order to familiarise students of linguistics with both organisational communication and organisational behaviour.

Keywords: communication audit model, communication audit procedures, communication audit scope, linguistic form sheet, communication behaviour.

1. Introduction

It is widely agreed that the field of organisational behaviour (OB) requires the interplay of theory, research, and practice so that a better understanding and thus management of people at work, can be achieved. As Sinding and Waldstrøm (2014: 27) aptly note with regard to the field of OB "[e]ach area – theory, research and practice – supports and, in turn, is supported by the other two." This can be visualised with the help of three overlapping circles depicted in Figure 1.

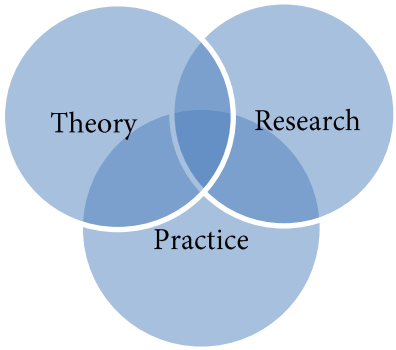

Figure 1. Learning about OB through a combination of theory, research, and practice (Sinding & Waldstrøm 2014: 27)

It should be borne in mind that OB as an academic designation was predominantly set up to name a specific area of teaching and research, rather than as a job category (Sinding & Waldstrøm 2014: 30). Nevertheless, the professional aspect must be included in order to maximise learning about OB. Being an academic invention, OB is interestingly an interdisciplinary field, as it draws on a great array of disciplines, amongst them management, psychology, sociology, information technology, anthropology, to name just a few. It is widely agreed that within the area of OB, we can distinguish three levels of analysis, *i.e.* the individual, the group, and the organisation, and it is maintained that organisational behaviour, as opposed to organisational theory, focuses on the micro perspective. In other words, OB deals with the behaviour of individuals and groups within the organisation, instead of higher levels of the organisation. Having considered this, this paper offers a closer look, through a linguistic lens, at a specific "component" of OB, *i.e.* organisational communication (Turkalj & Fosić 2009: 34). The focus is on the micro level of organisational communication, *i.e.* communication between individuals within specific groups called project teams (research perspective) and communication between individuals (students and teachers) at a university (teaching perspective). In particular, this paper deals with how research results stemming from a close collaboration between a linguist and business practitioners in the form of a communication audit, might be translated into teaching practice at a tertiary level. Thus providing students of linguistics with theories related to OB and communication behaviour based on lived experiences. It also discusses the issues and challenges of researching and teaching organisational communication in the form of a communication audit.

2. Background

Students of linguistics, who commonly have little opportunity to encounter real life organisational communication and behaviour during their studies, will often find their first full-time appointment within a business context. Broadly speaking, during their studies they usually deal with foreign languages. In the main, they learn how to translate and interpret texts formulated in one language into texts in a different language, and they are confronted with the characteristics of languages for special purposes, such as law, economics, IT, medicine. In addition, they gain insights into the teaching of selected foreign languages. In short, their studies prepare them to become professional translators, interpreters,

proofreaders, and teachers of foreign languages. And yet whilst a great number of linguistic students choose to study linguistics out of an interest in foreign languages, they do not necessarily intend to become translators or foreign language teachers. In reality, many of them would like "to do something with languages in the future." As a result, after graduating, they become employed as specialists in banks, assistants in law offices or embassies, managers in international corporations, members of project teams or project managers, *etc.*, where skills in foreign languages are indispensable. Gradually they also gain specialist knowledge related to banking, law, or management, and they develop the communication competencies essential for every employee within an organisation, in particular to transfer specialist knowledge, solve issues, *etc.* However, aspects of communication and development of communication skills/competencies, particularly organisational communication in international settings, are rarely included in the curriculum of linguistic studies, not to mention other fields of study (see Hargie [1996] 2006: 2), even though the importance of organisational communication is widely recognised. Therefore, it is necessary to close this gap and include subjects related to professional communication in linguistic curricula and potentially in curricula of other fields of study. In the first place, however, teaching and learning methodologies concerning professional communication in the area of linguistics must be developed on the basis of research findings gained by scholars dealing with *actual* organisational communication in *concrete* organisations.

Up to now, researching and teaching organisational communication (OC) has related to management studies. In the 1960s, OC was investigated mainly with regard to its applied aspects, amongst them being persuasive writing and speaking (Redding [1985] 2006: 5; Barker & Angelopulo 2006: 14). Nowadays within the constraints of management studies, OC is understood in a broader sense, *i.e.* its role in organisations is studied (Barker & Angelopulo 2006: 14). In other words, scholars of management and economics attempt to investigate OC by taking on research projects related to day to day OC in specific organisations and then to transfer their research findings not only to these organisations but also to students via lectures and seminars.

OC's "unique blend of theory, research and practice" (Hargie & Tourish 2009b: xviii) can be discovered through various handbooks or texts concerned with OC assessment known as "communication auditing." Hargie and Tourish (2004, 2009a), as well as Downs and Adrian (2004) probably offer the most extensive overview of communication audits in organisations and their application in research and teaching. With regard to the two publications edited by Hargie and Tourish in 2004 and 2009, it is worth adding that in fact both publications are one and the same book. In other words, the *Handbook of Communication Audits for Organisations* that came out in 2004, is the second reprint of the book that was first published in 2000 under the same title (the first reprint came in 2002). It was subsequently updated and published again in 2009 under a different title, *i.e. Auditing Organizational Communication. A Handbook of Research, Theory and Practice*. Both in Hargie and Tourish (2004, 2009a) and in Downs and Adrian (2004), the communication audit is extensively discussed, *i.e.* its process, characteristics, and methods. Additionally, in Hargie and Tourish (2004, 2009a) a variety of case studies are presented and pedagogical implications discussed.

Furthermore, a number of articles and papers have been devoted to communication audits from a managerial perspective. The Issue of *Management Communication Quarterly* 15 (3) (2002) brings together an interesting collection of papers on communication audits, offering a reflection on communication assessment in organisations at the beginning of the millennium that brought about new information and communication technology solutions. Indeed, theoretical considerations on

the communication audit were predominantly developed in the 1970s and 1980s, when the concept of the communication audit was first applied within various organisations (see *e.g.* Hamilton 1987; Wiio *et al.* 1980), and thus was sometimes called an "organisational communication audit" (Wiio *et al.* 1980: 84). It is worth noting that the idea of the communication audit started to be utilised as a pedagogical tool relatively early on. In 1989, Zorn provided a handful of practical tips for instructors of communication audit (assessment) classes (Zorn 1989: 17) and elaborated mainly on the organisational design of such classes. In 1994, Conaway provided a thorough programme of classes on the communication audit and gave tips how students can link theory and practice during a 15-week semester term. Likewise, Shelby and Reinsch (1996) described in great detail the method of the communication audit and the organisation of a graduate-level management communication course. In fact, they provided interesting recommendations for both students and professors of similar academic courses. Scott, Shaw, Timmerman, Frank & Quinn (1999) also presented a valuable insight into the education value of the communication audit for students and organisational members, and indirectly also for scholars. They made detailed comments with regard to the communication audit procedure, especially to setting up and going through the entire process of collaboration with organisations that can be of great help to anybody interested in collaborating with companies in general and conducting communication audits in particular. Tourish and Hargie (2004: 310–313) provided a summary of steps to be taken in the classroom, devoted to the communication audit. Recently, an interesting article was published concerning the use of the communication audit as part of tertiary courses for pedagogical purposes. Its authors, Hart, Vroman, and Stulz (2015), report on the steps that students should take in order to conduct communication audits in non-profit organisations and at universities.

Overall, it should be noted that the concept of the communication audit has been developed on the basis of a blend between research, practice, and teaching in order to generate a better understanding of organisational behaviour. What is more, it has been applied within a variety of organisations (see the overview of communication audit case studies in Alnajjar 2016a: 67–78). Nevertheless, certain issues should be borne in mind. Firstly, as Alnajjar (2016a: 17) aptly pointed out "up to now publications on the communication audit have been delivered mainly by specialists across a range of fields *excepting* (applied) linguistics, even though it is (applied) linguists who focus on researching language and communication." As a result, in reality communication audits have little to do with language and actual communication, as they predominantly equate to distributing questionnaires and assessing subjective answers with regard to respondents' (job) satisfaction, in addition to interviewing selected auditees on the same matter. Indeed, few authors/studies have yet offered a thorough look at *actual* communication process and behaviour has so far hardly been offered (the exception being Patti *et al.* 2004). Secondly, scholars have not yet touched upon auditing virtual project teams, which have become part and parcel of modern organisations, in particular in business contexts. These teams offer flexibility, lower costs, and creativity, but face-to-face communication is limited (Sinding & Waldstrøm 2014: 319–320). There are various reasons why linguists have undertaken few research projects on communication audits, even fewer on them within business contexts. One of the main obstacles relates to issues of research and difficulties in gaining access to data (see more in Alnajjar 2016a: 323–324; Alnajjar 2016b). Professionals are not particularly eager to devote their precious time to collaborating with a linguist, as such a collaboration does not offer immediate financial incentive. The author of this paper undertook the challenge of researching communication audits, mainly from a linguistic perspective, by taking a close look at the actual communication behaviour of members of virtual project teams within selected companies.

After an intensive period of close collaboration with business professionals, she closed the research project and published the findings (Alnajjar 2016a). Additionally, on the basis of her research experience within a professional setting and with the purpose of testing new didactic ideas stemming from this experience, in tandem with her students she is currently conducting an experimental communication audit at a university. This paper reports on the results and challenges of both research into the communication audit in an organisation and the experimental communication audit carried out with students.

3. Communication audit: From researching to teaching

Conducting research into organisational communication serves, in the first instance, the development of theoretical models and practical solutions that should help professionals to improve organisational communication and optimise communication processes. However, it is worth translating new theoretical and practical insights into pedagogical tools and teaching programmes, which could help students prepare themselves for real-life encounters in organisational contexts. However, let us start by presenting general remarks on communication in organisations and the concept of organisational communication audits derived and specified in the course of linguistic research, before we discuss pedagogical implications of this research.

3.1. Communication in organisations

The word "organisation" may refer to the process of organising or to the results of this process. It may also refer to both the process and its results (see *e.g.* Flak & Alnajjar 2015: 2). This implies that organisations are formed so that certain purposeful activities can be performed. This, in turn, means that in order to form organisations and conduct these activities, "the human factor" is indispensable. In other words, it is human beings and their interactions through which the process of organising takes place, and the results of this process are achieved. It should be understood that human beings interact by way of communicating. On the one hand, communication enables them to transfer knowledge and learn. In this way, it is possible to undertake the process of organising and achieve its results. On the other hand, communication inevitably leads to the building and maintaining of relationships, which are crucial to the efficient performance of organisational activities (Watzlawick *et al.* [1969] 2011). The aspect of knowledge transfer and relational aspect of communication are both of great importance in organisational contexts. This is especially visible in the case of virtual project teams, whose members are deliberately relatively loosely connected in horizontal relationships so that they can build friendly relationships and thus be more creative and open when dealing with their tasks. In such a manner knowledge can be better generated and transferred, and thus work can be accomplished in a more effective and efficient way. At the same time, members of virtual project teams cannot rely on face-to-face interactions, as they communicate mainly via email and chat. More often than not this poses a serious obstacle for building relationships and negatively influences already established interpersonal relations, and thus knowledge sharing and the process of learning on the job. Therefore, discovering more about the state of communication in such commercial (as opposed to *e.g.* academic) virtual project teams, of which students of linguistics and other fields of study are prospective members, is essential. To this end, a linguist might employ a communication audit.

3.2. Communication audit definition and scope

As noted above, communication audits have been utilised by researchers for the purposes of investigating communication in a range of different organisations. However, there is little evidence of a linguistic approach to communication audits. The author of this paper has attempted to close this gap by taking on a research project on communication audits from a linguistic perspective, the findings of which she published in Alnajjar (2016a). Inevitably, research into the communication audit, similarly to communication and organisational behaviour, required that insights delivered by other fields of study were considered during the research process. Project management, intercultural communication, psychology, sociology, and ethnography turned out to be of particular value. Nevertheless, the linguistic perspective remained at the forefront during the entire research project.

From the researcher's point of view, before the research process could start the basic issues needed to be established, namely the definition and scope of the communication audit, both as explained and understood in the research literature (see examples and detailed explanations in this respect in Alnajjar 2016a: 81–91). As regards the definition of the communication audit, it was decided that a communication audit is a metacommunicative activity, which in the first line aims at investigating the quality, *i.e.* appropriateness and effectiveness, of communication conducted by certain individuals within a particular context at a given time. Appropriateness relates to the extent to which individual behaviour meets standards of acceptability and legitimacy, whereas effectiveness concerns the degree to which the desired goals are accomplished. Thus, appropriateness is connected to the relational aspect of communication, while effectiveness is at the forefront as far as knowledge generation and transfer are concerned. In short, an individual should not significantly violate the valued rules, norms, and expectancies of the relationship in the process of reaching the goals (Spitzberg 1997: 380; Spitzberg 1988: 68). The ultimate goal of a communication audit is to provide a description of the quality of communication under study (diagnostic communication audit) and if need be to formulate recommendations for future discourse practices and their possible optimisation with respect to communication competencies (prognostic communication audit). Following this understanding of a communication audit, the investigation of the quality of communication always relates to a specific case or cases and it consists of four steps: (1) defining the group of individuals conducting the communication under investigation, (2) identifying the level of quality of given communicative events and acts produced in the form of texts within the given context, (3) investigating reasons for the low quality level of given communicative events and acts, (4) suggesting solutions to improve the quality level of communicative events and acts (Alnajjar 2016a: 106). Such an understanding of the communication audit ensures that it is actual communication behaviour that is observed and analysed, with the help of linguistic tools (*e.g.* discourse analysis, conversation analysis) in the first instance, as opposed to other understandings focusing on eliciting employees' satisfaction with a job or with communication at work through questionnaires. It can also be recognised that within linguistic understanding, the aim of a communication audit is to deal with concrete situations and thus to enable practitioners to communicate better.

A communication audit is performed by a communication auditor who, in the case of research, is an academic and does not usually have full access to the business entity in question. Therefore, the communication auditor attempts to extend the field of study by investigating not only the actual communication behaviour of the auditees but also their perceptions and facts concerning communication practices within the given context. Perceptions and facts help the communication auditor to obtain

a holistic picture of the communication behaviour under investigation. Perceptions are best reconstructed through interviews and they allow understanding of the auditees' internal context as they subsume opinions, attitudes that are subjective in nature. Facts, as the name suggests, should be objective, as they refer to the external context, *i.e.* to artefacts related to or influencing communication, such as cultural norms and values, organisational structure, policy statements, training programmes, guidelines, *etc.* Thus, actual communication behaviour, facts and perceptions constitute the scope of any communication audit (see the inner triangle in Figure 2), but it should be stressed that the main focus lies on investigating actual communication behaviour rather than facts or perceptions, which play a supportive role in the study of OC. Because all three aspects are captured in the form of texts and discourses, and hence cannot be directly observed, their reconstruction and investigation, and at the same time the description of the context, individuals, and their communication competencies, is performed based on data consisting of texts and discourses (Alnajjar 2016a: 106). In order to collect, analyse, and evaluate such data, it is crucial to choose appropriate methods. These are presented within the constraints of the communication audit model (see Figure 2), which can be seen as a result of research into communication audits conducted by the author of this paper.

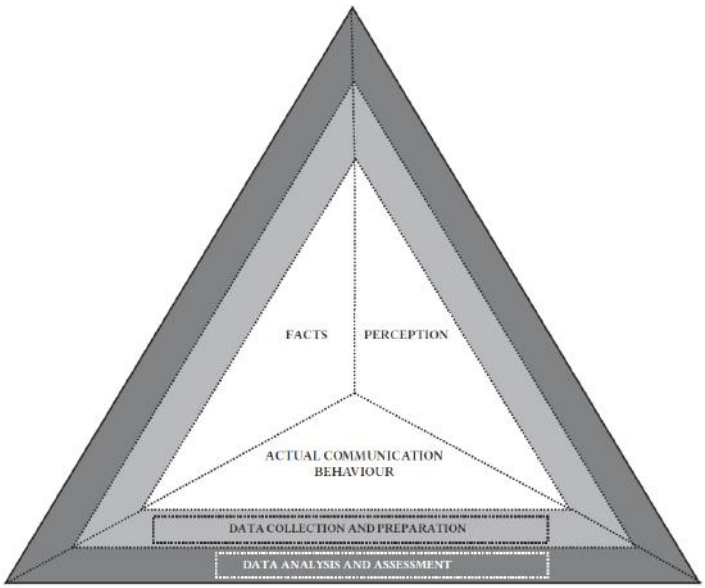

Figure 2. Communication audit model (Alnajjar 2016a: 339)

3.3. Research findings: Communication audit model, procedures and linguistic form sheet

The research project researching communication audits from a linguistic perspective resulted in three different research outcomes: the communication audit model, the communication audit procedures and the linguistic form sheet. Whilst the communication audit model was devised for scientific purposes, the communication audit procedures were developed with the primary aim of helping practitioners conduct communication audits in a systematic way. Finally, the linguistic form sheet was prepared as an integral part of the communication audit procedures, in order that communication auditors can assess the effectiveness and appropriateness, *i.e.* quality, of the communication under investigation.

First, let us take a closer look at the communication audit model depicted in Figure 2. In this model a communication audit is understood in terms of three concentric triangles referring to various aspects of the communication auditor's work: the inner triangle (white colour), the outer triangle (light grey colour), and the expanding triangle (dark grey colour).

The white inner triangle (), referred to as the "scope triangle," represents the area of work of the auditees selected for the communication audit, with which the communication auditor is obliged to become acquainted in the course of the communication audit. In the case of the research project in question, auditees were project team members. Therefore, it was necessary to collect information on the project methodology that they applied to their work and to gain insights into their daily work, in particular team structure, roles within the team, modes and channels of communication, *etc.* Additionally, it was key to collect information about the socio-cultural contexts which the team members originated from. Apart from the factual data, it was also important to discover more about the auditees' perceptions of communication, their opinions concerning obstacles and challenges related to it, as well as aspects that facilitate communication and make it easier in the eyes of the auditees. Above all, however, it was crucial to take a thorough look at their actual communication behaviour, *i.e.* at those communication acts and events in which they participated in order to reach their goals.

The light grey outer triangle () can be called the "data-collection and data-preparation triangle," as within the constraints of this triangle the communication auditor gathers data and prepares it for analysis. It was discovered that in addition to planned and *ad hoc* interviewing, facts can best be collected through the observation of documents and walk arounds. Perceptions can also be collected through interviews, viewed as self-reports, although group discussions are also possible. Such data can be transcribed and form a corpus for analysis. If interviewing is impossible, an auditor may choose to distribute questionnaires. Actual communication behaviour should be divided into two forms: oral and written. While oral data (*e.g.* meetings) can be transcribed and formed into a corpus for analysis, written texts (*e.g.* emails, reports, chats) may be directly collected as a corpus and prepared for analysis (see more in Alnajjar 2015). In the case of this research project, both spoken (project meetings) and written texts (emails) were collected.

Data evaluation, in turn, relates to the dark grey expanding triangle (), referred to as the "data-analysis and data-assessment triangle." An auditor may choose to employ content analysis in order to gain a better understanding of facts and perceptions, while actual communication behaviour may best be evaluated using pure linguistic tools. Specifically elements of linguistic discourse analysis, conversation analysis, and genre analysis can be utilised. In the course of research into communication audits, based on linguistic methods, a linguistic form sheet has been developed that provides a list of linguistic aspects for consideration when evaluating the quality of actual communication behaviour. It should be noted that this sheet has been developed specifically for the purposes of assessing communication within virtual project teams, and as such it should be modified for the purposes of evaluating communication in other contexts. In general, the linguistic form sheet consists of two parts. Part 1 assesses the effectiveness of communication with the help of two simple questions about whether discourse participants achieved their goals, while Part 2 focuses on the appropriateness of communication investigated through the observation and analysis of concrete interactions, *i.e.* by investigating various aspects of texts/discourses related to: (A) text superstructure, (B) text macrostructure, (C) text microstructure, (D) intertextual characteristics, (E) acoustic features (see more in Alnajjar 2016a: 350–359).

With regard to the communication audit model, it may be concluded that the inner triangle sits at the heart of the communication audit. However, in order to obtain a full picture of the area of auditees' work within the inner triangle, it is imperative to conduct data collection and analysis within the outer and the expanding triangles, *i.e.* to decide on the research methods to be applied in a specific context. As such, the three triangles are to be viewed as closely interrelated. In order to highlight the strong connection between the triangles and also between the elements of the communication audit scope (facts, perceptions, actual communication behaviour), the author used dotted lines (instead of solid lines) in Figure 2. The interconnections between the triangles and between the elements of the communication audit scope play an important role for the communication auditor. They reflect the fact that the communication auditor constantly moves between various elements and aspects of a communication audit. At the same time, this captures the non-linear and dynamic character of the communication audit process. In other words, collecting and sorting texts, observing, and interviewing as well as performing analysis, often all take place in parallel during a communication audit. Additionally, there is no specific order in which data should be collected and analysed. For instance, it may be the case that the communication auditor has not finished interviewing all the team members, yet he/she has already started analysing the corpus of collected emails. This implies that the work of the communication auditor may be carried out simultaneously in all three triangles, and with regard to the three elements of the communication audit scope, until the communication audit is completed. The highly non-linear character of communication audits was one of an insightful finding of the research process, of which the author had not been fully aware beforehand, and it was, therefore, important to capture it in the form of the communication audit model.

The communication audit procedures were developed in order to help practitioners conduct communication audits. These provide practitioners with concrete guidelines as to what needs to be done and verified during a communication audit. The communication audit procedures, thus, are to be understood as tasks or activities to be undertaken during a communication audit. They are divided into five stages of a communication audit, as mentioned previously, *i.e.* (1) information about the organisation, (2) contact with and information about the auditees in question, (3) interviews and observations, (4) data compiling and processing, (5) linguistic report, final audit report, presentation, and discussion. Each stage encorporates specific tasks that need to be performed. Depending on the context, the communication auditor decides precisely what should be done at each stage (see examples in Alnajjar 2016a: 340–350). This division of tasks and activities into stages provides a systematic overview of the communication audit procedures, but does not mean that the procedures must be performed following the order of the stages into which they are divided. Similarly to the communication audit model, no straightforward linear sequence is required. What is more, certain procedures may take place simultaneously. A communication auditor is free to modify the procedures depending on context and need. Nevertheless, dividing the communication audit into stages, to a certain extent forces the communication auditor to consider and develop a list of tasks within each stage, and thus makes the entire process transparent and easier to follow. Again, this was an important insight realised during the research into communication audits.

Apart from providing the definition and scope of the communication audit, and developing the communication audit model, procedures, and linguistic form sheet, the research process resulted in certain ideas of how research findings may further be utilised in practice, research, and pedagogy. In addition, a list of points, issues, limitations, and aspects to be considered in future research and practice

concerning communication audits was presented (see Alnajjar 2016a: 320–328, 363–374). Let us now dwell on these aspects specifically with respect to pedagogy.

3.4. Organisational communication audit in teaching practice

Without any doubt, the application of communication audits within pedagogy, encouraging graduate students to engage in discovering organisational behaviour and gaining understanding of organisational practice, is beneficial. Hart, Vroman, and Stulz (2015: 294–305) have noted a variety of benefits of communication audits for students. In particular, the authors pay attention to various skills that students can develop when conducting communication audits, such as teamwork skills, writing skills, presentation skills, research skills, interviewing skills, statistical and software skills, and analytical skills, as well as further job-related benefits:

> We believe that the communication audit project is an excellent way to provide students with these valuable skills instead of just reading about them in a textbook. When engaged in a communication audit, students live every aspect of communication and observe the strengths, weaknesses and results of communication as they happen within an actual organization. Students experience having to tolerate ambiguity and accept that there may be questions for which there are no single right answers – just like in the business world. They must assume direction and responsibility for their audits and must expect accountability from their teammates. They also must engage in appropriate professional conduct at all times. (Hart *et al.* 2015: 304)

Tourish and Hargie (2004: 313) also highlight the skills and benefits that communication audits can bring to students:

> [a]udits as a pedagogical tool offer an invaluable means of exploring many wider issues in organisational communication – e.g. the role of hierarchy, democracy, power and organisational citizenship. Additionally, they equip students with 'hard' real-world skills which they can use to sell themselves at interviews. Overall, with some encouragement and assistance, most students respond well to the challenge of utilising communication audits, and derive significant benefits from the process.

In literature on the subject previously mentioned in the section entitled "Background," researchers and students can find certain tips concerning the practical aspects of organising communication audits and the communication audit process. It may be observed that in research literature communication audits are mainly regarded and, to a certain extent, conducted, as projects within the understanding of traditional project management (see Alnajjar 2016a: 331–332). In other words, communication audits are viewed as a temporary endeavour undertaken to create a unique product, service, or result (see *e.g. PMBOK Guide* 2013: 2). They are temporary, as they have a beginning and a foreseeable end. They are unique, as they have not been done in a specific way before and their process is adjusted to the specific circumstances, such as the organisation in which the audit is to be conducted, its expectations, wishes and needs, and budget. What is more, communication audits produce new results. Similarly to projects, communication audits are carried out in phases or stages that are fixed for every communication audit, but may differ depending on the type and needs of the organisation in which the communication audit is to be conducted. In general, following research literature, the communication audit process consists of the following phases: planning, execution, and closure. It is worth adding that the execution phase usually comprises three subphases: data collection, data analysis, and data evaluation/interpretation. Moreover,

according to research literature communication audit phases usually have a sequential relationship, *i.e.* the communication auditor may begin a phase once the previous one has been completed (see *PMBOK Guide* 2013: 42). These theoretical assumptions, however, have not been confirmed during the linguistic research process mentioned in this paper, which evidently pointed to the highly non-linear feature of the communication audit process. While it cannot be denied that the communication audit process should be adapted to the specific characteristics of the organisation under investigation, nevertheless, the guidelines provided in literature on the subject may be useful for students who are novice in the field of communication audits to obtain an overview of what steps are necessary to be taken and how to prepare them. Tutors may also use such guidelines to help students dealing with communication audits to organise them in a more systematic way.

However, in the opinion of the author of this paper, it is critical to not only explain the communication audit process to students, but to also equip them with concrete tools (*cf.* Hart *et al.* 2015: 290–293), in order that they can conduct communication audits, or parts thereof, within organisations in a systematic and confident way. This is where the communication audit model and procedures, in tandem with the linguistic form sheet, are invaluable. They can be seen as tangible tools that can be given to students, in particular students of linguistics, to enable them to undertake systematic investigation of *actual* communication behaviour. The communication audit model and the communication audit procedures can help students to plan their communication audit projects, choose suitable methods of data collection and analysis, and submit their results. The linguistic form sheet, on the other hand, provides students with ideas about which linguistic aspects are worth paying attention to when conducting linguistic analysis of the elicited data. They also offer the suggestion that creating a systematic list of linguistic aspects to be investigated is possible and useful. In short, the communication audit model, the communication audit procedures, and the linguistic form sheet may be helpful to students in planning, executing, and concluding a communication audit project, providing them with clear methodological ideas. When conducting communication audits, it is of great importance to focus sharply not only on methodological details but also ethical aspects related to conducting communication audits. Both methodological and ethical aspects have turned out to be issues during the experimental communication audit that is currently being conducted by students on the basis of the research results mentioned previously.

Let us briefly describe the aims and give an overview of the experimental communication audit referred to. The communication audit is being conducted by four students of applied linguistics (three students of the second semester in a BA programme and one student of the final, fourth semester in a MA programme) in an institute of the faculty of applied linguistics at Warsaw University, in which these students pursue their studies. More precisely, the students formed a communication audit working group. It is worth adding that these students are also active members of the student science group at the faculty of applied linguistics. Thus, it can be stated that highly motivated students have taken on the task of conducting the communication audit in an organisation that they are part of. Furthermore, the students limited the scope of the communication audit to communication between the selected groups of students and their lecturers, irrespective of the language in which this communication was performed. They mainly chose the groups of students to which they think they have good access. Their aim is to take a closer look at the state of the communication in question (diagnostic communication audit). As highly motivated as the students are, their knowledge about communication processes in organisations and about the communication audit process itself is limited, and they lack real-life

experience within the organisational landscape. Therefore, they need intensive assistance in the entire process of preparing and conducting a communication audit. This is one of the reasons why we chose to carry out a communication audit in an institution that the students broadly understand and to which they have relatively easy access. Below, we discuss some of the challenging points that have arisen so far. It is worth adding that currently the students deal with data collection and analysis, *i.e.* they went through the initial process of audit planning and preparation. At the end of the communication audit, they are supposed to interpret the data, write up the final report and most probably present the results to the head of the institute. That is why, in this paper, we focus on the issues related to planning, preparation, and collection of data. Aspects related to data analysis, interpretation, and preparation of the final report, are omitted.

In the first instance, the author of this paper, who is also the "supervisor" (or rather "helper") of the students, attempted to provide the students with a better understanding of the general organisational process of carrying out a communication audit. In other words, the four students were coached on working as a team, where between meetings team members are supposed to complete certain tasks, as it is often the case in modern organisations. For this purpose, at the very beginning, after the students declared their willingness to conduct a communication audit and exchanged initial ideas, an expert from the management department was invited to one of the sessions in order to teach the students how to organise meetings efficiently. With the assistance of a professional who possesses not only theoretical knowledge but also practical experience in organising meetings and providing coaching with regard to the organisation of meetings, the students could develop a way of working efficiently through meetings. They learnt about communication maps of various departments within an organisation (or various individuals preparing a specific event) with regard to meetings. In other words, they noted that in an organisation (here a communication audit working group) individuals are responsible for various tasks that are part of a bigger project, and they discuss the progress of each task during meetings so that solutions to issues can be found to aid the successful completion of the entire project. They also learnt that issues raised in the meeting that are important for one person might be of no value for other meeting participants responsible for other tasks. Gaining this awareness was crucial, as the students noted that they should consider the time and interest of other meeting participants, and thus be careful which information they share in meetings. As a result, the communication audit group chose a leader whose task is to supervise and coordinate the work of the team, in particular the division of work, prepare for the meetings, manage the meetings, deal with the open issues that come up in meetings, and report the work to the supervisor. With the help of the instruction of the management expert and the Excel sheet, that he provided the students with, the meetings of the students became systematic and goal oriented. In addition, the students take responsibility for their tasks outside of the meetings, which is not always the case in normal classroom settings. Interestingly, the students have expressed a will to use the proposed technique of organising meetings in future work. They mentioned that the coaching was very useful, as they have become aware of how important it is to have well-structured and goal-oriented meetings, in addition to preparing beforehand and selecting information to be presented/shared in a meeting. Furthermore, from the students' perspective the coaching by the professional from the management field was also insightful in regard to the work of employees in organisations and the manner in which various projects, tasks *etc.* are completed. In short, the coaching not only enabled the students to carry out their own communication audit project in a systematic way but also allowed them to understand how people

in organisations act and why. This was an important point, providing the students with their first, both theoretical and practical insights into OB and OC.

Secondly, it was mandatory to acquaint the students with the scope of a communication audit. As prospective linguists, they are used to working with texts, and analysing these from different perspectives with the help of various tools. However, at the very beginning they did not realise that apart from texts referring to actual instances of communication (such as emails) they should also collect other data on the basis of which they could more objectively reconstruct perceptions/opinions and facts. Being part of the community in which they are conducting the communication audit, the students take a number of things for granted. For instance, they are acquainted with the structure of the institute, they unconsciously understand the power relations between students and teachers, and they can subjectively judge with which teacher it is difficult or easy to communicate (relational aspect of communication). However, in order to act objectively to the highest possible extent, it was necessary to employ ethnographic concepts, discuss with the students their positionality, and carry out introspection so that the students could realise how important it is to not fall into the trap of jumping to conclusions and taking certain attitudes/information for granted. For this reason, the communication audit model was introduced to the students in order that they might better understand the scope of the communication audit in hand. For example, they discovered that apart from texts, they should also focus on perceptions and facts when conducting the communication audit. The methodological aspects of the communication audit were also discussed with the students in great detail using the communication audit model. In a brainstorming session, methods of data collection and analysis for the purposes of the communication audit in question were identified. The students also learnt how to prepare and work with interviews and questionnaires, which was a novelty to linguistic students who normally deal only with texts.

Next, the students had to learn more about the communication audit process. This was another challenge, with which they were confronted. Above all, they became acquainted with the, previously mentioned, five stages of a communication audit, *i.e.* (1) information about the organisation, (2) contact with and information about the auditees in question, (3) interviews and observations, (4) data compiling and processing, (5) linguistic report, final audit report, presentation, and discussion. Having learnt this, the students undertook a brainstorming session in order to relate these five stages to the communication audit in hand, in particular to apply them to the context of a tertiary organisation, and to develop a list of tasks necessary to perform at each of the stages. They were also encouraged to think about the difficulties and challenges they might encounter during the communication audit process. For example, they reflected on their contact with some tutors and lecturers and realised that it might be difficult. Thus, they thought about various alternative ways to establish such contact. In general, discussing the communication audit process was another element of the communication audit teaching process, helping the students to reflect in more detail on OB and OC, and to gain increased awareness of them in regard to the university context.

Last, but not, of course, least, it was necessary to support the students of the communication audit working group with ethical aspects of conducting research. At the start they were unaware of the fact that it is mandatory to obtain the consent of auditees participating in the communication audit, and to inform them in advance about this undertaking. Let us discuss these two issues in more detail. Firstly, it was necessary to inform the prospective auditees that they would be participating in a communication audit and, in particular, that their emails would be analysed. Together with the instructor, the students established that the best manner to do this would be to ask the head of the institute to announce to the entire community that a communication audit was to be conducted. This, we thought, would not

only help inform all institute members about the undertaking and "introduce" the communication audit working group to the potential auditees (not all institute members became audit participants), but also would explain the nature and the role of the communication audit. Furthermore, by sending such an email, the head of the institute showcased their personal engagement with, and support for, the communication audit. This, in turn, encouraged the auditees to take the communication audit seriously and participate in it. Interestingly, we received emails from some members of the institute staff expressing their full support for the communication audit. Moreover, the students also personally contacted prospective audit participants and provided them with more details about the communication audit. Secondly, the students did research on the Internet into what should be included in a participant consent form and prepared a draft version of a consent form for the purposes of the communication audit. We then discussed the draft version with respect to the university's requirements and prepared a final version later distributed to the auditees.

At present, the members of the communication audit team have collected and partly analysed the data. The author presumes that the next challenges and issues for discussion will concern data analysis and interpretation, and preparation and modifications of the linguistic form sheet for the purposes of the communication audit in hand. In addition, the final report and presentation will most probably need detailed discussion before being delivered to the head of the institute and auditees.

4. Conclusion

This paper shows that organisational communication can be investigated through the use of communication audits. However, it is the linguistic approach to communication audits that allows for a holistic picture of communication in an organisation, as with the help of this approach actual communication behaviour is at the forefront of analysis, as opposed to other approaches that hardly consider aspects of actual communication behaviour. It has been stressed that it is important to teach students of various fields of study, in particular applied linguistics, how communication in organisations works. For this purpose, however, providing them with theories and models of organisational communication, does not suffice. There is a growing need to let students test these theories and models in reality. The communication audit model and procedures, in addition to the linguistic form sheet that were devised in the course of research into the communication audit in virtual project teams from a linguistic perspective, offer this possibility. They can be considered to be concrete tools, with the help of which students can carry out communication audits in other organisational contexts in a systematic way, as they are to some extent forced to take into account and consider various methodological, ethical, and logistic aspects of studying organisational communication. When applying this model, procedures, and linguistic form sheet in practice, regardless of the context, students may learn how to adjust theoretical solutions to concrete investigations into the quality of communication. Additionally, when conducting communication audits using these tools, students can gain a better understanding of how organisational communication works in reality and how it shapes organisational behaviour.

It may be concluded that with regard to OC, similarly to OB, it is research based on close collaboration with practice that enables scholars to develop models and theories, which can then be tested and explored in the classroom training.

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Andrei A. Avram
University of Bucharest, Romania

Word-Final Obstruent Devoicing in Maltese: Inherited, Internal Development or Contact-Induced?

Abstract

Maltese is a peripheral dialect of Arabic heavily influenced by Sicilian and Italian (see *e.g.* Krier 1976). Maltese is believed by some to be an offshoot of Sicilian Arabic, but this is subject to debate in the literature (see Isserlin 1977; Brincat 1995; Agius 1996; La Rosa 2014; Avram forthcoming). A characteristic of Maltese phonology is the devoicing of obstruents in word-final position (Cohen 1966; Borg 1975, 1997b). The present paper looks into the possible origins of this phonological rule, *i.e.* whether it may have been inherited from Sicilian Arabic, whether it is the outcome of an internal development or whether it is a change triggered by contact with Sicilian and Italian. The evidence examined includes transcriptions of personal names and place-names in Greek and Latin documents (see *e.g.* Cusa 1868; Caracausi 1983; Avram 2012, 2016, forthcoming), the earliest texts in Maltese, and early Arabic loanwords in Sicilian (De Gregorio & Seybold 1903). Also discussed are insights provided by research on language contacts (see *e.g.* Thomason & Kaufman 1988) and on second language phonology (see *e.g.* Flege & Davidian 1984; Fullana & Mora 2009). It is suggested that, as in other peripheral dialects of Arabic, word-final obstruent devoicing in Maltese is a contact-induced change.

Keywords: Maltese, contact linguistics, obstruents, sound change, devoicing, Maltese dialects.

Introduction

Maltese is a peripheral dialect of Arabic heavily influenced by Sicilian and Italian (see *e.g.* Krier 1976). Maltese is believed by some to be an offshoot of Sicilian Arabic, but this is a matter of some dispute in the literature (see Isserlin 1977; Brincat 1995; Agius 1996; La Rosa 2014; Avram forthcoming).

As is well known, a characteristic of the phonology of Modern Maltese is the devoicing of obstruents in word-final position. In a survey of synchronic and diachronic aspects of the phonological system of Maltese, Cohen (1966: 13) mentions "une neutralization générale dans la langue de la corrélation de sonorité à la finale absolue." In his analysis of Maltese morphophonemics, Borg (1975: 19) writes that "all final voiced obstruents occurring in underlying forms are phonetically realized as voiceless segments." Word-final obstruent devoicing in Modern Maltese is illustrated by examples such as the following:

(1)
a. [bi:**p**] 'door' vs. [bi**b**i:n] 'doors' (Borg 1975: 19)
b. [mar**t**] 'sickness' vs. [mar**d**a] 'a sickness' (Borg 1975: 19)
c. [gri:**k**] 'Greek' vs. [gri:**g**i] 'Greeks' (Borg 1975: 19)
d. [azi:**s**] 'dear M.' vs. [azi:**z**a] 'dear F.' (Borg 1975: 19)
e. [hʤi:**č**] 'glass' vs. [hʤi:**ʤ**a] 'a piece of glass' (Borg 1975: 20)

The same point is made in an overview of Maltese phonology by Borg (1997b: 250), who states that "the voicing opposition [is] neutralized in prejunctural position […] where voicing contrasts are normally restricted to underlying representations."

The aim of the present paper is to identify the origin of word-final obstruent devoicing in Maltese, by examining the following possibilities: (i) it is inherited from Sicilian Arabic; (ii) it is the outcome of an internal development; (iii) it is triggered by contact with Sicilian and Italian.

The paper is structured as follows. Section 1 is concerned with word-final obstruent devoicing in Sicilian Arabic and Maltese. Section 2 illustrates word-final obstruent devoicing in peripheral Arabic dialects. Section 3 proposes an account of the emergence in Maltese of the rule of word-final obstruent devoicing. Section 4 summarizes the findings.

All examples appear in the orthography or system of transcription used in the sources and include the original translation.

1. Word-final obstruent devoicing in Sicilian Arabic and Maltese

1.1. Sicilian Arabic

As noted by Isserlin (1977: 24), "devoicing […] may have occurred at least sporadically" in Sicilian Arabic. A number of other authors comment on the devoicing of specific obstruents. Lentin (2007: 78), for instance, writes that "*/d/ était souvent realisée comme une sourde." La Rosa (2010: 60) mentions the occurrence of "quelques cas d'assourdissement de /ḍ/ > /ṭ/ […] de /d/ > /t/, et de /b/ > /p/." More recently, La Rosa (2014: 57) states that "le consonanti *bā* et *dāl* possono essere desonorizzate."

Most of the evidence for the devoicing in Sicilian Arabic of word-final obstruents comes from notarial documents (such as contracts or cadastral surveys) in Greek and Latin. What follows is a brief overview of the currently available evidence of word-final obstruent devoicing in Sicilian Arabic.

In Greek documents, */-b/ is transcribed with <π> in surnames:

(2)
a. *Ḥāǧi**b*** > *χάτζε**π*** (Cusa 1868: 135)
b. *Šāri**b*** > *σέρι**π*** (Cusa 1868: 475)

However, <π> is extremely frequently used to transcribe */b/ in various phonological environments, in alternation with <β / б> or <πβ / πб> (see also Caracausi 1983: 57; Metcalfe 1999: 101; La Rosa 2014: 57). In Latin texts */-b/ is only very rarely transcribed with <p> in place-names:

(3) *dar**b** dār at-tīs* > *Dar**p**tarattis* 'vicolo della casa dello scemo' (Caracausi 1983: 208, fn. 227)

With respect to */-d/, Caracausi (1983: 58) observes that "è però frequente, specialmente in posizione originariamente finale l'uso di *t*." Similarly, Metcalfe (1999: 100) concludes that "there is a significantly stronger overall tendency for *dāl*-s to be written as *tau* in the Greek in word final positions." Indeed, /-d/ is transcribed with <τ> or <t> in surnames:

(4)
a. *Aḥma**d*** > *άχμε**τ***[1] (Cusa 1868, *passim*)
b. *Muḥamma**d*** > *μουχάμμου**τ***[2] (Cusa 1868: 3)
c. *Ṣamū**d*** > *σαμού**τ*** (Cusa 1868: 135)
d. *Ḥammū**d*** > *Hamu**t*** 1136 (Metcalfe 1999: 75)
e. *ʕabd l-Sayyi**d*** > *Abdessei**t*** 1136 (Metcalfe 1999: 75)

Devoicing of */-d/ is also attested in place-names, as shown by the transcriptions with <τ> or <t>:

(5)
a. *Misī**d***[3] > *μισί**τ*** 1153 (Cusa 1868: 31)
b. *ben ḥamū**d*** > *benhamu**t*** 1182 (Cusa 1868: 183)
c. *Ġār Bū Ǧāri**d*** > *garbuiera**t*** 1182 (Cusa 1868: 195)
d. *darb al-ʿabī**d*** > *darbilhabi**t*** 'vicolo degli schiavi' 1254 (Caracausi 1983: 208)

Similarly, */-d/ transcribed with <τ> or <t> in Arabic loanwords in Sicilian:

(6)
a. *qāʔi**d*** > *Gay**t**us* 'commander' 1114 (Caracausi 1983: 238)
b. *qāʔi**d*** > *κάι**τ**ον* 'commander' 1130 (Cusa 1868: 48)
c. *marqa**d*** > *marca**t**os* 'sheepfold' 1285 (Caracausi 1983: 280)

Another obstruent which undergoes devoicing in word-final position is */-z/. In surnames it is occasionally transcribed with <ς>:

1 All occurrences in Cusa (1868).

2 The spelling with final <τ> is by far the most frequent one in Cusa (1868).

3 The Maghrebian variant of *masǧid* 'mosque' (Caracausi 1987–1988: 22; Lentin 2007: 77).

(7) **al-Kandū**z*** > ελκενδού**ς** (Cusa 1868: 170)

Further evidence of the devoicing of */-z/ is provided by transcriptions with <s> in place-names occurring in Latin documents:

(8)
a. **Marka**z*** > *Merche**s*** (Caracausi 1983: 73)
b. **Manzil Kharrā**z*** > *me**n**zelcharre**s*** 1182 (Cusa 1868: 191)
c. **ʕazā**z*** > *aze**s*** 1182 (Cusa 1868: 192)
d. **raḥal al-Ǧau**z*** > *rahalygeu**s*** 1182 (Cusa 1868: 193)

Devoicing of */-ḏ/ is rather poorly attested, in spellings with <ṭ> in Arabic documents, as in (9a), and in transcriptions with <t> in place-names mentioned in Greek texts, as in (9b):

(9)
a. **raba**ḏ*** > *raba**ṭ*** 'outskirts' (La Rosa 2014: 69)
b. **al-Aḥwā**ḏ*** > *λαχουά**τ*** 'cisterns' (Caracausi 1983: 114, fn. 166)

Finally, devoicing of */-ẓ/ is illustrated by (at least) one example – a surname occurring in a Greek document (see also Agius 1996: 416; La Rosa 2014: 69) – in which it is transcribed with <τ>:

(10) *al-Mulaffa**ẓ*** > *μουλάφα**τ***[4] (Cusa 1868: 276)

To sum up, */-b/, */-d/, */-ḏ/, */-z/ and */-ẓ/ appear to undergo devoicing in Sicilian Arabic, but there are considerable differences in the frequency with which these five obstruents are affected. While the evidence for the devoicing of */-b/ is inconclusive, this accords with Blevins' (2004: 106–107) observation that cross-linguistically "phonetic devoicing will be most common in velar consonants, less common in coronal consonants, and less common still in labial consonants."

1.2. Maltese

The earliest known Maltese text is Pieru Caxaru's *Cantilena* (c. 1450). As shown by Cohen and Vanhove (1991: 181), "la neutralization sourde/sonore en finale au profit de la sourde […] n'est pas attestée dans la Cantilène."

The examination of 15th- and early 16th-century proper names recorded in notarial documents (see also Avram 2012: 99–101, 2016: 50–52, forthcoming) brings to light extremely rare cases of obstruents devoiced in word-final position. For instance, */-d/ is transcribed with <t> in the following surname:

(11) **Muḥamma**d*** > *Muhame**t*** 1445 (Fiorini 1987–1988: 106)

Also, */-z/ is transcribed with <s> in the surname below:

4 Where <τ> reflects the last stage in the developments */ẓ/ > /ḏ/ > /t/.

(12) **ʕağūz* > *aiu**s*** 1480s (Wettinger 1968: 30)

The same transcription of */-z/ is also found in a place-name:

(13) **maʕa**z*** > *ilmoho**s*** 'the goats' 1523 (Wettinger 1983: 34)

Note, however, that in the forms in (12)–(13) <s> may stand for [z], since <z> would represent [ʦ] or [ʤ].

In fact, obvious cases of word-final obstruent devoicing are first attested in 1588, in Megiser's word-list (see Cowan 1964; Avram forthcoming):

(14)
a. *Chop**s*** 'Brodt' (Megiser 1610: 10), *cf.* Ar. *ḫubz*
b. *Embi**t*** 'Wein' (Megiser 1610: 10), *cf.* Ar. *nabīḏ*
c. *Bel**t*** 'Stadt' (Megiser 1610: 11), *cf.* Ar. *bala**d***
d. *Taje**p*** 'Schöne heutere Zeit' (Megiser 1610: 12), *cf.* Ar. *ṭayyi**b***
e. *Guar**t*** 'Rosen' (Megiser 1610: 12), *cf.* Ar. *war**d***
f. *Ecne**p*** 'Trauben' (Megiser 1610: 12), *cf.* Ar. *ʕina**b***
g. *Quacha**t*** 'Eins' (Megiser 1610: 13), *cf.* Ar. *wāḥi**d***

On the other hand, forms with word-final voiced obstruents are still found in Megiser's word-list:

(15)
a. *Vehe**b*** 'Gold' (Megiser 1610: 11), *cf.* Ar. *ḏaha**b***
b. *Chtie**b*** 'Buch' (Megiser 1610: 11), *cf.* Ar. *kitā**b***
c. *Kel**b*** 'Hund' (Megiser 1610: 11), *cf.* Ar. *kal**b***

The same situation holds for later, 17th-century records of Maltese. Both devoiced and voiced obstruents occur word-finally in proper names:

(16)
a. *Mihammet* 1632 (Wettinger 1983: 40), *cf.* Ar. *Muḥamma**d***
b. *Mitahle**p*** (Abela 1647: 65), *cf.* Ar. √*ḥl**b***

(17) *Vye**d** el Charru**b*** (Abela 1647: 73), *cf.* Ar. *wā**d***- 'valley,' *ḫarrū**b*** 'locust'

Philip Skippon's word-list (1664) contains very few instances of word-final devoiced obstruents:

(18)
a. *tachse**p*** 'Cogitare' (Cachia 2000: 37), *cf.* Ar. *taḥsu**b*** 'you reckon'
b. *raa**t*** 'Tonitru' (Cachia 2000: 34), *cf.* Ar. *raʕa**d*** 'to thunder'

The overwhelming majority of the relevant forms listed by Skippon (1664) exhibit word-final voiced obstruents:

(19)
a. *chata**b*** 'Lignum' (Cachia 2000: 34), *cf.* Ar. *ḥaṭa**b*** 'firewood'
b. *chadi**d*** 'Ferrum' (Cachia 2000: 40), *cf.* Ar. *ḥadī**d***

Gian Francesco Bonamico's *Sonnet* (1672) also includes instances of both word-final devoiced obstruents, as in (20), and word-final voiced obstruents, as in (21):

(20)
a. *ar**t*** 'earth' (Cachia 2000: 18), *cf.* Ar. *ʔarḍ*
b. *bar**t*** 'cold' (Cachia 2000: 18), *cf.* Ar. *bar**d***

(21)
a. *scha**b*** 'clouds' (Cachia 2000: 18), *cf.* Ar. *saḥā**b***
b. *cqal**b*** 'heart' (Cachia 2000: 18), *cf.* Ar. *qal**b***

Consider next 18th-century attestations of Maltese. Some of the forms in the short word-list in Maius (1718) are illustrative of word-final devoicing of obstruents, as in (22), while others, as in (23) show that voiced obstruents still appear in word-final position:

(22)
a. *i**t*** 'manus' (Maius 1718: 23), *cf.* Ar. *ya**d***
b. *Hop**s*** 'panis' (Maius 1718: 25), *cf.* Ar. *ḫubz*

(23)
a. *Bie**b*** 'portae nomen est' (Maius 1718: 23), *cf.* Ar. *bā**b***
b. *Dee**b*** 'aurum' (Maius 1718: 22), *cf.* Ar. *ḏaha**b***
c. *taie**b*** ['good'] (Maius 1718: 22), *cf.* Ar. *ṭayyi**b***

The vocabulary and grammar of Maltese by the marquis of Sentenat, a manuscript in Catalan dating from around the half of the 18th century, contains a relatively large number of forms relevant to the fate of word-final obstruents. These are almost equally divided between forms with devoiced and others with voiced obstruents in word-final position, illustrated in (24) and (25) respectively:

(24)
a. *bar**t*** 'fret' (Queraltó Bartrès 2003: 29), *cf.* Ar. *bar**d***
b. *hhhata**p*** 'llenya' (Queraltó Bartrès 2003: 32), *cf.* Ar. *ḥaṭa**b*** 'firewood'
c. *hhop**s*** 'pa' (Queraltó Bartrès 2003: 35), *cf.* Ar. *ḫubz*
d. *marri**t*** 'malalt' (Queraltó Bartrès 2003: 32), *cf.* Ar. *marīḍ*

(25)
a. *bie**b*** 'porta' (Queraltó Bartrès 2003: 37), *cf.* Ar. *bā**b***
b. *kal**b*** 'cor' (Queraltó Bartrès 2003: 25), *cf.* Ar. *qal**b***
c. *dhehhhe**b*** 'or' (Queraltó Bartrès 2003: 35), *cf.* Ar. *ḏaha**b***
d. *taije**b*** 'bo' (Queraltó Bartrès 2003: 23), *cf.* Ar. *ṭayyi**b***

Several forms listed by de Soldanis (1750) illustrate devoicing of obstruents in word-final position. These include the following:

(26)
a. *ḋee**p*** 'oro' (de Soldanis 1750: 129), *cf.* Ar. *ḏaha**b***
b. *i**t*** 'mano' (de Soldanis 1750: 147), *cf.* Ar. *ya**d***
c. *Hhop**s*** 'pane' (de Soldanis 1750: 146), *cf.* Ar. *ḫubz*

On the other hand, voiced obstruents are still attested in word-final position:

(27)
a. *Ghage**b*** 'ammirazione' (de Soldanis 1750: 185), *cf.* Ar. *ʕağa**b***
b. *gdi**d*** 'nuovo' (de Soldanis 1750: 114), *cf.* Ar. *ǧadī**d***

Significantly, de Soldanis (1750) explicitly mentions cases of variation. Consider the following examples of alternative pronunciations:

(28)
a. *Bie**b*** o *Bie**p*** 'porta' (de Soldanis 1750: 124), *cf.* Ar. *bā**b***
b. *taje**b***, o *taje**p*** 'bene' (de Soldanis 1750: 80), *cf.* Ar. *ṭayyi**b***
c. *Rmiè**t***, *Rame**d*** 'cenere' (de Soldanis 1750: 172), *cf.* Ar. *ramā**d***

It is only at the end of the 18th century that what amounts to the first categorical statement of the rule of word-final obstruent devoicing is formulated by Vassalli (1796). With respect to "la B e la D," Vassalli (1796: XXXII) specifies that "in fine della parola […] la prima pronunziasi P, e T la seconda." In a later work, similar specifications are made about several obstruents: "la lettera Ajn [= ʕ]," which "essendo in fine di voce, si profferirà come ħ[5] [= ħ]" (Vassalli 1827: 5); "il G [= ʤ]," which "in fine della parola suona c [= ʧ]" (Vassalli 1827: 7); "Gkho [= ɣ]," which "può mutarsi il suono […] in quello del ħ[6] [= x] quanda sarà in fine della dizione" (Vassalli 1827: 8); "il Z," which "in fine della dizioni sentesi pronunciare come se fosse un s."

In conclusion, word-final obstruent devoicing is a late development in Maltese, starting with the end of the 16th century. Therefore, word-final obstruent devoicing cannot have been inherited from Sicilian Arabic: if it had, it should have been attested in the earliest records of Maltese. The devoicing of obstruents in word-final position appears to have been an instance of lexical diffusion (in the sense of Chen 1972; Chen & Wang 1975), *i.e.* a slow – lasting about two centuries – and gradual spread across the Maltese lexicon.

2. Word-final obstruent devoicing in peripheral Arabic dialects

The devoicing of obstruents in word-final position is attested in a number of Arabic dialects and it is a characteristic typical of the peripheral dialects of Arabic.[5]

In Nigerian Arabic "a voiced non-sonorant consonant is devoiced before […] a pause" (Owens 1993: 21), *i.e.* all obstruents undergo devoicing in word-final position:

(29)
a. *muru**ḍ*** → *muru**ṭ*** 'he became sick' (Owens 1993: 22)
b. *ḍíhi**g*** → *ḍíhi**k*** 'he laughed' (Owens 1993: 22)
c. *badízz* → *bidí**ss*** 'I push' (Owens 1993: 22)
d. *ta**ǧ*** → *ta**č*** 'you M SG come' (Owens 1993: 22)

In one of the earliest descriptions of Chadian Arabic, Deredinger (1912: 342) writes about /b/ that "à la fin des mots, mais seulement quand la dernière syllabe est brève, elle se rapproche […] de la sourde *p*." Deredinger (1912: 344) further states that "une dentale sonore devient aisément sourde lorsqu'elle est finale d'un mot." These cases of devoicing of stops in word-final position are illustrated below:

(30)
a. *hali**p*** 'milk' (Deredinger 1912: 342), *cf.* Ar. *ḥala**b***
b. *bāri**t*** 'cold' (Deredinger 1912: 347), *cf.* Ar. *bāri**d***

According to Manfredi (2012: 153), "final obstruent devoicing occurs on a regular basis" in Kordofanian Baggara Arabic, affecting *e.g.* stops, as in (31a–b), or affricates, as in (31c):

(31)
a. *ǧī**b*** [ʤi:**p**] 'bring' (Manfredi 2012: 153)
b. *bala**d*** [bələ**t**] 'country' (Manfredi 2012: 153)
c. *bita**ǧ*** [bitə**ʧ**] 'you come' (Manfredi 2012: 153)

With respect to Anatolian Arabic, Jastrow (2007: 90) writes that "voiced consonants in word-final position have a tendency to become unvoiced." This statement actually refers to obstruents only, since it is further specified (Jastrow 2007: 90) that "the sonants *l*, *r*, *m*, *n* are not subject to final devoicing." Consider the following examples from three Anatolian Arabic dialects – Hasköy Arabic, Mardin Arabic, and Tillo Arabic:

(32)
a. Hasköy Ar. *širi**b*** [ʃiri**p**] 'drink!' (Ionete 2016: 324)
b. Mardin Ar. *ʕaqa**d*** → *ʕaqa**t***[6] 'to bind' (Grigore 2007: 45)
c. Mardin Ar. *mīž* → *mī**š*** 'fog' (Grigore 2007: 45)

5 This grapheme designed by Vassalli stands for [ḥ].

6 This grapheme designed by Vassalli stands for [x].

d. Tillo Ar. *law**z*** → *law**s*** 'almond' (Lahdo 2009: 57)
e. Tillo Ar. *ma**ʕ*** → *ma**ḥ*** 'with' (Lahdo 2009: 56)
f. Tillo Ar. *ḥa**ǧǧ*** → *ḥa**čč*** 'pilgrimage' (Lahdo 2009: 53)

The devoicing of word-final obstruents in Anatolian Arabic is generally attributed to the influence exerted by Turkish. Grigore (2007: 45), for instance, concludes with respect to word-final obstruent devoicing in Mardin Arabic that "ce traitement […] est soutenu par l'influence de la langue turque où ce phénomène est tyique."

Consider finally Cypriot Maronite Arabic, in which word-final devoicing is limited to stops (Borg 1997a: 228, 2007: 539):

(33)
a. *tae**p*** 'good' (Kaye & Rosenhouse 1997: 79), *cf.* Ar. *ṭayyi**b***
b. *kle**p*** 'dogs' (Borg 1997a: 221), *cf.* Ar. *kilā**b***

The phenomenon is considered to be contact-induced, by *e.g.* Borg (2007: 539), who mentions "absolute neutralization of the historical voicing contrast in stops (via contact with Greek)."

To conclude, word-final obstruent devoicing in (at least some) peripheral Arabic dialects is the outcome of language contacts. Since Maltese is (historically) also a peripheral dialect of Arabic, word-final obstruent devoicing may be one of the effects of intense contacts with Sicilian and/or Italian, rather than an internal development. This possibility is explored in the next section.

3. Word-final obstruent devoicing in Maltese: Why and how?

3.1. Sociolinguistic situation in 16th-century Malta

As seen in section 1.2, clear instances of word-final obstruent devoicing are first attested in Maltese towards the end of the 16th century. It is therefore instructive to examine the sociolinguistic situation in 16th-century Malta.

After the arrival in 1530 of the Order of the Knights Hospitaller of St John, there was a massive influx of foreigners in Malta, consisting of "sailors, soldiers, slaves and a number of Greeks from Rhodos" as well as of "labourers and artisans, mainly from Sicily and Southern Italy" (Brincat 1991: 98). The demographic evolution of Malta's population in the period between 1530 and 1590 and the proportion of foreigners are set out in the Table 1:

Table 1. Population of Malta and Gozo[7]

Year	Total	Local	Foreign	% Foreign
1530	20,000	17,000	4,000	20.0
1547–1550	13,000	10,000	3,000	23.0
1565	14,000	10,000	4,000	28.5
1582	23,000	20,000	3,000	13.0
1590	32,290	28,864	3,426	10.6

7 Adapted from Brincat (1991: 97).

The arrival of mostly male immigrants also led to marriages between local women and foreigners. There are no records prior to 1600, but the relevant figures and percentages would have presumably been similar to those summarized in Table 2:

Table 2. Marriages between local brides and foreign grooms[8]

City	Period	Marriages	Foreign grooms	% Foreign grooms
Valetta	1600–1613	235	54	21.0
Valetta	1627–1650	1,131	366	32.0

Under the circumstances, "cultural and linguistic contact between speakers of Maltese and the foreign population would have multiplied beyond comparison to what it had been before" (Borg 2011: 1036).

Another change brought about by the Order is the growing importance of the so-called "Harbour Area," consisting of Valetta – founded by of the Knights Hospitaller of St John – and the so-called "Three Cities" – Birgu, Senglea and Cospicua:

Table 3. Population of the Harbour Area[9]

Year	The Order	Valetta	Three Cities	Total	Malta	% Harbour Area
1530	4,000	–	1,000	5,000	17,000	29.4
1590	3,500	3,397	5,458	12,355	31,914	38.7

Brincat (1991: 98) writes that "as to the history of the Maltese language, the crucial event was the Order's shifting of the seat of power […] to the harbour area." As further noted by Brincat (1991: 103), "Valetta and the Cottonera area[10] [form] the centre of linguistic innovation."

The massive influx of Sicilian- and Italian-speaking immigrants after 1530, mixed marriages, and the significant proportion of Sicilian- and Italian-speaking immigrants in the Harbour Area between 1530 and 1590 (maximum of 28.5% in 1565, minimum of 10.6% in 1590) are factors conducive to major changes in the sociolinguistic situation. One such development is the occurrence of code mixing: "as early as 1557 […] contemporaries noted that the Maltese were mixing Italian and Maltese" (Borg 2011: 1036–1037). Another significant change is the ever growing Sicilian and Italian influence on Maltese (see also Brincat 1995).

3.2. Borrowing scale and Maltese

Thomason and Kaufman's (1988: 74–76) propose the following borrowing scale which correlates intensity of contact with specific linguistic outcomes:

(i) Casual contact: lexical borrowing only
(ii) Slightly more intense contact: slight structural borrowing
(iii) More intense contact: slightly more structural borrowing
(iv) Strong cultural pressure: moderate structural borrowing
(v) Very strong cultural pressure: heavy structural borrowing

8 Based on Brincat (1991: 102).

9 Based on Brincat (1991: 99–100).

10 "Cottonera" is generally synonymous with the "Three Cities," but it is sometimes taken to include the town of Kalkara as well.

The sociolinguistic situation described in section 3.1 suggests that post-1530 Maltese is an illustration of category (iv), *i.e.* of moderate structural borrowing under strong cultural pressure from Sicilian and Italian.

According to Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 75), the specific effects of moderate structural borrowing are: major structural features that cause relatively little typological change; new distinctive features in contrastive sets that are represented in the native vocabulary; loss of some phonological contrasts; new syllable structure constraints, also in the native vocabulary; allophononic and morphophonemic rules, such as palatalization or final obstruent devoicing; borrowed inflectional affixes and categories added to native words; fairly extensive word order changes. Most of these structural effects are attested in Maltese (see *e.g.* Cohen 1966; Krier 1976). Note, in particular, that word-final obstruent devoicing is included by Thomason and Kaufman among the potential effects on the phonology of the borrowing language.

Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 320) also briefly mention word-final obstruent devoicing in Maltese, concluding that "Maltese must have gotten the rule from Sicilian, which had even less scope for the rule in native material." However, Sicilian and Italian do not have a rule of word-final obstruent devoicing; neither of the two languages has obstruents in word-final position. Hence, Sicilian or Italian phonology cannot be the (direct) source of the Maltese rule of word-final obstruent devoicing, *i.e.* word-final obstruent devoicing in Maltese is not the result of borrowing of a phonological rule from Sicilian or Italian.

3.3. Word-final obstruent devoicing in the acquisition of L2 phonology

Findings on the acquisition of English word-final voiced obstruents by learners with various L1s (Flege & Davidian 1984; Flege *et al.* 1995; Major 2001) show that speakers of Romance languages devoice obstruents in word-final position:

(34) L1 Italian L2 English [rot] for *road* (Major 2001: 4)

As noted by Major (2001: 4), "universally, for all language learners […] it is easier to pronounce a final [t] than a final [d]." This is hardly surprising, given that "word-final devoicing […] is a classic minimum effort strategy" (Shariatmadari 2006: 208). *Mutatis mutandis*, it may be assumed that L1 speakers of Sicilian or of Italian devoiced Maltese word-final obstruents. Several arguments can be adduced in support of this account. Firstly, the reflex of etymological */-b/ is /pp/ or /p/ in Arabic loanwords in Sicilian, even if these contain a paragogic vowel (see also Avram forthcoming):

(35)
a. *ǧulā**b*** > *gile**pp**u* 'rosa acqua' (De Gregorio & Seybold 1903: 238)
b. *maqlū**b*** > *macalu**p**a* 'volcanetto di fango' (Caracausi 1983: 272)

Secondly, the age of onset of L2 acquisition is an important factor, given that early acquirers perform better in producing word-final obstruents in L2 (Flege *et al.* 1995). As shown in section 3.1, Sicilian and Italian immigrants to Malta were adults, *i.e.* late acquirers. Thirdly, long term exposure to an L2 with word-final obstruents, such as English, is not necessarily conducive to target-like production. Fullana and Mora (2009: 99) show that "long-term exposure of native Italian participants did not lead to a more

accurate production of the distinctive feature of voicing." It may be assumed that in the case of L1 speakers of Sicilian or of Italian, long-term exposure to Maltese did not lead to the production of word-final voiced obstruents. Finally, according to Shariatmadari (2006: 207), "if word-final devoicing were assigned low prestige by a particular group this might well be enough to override ease of articulation and support voicing." However, in Malta, Sicilians and Italians enjoyed high prestige.

The claim made here is, therefore, that word-final obstruent devoicing is the result of imperfect acquisition of Maltese phonology by Sicilian- and Italian-speaking immigrants.

3.4. Spread of word-final obstruent devoicing in Maltese

According to Brincat (1991: 103), from the Harbour Area "the progressive Latinization of [Maltese] opened out fan-like and gradually penetrated rural speech at all social levels," *i.e.* there was "linguistic interaction, first between foreigners and the inhabitants of the harbor cities, then between the latter and the residents of rural towns and villages."

One manifestation of the "progressive Latinization of Maltese" appears to have been the spread of word-final devoicing, via diffusion from a speech style to another and from a social group to another. On this view, word-final obstruent devoicing spread in the speech of an individual from one speech style to another and at the same time it spread from one individual to another within a social group and subsequently from one social group to another. This is represented in the figure below (adapted from Bailey 1973: 176):

Time 1		**Social group**
	Style	**1 2 3**
	Formal	+ − −
	Casual	+ − −
Time 2		**Social group**
	Style	**1 2 3**
	Formal	+ x −
	Casual	+ − −
Time 3		**Social group**
	Style	**1 2 3**
	Formal	+ + x
	Casual	+ x −
Time 4		**Social group**
	Style	**1 2 3**
	Formal	+ + +
	Casual	+ + x
Time 5		**Social group**
	Style	**1 2 3**
	Formal	+ + +
	Casual	+ + +

1 = Sicilian and/or Italian L2 speakers of Maltese
2 = inhabitants of the Harbour Area, L1 speakers of Maltese
3 = inhabitants of rural areas, L1 speakers of Maltese
+ = consistent use; x = variable use; − = absence

Figure 1. Spread of word-final obstruent devoicing in Maltese

4. Conclusions

Maltese word-final obstruent devoicing is a contact-induced change, but it is not the result of borrowing of a phonological rule from Sicilian (contra Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 320).

Maltese word-final devoicing of obstruents is the outcome of the following processes: (i) imperfect second language acquisition of Maltese phonology by Sicilian and Italian immigrants; (ii) adoption of the new phonetic realization of obstruents in word-final position by native speakers of Maltese in the Harbour Area, engaged in frequent and close contacts with Sicilians and Italians; (iii) spread of the new phonetic realization of word-final obstruents to other areas in Malta.

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Shala Barczewska
Jan Kochanowski University in Kielce

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Communicating Conflict: Language of "War" in Tennessee's Struggle with Evolution

Abstract

The debate over teaching evolution in the US is often construed in terms of a metaphorical war. As the conflict first drew national attention with the 1925 trial of John T. Scopes in Tennessee, and again returned to Tennessee in 2012 with the passage of a science education bill, we believe that analyzing the language used to describe these events will improve understanding of how this conflict is communicated. Our analysis draws on the conceptual metaphor theory proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980a) and suggests that participants on either side of the debate view the conflict according to a "just war scenario" (1991). This construal intensifies the moral weight of the conflict, making compromise and dialogue more difficult. The introduction outlines the history of the conflict, which is followed by a description of research conducted to date. section 3 explains the questions addressed in the paper, section 4 presents the conceptual metaphor theory, and section 5 describes the materials analyzed. The results are divided into two parts: section 6.1 looks at articles from the 1920s; section 6.2 looks at articles from 2012. Discussion of the results can be found in section 7 and is followed by ideas for future research.

Keywords: conceptual metaphor, semantic domain, discourse analysis.

1. Introduction

The conflict over teaching evolution in the U.S. first became a significant issue in American state legislatures and courthouses in the 1920s. Up until that time, the teaching of evolution in school science books was not only decidedly pro-evolution, but also supported aspects of social Darwinism (cf. Hunter 1914; Larson 2006: 27–28). US legislatures also seemed to accept the societal implications of the theory and eugenics bills were passed across the states beginning in 1907. As a testament towards the reception

of evolution at the turn of the century, White (1896: 85–86) comments in A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom:

> But all this opposition may be recoded among the last expiring convulsions of the old theological theory…the old theory of direct creation is gone forever. In place of it science has given us conceptions far more noble and opened the way to an argument for design infinitely more beautiful than any ever developed by theology.

However, the victory hailed by White was premature. Opposition to the theory of evolution, particularly the evolution of man and it being taught to impressionable children, increased after WWI. Historians Ronald Numbers and Edward Larson attribute this to a reaction against the horrors caused by the new weapons developed during the war (Larson 2006: 40; Numbers 1998: 73).[1] Laws were drafted in several states in the 1920s. The third "anti-evolution" bill to pass was the Butler Act in the state of Tennessee, which forbid teaching that man evolved from lower animals (other types of biological evolution were allowed). This was the first bill to pass that included a punishment; hence, the first bill to offer the opportunity to test the law. Indeed, it did not take long for the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) to offer free defense counsel for any teacher willing to do just that. The leaders of the town of Dayton, Tennessee, saw an opportunity to improve the economic situation of their town through hosting a test case that would hopefully draw national attention and business. At a meeting in the local drugstore, they convinced math and physical education teacher John Scopes, who also substituted occasionally in the biology class, to "confess" to having taught human evolution from Hunter's (1914) *Civil Biology*.

Before long, two well-known personalities volunteered their services: William Jennings Bryan for the prosecution and Clarence Darrow for the defense. Reporters flocked to the scene and it was the first trial to be broadcast live on radio. The town, and the trial, quickly took on a circus-like atmosphere. One of the reporters that played an important role in constructing the way the outside world viewed the trial was H. L. Mencken of *The Baltimore Sun*, who is said to have coined the phrases "Monkey-Trial" and "Bible Belt."[2] Both terms have influenced current views of both the debate over evolution education and the way the US South is viewed (*cf.* Barczewska 2014b, 2017). It is because these construals were so successful that, although Scopes was convicted, the trial is often used as a pro-evolution argument and hence a public relations victory. Nevertheless, many contemporaries on both sides viewed it to be the exact opposite: after the trial, Bryan was immediately on the road campaigning for similar bills and references to evolution were removed from textbooks for the next 30 years.

Tennessee has remained at the center of the debate over evolution, both in a physical and rhetorical sense. The Butler Act stayed on the books until it was repealed in 1967, and later trials related to the teaching of evolution have been framed by the press to as Scopes II (*Epperson v. Arkansas* [1967–1968], *McLean v. Arkansas Board of Education* [1981], *Edwards v. Gaillard* [1987]).

In 1996, Tennessee again became a focal point of the debate over teaching evolution when legislators proposed a bill that forbade the teaching evolution as a fact (as opposed to a theory) in the public schools.

1 This concern is also visible in Bryan's arguments discussed in this paper.

2 According to *The Baltimore Sun* (http://www.baltimoresun.com/entertainment/sun-magazine/bal-pictures-baltimore-sun-and-reporters-make--002-photo.html), Mencken used both phrases for the first time during the Scopes Trial. However, other sources suggest that Mencken used the "Bible Belt" in an earlier article published in the *Chicago Daily Tribune* on November 19, 1924 (Shapiro 2006: 512). The phrase "Monkey Trial" can be found as early as *The Wisconsin Rapids Daily Tribune* on May 22, 1925.

The attempt failed, and in 2011 a different approach was used. This legislation (proposed as Senate Bill 983 / House Bill 368) shifted the focus to emphasizing critical thinking skills. After acknowledging that subjects such as "biological evolution, the chemical origins of life, global warming, and human cloning, can cause controversy," the bill states that teaching these subjects may cause a certain amount of uncertainty among teachers.[3] As a result, it decrees that governing or school authorities "shall … create an environment … [that] encourages students to explore scientific questions, learn about scientific evidence, develop critical thinking skills, respond appropriately and respectfully to differences of opinion about controversial issues." Moreover, are the teachers to be given help in fulfilling this requirement. At the same time, the bill clarifies: "This section only protects the teaching of scientific information, and shall not be construed to promote any religious or non-religious doctrine." It is important to highlight the contents of the bill and draw attention both to its emphasis on "scientific questions" and "scientific evidence," and its limits, specifically, that no religious material can be used. Repetition here is necessary as the actual reporting on the bill either ignore or doubt the sincerity of these points (Tennessee 2012).[4]

2. Related work

Analyses of the debate over evolution education are numerous and discuss multiple aspects of the debate (*cf.* Barczewska 2017). Here I will mention a few of those publications that have specifically addressed either the Tennessee context or the language used to discuss the conflict. Among others, both Numbers and Larson (2006), mentioned above, provide balanced reviews of the 1925 Scopes Trial and it's modified retellings through history. The language used by the proponents and opponents of evolution has been discussed in detail by Smout (1998). He analyzes key terms different stages in the debate and determines that the problem is not so much the vocabulary available to the participants, but the way in which these words are defined. Of these terms, Thurs (2007) focuses specifically on the development of the current understanding of what is/is not science, arguing that the boundaries frequently placed on science, specifically as regards the evolution debate, are relatively recent developments that were discursively created at the turn of the 20th century. When it comes to the specific context of evolution education in the state of Tennessee, McCune (2003) provides an in-depth analysis of the framing used to report on the 1996 bill and comments on how media and stake holders influence each other in the creation of these frames. In her study, she notes that MONKEY TRIAL and SCOPES are among the frames used, thereby exemplifying the discursive role that the 1925 trial continues to play in contemporary construals of debates over how to teach evolution. Press construals of teachers in press in the context of the 2012 bill can be found in Barczewska (2013), whereas the role of metaphor and metonymy in the headlines for these news stories is presented in Barczewska (2014a). A monograph by the same author (Barczewska 2017) provides a broader analysis of the language used by the US press in describing debates over evolution education and includes reporting from 2003–2012 as well as the era of the Scopes trial.

3 This uncertainty, it can be assumed, would come from teachers who fear criticism from parents or colleagues, either for teaching evolution as true on one hand, or avoiding it on the other (*cf.* Barczewska 2017: 272–274).

4 According to the discovery institute, similar bills have been passed several states across America, including Minnesota, New Mexico, Alabama, Pennsylvania, Missouri, South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana (Discovery Institute 2016).

3. Construing science debates as WAR (problem statement)

As suggested by the title of White's book cited from above, doubts concerning the veracity of Darwinian evolution are often recast as a battle between religion and science. In order to better understand the frequency of this construal, a search was conducted on *Google Books Corpus* (Davies 2011–) for the phrases "warfare between science and theology" and "warfare between science and religion." The results show that this way of perceiving science and religion is still salient in English literature (Figure 1). It also suggests that the phrase, if not the concept itself, become more entrenched in popular culture after the publication of the *Origin of Species* (1859).

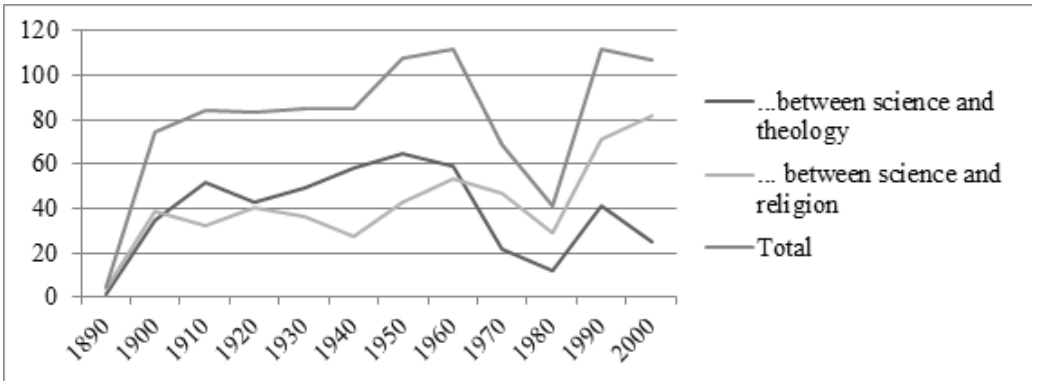

Figure 1. Google books raw numbers

Moreover according to Google N-grams, "religion" and "theology" are the only completions to the phrase "warfare between science and…" frequent enough to be included in its graphic representation. Figure 2 shows the same data in terms of percentages.

Figure 2. Google books percentage of warfare between science and… (https://books.google.com/ngrams/graph, ED 13.03.2017)

We checked this observation against the data available in *COHA: the Corpus of Historical American English* (Davies 2010–). A preliminary review of the data indicates that the war/science/religion connection was more common within academic writing and books than newspapers, which suggests that this construal is not merely a journalistic attention-getter. Moreover, while the notion of a potential conflict between the two disciplines is mentioned as early as the 1820s, it becomes more prevalent post Darwin.

(1) In like manner, only pious men of distinguished science can be fully prepared to encounter those who turn science **against** religion. (academic; Green 1822)

(2) It is reasonable to anticipate this change, because the **old battle** between religion and science, which placed each in a false position, must come to an end. (academic; Buchanan 1856)

(3) Folly has its uses, and child's play is beneficial. The **war** between science and religion must go on forever. **Reconciliation** is simply impossible. That proposed by Herbert Spencer is in effect an absolute **surrender** on the part of theology. (fiction; Bagby 1874)

The first use of "war" to connect these terms given in the corpus is the work of fiction from 1974. That said, the concept is presented as a common knowledge, something that the readers would have been aware of. Hence, it can be assumed that the idea, even if not frequently lexicalized, was present in late 19th century thought. This accomplishes two rhetorical purposes: first, it marginalizes dissenting scientists; then, it recasts them as people nurturing superstitious beliefs that hold them back from modern, rational thought.[5]

WAR seems to be a frequently used source domain when it comes to describing the relationship between science and religion. The theory of evolution, as model for the development of life without supernatural involvement, seems to have further dichotomized the relationship between the two disciplines. Thus, a viable explanation is in the frame of struggle that is at the foundation of the theory of evolution, which is confirmed by its sudden appearance after the Origins. This was visible in fiction and nonfiction (*cf.* Bagby 1874; White 1896) well before the trial of John Scopes. However, in American history and lore the Scopes trial plays a crucial rhetorical role in debates over teaching evolution, particularly in construing the debate as a battle. Moreover, this construal as a battle continues to the present day. This paper sets out to describe how elements of war are mapped on to the debate and how these mappings have changed from the 1920s to the 2012 to describe relevant events in the state of Tennessee. We will look at the following questions:

1. Who are the heroes/villains, the aggressors, and the victims?
2. Where are the battlefields?
3. Has the construal of the debate over evolution as a war changed from 1925 to 2012? If so, how?

4. Conceptual metaphor theory (concept and terms)

The conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) provides a framework for understanding and analyzing the almost clichéd construal of religion and science, and their various subsidiaries, in conflict. Thus, before continuing with the analysis we will briefly review the theory and its application for this project.

In their seminal book, *The Metaphors We Live by*, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue that metaphorical expressions follow certain patterns and can be grouped and organized within a schema of

5 Stark (2003, Ch. 2) argues that the science–religion dichotomy is a rhetorical device that can be traced back at least as far as Hobbes, but is not grounded in historical fact. On the contrary, "Christian theology was essential for the rise of science" (p. 123).

conceptual metaphors. Table 1 gives some examples of lexical metaphors and the conceptual metaphors they explicate. As in the table, conceptual metaphors are expressed in all caps.

Table 1. Examples of conceptual metaphors and their lexical realization (Lakoff & Johnson 1980a: 455, 463, 469–470)

Conceptual metaphor	Lexical expressions
GOOD IS UP/BAD IS DOWN	*Things are looking up. We are at an all-time low.*
LIFE IS A GAME OF CHANCE	*I'll take my chances. The odds are against us*
IDEAS ARE FOOD	*What he said left a bad taste in my mouth. I just can't swallow that claim.*
THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS	*The theory needs more support. The argument is shaky.*
ARGUMENT IS WAR	*He attacked every weak point in my argument. I've never won an argument with him.*

The last conceptual metaphor, ARGUMENT IS WAR, is central to this research project. Lakoff and Johnson (1980b: 4) comment :

> It is important to see that we don't just talk about arguments in terms of war. We can actually win or lose arguments. We see the person we are arguing with as an opponent. We attack his positions and we defend our own. We gain and lose ground. We plan and use strategies. If we find a position indefensible, we can abandon it and take a new line of attack. Many of the things we do in arguing are partially structured by the concept of war. Though there is no physical battle, there is a verbal battle, and the structure of an argument—attack, defense, counterattack, etc.—reflects this. It is in this sense that the ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor is one that we live by in this culture; it structures the actions we perform in arguing.

That said, WAR is not the only source domain used by English speaker to talk about disagreements. The same table also points to BUILDINGS as a source domain for the theories discussed in an argument. Moreover, Ritchie (2003) suggests that the source domain we are accessing is often less clear. For example, the word *won* from the example could just as easily refer to a game of chess as to a military battle. Additionally, Lakoff and Johnson highlight that academic disputes can sometimes take on a different metaphorical construal. For instance, they can be described using the THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS conceptual metaphor, also in Table 1. Alternatively, they may be construed as a JOURNEY undertaken by the disputing parties. Lexical examples given by Lakoff and Johnson (1980b: 90) include *We have set out to prove that bats are birds* and *This observation points the way to an elegant solution. We have arrived at a disturbing conclusion*. This journey may also take the form of a HEROIC QUEST, in which the treasure is knowledge or wisdom.

Recognizing and understanding the conceptual metaphors that underline a given discourse are important because they provide structure for the way in which society not only describes, but also understands, the target domain:

> But a convincing account of how concepts function must consider not just the unconscious influence of metaphors but also the way participants in public debates deliberately weigh and make sense of evidence. One of the ways we do that is to organize what we know of the world into relatively fixed, though not unexamined, stories. These stories are indispensable to conceptual metaphors. Without them, conceptual metaphors could not make rhetorical sense. (Eubanks 2008)

5. Methodological approach

Two selections of writing from the 1920s were selected: 13 articles written by H. L. Mencken (1925) about the Scopes Trial and published in the *Baltimore Evening Sun* and two publications by William Jennings Bryan (1922, 1925). Of the latter, the first is an article in the *New York Times* from 1922 and his closing speech for the Scopes trial.[6] The 2012 corpus was collected via Googlenews between April 5–18, 2012, using the search terms "Tennessee '*Teach the Controversy*.'"

Both corpora were analyzed using the WordSmith 6 concordancing tool (Scott 2017) as follows. A list of words related to the semantic domain of WAR was compiled with the help of on-line thesauruses and wordlists. The concordance lines were then examined to determine (a) whether the usage was metaphorical or not; (b) if the source-domain was WAR/CONFLICT; (c) how the expression contributed to the construal of the debate as a WAR. The results discussed below are samples taken from this analysis chosen as representative of the way language from the semantic domain of WAR is used in these corpora.

6. The semantic domain of WAR and the debate over evolution (analysis of results)

6.1. The 1925 trial of John T. Scopes

Although the court case is referred to by Bryan and Mencken as a *battle*, both recognize it as part of a larger story, a greater conflict. Nevertheless, this conflict is construed differently by each. We will begin by looking at H. L. Mencken's articles.

6.1.1. H. L. Mencken

Journalist H. L. Mencken draws on the source domain of war in writing all 13 of his article covering the trial. There are three main targets that appear in his coverage, often times intermixing with each other: the court case, the battle for civilization, and battles between believers.[7]

(4) Thus the **battle** joins and the good red sun shines down.

(5) Before that it had been against the anti-evolution law. But with the actual **battle** joined, it began to wobble, and presently it was printing articles arguing that Fundamentalism, after all, made men happy […]

(6) That foe, alas, refused to be alarmed. It insisted upon seeing the **battle** as a comedy. Even Darrow, who knew better, occasionally yielded to the prevailing spirit.

To explain the passing of the Butler Act and the national support for measures against teaching evolution, Mencken blames not only fundamentalism, but also a lack of intelligence, which he believes is systemic of rural areas.

6 This speech was never given as the defense confessed just before the case went to the jury and no closing arguments were given.

7 It is important to remember that Mencken was as much a dramatist as he was a reporter, known to elaborate, exaggerate and invent in order to make a point (Torley 2014 after Rodgers 2007).

(7) They have **fought** every new truth ever heard of, and they have killed every truth-seeker who got into their hands.

(8) The so-called religious organizations which now lead the **war** against the teaching of evolution are nothing more, at bottom, than conspiracies of the inferior man against his betters.

Mencken's construal of the battle in the courtroom is an extension of his perspective on Christianity, the south and what "civilization" should look like. This is seen in his construal of the most visible advocates on either side: Bryan and Darrow. Bryan is described as a *gladiator*, burning with a hatred that transforms him from a village hero to "preposterous and pathetic." Darrow is *a well-fed*, *well-mannered*, *spokesman.*

(9) The old **gladiator** faced his real **enemy** at last. Here was a sworn agent and attorney of the science he hates and fears -- a well-fed, well-mannered spokesman of the knowledge he abominates.

(10) The hatred in the old man's burning eyes was not for the **enemies** of God; it was for the **enemies** of Bryan. Thus he **fought** his last **fight**, eager only for blood.

(11) He was winning a **battle** that would make him forever infamous wherever enlightened men remembered it and him.

Darrow emerges from the battle a hero, despite his defeat, for he has achieved what Mencken views as his primary aims: "exhibiting their [Tennesseans] shame to all men near and far" he "showed what civilization can come to under Fundamentalism" and brought the trial "out of the clutches of the village Dogberry and before judges of greater intelligence" by securing a conviction for his client, which could later be appealed to a higher court.

(12) All this was accomplished, in infernal weather, by a man of sixty-eight, with the scars of battles all over him. He had, to be sure, highly competent help.

6.1.2. William Jennings Bryan

The source domain of WAR is less frequent within the two articles written by Williams Jennings Bryan, and less frequent in the 1922 article in the *New York Times* than in his closing speech for the trial. This suggests that the context of the court case in Dayton may have increased and diversified his use of this metaphor. In his 1922 article, Bryan's use of the metaphorical mappings from the domain of WAR is limited to notions of defending or protecting metaphysical beliefs.

(13) When we **defend** the Mosaic account of man's creation and contend that man has no brute blood in him, but was made in God's image by separate act and placed on earth to carry out a divine decree, we are **defending** the God of the Jews as well as the God of the Gentiles, the God of the Catholics as well as the God of the Protestants.

(14) Let these believers in 'the tree man' come down out of the trees and meet the issue. Let them **defend** the teaching of agnosticism or atheism if they dare. If they deny that the natural tendency of Darwinism is to lead many to a denial of God, […]

(15) As religion is the only basis of morals, it is time for Christians to **protect** religion from its most insidious **enemy**.

In the *New York Times* article, cited above, the attack is implicit. However, the threat he sees as inherent in the theory of evolution is made explicit in his closing statement for the Scopes trial.

(16) Evolutionists **attack** the truth of the Bible, not openly at first, but by using weasel-words like "poetical," "symbolical" and "allegorical" to suck the meaning out […]
(17) The real **attack** of evolution, it will be seen, is not upon orthodox Christianity, or even upon Christianity, but upon religion - the most basic fact in man's existence and the most practical thing in life.

For Bryan, the danger is not only in the threat he sees to his own religious beliefs, but also to the moral fiber of society if those beliefs are overrun. There are several reasons for this. One, expressed in (12), is that only religion can provide a basis for morals. Another, is that the theory of evolution is based on struggle and might makes right, thereby favoring selfishness expressed through violence (15). The third argument is evolutionary accounts of origins is based on a system of values that stands in stark contrast to those foundational to the Christian religion.

(18) […] world as the product of natural selection in never-ceasing **war** was a product, that is to say, of a **struggle** in which the individual efficient in the **fight** for his own interests was always the **winning** type […]
(19) It [evolution] recognizes no cry of repentance and scoffs at the doctrine that one can be born again. It is thus the intolerant and unrelenting **enemy** of the only process that can redeem society through the redemption of the individual.

At the same time, Bryan is careful to distinguish between the theory of evolution and the research and progress of science. For him, as was and continues to be the case for many religious people, Christianity was no sworn enemy of education or science. To the contrary, it had been a patron to science. Thus, in contrast to the conceptual domain of WAR, Bryan suggests the conceptual domain of NURTURE.

(20) Sees no **Conflict** between Religion and Science Religion is not hostile to learning; Christianity has been the greatest patron learning has ever had.
(21) Science needs religion, to direct its energies and to inspire with lofty purpose those who employ the **forces** that are unloosed by science.

Bryan argues that when it comes to learning in general and scientific learning in particular, Christianity has promoted and encouraged progress. Moreover, Brian claims that science needs religion to provide guidance for the ethical application of its discoveries. He points to the Great War, just a few years previous, as a prime example of science unleashed without the moral constraints of Christianity. Hence, it is possible to suggest CHRISTIANITY IS A PARENT OF SCIENCE, as a conceptual metaphor that includes both elements of nurture and discipline. Moreover, by using "so-called" to modify the science of evolution,

he rejects the religion vs. science dichotomy and proposes a different framing for the debate. From this perspective, the battle is not between science and Christianity but between unbelief and belief. In his closing arguments, Bryan emphasizes that the decision taken by this court on this case, have a broader reach and greater impact.

(22) This case is no longer local: the defendant ceases to play an important part. The case has assumed the proportions of a **battle royal** between unbelief that attempts to speak through so-called science and the **defenders** of the Christian faith.

One explanation for Bryan rejecting the theory of evolution is that it proposes WAR or CONFLICT as the primary mode of interaction, whereas, his Christian views prefer the source domain of NURTURE.

6.2. Reporting on the 2012 bill

Even a cursory glance at reporting of the 2012 bill reveals the contemporary importance of the Scopes' trial and its continued role as a discursive event in shaping the way conflicts over teaching evolution are presented in the text. The following excerpt from one of the articles not only draws on this connection, but also draws heavily on the source domain of WAR.

(23) **Four score and seven years ago**, a Tennessee high school biology teacher named John Scopes was charged with teaching evolution. At the time, Tennessee had a law called the Butler Act, in honor of John W. Butler, the leader of the World's Christian Fundamentals Association, that turned Scopes's efforts to educate his students into a criminal offense. The **enemies** of Darwin **won** in court but suffered a nearly **catastrophic loss** in the public sphere. The press portrayed them as anti-intellectual and un-American in their **opposition** to science and progress. They were the "**sharpshooters of bigotry**," according to Scopes' celebrated attorney, Clarence Darrow. "I knew that education was in **danger** from the source that has always **hampered** it — religious fanaticism," he said. The **fallout** was so **toxic** that Christian fundamentalism **retreated** as a political **force** for decades.

First, the way the years between the 1925 and the 2012 bill are counted borrows from President Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg address. While we as readers can only speculate as to the author's intention, there are numerous possible reasons for this choice apart from simple poetic imagery. It may "good, progressive North" verses "bad, backwards South." The battle is construed as a fight between Darwin and his followers, including Clarence Darrow, and Christian Fundamentals. Fundamentalists are again described with a convenient label *sharpshooters of bigotry* who *hamper* higher education. The excerpt repeats the myth of the trial that has been passed down since the penning of *Only Yesterday* (Allen [1931] 1997) and later reinforced by *Inherit the Wind* (Lawrence & Lee [1955] 1960): a total defeat for Darwin's opponents. However, as has already been discussed, this is less than accurate (*cf.* Larson 2006). Nevertheless, this retelling of the 1925 trial is common in intertextual appropriations and their application to the modern debate. Not only does it frame the debate in terms of a war, but it tells us whom to support.

6.2.1. 1925 in 2012

There are several ways in which the "battle" of 2012 is linked to the "battle" of 1925.

(24) In a battle **reminiscent of** the Scopes "monkey trial" fought nearly 90 years ago
(25) Nearly 87 years since the beginning of the Scopes Monkey Trial in Dayton, Tenn., the state is **once again** barreling toward being the battleground state for the debate between supporters of the theory of **evolution** and **intelligent design**.
(26) When you've been fighting over the **same thing for well-nigh 90 years**
(27) The state held the famous Scopes 'Monkey Trial' in 1925 in Dayton, Tennessee, and opponents of the legislation say evolution is **still** under attack in 2012. (x6)

The 2012 bill is seen as an extension (*still*, *same thing*) or a repeat (*again*) of the 1925 trial, despite the fact that the nature of the bill and the nature of the proponents and opponents of evolution have changed significantly. In terms of the knowledge of evolution at the time, this was still before Mendel and the Neo-Darwinian synthesis. Moreover, much evidence touted in 1925, *e.g.*, Nebraska Man and Haeckel's embryos, has since been rejected by the greater scientific community as frauds. Finally, racist implications of evolution and the practice of eugenics, encouraged in the book referenced at the Scopes trial (Hunter 1914), are themselves viewed as backward and uncivilized by much of the modern world. As far as opposition to evolution is concerned, young earth creationism had yet to be broadly accepted by evangelical Christians and intelligent design as a formulated alternative was not to appear for another 60 years. Furthermore, the 2012 bill did not single out man from other life forms, nor did it ban the teaching of evolution or encourage any biblically-based perspective. Nevertheless, despite these differences, the events are often construed as battles in the same war.

(28) the trial was seen as pitting **modernists**, who believed in the march of science, and **fundamentalists** who believed the Bible was the literal word of God
(29) The ongoing battle of **evolution** versus **creationism** is still alive in Tennessee.
(30) early in the 20th century, **conservatives** were fighting to maintain the traditional theory of creation following Darwin's publication …
(31) The **creationist offensive** is part of a long-running battle, in a country where only a quarter of the population believes whole-heartedly in evolution

The opposing forces from 1925 are construed as *modernists* vs. *fundamentalists*, *evolution* vs. *creationism*, *conservatives* vs. an unnamed enemy, and the articles either imply or explicitly state that these same oppositional forces are at play in the current debate. Moreover, a new "enemy" has entered the scene: *intelligent design*.

6.2.2. The 2012 "battle"

One of the main issues in the 2012 debate is whether or not the doubts about the theory of evolution are scientific or religious in nature, with the assumption that the two motivations do not/cannot coexist. These arguments can be seen in (28)–(30), which not only highlight Genesis-based alternatives but seem to presuppose that any resistance to Darwinism must be religiously based since the actual bill itself leaves

no room for faith-based education. An alternative, and at times complementary reading of the modern opposition to evolution are political motivations. For example, in (32), the 2012 bill is construed as *anti-science*, a construct of an aggressive *PR machine*. This suggests that this bill is the result of propaganda rather than scientific doubts. Others see it as a battle between science and politics,

(32) […] how to fight back against the **antiscientific PR machine**.
(33) War Of The Worlds: When **Science**, **Politics** Collide
(34) […] latest example of **scientists** leaving their labs and universities, and clashing with **politicians**. A number of battles have played out

Those fighting against the bill are glorified, fulfilling the role of the "underdog" in American folk culture – the lone individual or minority group that stands up to and overcomes an oppressive and unjust authority/system/opponent.

(35) **Activists** were waging a last-minute battle Thursday to scuttle a bill that they say would gut science education…
(36) **Scientific groups** suspected that they were fighting an uphill battle once the legislature passed
(37) **Other governors** who find themselves in Mr. Haslam's position should fight back harder.

The disputed territory is the science classroom, which at times also becomes the battlefield on which evolution/science is attacked. In this scenario, the bill itself is often personified, taking on the position of a combatant who either attacks science, or protects creationists.

(38) '**Monkey Bill**' Becomes Law, **Imperils Science** In Tennessee
(39) Tennessee **Monkey Bill Protecting Teachers** Who Teach Creationism Soon Law

Yet another headline construes the bill not as a combatant, but as a distraction from the mission of the schools. Within this construal, the act of teaching could be seen as a battle, perhaps against the implicit enemy of ignorance.

(40) Frank Daniels III: Evolution bill detracts from educational **mission**

Defenders of the bill would argue the contrary – that the bill advances the educational mission, as expressed in the resistant discourses below.

6.2.3. Resistant discourses

Not all reporters covering the bill's passage agree with these construals of the current debate. Such discourses that differ from the majority voice can be referred to as "resistant discourses," whose understanding is important if we are to fully understand the debate (Baker 2008: 114).

(41) Education bill no threat to **science**.
(42) Marni Sghoupcoff: Tennessee's 'Monkey Bill' won't immerse schools in creationist chaos

(43) [John] West noted that the law **defends** a principle Scopes himself had endorsed in the following statement: "If you limit a teacher to only one side of anything, the whole country will eventually have only one thought… I believe in teaching every aspect of every…theory"[8]

(44) The **threat** to a child's education is a lack of information, not a surfeit. The **threat** to society is a law that muzzles expression, not one that protects it.

Not only do the bill's supporters believe the criticisms against it are unfounded, but they also see it as a defense of the same values Scopes fought for. In other words, they argue that the positions have reversed: whereas in 1925 it could be argued that supporters of evolution were fighting for free speech in the science classroom, now they are attacking and stifling free speech. This follows the line of reasoning in the bill, which does not address any alternative theory, but instead supports the discussion and analyses of conflicting research.

6.2.4. Culture war / internal struggle

Within all of these discourses, participants in the debates over teaching evolution, and the reporters describing them, continue to see the conflict as part of something larger.

(45) [Republican Legislators] 're still pissing off the right people and **fighting the good fight**, even if **the battle is manufactured**.

(46) Not content with merely **waging war on women**, Republicans are targeting another enemy of conservatism: **education**.

(47) "debate" on **culture war issues** like global warming or "intelligent"

(48) Our endless battling over evolution—not to mention incessant fighting over countless […]

In the articles from 1925, these larger battles were focused on metaphysical issues and the question of what makes a person civilized. In the 2012 corpus, the bill is a battle in the American culture wars. Within this framing, the bill is construed as a Republican strategy, thereby suggesting that this political position has been mapped onto the role of aggressor within Lakoff's (1991) just war scenario.

7. Conclusions

Although on the surface it appears as if Mencken and Bryan, as supporters and opponents of the theory of evolution, construe the debate in similar terms, this closer look has revealed some striking differences. For Mencken, the attack on evolution is only symptomatic of what he sees as the force of fundamentalism and ignorance of the masses blocking the forward moving progress of the few and enlightened. Bryan, in turn, sees the battle as an attack on religion, particularly, but not exclusively, the Judeo-Christian religions.

8 John West is the Vice President of the Discovery Institute as well as a Senior Fellow and the program associate director at its Center for Science and Culture. The Discovery Institute is a think tank located in Seattle, Washington. The Center for Science and Culture is its program focused on exploring the theory of intelligent design. Although the Center does not encourage the teaching of intelligent design in class, it does support bills such as this which give students the opportunity to explore the scientific questions that remain regarding evolution (2016).

The dangers of losing the battle includes a loss of the foundation for morality and moral guidance for the application of science and an increase in a "might-makes-right" mentality. Thus, he too sees the battle as a fight for civilization; however, in his view, religion provides the foundation on which a civilized society may be built. While Mencken expresses many of the real concerns of evolutionists of the time, he does so by simultaneously degrading both Bryan and the state of Tennessee and alienating a broad swath of the American population. Moreover, many of his arguments attack a strawman of the opposition's position. Specifically, the distinction between being anti-evolution and being anti-education or anti-science.

In comparing this data from the 1920s with 2012, there are many ways in which the construals of the participants are similar. This is particularly true when it comes to the way in which defenders of "evolution only" education view those who question the theory. Specifically, they construe it as a conservative or fundamentalist battle against science and education. On the other hand, although there are instances of evolution-doubters picking up the line of argumentation used by Bryan, others argue that the roles have reversed. In this scenario, defenders of the 2012 bill are allies with Scopes in the battle for academic freedom, whereas the bill's opponents are defending narrow-mindedness.

These construals fit the "just war scenario" described by Lakoff (1991). The danger of using this construal is it presupposes that one group/position is "good" and the other "evil." If Lakoff, Johnson, Eubanks and others are correct in that the conceptual metaphors we access govern the way in which we reason about elements in the target domain, then this continual is detrimental on several fronts. Most importantly, the enemy is "evil" then dialogue and compromise are out of the question. Thus, we are left with either a standoff reminiscent of the cold war, guerrilla warfare, or an all-out "battle" to the unconditional surrender of the opponent. The problem is, these opponents represent the other half of US society, which is becoming increasingly polarized on many fronts. Moreover, this construal discourages open and honest dialogue.

8. Future research

This study was conducted by applying the conceptual metaphor theory within Cognitive Linguistics. However, there are many avenues in which this research may be developed to better understand not only the historical 1925 trial of John T. Scopes, but the way the viewpoints represented therein continue to influence the debate over evolution education. Within the framework of Cognitive Linguistics, it was observed that one of Bryan's construal of the relationship between Christianity and science is foregrounded by Christianity, and the relationship is one of NURTURE rather than WAR. It would be interesting to see if this construal continues within the modern debate. Alternatively, it would be worthwhile to explore the way the debate has been retold using the Discourse-Historical Approach (Reisigl & Wodak 2009), which would also lead to analysis of the Scopes' trial as a discursive event (Barczewska 2013; Jäger & Maier 2009). Of specific interest would be to study how understandings of the Scopes' Trial shape the way journalists and their readers view the current debate and its participants. Although this line of reasoning has been used in a limited way to discuss the presentation of teachers in this context (Barczewska 2013), there is much more to be done.

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Alicja Cimała
University of Wrocław

Pismo jako sztuka

Abstract

Writing as Art

Art, being a part of culture and civilization, is difficult to define. It is most often analyzed in terms of aesthetics. The art is most often associated with paintings, sculptures, architecture, music or literature. At the same time, it is hardly ever associated with writing. This article discusses and compares ways of perceiving different types of writing as art that originates from different cultures.

Egyptian hieroglyphs were characterized as religious and utilitarian, while their artistic aspect was rather secondary. This approach has changed due to globalization and commercialization. Chinese calligraphy is characterized by duality – a combination of spirituality with pragmatic approach. Arabic calligraphy is primarily religious, but the visual effect seems to be as important as the element of its usage. *Calligraffiti* that is derived from Arabic calligraphy is, against the tradition, secular and serves as a tool of expression that can be seen both on the streets and in museums. Concrete poetry ignores conventions and gives a new dimension to both poems and typography. Despite time and cultural differences, in all these cases – to a greater or lesser degree – the visual value seems to be just as important (or even more important) as the substantive value of the texts. The visual effect and the functional element cooperate with each other and complement each other creating multidimensional works of art.

Keywords: art, civilization, culture, writing, visual effect.

Sztuka jako jeden z głównych elementów kultury i cywilizacji jest konceptem trudnym do zdefiniowania. Artyści i badacze, którzy podjęli się tej próby, najczęściej zwracali uwagę na intencje, z jakimi dane dzieła były wytwarzane, a przede wszystkim na ich wymiar estetyczny. O ile zazwyczaj za sztukę uważa się takie dziedziny jak malarstwo, rzeźba, architektura, muzyka, literatura czy też poezja, o tyle pismo jest najczęściej aspektem pomijanym. Szczególnie w dzisiejszych czasach zazwyczaj skupia się na bardziej

pragmatycznym aspekcie pisma niż na jego wymiarze artystycznym. Przedmiotem tego artykułu jest analiza i porównanie różnych sposobów postrzegania wybranych, charakterystycznych przykładów pisma rozumianych w kontekście sztuki w różnych kręgach kulturowych. Uwzględnione zostały również zmiany zachodzące w sposobach postrzegania niektórych z nich.

Jednym z najstarszych i najbardziej popularnych typów pisma są egipskie hieroglify, które są definiowane przez encyklopedię PWN jako nazwa monumentalnego pisma egipskiego[1] lub przez *Słownik języka polskiego PWN* jako znaki pisma obrazkowego[2]. W Egipcie były one formalnym systemem pisma, łączącym w sobie elementy logograficzne, sylabiczne i alfabetyczne. Według Jamesa P. Allena (2000: 2) były podstawowym systemem pisemnym składającym się z około 500 znaków. Sam termin hieroglify pochodzi z języka greckiego i oznacza święte znaki; jest dokładnym tłumaczeniem egipskiego słowa oznaczającego to pismo. Hieroglify niegdyś służyły przede wszystkim za pismo o podłożu religijnym, szczególnie kursywne i hieratyczne (Davies 1990: 82). Znaki te stanowiły zapis języka egipskiego poprzez użycie znaków fonetycznych. Warto zauważyć jednak, że Egipcjanie używali tego samego słowa w stosunku do inskrypcji hieroglificznych, jak i sztuki jako takiej – być może dlatego, że były one ze sobą głęboko powiązane zarówno w funkcji, jak i w przedstawieniu. Znaki hieroglificzne składają się z obrazków, natomiast sama sztuka niejednokrotnie składa się z zapisów hieroglificznych[3]. W dzisiejszych czasach sposób pojmowania hieroglifów częściowo uległ zmianie – z punktu widzenia opinii publicznej najpierw zwraca się uwagę na ich walory estetyczne i uznaje za sztukę, a dopiero potem analizuje pod kątem pisma. Zjawisko to objawia się w powszechności hieroglifów w formie nie książek czy też dokumentów, ale pamiątek czy dekoracji dostępnych w sklepach. Prawdopodobnie łączy się to z dystansem znajdującym się pomiędzy pismem a odbiorcą, szczególnie z zachodniego kręgu kulturowego, jako że obecnie pismo zazwyczaj jest pozbawione elementów logograficznych. Innymi słowy egipskie hieroglify zostały zdegradowane w kontekście swojej początkowej świętości, natomiast ich wymiar artystyczny uległ zmianom wynikającym z komercjalizacji i innego sposobu postrzegania świata przez ludzi nam współczesnych.

Kolejnym charakterystycznym przykładem pisma są znaki z chińskiego kręgu kulturowego, które wykorzystuje kaligrafia chińska. Yee Chiang (1973: 1) napisał, że samo słowo kaligrafia jest terminem ogólnym, oznaczającym grupę słów pochodzących z jakiegokolwiek języka, przekazujących ludzką myśl poprzez ich ręczne pisanie. Kaligrafia chińska jest formą kaligrafii praktykowanej w chińskiej sferze kulturowej, do której poza samymi Chinami należą również Japonia, Korea, Tajwan i Wietnam. Sama tradycja kaligraficzna pochodzi właśnie z Chin, natomiast w niektórych kręgach wierzy się, że jej historia jest tak długa jak historia samego kraju pochodzenia. Kaligrafia jest w Chinach uznawana za jedną z najwyższych form sztuki, jednakże jej estetyczne znaczenie może się okazać trudne do uchwycenia dla ludzi wychowujących się poza tym obszarem kulturowym. W tradycji tej różne style kaligraficzne są ustandaryzowane. Warto też wspomnieć, że chińska kaligrafia jest powiązana z malarstwem tuszowym, jako że do obu form sztuki wykorzystuje się podobne narzędzia. Sama kaligrafia została jednakże uznana za sztukę dużo wcześniej niż malarstwo, które zmieniło swój status dopiero za czasów dynastii Song – wtedy też zostało ono powiązane z kaligrafią w celu, formie i technice[4]. Innymi słowy, malarstwo zostało docenione poprzez jego podobieństwo do samej kaligrafii.

1 http://encyklopedia.pwn.pl/haslo/hieroglify;3911619.html [DW 5.04.2017].

2 http://sjp.pwn.pl/slowniki/hieroglify.html [DW 5.04.2017].

3 http://cujah.org/past-volumes/volume-iv/volume-iv-essay-11/ [DW 5.04.2017].

4 http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/chcl/hd_chcl.htm [DW 6.04.2017].

Kaligrafia chińska w kontekście sztuki jest bardziej dualistyczna. W tym przypadku jej funkcja jest nie tylko użytkowa, lecz również estetyczna. Znaki w kaligrafii chińskiej mają w pewien sposób symbolizować ruch i dynamikę obecną w życiu jako takim, co jest odzwierciedlone również w samym akcie tworzenia. Mało tego, poza wartością semantyczną znaki mają również w swojej formie ukazywać moralny wzór[5]. Jak pisała Stanley-Baker (2010: 9), „kaligrafia jest życiem doświadczonym poprzez energię zawartą w ruchu, który jest uchwycony jako ślady na jedwabiu lub papierze, z czasem i rytmem stanowiącymi główne składniki w zmiennej przestrzeni". Jej słowa zdaje się potwierdzać również Richard Barnhart (1972: 231) który stwierdził, że chińscy kaligrafowie często postrzegają pracę pędzla jako analogię do naturalnych zjawisk, nie tylko w sensie bezpośrednio reprezentacyjnym, ale również w kontekście zasad ruchu, wzrostu czy też struktury. Obrazy takie jak rozciągające się gałęzie zimowego drzewa czy też płynąca rzeka wyraźnie sugerują zasady, według których należy posługiwać się pędzlem.

Chiang (1973: 6) w swojej publikacji opisywał podejście do kaligrafii. Kaligrafowie nie muszą zmieniać swojego stylu, ponieważ sztuka ta nie nasyca wzroku czy też umysłu, wobec czego zmiany te nie są potrzebne. Barnhart (1972: 237) uważał, że sztuka kaligrafii może być podzielona na pewne techniczne aspekty. Osoba kaligrafująca zwraca szczególną uwagę na jakość linii pędzla, formalną strukturę poszczególnych znaków oraz na kompozycyjną organizację grupy tychże znaków. Jest ona świadoma dynamicznych interakcji między liniami i kropkami, poczucia ruchu zarówno między znakami jak i w każdym znaku z osobna. Osoba ta jest też świadoma tonów i charakteru wykorzystywanego tuszu oraz wyglądu ogólnej kompozycji. W kaligrafii ważny jest cel – „idea poprzedza pędzel".

W czasach starożytnych chińskie znaki były grawerowane na kościach wołów lub skorupach żółwi, potem w brązie[6]. Barnhart (1972: 233) napisał, że istnieje pięć stylów kaligrafii chińskiej, z czego dwa uznawane są w dzisiejszych czasach za archaiczne. Jednym z nich jest *zhuanshu*[7] (pismo pieczęciowe, znalezione na przedmiotach z brązu). Jest to pismo najbardziej monumentalne i było zazwyczaj używane do upamiętniania lub dedykowania. Jest jedną z najstarszych form języka pisanego; nie pozwala na spontaniczność, płynność i ruch, czyli cechy właściwe pozostałym stylom. Sposób utrzymywania pędzla miał natomiast przedstawiać siłę i cnotę. Kolejnym typem pisma jest *Li* – bardziej kanciasty i oficjalny. Jest więc bardziej wszechstronny niż poprzedni typ. Barnhart (1972: 233) stwierdził, że pozostałe trzy typy pisma składają się na bardziej „nowoczesny" język pisany. *K'ai* czyli zwykły lub modelowy w swojej najczystszej formie jest uznawany za standardowy typ pisma. Prawie zawsze jest wykorzystywany w książkach drukowanych i uczą się go dzieci zaczynające czytać. Typ pisma *Hsing* (czyli pismo biegnące) charakteryzuje się nieodrywaniem pędzla od papieru, przez co jest trudniejszy do odczytania. Jednakże pismem najbardziej ukazującym artyzm kaligrafii jest typ pisma kursywny, odznaczający się abstrakcyjnością, spontanicznością i kinestetycznością. Główną zasadą tego stylu jest pisanie znaków jak najprościej i jak najszybciej, z zachowaniem esencji ich formy.

W dzisiejszych czasach chińskie szkoły wprowadzają kaligrafię do szkół jako obowiązkowy przedmiot w związku z postępującą tak zwaną amnezją znaków, polegającą na problemach z zapamiętywaniem znaków pisma chińskiego. Pojawiło się nawet słowo w jednym z języków chińskich opisujące ten fenomen – *tibiwangzi* czyli „wziąć pióro, zapomnieć znaku". Według ankiety China Youth

5 http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/chcl/hd_chcl.htm [DW 6.04.2017].

6 http://www.chine-culture.com/en/chinese-calligraphy.php [DW 5.04.2017].

7 http://www.chine-culture.com/en/chinese-calligraphy/chinese-calligraphy-styles.php [DW 5.04.2017].

Daily 83% z 2072 ankietowanych przyznało się do problemów z zapisem znaków. Aby przypomnieć sobie znaki, niektórzy korzystają z telefonów. Znajdują interesujący ich znak i kopiują go na papier[8].

Innymi słowy, kaligrafia chińska – w przeciwieństwie do hieroglifów egipskich – praktycznie od początku była uznawana za formę sztuki. Miała jednak ona wymiar bardziej duchowy niż religijny, zaś cały proces powstawania dzieł był uznawany za swoisty performance. Element ten może się wydawać ciekawy w kontekście kultury zachodniej – kaligrafia jednocześnie łączy w sobie malarstwo jako takie, mające długą tradycję, jak i właśnie performance pojawiający się w sztuce współczesnej. Obecnie aspekt performatywności wydaje się zanikać, jednakże chińskie dzieła kaligraficzne są uznawane za dzieła sztuki, również w kontekście kultur niezwiązanych z Chinami. Podobnie jak w przypadku egipskich hieroglifów, aspekt tej dziedziny również uległ komercjalizacji i chińskie znaki, szczególnie poza obszarem kultury chińskiej, niejednokrotnie są wykorzystywane jako ozdobniki, których znaczenie jest nieważne, przynajmniej dla osób nieznających żadnego z języków chińskich. W przeciwieństwie do hieroglifów kaligrafia chińska nabrała jednak wymiaru bardziej pragmatycznego jako sposób walki z amnezją znaków, łączącej potrzebę ćwiczenia pamięci z kultywowaniem długiej tradycji.

Kaligrafia islamska jest formą sztuki powiązaną z pismem ręcznym i kaligrafią. Jej podstawą jest alfabet współdzielony przez kultury o dziedzictwie islamskim. W języku arabskim określana jest jako *khatt Islami*, co oznacza islamską linię[9], konstrukcję lub wzór. Charakteryzuje się ona łączeniem słów lub ich grup w sposób pozwalający na tworzenie kompozycji wizualnych. Kaligrafia islamska jest silnie powiązana z Koranem – jego fragmenty, a nawet całe rozdziały stanowią główną bazę dla tej formy sztuki. Zresztą – według Schimmel i Rivolty (1970: 4) – sam Koran niejednokrotnie podkreśla wartość pisma, jak na przykład w przypadku Sury 96, 3–4, w której Allach jest opisany jako Wszechmogący Ten, który nauczył człowieka posługiwać się piórem. Co więcej, istnieje wiele wierszy, w których Allach jest nazywany Wiecznym Kaligrafem. Irvin Cemil Schick (2008: 211) uznał, że kaligrafia ta jest głęboko polisemiczna. Na najbardziej podstawowym poziomie obejmuje tekst pisany, a przez to wyraża symbolicznie znaczenie – zarówno dosłowne, jak i metaforyczne. Ponieważ jest to sztuka wizualna, kaligrafia islamska oznacza również ikoniczność i indeksykalność. Według Schicka (2008: 211) często się powtarza, że kaligrafia jest bardziej islamiczna z szeroko pojętej sztuki islamskiej, nie tylko z powodu wcześniej wspomnianej ikonofobii, ale również właśnie z tej wręcz intymnej relacji pomiędzy wiarą muzułmańską a tekstem pisanym. Tak więc można znaleźć teksty ułożone w taki sposób, by przypominały one zarówno meczety, jak i przedmioty codziennego użytku (na przykład lampy olejne) czy też zwierzęta (takie jak lwy, wielbłądy czy ptaki) oraz ludzi. Tego typu utwory nazywane są również kaligramami czy też wierszami obrazkowymi. Kaestle (2008) napisała, że w kulturze islamskiej kaligrafia jest rozumiana jako sztuka pióra i ekspresji tego, co święte; jej podstawą jest religijna kontemplacja i oddawanie czci. Ponieważ przedstawienia figuratywne są zazwyczaj w tej religii uznawane za bałwochwalcze, kaligrafia jest jedną z podstawowych form artystycznej ekspresji, która mogła zdobić różnego rodzaju przedmioty[10]. Słowa te potwierdza Schick (2008: 211), który pisze, że według opinii powszechnej są to jedynie substytuty prawdziwych obrazów.

8 http://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/gadgets-and-tech/wired-youth-forget-how-to-write-in-china-and-japan-2065228.html [DW 5.04.2017].

9 http://ilovetypography.com/2008/07/10/arabic-calligraphy-as-a-typographic-exercise/ [DW 11.04.2017].

10 http://ilovetypography.com/2008/07/10/arabic-calligraphy-as-a-typographic-exercise/ [DW 11.04.2017].

Historycznie kaligrafia została poddana różnym przemianom zależnym od regionu czy też podbojów. Mangho Ahuja i A. L. Loeb (1995: 42) napisali, że funkcjonują różne typy pisma arabskiego; czasami w tej samej inskrypcji można znaleźć więcej niż jeden typ. Rozróżnia się pismo kufickie (bardziej prostokątne), *Naskh* i *Tuluth* (bardziej krągłe). Do innych popularnych typów należą *Nastaliq* (pismo „schodzące" lub „wiszące"), *Maghribi* (dosłownie „zachodni") oraz *Tughra*, który jest bardzo ornamentowany. Pismo kufickie nie jest najłatwiejsze do czytania, ale to właśnie w nim najczęściej sporządzano kopie Koranu. Sam styl kuficki dzieli się na kwadratowy (zazwyczaj widziany na kafelkach umiejscowionych na murach lub kopułach). Do innych rodzajów pisma należą również pisma kursywne takie jak *Taʿlīq*[11] utworzony w Iranie w X wieku czy też *Dīwānī*[12] z XVI–XVII wieku.

Tradycyjnym narzędziem wykorzystywanym przez islamskich kaligrafów jest *qalam*, czyli pióro zazwyczaj wykonywane z suszonego bambusa lub trzciny. Tusz jest przeważnie kolorowy, jego intensywność może być bardzo różnorodna. Dzięki temu kompozycje mogą być bardzo dynamiczne. Niektóre style kaligraficzne wymagają użycia pióra o metalicznej końcówce[13]. Schimmel i Rivolta (1992: 19) napisały, że samo przygotowywanie narzędzi było formą sztuki. Pudełka, w których trzymano narzędzia, również były zdobione, czasem z dobrymi życzeniami dla właściciela, inwokacjami lub wersami pochwalającymi *qalam*.

Według Schimmel i Rivolty (1992: 17–18) kaligrafią arabską rządziły sztywne zasady, natomiast proces uczenia się kaligrafii był długi i trudny. Osoba ucząca się musiała siedzieć w odpowiedniej pozie, trzymając papier lub pergamin lewą ręką spoczywającą na lewym kolanie. Pióro również miało być przycinane wedle odpowiedniej długości i w odpowiedni sposób, w zależności od stylu. Tusz był przygotowywany przez samych kaligrafów, natomiast sposoby przygotowywania go były trzymane w sekrecie. Wiedzę na temat wszystkich tych elementów można było pozyskać jedynie poprzez ustanowioną linię mistrzów, która sięgała czasów samego Mahometa, w szczególności jego czwartego sukcesora, Ali ibn Abi Taliba.

Niemniej jednak kaligrafia islamska nie była tylko i wyłącznie powiązana z religią. Pojawiły się nowe nurty, które były w swojej naturze dużo bardziej zsekularyzowane. Najlepszym przykładem jest nowoczesna forma kaligrafii, która zaczęła wypływać w latach 80. XX wieku, a którą nazywa się *calligraffiti*. *Calligraffiti* jest formą sztuki, która łączy w sobie kaligrafię, typografię i graffiti. Wywodzi się z kaligrafii arabskiej (islamskiej) i zazwyczaj jest klasyfikowana zarówno jako abstrakcyjny ekspresjonizm, jak i abstrakcyjny wandalizm. Nie ogranicza się jednak wyłącznie do kultury islamskiej – może również wykorzystywać motywy kaligrafii chińskiej czy też średniowiecznych manuskryptów[14]. Podobnie jak w przypadku kaligrafii arabskiej, według Davida Carriera (2013) *calligraffiti* polega na utworzeniu kompozycji wizualnej z wyrazu lub grupy wyrazów[15]. Janet Kozak (2015) stwierdziła, że ta forma sztuki jest unikalnym połączeniem tradycyjnego pisma i kompozycji wymieszanych ze współczesnymi materiałami i technikami – papier, pędzle, pióra bambusowe zostały zastąpione sprejami, szablonami, rusztowaniami, ścianami i innymi nieoczekiwanymi materiałami. Ponieważ dzieła istnieją w przestrzeniach publicznych,

11 https://www.britannica.com/art/taliq-script [DW 28.04.2017].

12 https://www.britannica.com/art/diwani-script [DW 28.04.2017].

13 http://ilovetypography.com/2008/07/10/arabic-calligraphy-as-a-typographic-exercise/ [DW 28.04.2017].

14 http://www.calligraffiti.nl/what-is-calligraffiti.html [DW 28.04.2017].

15 http://www.artcritical.com/2013/09/16/calligraffiti-at-leila-heller/ [DW 28.04.2017].

są efemeryczne[16]. Część z prac jest jednak pokazywana również w muzeach i galeriach, o czym świadczy chociażby wystawa „Calligraffiti: 1984–2013" w Leila Heller Gallery, która miała miejsce od 5 września do 5 października 2013 roku[17]. Saphinaz-Amal Naguib (2016) napisał, że artyści parający się *calligraffiti* (jak i innymi formami sztuki ulicznej) komentują wydarzenia i rozwój sytuacji politycznej przy jednoczesnym wykorzystywaniu pamięci kulturowej by przekazać swoją wiadomość, wyrazić swój sprzeciw i nieposłuszeństwo obywatelskie poprzez połączenie obrazów i skryptów. Ukazuje to złożoność procesów i paradoksalność w swojej przeciwstawności elementów takich jak tradycja i nowoczesność, czy też piękno i prowokacja, które składają się na zjawisko *calligraffiti*. Także przestrzeganie zasad kaligrafii tylko po to, by je następnie łamać. Termin ten został stworzony przez Nielsa „Schoe" Meulmana w 2007 roku podczas jego wystawy[18]. Określił on tę sztukę jako „tradycyjne pismo ręczne z metropolitańskim podejściem" i „sposób przełożenia sztuki ulicznej do muzeów, galerii i apartamentów"[19]. Do bardziej prominentnych artystów parających się tym typem sztuki poza Meulmanem należą INKMAN, el Seed, Gabriel Garay, Maduassir Zia czy też sAnki. Ciekawym aspektem tego zjawiska jest fakt, że artyści pochodzą z różnych krajów, niekoniecznie należących do islamskiego kręgu kulturowego (tzw. ambasadorzy[20]). Sam twórca nurtu jest Holendrem.

Istnieją pewne podobieństwa między kaligrafią islamską a chińską. Obie są silnie nacechowane wartościami metafizycznymi, jednakże o ile kaligrafia chińska łączy się z ogólną duchowością, o tyle kaligrafia islamska powiązana jest przede wszystkim z konkretną religijnością. Wydaje się jednak, że w przeciwieństwie do wcześniej wymienionych rodzajów pisma, kaligrafia ta nie uległa tak daleko idącej komercjalizacji. Być może wiąże się to z mniejszą popularnością pisma tego typu bądź też brakiem przyzwolenia ze strony przywódców religijnych. Zamiast tego wytworzył się sekularny nurt, poniekąd prowokacyjny i kontrowersyjny, łamiący wcześniej sporządzone zasady. Pojawiła się więc swoista dychotomia działająca w ramach binarnej opozycji, kontrastując kulturę i tradycję z jej nowocześniejszym wymiarem. Pomimo różnic w podejściu do tradycyjnej kaligrafii oba nurty mają jednak swoje miejsce w przestrzeni artystycznej.

Inaczej wygląda sytuacja pisma w przypadku kręgu kultury zachodniej – miało ono przede wszystkim wymiar pragmatyczny. Owszem, element sztuki również był widoczny, jak na przykład w przypadku średniowiecznych manuskryptów, ale miał on charakter raczej drugorzędny, szczególnie po wynalezieniu druku. Nie zmienia to jednak faktu, że i w tym przypadku znalazły się osoby chętne do przełamywania konwenansów i eksperymentowania na tekście i piśmie jako takim. Przykładem jest poezja konkretna. R. P. Draper (1971: 329) napisał, że najprostszą definicją tej poezji jest stworzenie werbalnych artefaktów, które wykorzystują możliwości nie tylko dźwięku, zmysłu i rytmu – tradycyjnych elementów poezji – ale również i przestrzeni, zarówno płaskiej, dwuwymiarowej przestrzeni liter na wydrukowanej stronie, jak i przestrzeni trójwymiarowej słów w reliefach i wyrzeźbionych ideogramów. Innymi słowy, poezja konkretna jest rozłożeniem/ułożeniem elementów lingwistycznych, w którym efekt typograficzny jest tak samo ważny w przekazaniu znaczenia jak znaczenie słów, rytm i rym. Ten typ poezji jest więc połączeniem ogólnie rozumianej poezji ze sztukami wizualnymi. Element przestrzenny staje się

16 http://islamic-arts.org/2015/calligraffiti/ [DW 28.04.2017].

17 http://www.leilahellergallery.com/exhibitions/caligraffitti-1984-2013 [DW 28.04.2017].

18 https://jakerainis.com/blog/calligraffiti-evolution-typographic-arts/ [DW 28.04.2017].

19 http://www.qatartodayonline.com/i-am-not-a-revolutionary-artist/ [DW 28.04.2017].

20 http://www.calligraffitiambassadors.com/ [DW 28.04.2017].

tu podstawą. Jon M. Tolman (1982: 149) stwierdził, że ten typ poezji zawdzięcza swoją przełomowość odrzuceniu prób neoklasycystycznych grup restauracyjnych dążących do utworzenia współczesnego ruchu poetyckiego poprzez odgrzebanie przeszłości.

Samo pojęcie poezji konkretnej jest współczesne, jednakże eksperymenty z układaniem liter tak, aby podkreślić znaczenie wiersza, są stosunkowo stare. Jednymi z najstarszych wierszy tego typu są wspomniane przez Dicka Higginsa (1987: 24) wiersze Simmiasa z Rodos, ukształtowane jak jajko lub skrzydła. Innym przykładem może być relief Gerechtigkeitsspirale w kościele św. Walentego w Hesse (Higgins 1987: 71). W tym przypadku tekst w formie spirali na przedzie jednej z ław kościelnych jest jednym z kilku wzorów dekoratywnych stworzonych w 1510 roku przez Erharta Falckenera. Później pojawiały się również inne przykłady wierszy o charakterze religijnym, między innymi „Wschodnie Skrzydła" George'a Herberta, napisane w 1633 roku, czy też niektóre wiersze Roberta Herricka (Higgins 1987: 99). Przykładami bardziej sekularnymi są wiersze w kształcie butli autorstwa Rabelais'go (Higgins 1987: 67) i Charlesa-Francois Panarda (Higgins 1987: 70). Tradycja ta kontynuowana była również w XX wieku przez Guillaume'a Apollinaire'a, którego utwory przybierały kształt krawatu, fontanny czy też kropli deszczu spływających po oknie. Innymi słowy, są to zazwyczaj swoiste kaligramy, które jednak nie są traktowane jako przykłady poezji konkretnej. Cytując za Stephenem Bannem (1967), Draper (1971: 329) napisał, że poezja konkretna zbyt często mylona jest z kaligrafami Apollinaire'a i ich współczesnymi ekwiwalentami, których wykrój jest tak zmanipulowany, by przypominać konkretne kształty. Niemniej Appollinaire wydaje się ważną osobą w kontekście poezji konkretnej. Pignatari i Tolman (1982: 190) uznali, że o ile poezja kładąca nacisk na aspekt wizualny była już znana w dziełach wcześniej wspomnianego Rabelais'go, Lewisa Carolla, dadaistów czy też futurystów, dopiero Apollinaire jako pierwszy spróbował usystematyzować i teoretyzować poezję wizualnie figuratywną. Według autorów artykułu Apollinaire (1914) napisał, że nazywał kaligramy ideogramami, ponieważ po tym wytworzeniu nie ma wątpliwości, że niektóre modernistyczne teksty skłaniają się ku ideografii. Później Apollinaire (1914: 383) zadeklarował, że powyższy proces jest rewolucyjny, ponieważ „ważnym jest, by nasza inteligencja przyzwyczaiła się do pojmowania syntetyczno-ideograficznego zamiast pojmowania analityczno-dyskursywnego".

Przełom w postrzeganiu poezji nastąpił niemal tuż po drugiej wojnie światowej. Według Mary Ellen Solt (1970: 421–422) w 1955 roku brazylijski designer Decio Pignatari spotkał się ze Szwajcarem Eugenem Gomringerem, który pełnił funkcję sekretarza w Hochschule für Gestaltung w Ulm. Z zaskoczeniem zaobserwowali, że obaj jednocześnie byli poetami zainteresowanymi tworzeniem wierszy wolnych od linii i podstawowych jednostek strukturalnych. Gomringer pracował sam, zaś swoje wiersze nazywał konstelacjami. Pignatari współpracował natomiast z dwoma innymi poetami, Augustem i Haroldem de Campos w Sao Paulo, zaś swoje dzieła nazywał ideogramami. Jego grupa była znana jako Noigandres, co zresztą zostało zapożyczone z Canto XX autorstwa Ezry Pounda. Przypadkowe spotkanie Gomringera i Pignatariego można uznać za początek poezji konkretnej. Solt (1970: 422) twierdzi, że najważniejszym aspektem tego ruchu jest fakt, że poeci w różnych krajach, posługujący się różnymi językami, nieznający się nawzajem, zaczęli wprowadzać podobne innowacje do swoich utworów prawie równocześnie po zakończeniu drugiej wojny światowej. Może to zjawisko sugerować, że powstał wtedy ważny związek między nową koncepcją formy, żywymi procesami zachodzącymi w komunikacji, a uwarunkowaniami ówczesnego języka, poezji i kultury. Gomringer i grupa Noigandres zauważyli, że zajmowali się tą samą problematyką językoznawczą i doszli do tych samych wniosków. Uzgodnili, że będą nazywać swoje eksperymenty poezją konkretną w 1956 roku, gdy Pignatari wrócił do São Paulo. Niemniej jednak, pomimo podobnych założeń, zarówno Gomringer, jak i grupa Noigandres ukazywali trochę inne

podejście do swoich wierszy. Gomringer ([1954] 1964) uważał, że wiersz powinien być rzeczywistością samą w sobie zamiast pozostawania deklaracją na temat rzeczywistości. Miał być też rozumiany tak łatwo, jak znaki czy też światła drogowe, czyli przede wszystkim podkreślana była przez niego wartość wizualna. Grupa Noigandres postrzegała swe ideogramy jako struktury czasoprzestrzenne. Według nich wiersze miały być trójwymiarowe; można było je zarówno wysłuchać, jak i cieszyć się ich wizualną formą na papierze. W każdym razie, zarówno w przypadku ideogramów, jak i konstelacji, wiersze były tworzone przy pomocy języka zredukowanego do rzeczowników i czasowników, do małych cząsteczek liter i dźwięków, z których składają się wyrazy.

Według Wiesława Borowskiego (2011: 37–45) przykładem autora polskiej poezji współczesnej jest Stanisław Dróżdż, który chciał przedstawić coś więcej niż tylko formę gry słownej na płaszczyźnie kartki. Używając słów, chciał utworzyć trójwymiarową przestrzeń, która wymuszałaby na odbiorcy aktywne współuczestniczenie w dziele. Dróżdż stworzył termin 'pojęciokształty' – „muszą być bezwzględnie przyjmowane przez odbiorcę do wiadomości i niezależnie od jego woli podporządkowywać go sobie jako część ujmowanej przez nie rzeczywistości". Artysta stworzył pracę o tytule „Odtąd dotąd" – były to słowa odtąd i dotąd rozmieszczone na 80-metrowej ścianie. Niemiecki przewodnik, nie odwołując się do znaczenia (polskich) słów, miał stwierdzić, że czuł jakby praca rozpierała ściany budynku. Układy tego typu są właściwe dla poezji Dróżdża. Polegają one na skrótach i niedopowiedzeniach, konstruują własną przestrzeń i wszechogarniają widza. Sam Dróżdż widział siebie jako poetę, jednakże jego pojęciokształty wprowadziły go na scenę sztuki. Uznawał się za rzeźbiarza, jednakże zamiast kamienia czy drewna jego materiałem były słowa.

W trakcie rozwijania się tego nurtu pojawiło się dużo trudności z jego definicją z powodu przekraczania granic różnych form artystycznych, jako że poezja zaczęła wkraczać w takie rejony jak muzyka czy rzeźba. Pojawiały się więc takie określenia jak poezja dźwięku, poezja wizualna, poezja znaleziona (forma kolażu) czy też sztuka maszynowa. Niemniej, pomimo tej interdyscyplinarności zacierającej granice tej dziedziny sztuki, poezja konkretna charakteryzuje się długą tradycją wyrastającą z kaligramów i przyciąganiem uwagi do słów, których wagę podkreślają przestrzenie między nimi. W przeciwieństwie do podanych wcześniej przykładów pisma poezja konkretna wydaje się dużo bardziej oszczędna wizualnie. Nie jest też inherentnie, bezpośrednio powiązana z jakąkolwiek duchowością czy też religijnością.

Schick (2008: 211) wspominał, że ikoniczne reprezentacje są zazwyczaj kontrastowane z pismem i uważane za bezpośrednie przeciwieństwa. Powyższe, wręcz sztandarowe przykłady różnych rodzajów pisma pokazują, że tekst może mieć również wymiar piktograficzny, natomiast podziały na to, co wizualne i napisane, w tych przypadkach się zatracają. Widoczne jest to w przykładach podanych w niniejszym artykule pomimo różnych kręgów kulturowych, czasu powstawania czy też podejścia zarówno do pisma, jak i do sztuki. Hieroglify egipskie przede wszystkim miały wymiar religijno-użytkowy, dodatkowo łączący aspekt artystyczny. Na kaligrafię chińską składały się we właściwie równej mierze utylitarność, sztuka i duchowość. W przypadku kaligrafii islamskiej aspekt użytkowości łączy się bezpośrednio z religijnym, jednakże efekt wizualny wydaje się równie ważny lub ważniejszy, przynajmniej w przypadku kaligramów. *Calligraffiti* jest przykładem sztuki dla sztuki przy jednoczesnym umożliwieniu artyście wyrażania zarówno swoich przekonań politycznych, jak i siebie samego. Poezja konkretna jest swoistym eksperymentem i próbą przekroczenia granic narzuconych przez tradycyjne struktury i płaszczyznę, na której występuje. Nie zmienia to faktu, że wszystkie te rodzaje pisma łączy przynależność do przestrzeni artystycznej, podobnie jak należy do niej malarstwo, rzeźba, architektura, muzyka czy też literatura.

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Aneta Daniel
Wyższa Szkoła Filologiczna we Wrocławiu

Kontakty językowe: analiza wpływu języka angielskiego na język polski na przykładzie tłumaczenia *Wiedźmina*

Abstract

Linguistic Contacts: An Analysis of the Influence of English on Polish Based on the Translation of *The Witcher*

Chrzest ognia by Andrzej Sapkowski is a collection of short stories published in Poland in 1996; however, the first English edition, *Baptism of Fire*, was not published until 2014. The analyzed fragment abounds in nomenclature connected to the Slavic culture as well as neologisms. The uniqueness of the text results from Slavic character. One may observe that the main difficulty in the translation of such a culture-bound text is that Slavic literature is not popular worldwide; nonetheless, *The Witcher Saga* is a worldwide phenomenon, as it was placed on the New York Times bestseller list. It is worth noting that despite the fact that the way in which neologisms are coined in a fictional novel may differ from the coinage of words in the standard language, the word formation processes are similar to those applied in standard English or standard Polish. However, it should be noted that there is unknown what really enables a borrowing to catch on in another language.

Keywords: translation, neologisms, word formation processes, *The Witcher*.

1. Wstęp[1]

W dzisiejszych czasach symbole oraz zawarte w nich informacje są łatwo przenoszone na cały świat dzięki rozwojowi technologii. To gwałtowne rozprzestrzenianie informacji przyczynia się przede wszystkim do ciągłych zmian w językach. Coraz częściej wyrazy tracą swoje pierwotne znaczenie i zyskują nowe, ponadto można zauważyć, że słowa są skracane, zwłaszcza przez młodzież. Szybszy sposób życia sprawia, że informacje z całego świata są szybciej przekazywane, dlatego ludzie używają krótszych wyrazów lub – jeśli takie nie istnieją – tworzą je w procesach słowotwórczych. Należy sądzić, że jest to wynik oddziaływania codziennej komunikacji, która jest przekazywana przez media, a następnie informacje te są łatwo przyjmowane przez całe rzesze ludzi. Z tego względu tłumacze odgrywają ogromną rolę w przekazywaniu informacji. To tłumacz decyduje, jaka metoda lub strategia pozwoli najlepiej oddać sens tekstu źródłowego. Nie ulega wątpliwości, że czasami przeniesienie głównej idei i wywołanie podobnego efektu u odbiorcy tekstu źródłowego i docelowego jest ważniejsze niż przeniesienie dosłownego znaczenia. Dlatego to tłumacz w szczególnym stopniu przyczynia się do tego, jak postrzegany jest świat przez ludzi pochodzących z różnych kultur. Kontakt pomiędzy kulturami jest obecnie prawie nieograniczony, w rezultacie zaś bardzo często słowa są zapożyczane z innych języków. Język jest stałą częścią kultury i jest istotny w postrzeganiu środowiska.

Należy przypuszczać, że badania nad kontaktami pomiędzy językami zawsze będą aktualne, ponieważ w językach stale następują zmiany. Co więcej, codzienna komunikacja między kulturami, która jest przekazywana przez media, sprawia, że ludzie jeszcze efektywniej przyswajają nowe słowa. Pochodna wersja wyrazu zapożyczonego jest często tworzona poprzez różne procesy słowotwórcze, a kontakt z językiem angielskim oraz amerykańską popkulturą gwałtownie przyczynia się nie tylko do zmian w języku polskim, lecz także do postrzegania świata za pomocą języka, czyli tzw. językowego obrazu świata. Można powiedzieć, że każdego dnia do słowników dodawane są nowe wyrazy, co sprawia, że kontakt pomiędzy językami jest interesującym przedmiotem analizy. Należy zatem zwrócić uwagę na to, że ponieważ ludzie komunikują się w szybszy sposób, istnieje zapotrzebowanie na tworzenie coraz krótszych oraz łatwiejszych w wymowie słów. Z tego względu wydaje się niemożliwe, by temat kontaktów językowych kiedykolwiek został wyczerpany.

2. Słowotwórstwo a przekład

Definicję słowotwórstwa przyjmuję za Maciejem Widawskim (2014: 119), według którego tworzenie nowych słów może być rozumiane jako proces konstruowania całkiem nowych wyrażeń lub modyfikowanie istniejących słów przeważnie w wyniku procesów morfologicznych. Warto podkreślić, że w dzisiejszych czasach tendencja do zapożyczania angielskich wyrazów oraz ich modyfikacji poprzez używanie polskich afiksów to popularny fenomen.

Tendencja do tworzenia nowych słów jest najpopularniejsza wśród blogerów. Wśród przykładów można wymienić słowo *zdabingować*, w którym są zastosowane polski prefiks *z-* oraz sufiks *-ować*, lub

1 Fragmenty niniejszej analizy pochodzą częściowo z pracy magisterskiej „An Analysis of Selected Translation Techniques Used in the English Text of *Baptism of Fire* by Andrzej Sapkowski" (Daniel) oraz artykułu „Translation of Neologisms and Culture-Bound Items Based on *The Witcher*: A Sample Introductory Analysis" (Daniel 2016).

słowo *deshakeować*, którego znaczenie to ‘stabilizować’. W drugim przykładzie zachowano pisownię angielskiej części słowa i użyto jedynie polskich afiksów. Derywacja jest uważana za najczęściej stosowany proces słowotwórczy (Yule [1985] 2006: 67). Jednakże nie jest łatwo zdiagnozować, które czynniki przyczyniają się do tego, w jaki sposób słowo jest zapożyczone, a określenie, która wersja docelowa jest prawidłowa, może stwarzać trudności. Jako przykład warto podać zapożyczenie czasownika *google*, które jest używane w języku polskim jako *guglować*, *guglić* czy *guglać*.

Mogłoby się wydawać, że angielskie tłumaczenie słowa *wiedźmin* jako *witcher* jest bardziej prawidłowe z tego względu, że sufiksu *-er w* języku angielskim używa się, aby określać zarówno męską wersję, jak i zawód. Można sądzić, że sufiks *-arz* zastosowany do słowa *wiedźma* byłby odpowiedni w języku polskim. Jednakże Andrzej Sapkowski ([1996] 2014) przy tworzeniu męskiej wersji słowa *wiedźma* nie użył sufiksu *-arz*, tylko *-in*, ponieważ *wiedźmin* nie jest męskim odpowiednikiem słowa *wiedźma*, a co za tym idzie – *wiedźmiarz* byłby nieodpowiednim neologizmem. Z fabuły wynika bowiem, że wiedźmin jest raczej pogromcą wiedźm niż ich męskim odpowiednikiem.

Interesujące jest to, że często nazwy marek stają się ogólnymi określeniami każdej innej wersji popularnego produktu (Yule [1985] 2006: 53). Przykładów może dostarczyć słownictwo związane z urodą. Jednym z najpopularniejszych akcesoriów jest gąbka do makijażu o nazwie *beauty blender*, której nazwa jest obecnie zapożyczona i często używana do określania każdej gąbki do makijażu, a w języku polskim odmieniana za pomocą afiksów. Analogicznie dzieje się we wszystkich dziedzinach, np. dziedzinie komputerowej. Słowo *google* jest używane do określania każdej wyszukiwarki internetowej, co oznacza, że głównym czynnikiem mającym wpływ na to, czy dane słowo zostanie zapożyczone, jest stopień popularności. Kiedy powstaje nowy produkt, niemal w sposób automatyczny produkty, które są do niego podobne, otrzymują jego nazwę.

Zapożyczenia z języka angielskiego są wkomponowane w język polski jako rezultat rozwoju technologii oraz mediów, przykładowo: *skajskrejper*, *krosant*, *dżins*, *spam*, *szejk*, *adidasy* czy *mafinka*. Zapożyczenia słów to zdaniem Matrasa (2009: 168) cichy efekt kontaktu pomiędzy językami. Należy sądzić, że gdy jeden lub kilka języków pojawia się na danym terytorium, jeden z nich staje się dominujący, w wyniku czego zdominowany język powiela jego formy językowe. Według Zabawy (2014: 127–135) język angielski miał wpływ na język polski, od dawna integrując słowa angielskie i polskie.

Wyrazy z dziedziny technologii komputerowej są zapożyczane ze standardowego języka polskiego oraz nadawane są im specjalne znaczenia (*plik* jako *file*); popularne jest zarówno dosłowne tłumaczenie z języka angielskiego (*window – okno*, *tools – narzędzia*), jak i asymilacja angielskich zapożyczeń za pomocą derywatów (*skan – skaner*) (Zabawa 2014: 127–135). Stan słownictwa jest zwykle skutkiem zmiany fonologicznej. Przykładowo: słowo *s'pposed* (Sapkowski [2014] 2015: 41) jest celowo błędnie przeliterowane. Takie zmiany zachodzą często w dialektach. Wedle Michała Garcarza (2013: 77) obecny stan słownictwa w dziedzinie muzyki hip-hopowej wynika ze zmian fonologicznych, które ukształtowały wymowę Afroamerykanów. Chociaż nie zawsze zmiana fonologiczna polega na stworzeniu całkiem nowego słowa, jest ona – jak się okazuje – podobna do procesu tworzenia neologizmów.

3. Przekład elementów nacechowanych kulturowo

Baker (1992: 63–77) opisuje idiomy jako zamrożone wzorce języka, które pozwalają na niewielką odmianę danej formy i często mają zupełnie odmienne znaczenie, którego nie można wywnioskować z ich poszczególnych elementów. Baker (1992: 63–77) przedstawia cztery techniki przydatne podczas tłumaczenia idiomów:

- używanie idiomu o takim samym znaczeniu i formie, np. *actions speak louder than words* (czyny mówią głośniej niż słowa);
- używanie idiomu o podobnym znaczeniu, ale różnej formie, np. *curiosity killed the cat* (ciekawość to pierwszy stopień do piekła);
- parafrazowanie;
- pominięcie.

Tłumacz, stosując idiom o tym samym znaczeniu i formie, musi używać równoważnych elementów leksykalnych oraz zachować znaczenie, może jednak zastosować inne elementy leksykalne o podobnym znaczeniu. Przekład poprzez użycie parafrazy jest jedną z najpopularniejszych technik w tłumaczeniu idiomów (Newmark 1988: 109). Pominięcie zaś jest wykorzystywane bardzo rzadko, tylko wtedy, gdy w języku docelowym nie ma bliskich odpowiedników, jeśli niemożliwe jest parafrazowanie lub jeśli forma stylistyczna wymaga pominięcia (Baker 1992: 63–77). Warto zaznaczyć, że często pomija się pojedyncze wyrażenia, które są postrzegane jako nieprzetłumaczalne, niemniej jednak elementy, które wydają się nieprzetłumaczalne, sprawiają, że tekst jest wyjątkowy. Hejwowski (2004: 129) stwierdza, że tzw. nieprzekładalność wynika z nierealistycznych oczekiwań. Nawet w przypadku tego samego języka ludzie różnie reagują na dany tekst, np. na wiersze.

4. Analiza wybranych technik tłumaczeniowych

Wiedźmin Andrzeja Sapkowskiego jest bardziej rozpoznawalny jako gra niż książka. Akcja książki toczy się na nieokreślonych słowiańskich terytoriach, ale lokalizacja gry jest bardziej złożona. Na przykład jeśli chodzi o prezentację świata, las w książce ma swoisty słowiański charakter, rośliny, drzewa i zwierzęta są endemiczne. W angielskim tłumaczeniu las traci natomiast swój pierwotny charakter – anglofoni mogą wizualizować go bardziej jako średniowieczny las z *Robin Hooda*, a nie jako słowiański las z *Wiedźmina* (Daniel 2016: 10). W grze dialogi i akcenty bohaterów brzmią tak, jakby wywodziły się ze średniowiecza. Oczywiście tłumacze postanowili zastosować adaptację. Świat przedstawiony w grze nie może być jednak zmieniony; w efekcie to, co słychać i widać na ekranie, w docelowej wersji nie jest zgodne. Może się wydawać, że lokalizacja jest bardziej złożona, ponieważ trzeba dostosować tekst do grafiki. Z drugiej strony w przekładzie łatwiej jest wybrać adaptację, ponieważ nie ma obrazów, które mogłyby zmienić percepcję i niepowtarzalność tekstu źródłowego. Okazuje się, że lokalizacja gry może być bardziej wierna książce niż jej przekład. Według Ryszarda Chojnowskiego (2016: 71) terminy „tłumaczenie" i „lokalizacja" często są stosowane zamiennie, lecz lokalizacja jest bardziej złożonym procesem, a wytworzenie wysokiej jakości lokalizacji stanowi wyzwanie (Chojnowski 2016: 71).

Tabela 1. Funkcjonalny ekwiwalent

Andrzej Sapkowski, *Chrzest ognia* ([1996] 2014)	**David French, *Baptism of Fire* ([2014] 2015)**
Wyssane z palca (16)	Mare myths (10)
Żeby do wszystkich biesów poszedł. (10)	Go to hell. (5)
Dziwożona (8)	Dryad (4)
Brat albo swat (9)	My own flesh and blood (4)
Zapadła wieś (24)	Godforsaken village (17)
Jego oczko w głowie (53)	The apple of his eye (43)

Używając funkcjonalnego odpowiednika, tłumacz wykorzystuje zjawisko lub implikację lepiej rozpoznawaną w kulturze docelowej w przypadkach, gdy użycie przypisów nie dostarczy pożądanych konotacji (Hejwowski [2004] 2009: 76–83). „Zapadła wieś" jest odpowiednikiem wyrażenia *Godforsaken village* (opuszczona wioska). Kolejny funkcjonalny ekwiwalent to *mare myths*, czyli 'wyssany z palca'. Z kolei zwrot „idź do biesa" jest odpowiednikiem sformułowania *go to hell*. Warto zaznaczyć, że dosłowne tłumaczenie może być źle zrozumiane przez czytelników. Zapożyczenie słowa „dziwożona", nazwy słowiańskiego demona, byłoby zbyt egzotyczne. Tłumacz decyduje się zatem na użycie wcześniej wyrazu *dryad*, czyli dosłownie 'nimfa', jako funkcjonalnego odpowiednika. Jednak *dryad* nie jest dokładnym synonimem słowa „dziwożona" (to grecka nimfa, a nie szkaradna i pogarbiona kobieta, jak ta przedstawiona w książce).

Niemniej jednak warto podkreślić, że aluzje nie zawsze są rozpoznawalne w innych kulturach, co często prowadzi do nieporozumień. Używając funkcjonalnego odpowiednika, tłumacz wykorzystuje implikację, która jest bardziej rozpoznawalna w kulturze docelowej, co można zauważyć w tłumaczeniach amerykańskich seriali. W odcinku 9 sezonu 1 serialu *How I Met Your Mother* w tekście źródłowym jest wyraźna aluzja do wymowy kanadyjskiej.

Tabela 2. Porównanie

Wersja źródłowa	**Polski lektor**	**Napisy**
Oh yea, I forgot, you guys are weird. You pronounce the word 'out ' – 'eut'.	Zapomniałem, że dziwaczny z was naród.	Och tak, zapomniałem. Jacyś dziwni jesteście. Wy mawiacie „na polu" zamiast „na dworze".

Lektor całkowicie ignoruje fakt, że w dialogu jest wyśmiewany kanadyjski akcent, z kolei polskie napisy przekazują pewne powiązania z językowym aspektem żartu poprzez adaptację. Idąc za Hejwowskim ([2004] 2009: 76–83), w takich przypadkach powinien być raczej stosowany uznany ekwiwalent niż tworzony nowy odpowiednik. Jako przykład można podać tytuł *Jak Grinch ukradł święta* (ang. *How the Grinch Stole Christmas*). Ten amerykański film animowany z 1966 roku był inspiracją dla tytułu jednego odcinka wyżej wspomnianego serialu – *How Lily Stole Christmas* (polska wersja: *Jak Lily ukradła święta*).

Tabela 3. Zmodyfikowany idiom

Andrzej Sapkowski, *Chrzest ognia* ([1996] 2014)	**David French, *Baptism of Fire* ([2014] 2015)**
Człowiek nie tylko elfowi, ale i człowiekowi wilkiem, brat na brata nóż podnosi. (11)	Humans are preying not only on elves but on other humans too. Brothers are raising knives against brothers. (6)
I wylazło szydło z miecha. (25)	And the cat was out of the bag. (18)
Do piekła, do wszystkich biesów, mnie zajedno! (29)	To hell, to all devils. Makes no difference to me! (22)
Zaraza, całkiem mnie przez to wszystko sen odbieżał. (28)	A pox on it, all this has driven the sleep from me. (22)

Powyższa tabela przedstawia przykłady, w których idiomy z tekstu źródłowego są zmodyfikowane, a w wersji docelowej zastosowane są poprawne brzmienia. W tekście źródłowym zmieniono polskie idiomy, ale w wersji TT używane jest poprawne brzmienie. Zdanie „Człowiek nie tylko elfowi, ale i człowiekowi wilkiem" opiera się na polskim idiomie „człowiek człowiekowi wilkiem". Sapkowski ([1996] 2014) używa polskiego idiomu i dostosowuje go do rzeczywistości *Wiedźmina*. Tłumacz używa funkcjonalnego odpowiednika i analogicznie dostosowuje go do rzeczywistości książki. *Praying on somebody* to 'popełnienie przestępstwa przeciwko komuś'. Polski idiom nie ma uznanego ekwiwalentu w języku angielskim, dlatego tłumacz używa funkcjonalnego odpowiednika. Jednakże zwrot „wylazło szydło z miecha" opiera się na polskim idiomie „wyszło szydło z worka". W wersji docelowej użyto funkcjonalnego odpowiednika idiomu – *the cat is out of the bag*.

Transfer bez objaśnienia jest techniką często używaną podczas tłumaczenia nazw własnych (w przeciwieństwie do Dalekiego Wschodu lub Białego Wilka, w przypadku których tłumacz zastosował tłumaczenie syntagmatyczne, czyli zapożyczył egzotyczne nazwy, takie jak: Aglais, Col Serrai, Aedrin, Brugge czy Temeria). Język elfów również przedstawia konsekwencję tłumacza w zapożyczaniu obco brzmiących nazw. Autor przekładu zapożycza wyrazy łacińskie, takie jak: *raptuspullae*, *memoria*, *gragilis* lub *sempiternummeam*. Warto dodać, że tę technikę często stosuje się w odniesieniu do nazw własnych, np. pseudonim angielskiego klubu piłkarskiego Fulham FC, czyli „Cottagers", nie jest dosłownie tłumaczony jako „Wieśniaki", lecz angielska wersja jest stosowana jako ekwiwalent funkcjonalny, być może dlatego, że dosłowne tłumaczenie słowa *cottager* brzmiałoby w języku polskim niefortunnie.

- Tekst źródłowy: Wiedźmin już chodził. ([1996] 2014: 16)
- Tekst docelowy: The Witcher was already up and about. ([2014] 2015: 10)

W powyższym przykładzie następuje zmiana – od prostego wyrażenia do idiomatycznej frazy. W miarę możliwości tłumacz stara się używać elementów nacechowanych kulturowo, ponieważ w niektórych przypadkach niemożliwe jest użycie idiomu w tekście docelowym. Jednak nawet jeśli w tekście źródłowym nie ma idiomu, ale znaczenie pasuje, idiom jest stosowany w tekście docelowym zamiast dosłownego tłumaczenia.

Tabela 4. Zmiana intensywności znaczenia

Andrzej Sapkowski, *Chrzest ognia* ([1996] 2014)	**David French, *Baptism of Fire* ([2014] 2015)**
Skrytobójczy (33)	Murderous (25)
Wywiadowca (21)	The spy (15)
Cintryjska diuszesa (32)	Cintrian princess (25)
Babka Mykitka (52)	Granny Mykita (42)
Milenka (53)	Milena (43)

Grupa ta przedstawia przykłady zamiany bardzo specyficznego pojęcia w zwykłe. „Wywiadowca" jest najbliższym odpowiednikiem słowa *scout*, które bardziej pasowałoby do rzeczywistości *Wiedźmina* niż *spy* (pol. szpieg). Z kolei diuszesa to 'francuska księżniczka', ale termin ten został przetłumaczony jako po prostu „księżniczka" (ang. *princess*) i tym samym znaczenie nie zostało w pełni przełożone. Co więcej, kolejny przykład prezentuje zastąpienie negatywnego słowa innym negatywnym słowem, tylko o odmiennym znaczeniu. „Skrytobójczy" nie jest odpowiednikiem określenia „morderczy". Prawdopodobnie zastosowanie opisowego odpowiednika przekazałoby sens dokładniej. Dwie ostatnie pozycje w powyższej tabeli to przykłady transferu nazw własnych, które w tekście docelowym były zdrobnieniami.

Tabela 5. Procesy słowotwórcze

Andrzej Sapkowski, *Chrzest ognia* ([1996] 2014)	**David French, *Baptism of Fire* ([2014] 2015)**	**Procesy słowotwórcze (Yule [1985] 2006: 52–61)**
Wiedźmin	Witcher	Derywacja
Riv	Rivian	Derywacja
Nilfgaardzki poseł (22)	Nilfgaardian envoy (16)	Derywacja
Temerczyk (24)	Temerian (17)	Derywacja
Novigradzka korona (7)	Novigrad crown (2)	Derywacja wsteczna
Elfka (51)	She-elf (41)	Zrost
Zerrikański (7)	Zerrikanian (2)	Derywacja
Wciąż zielone (8)	Still-green (3)	Zrost
Zgarba (53)	Zgarba (43)	Zapożyczenie

Słowotwórstwo to najczęściej stosowana technika w tekście Sapkowskiego. Zazwyczaj w opisach nazw walut używany jest przymiotnik, np. w przypadku funtów brytyjskich lub dolarów amerykańskich. W języku polskim występuje taka sama zależność: polska złotówka czy dolar amerykański oraz – w książce Sapkowskiego ([1996] 2014) – novigradzka korona. W tekście docelowym zaś jest ona tłumaczona jako *Novigrad crown*. Próba stworzenia przymiotnika poprzez dodanie sufiksu *-ian* lub *-ish* mogłaby spowodować powstanie neologizmu, takiego jak *Novigradian* lub *Novigradish*. Jednakże w tłumaczeniu neologizmu „zerrikański" tłumacz przenosi przymiotnik, dodając przyrostek *-anian*. Kobieca wersja elfa jest tworzona przez zrost zaimka „ona" (ang. *she*) i słowa „elf" (ang. *elf*), analogicznie do sposobu stworzenia kobiecego odpowiednika słowa „wilk" (ang. *she-wolf*). W dalszej części sagi zrosty *she-wolf*

i *she-elf* nie są stosowane, używana jest tylko wersja męska (*wolf* i *elf*), nawet podczas opisu kobiecej wersji elfa. Tłumacz dopuścił się także niedociągnięć. Przykładowo nazwa własna, którą jest imię Zgarb, pojawiła się w tekście źródłowym w dopełniaczu (jako „Zgarba"), a tłumacz pozostawił tę wersję w całym tekście docelowym.

5. Podsumowanie

Przeniesienie tła kulturowego w procesie tłumaczenia jest istotne, natomiast zastosowanie ekwiwalentów funkcjonalnych może doprowadzić do tego, że odbiorca tekstu docelowego nigdy nie pozna lub nie zrozumie innych kultur. W procesie przekładu tłumacz napotyka wiele trudności, a jako że każda kultura jest niepowtarzalna, znalezienie ekwiwalentu w języku docelowym może być niemożliwe. Z pewnością tłumacz może przełożyć tekst źródłowy dosłownie, lecz czasem prowadzi to do nieporozumień. Z analizy materiału badawczego wynika, że w języku angielskim jest wiele ekwiwalentów polskich idiomów. Autor przekładu *Baptism of Fire* podczas tłumaczenia idiomów zazwyczaj stosuje ekwiwalenty funkcjonalne, tłumaczenia syntagmatyczne bez objaśnień, gdy tłumaczy nazwy własne, oraz derywacje poprzez użycie angielskich sufiksów, prefiksów i infiksów. Często pojawia się jednak umniejszenie znaczenia wyrazów w tekście docelowym, wskutek czego specyficzne koncepty są uzwyczajnione. Stosowanie takiej techniki wynika z trudności przekładu znaczenia słów ściśle nacechowanych kulturowo i z niemożności pozostania kreatywnym podczas tego procesu. Widocznie głównym celem w procesie tłumaczenia powieści fikcyjnej jest sprawienie, aby fabuła była spójna i łatwa w odbiorze, dlatego przekład tła kulturowego jest często drugorzędny, co można zauważyć w angielskiej wersji książki *Chrzest ognia*.

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Conceptualization of the Gene in Richard Dawkins' *The Selfish Gene*

Abstract

This paper investigates the conceptualization of the gene in the book *The Selfish Gene* by Richard Dawkins from the point of view of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory and the Conceptual Blending Theory. It is argued that there are two senses of the gene: gene$_1$ is a physically existing section of the DNA, gene$_2$ is information about protein synthesis. It is the second sense of the concept of the gene that undergoes metaphorization. The analysis reveals that Dawkins' gene is a conceptual blend which becomes extensively elaborated. Through elaboration the gene becomes personified on the one hand and deified on the other. The study shows the richness of Dawkins' personification: the gene is conceptualized as building and controlling organisms, cooperating and competing with other genes, even showing personality traits. Deification of the gene is focused on highlighting its stipulated immortality and power to create organisms, humans included. The gene blend is at the same time used as an input space in the integration network producing the meme blend. It is also established that the personification of the gene plays the theory-constitutive role in the sense of Boyd (1993).

Keywords: personification, blending, selfish gene, metaphor in science.

Introduction

Since its publication in 1976, *The Selfish Gene* with its implications for social and cultural value systems has attracted public attention with reactions ranging from enthusiasm to indignation. The book also initiated a debate among evolutionary biologists on the unit of evolution and the level(s) of natural selection. The focus of this paper, however, is a Cognitive Semantics analysis of Dawkins' conceptualization of the key construct of his theory, the gene. As a careful reading reveals, personification is the hallmark of Dawkins'

style and his personification of the gene, standing out even in the title of the book, is extremely rich and complex. The objective of this study is to investigate this complexity using the methodology offered by the theories of conceptual metaphor (*cf.* Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 1999; Kövecses 2002) and Conceptual Blending (*cf.* Fauconnier & Turner 1998, 2002). It will be demonstrated that the personification of the gene is a result of what Fauconnier and Turner (2002) call "running of the blend" or blend elaboration. It is also argued that in Dawkins' theory, personification is a theory-constitutive metaphor in the sense of Boyd (1993). Thus, this study contributes to research into the role of metaphor in scientific discourse as well.

The structure of the paper is as follows: first, the integration network behind Dawkins' concept of the gene is revealed; next, the rich elaborations of the gene blend are discussed, and finally, possible implications for the role of personification in Dawkins' theory are considered.

1. Gene, the agent. A blending analysis of the selfish gene

Personification in evolutionary biology is not rare. For example, Charles Darwin, the father of evolutionism and Dawkins' authority, used personification extensively to write about natural selection in his work *On the Origin of Species* though never to such an extent or with such complexity as Dawkins. A comprehensive analysis of personification and related metaphors in Darwin's conceptualization of natural selection can be found in Drogosz (2011, 2012a, 2012b). Unlike Darwin, however, Dawkins makes the personification of the gene the backbone of his theory and treats it as a very powerful heuristic and rhetorical device. Although a careful reading of *The Selfish Gene* reveals many metaphorical conceptualizations of the gene (*e.g.* an analogy is made between DNA and an architect's plans, with genes corresponding to letters or whole pages; chromosomes are likened to a deck of cards with genes corresponding to individual cards), personification is without a doubt both the most dominant and the richest conceptualization of the gene. This part of the analysis investigates the multiple blend that constitutes, as we believe, a springboard for further elaborations.

Dawkins defines the gene in several ways. Some definitions are "technical" in the sense that they rely on biological facts. For example, the gene is to be understood as "any portion of chromosomal material that potentially lasts for enough generations to serve as a unit of natural selection" [28][1] or "a sequence of nucleotide letters lying between a START and an END symbol, and coding for one protein chain" [28]. However, far more often his definitions derive from metaphorical treatment of the gene. Thus, the gene is defined as "a unit that survives through a large number of successive individual bodies" [25], "a unit of self-interest" [33], "a replicator so long-lived that it is near immortal" [35], "the free, untrammelled, and self-seeking agent of life" [38]. These definitions rely on a number of metaphors and conceptual blends which will be investigated in this study.

The first thing to be noted about the concept of the gene is that it has two senses: one sense (let us call it $gene_1$) relates to the gene as a physically existing section of DNA and it is not personified (at least not by Dawkins); the other sense ($gene_2$) relates to the fact that such a section of DNA is an established sequence of nucleotides that carries information about the synthesis of a particular kind of protein. This sense of the gene is subject to profound metaphorization. In what follows, the levels of this metaphorization are discussed.

1 All the quotations come from the 30th Anniversary edition of *The Selfish Gene*. The page number is given in brackets after each quotation.

The first level of metaphorization of gene$_2$ concerns its objectification, that is, conceptualizing an abstract concept in terms of physical objects (*cf.* Szwedek 2000, 2011). Building on the notion of ontological metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson 1980), Szwedek argues that objectification is a necessary step in a metaphorical construal of any concept, and at the same time the most common type of metaphor (2000: 143). In the case of the gene$_2$, abstract information coded in a pattern of nucleotides is granted the ontological status of a physical object: it is bounded and individuated; it is treated as a unit. Once gene$_2$ is conceptualized as a thing, the process of metaphorization can be continued in the sense that the experiential knowledge that we have of physical objects of various types can be mapped onto genetic information.

The feature ascribed to the gene that stands out throughout the book is its agency. In Dawkins' gene-centered view of evolution, it is the gene that is presented as the level on which natural selection operates (1), as opposed to the organism, as was assumed by Charles Darwin and many of his followers. What is more, because genes carry information on protein selection, they can be described as controlling the construction of animal bodies, which makes all organisms, people included, machines created by genes for their own benefit (2–5). Consequently, the gene-eye-view of evolution requires that the genetic information is consistently conceptualized as an agent.

(1) I shall argue that the fundamental unit of selection, and therefore of self-interest, is not the species, nor the group, nor even, strictly, the individual. It is the **gene, the unit of heredity**. [11]
(2) This brings me to the second important thing DNA does. It indirectly **supervises the manufacture** of a different kind of molecule—protein. [23]
(3) Genes do indirectly control the manufacture of bodies, and the influence is strictly one way: acquired characteristics are not inherited. [23]
(4) The evolutionary importance of the fact that **genes control embryonic development** is this: it means that genes are at least partly responsible for their own survival in the future, because their survival depends on the efficiency of the bodies in which they **live** and which they helped to build. [23–24]
(5) The argument of this book is that we, and all other animals, are machines **created by our genes**. [2]

Conceptualizing the gene as an agent involves another ontological metaphor, personification, also attested by the examples above. Technically, to make his theory coherent, Dawkins only needed to project the feature "agency" from the domain of PERSON. However, as it will be demonstrated later in this paper, much more was mapped. An extended analysis of personification is presented in next section.

Let us now turn to the issue of the gene's animacy. Throughout the book, the gene is described as if it were a living organism (*e.g.* 4). There appear to be two sources of this conceptualization. One source is the domain PERSON which participates in building the construal of the gene as "the agent of life" to be discussed later. The other is the conventional metaphor EXISTENCE IS LIFE. By virtue of this metaphor the existence of inanimate objects or abstract concepts can be conceived of in terms of life. Excerpts (6–7) provide examples of this metaphor in common discourse:

(6) … the legacy of his writings and ideas **lives** on… (*Guardian*, 2 Jul 2005)
(7) … and the idea **lives** on forever (*Guardian*, 15 Oct 2001)

(8) … **long-living** capital stocks (*Guardian*, 29 Jul 2011)

Further, it must be emphasized that when Dawkins talks about the life of a gene, he does not mean $gene_1$ but $gene_2$, as in (9).

(9) Genes, like diamonds, are forever, but not quite in the same way as diamonds. It is an individual diamond crystal that lasts, as an unaltered pattern of atoms. DNA molecules don't have that kind of permanence. The **life** of any one physical DNA molecule is quite short—perhaps a matter of months, certainly not more than one lifetime. But a DNA molecule could theoretically **live** on in the form of *copies* of itself for a hundred million years [35, italics original]

At the same time, he makes use of the common understanding of information and patterns, according to which both information and patterns maintain their identity when copied. Therefore, it is not individual genes (*i.e.* genetic material) that "live" long, but genes (*i.e.* genetic information and the pattern of nucleotides) that "live" as copies of themselves.

These observations can be made more transparent through application of Blending Theory terminology and graphics. By blending the mental space of protein synthesis and the role of DNA in this process (input space one), and the mental space of physical objects (input space two) we obtain the objectified unit of genetic information: $gene_2$ (blend one). This blend is at the same time an input space (input space three) that is integrated with the established metaphor EXISTENCE IS LIFE (input space four) from which the element "life" is connected with the element "existence" in the gene-object space. This connection is reinforced by mapping from the domain PERSON (input space 5), from which the element "agency" is projected as well. From the entire integration network the blend "living agentive gene" emerges.

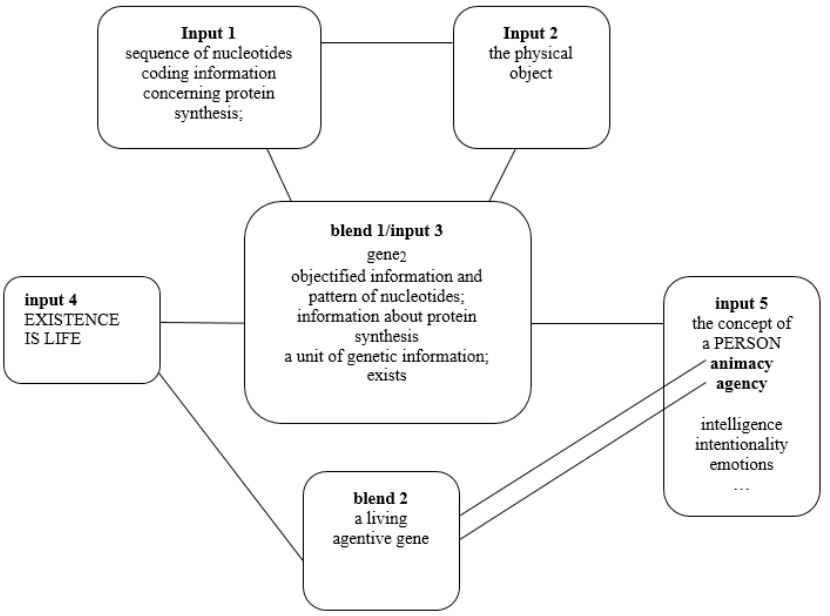

Figure 1. The blend "living agentive gene"

From the point of view of Dawkins' theory, the process of metaphorization of the gene could end here, as the gene blend is entirely sufficient to describe the role genes play in the process of evolution. Of course, it does not end here and this is precisely what makes this book unique. This paper argues that the rich personification of the gene found in *The Selfish Gene* is a result of advanced processes of elaboration operating in the blend. The next part of the study investigates these elaborations in detail.

2. The elaboration of the gene blend

The Blending Theory emphasizes the presence of the emergent structure that results from the integration of the entire network. According to Fauconnier and Turner (2003: 60), emergent structure is developed "on the basis of composition (blending can compose elements from the input spaces to provide relations that do not exist in the separate inputs), pattern completion (based on background models that are brought into the blend unconsciously), and elaboration (treating the blend as a simulation and 'running' it imaginatively)." It is the last operation – elaboration – that is of particular relevance to the analysis of Dawkins' description of the selfish gene.

The "core" integration network discussed earlier reveals input spaces whose elements are projected to the blended space, that is the living agentive gene. One of the input spaces contains knowledge about human beings and this space remains active during the process of conceptual integration. From the language used to describe the gene, we can see that Dawkins projects increasingly more information from the domain of PERSON. The gene's agency is elaborated in terms of human activity. Thus, genes are said to build bodies of organisms analogically to people building the machines they need:

(10) Now, natural selection favours replicators[2] that are good at **building** survival machines [24]
(11) The **manufacture** of a body is a cooperative venture of such intricacy that it is almost impossible to disentangle the contribution of one gene from that of another. [24]
(12) We were **built** as gene machines, created to pass on our genes. [199]

The cornerstone of Dawkins theory is the idea that genes are behind the construction individual organisms (consistently called gene's survival machines or vehicles). Reversing the traditional perspective in which individual organisms seek reproduction to perpetuate their species (in which case agency is non-metaphorical, at least in the case of higher animals) and genes are a tool to achieve it, Dawkins promotes genes to a role in which they are actively involved in the process of reproduction. Building bodies serves that purpose. However, genes not only build bodies, they can also influence these bodies, manipulate them for their own benefit to the point of exploitation, and generally exert control over the organisms that house them.

(13) I suggest that fluke genes exert an **influence** on the shell-secreting cells of the snail, an **influence that benefits themselves** but is costly to the snail's genes. [242]

2 Along with the notion of the gene, Dawkins uses the terms "replicators," "DNA," "genetic material," "allele" or "cistron." While I realize that in biological sciences they are not synonyms, in this study I treat them as various linguistic realizations of the concept of the gene. This approach seems fully justified because, in the first place, the technical differences between these terms are not relevant in this analysis, and secondly, Dawkins himself uses them as if they were synonyms.

(14) Natural selection favoured those ancestral caddis genes that **caused** their possessors to build effective houses. The genes **worked on** behaviour, presumably by **influencing** the embryonic development of the nervous system. [240]
(15) … the replicators have built a vast range of machines to **exploit them**. [21]

This control can even extend to the external world:

(16) The target of its manipulation may be the same body or a different one. Natural selection favours those **genes that manipulate the world** to ensure their own propagation. [253]
(17) … the gene reaches out through the individual body wall and **manipulates objects in the world** outside, some of them inanimate, some of them other living beings, some of them a long way away. [265]

Another elaboration depicts genes as members of a community involved in different relationships with other representatives of their kind. On the one hand, genes cooperate in building bodies (18–21) and other genes are their companions on the journey across the generations (22), on the other hand, genes compete with their rivals, other genes, for survival, that is for the same slot on a chromosome (23–24):

(18) The manufacture of a body is a **cooperative venture** of such intricacy that it is almost impossible to disentangle the contribution of one gene from that of another. [24]
(19) Building a leg is **a multi-gene cooperative enterprise**. [37]
(20) Our own genes **cooperate with one another**, not because they *are* our own but because they share the same outlet—sperm or egg—into the future. [245]
(21) Nowadays this **cooperation between genes** goes on within cells. [258]
(22) As the cistrons leave one body and enter the next, as they board sperm or egg for the journey into the next generation, they are likely to find that the little vessel contains **their close neighbours** of the previous voyage, old shipmates with whom they sailed on the long odyssey from the bodies of distant ancestors. [33]
(23) When two genes, like the brown eye and the blue eye gene, are **rivals** for the same slot on a chromosome, they are called *alleles* of each other. For our purposes, the word allele is synonymous with **rival**. [26]
(24) Genes are **competing** directly with their alleles for survival, since their alleles in the gene pool are **rivals** for their slot on the chromosomes of future generations. [36]

In order to win this struggle, some genes manipulate (25) or cheat (26), others rebel and run away (27):

(25) A gene 'for' sexuality **manipulates** all the other genes for its own selfish ends. So does a gene for crossing-over. There are even genes—called mutators—that **manipulate** the rates of copying-errors in other genes. [44]
(26) Here we are talking about single genes **cheating** against the other genes with which they share a body. [236]
(27) Consider a **rebel stretch of human DNA** that is capable of snipping itself out of its chromosome, floating freely in the cell, perhaps multiplying itself up into many copies, and then splicing itself into another chromosome. [246]

From this struggle, the vision of a genetic battlefield emerges, a battlefield where the future existence of a gene is at stake and the efficiency of the body is the weapon.

(28) Fundamentally, all that we have a right to expect from our theory is a **battleground of replicators**, jostling, jockeying, fighting for a future in the genetic hereafter. The **weapons in the fight** are phenotypic effects, initially direct chemical effects in cells but eventually feathers and fangs and even more remote effects. [256]

The elaboration of the blend towards personification goes so far that Dawkins' genes are capable of displaying emotions and personality traits. The most important feature of the gene, standing out even in the title of the book, is its selfishness which drives its actions. Apart from that, genes are characterized as lucky, independent, free, and good at building bodies:

(29) The few new ones [genes] that succeed do so partly because they are **lucky**, but mainly because they have what it takes, and that means **they are good at making survival machines**. [36]
(30) However **independent and free** genes may be in their journey through the generations, they are very much *not* free and independent agents in their control of embryonic development. [37]

From the examples above a consistent picture of genes as "free, untrammelled, and self-seeking agents of life" [38] who cooperate to build organic bodies to protect themselves and to prolong their own existence or compete with other genes, emerges. The inevitable inference of this image is the gene's intentional, directional activity and consciousness. One gets the impression that Dawkins is ambivalent about this inference. On the one hand, he exploits it to the limits when he writes, for example

(31) … there are special circumstances in **which a gene can achieve its own selfish goals** best by fostering a limited form of altruism at the level of individual animals. [2]
(32) If we allow ourselves the licence of talking about genes **as if they had conscious aims**, always reassuring ourselves that we could translate our sloppy language back into respectable terms if we wanted to, we can ask the question, what is a single selfish gene **trying to do?** It is **trying** to get more numerous in the gene pool. [87]
(33) The **interests** of alga genes and *Chlorohydra* genes coincide. Both **are interested in doing everything in their power** to increase production of *Chlorohydra* eggs. [244–245]
(34) In whichever of the two sorts of body it finds itself, we can expect a gene **to make the best use of the opportunities** offered by that sort of body. [145]

On the other hand, he seems sometimes uncomfortable with it. In these cases, he either explicitly denies gene consciousness and intentionality or uses quotation marks to detach himself from such inferences (35–40).

(35) **The true 'purpose'** of DNA is to survive, no more and no less. [44]
(36) In this, **the replicators are no more conscious or purposeful** than they ever were. [24]
(37) **Genes have no foresight. They do not plan ahead**. Genes just *are*, some genes more so than others, and that is all there is to it. [24]
(38) … we must temporarily abandon our metaphor of the gene as a conscious agent, because in this context it becomes positively misleading. […] Albino **genes do not really 'want'** to survive or to help other albino genes. [89]

(39) The gene has no foresight. [183]
(40) Therefore, whatever **'calculations'** the parasite genes make about optimal policy, in any department of life, will converge on exactly, or nearly exactly, the same optimal **policy** as similar **'calculations'** made by host genes. [245]

The examples above show how Dawkins elaborates the gene blend by rich projections from the mental space of PERSON. He uses this elaborated blend with gusto in his other books as well. However, as Fauconnier and Turner put it (2002: 48), "part of the power of blending is that there are always many different possible lines of elaboration, and elaboration can go on indefinitely." In *The Selfish Gene* one more elaboration can be identified, this time pointing to the domain of divinity. In other words, the depiction of the gene exceeds by far that of a human being and activates the domain of GOD. Some of the expressions bring clear Biblical associations. For example, the genes are immortal or near immortal:

(41) The genes are the **immortals**, or rather, they are defined as genetic entities that come close to deserving the title. [34]
(42) What I am doing is emphasizing the potential **near-immortality** of a gene, in the form of copies, as its defining property. [35]

Working in mysterious ways (43), they created people and all living organisms, and they are the purpose of our existence (44):

(43) **DNA works** in mysterious ways. [21]
(44) They are in you and in me; **they created us**, body and mind; and their preservation is **the ultimate rationale for our existence**. [19]

The gene is even said to be "the prime mover of life" with unlimited powers:

(45) The fundamental unit, **the prime mover of all life**, is the replicator. [264]
(46) With only a little imagination we can see the gene as sitting at the centre of a radiating web of extended phenotypic power. [265]
(47) The long reach of the gene knows no obvious boundaries. [266]
(48) The only kind of entity that has to exist in order for life to arise, anywhere in the universe, is the immortal replicator. [266]

It must be added that the example in (48) is the last sentence of the book, which suggests that this is the image that Dawkins wants to remain in the reader's mind.

One of the fundamental claims of the blending theory is that an established blend can be recruited in the formation of another integration network. This is what happens in *The Selfish Gene*. In the gene blend, there is the idea that the gene is agentified information that "wants" to survive by making as many copies of itself as possible. When Dawkins projects this element from the domain of genetic information onto the domain of human culture, a new structure emerges, a unit of cultural transmission or imitation which he calls the meme. However, this concept has become so complex (becoming the core of the science known as memetics) that it deserves a separate study.

3. The role of personification in Dawkins' theory

Having discussed the integration network and its elaboration that underlie Dawkins' conceptualization and description of the gene, let us turn now to the role that emergent metaphorization of the gene has on the selfish-gene theory. Cognitive Semantics seems to be especially well-designed to address the question of the role of metaphor in language of science, because ever since its beginning it argued for the significance of metaphor in reasoning (*cf.* Lakoff & Johnson 1980).

The literature on the role of metaphor in science is extensive (*e.g.* Black 1962; Boyd 1993; Fojt 2009; Gajda 2008; Hesse [1963] 1970; Kuhn 1993; Soskice & Harré 1996; Zawisławska 2011), but this study focuses on the most fundamental distinction proposed by Boyd (1993), which is between theory-constitutive and exegetical (pedagogical) metaphor. As Boyd puts it, theory-constitutive metaphors "encourage discovery of new features of the primary and secondary subjects, and new understanding of theoretically relevant respects of similarity, or analogy, between them" (1993: 489). They also play a catachretic role in that "they provide a way to introduce terminology for features of the world whose existence seems probable, but many of whose fundamental properties have yet to be discovered" (1993: 490). Exegetical, or pedagogical, metaphors, on the other hand, "do not convey theoretical insights not otherwise expressible" but "play a role in the teaching or explication of theories which already admit of entirely adequate non-metaphorical (or, at any rate, less metaphorical) formulations" (485–486). Put in other words, the former are an inherent part of a theory and its logic, and cannot be replaced by other expressions, the latter are a way of explaining ideas that can be expressed in non-metaphorical language. In light of Boyd's distinction, it is argued that Dawkins' theorizing of the gene as a unit of evolution and agent of natural selection is a direct result of its objectification and personification and thus is a case of a theory-constitutive metaphor. For Dawkins, the richly elaborated personification of the gene constitutes the foundation of the theory and his descriptions of the gene could not be paraphrased without changing the theory itself. What is more, the ongoing debate among evolutionary biologists concerning the level at which natural selection operates (whether it is at the level of genes, individual organisms or species) also points to Dawkins' description not as a metaphorical explanation, but as an aspect of his scientific theory.

Conclusions

The aim of this paper was to look at Dawkins' conceptualization of the gene through the lens of the Blending Theory. It has been established that the concept of the selfish gene results from a "core" network which integrates input spaces of genetic information, the domain of a physical object, the domain of a human being and the metaphor EXISTENCE IS LIFE into the blended space "living agentive gene." This blend is further elaborated by extensive projections from the domain of a human being, which become manifested in descriptions of the gene. Thus, the gene is said to perform directed activity such as building shelters (*i.e.* bodies) or exerting influence on the external world, create communities with complex social patterns, and show personality traits, such as selfishness. This "running" of the blend in the direction of personification yields additional emergent structure, that is its supreme power, which is further elaborated in the direction of deification. Finally, the blend of the gene as information controlling organisms is extended to the domain of culture to create yet another concept, the meme.

The concept of the gene in Dawkins' theory heavily relies on its personification, which allows him to highlight its power to act as an agent of evolution. Consequently, it is concluded that the metaphor of personification plays the theory-constitutive role in the selfish-gene theory.

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Aleksandra Górska
University of Warmia and Mazury, Olsztyn

"Natural Selection" of Ideas. How Arguments in the Debate on the Origin of Life and the Universe Are Framed

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to present how the participants in a debate between a representative of new atheism (and evolutionism) and a representative of Christianity frame their arguments by the metaphor of struggle for survival. In order to do so a debate *Has Science Buried God?* has been analysed. It is shown that arguments are thought to compete for the status of "the truth" in the eyes of the general public, in a way that "better" ones push out "worse" ones, especially with a view to how scientific discoveries make explanations considered valid in the past no longer valid.

Keywords: cognitive pragmatics, frames, (im)politeness.

1. Introduction

When European Space Agency's Rosetta landed its Philae probe on a comet on 12th November 2014, Jean-Jacques Dordain, ESA's Director General, said: "With Rosetta we are opening a door to the origin of planet Earth and fostering a better understanding of our future" (European Space Agency 2014). The Internet was quick to share his enthusiasm, with images of the landing posted by the users of social media, and, inevitably, the creation of memes. One such meme, published by a domain entitled Godless Utopia, featured a picture of a comet flying over a silhouette of the Earth, with a caption that said "Ancient man believed comets were God riding across the sky. Modern man rides comets. We don't need myths to explain them anymore." The sentiments expressed in these two statements seem to perfectly summarise the contemporary debate on the origin of the universe, and the existence of God.

The aim of this paper is to show that the metaphor of struggle/competition frames the way arguments are raised and organised in a debate between Richard Dawkins and John Lennox, entitled

Has Science Buried God? It appears that the frame of natural selection has also permeated thinking about ideas and arguments. In the case of the atheist/religious debate, it seems that, at least for the atheists, "God" as an explanation of the universe was a valid one where and when the science was lacking. Now that better ("fitter") explanations are available (*e.g.* evolution as the explanation for the multitude of life forms on Earth), the "God explanation" has become superfluous. There is a point to such logic – scientific explanation of the world is more fitting the scientific-oriented minds of contemporary Westerners (for the possibility of a less binary perspective see *e.g.* Nisbett 2003). Within the frame of struggle and the survival of the fittest, ideas/arguments/explanations are also expected to undergo evolution, and be subject to natural selection. This can be seen, for example, in how the proposal of what is seen as a better(-fitted) explanation for the existence of the universe is expected to cause the worse(-fitted) explanation to become obsolete. So the argument not just between evolutionists and creationists, but rather between atheists and the religious, often revolves around whether science provides a good enough explanation to make the idea of God obsolete.

This paper is divided into a number of subsections; first, related work and methodology are recounted, then the analysis is reported on, this is followed by the discussion of the results and suggestions for further research.

2. Methodology

Debate is a highly structured discourse type. There are two participants, a moderator who asks questions and an audience. Each participant gets a chance to answer the question, and usually certain amount of time is allocated for the rebuttal of the opponent's arguments. In order to provide a more detailed description, features of debate as an activity type (Levinson 1979) are presented with reference to Thomas' classification (Thomas 1995: 190–192).

In the debate in question, the goal of the participants, rather than to bring the opponent to one's point of view, appears to be to present one's views in front of an audience, to perhaps persuade the audience members, and above all to present one's position as superior – more reasonable, more scientifically sound, and perhaps, as is argued in this paper, "fitter." As to allowable contributions – impoliteness strategy *seek disagreement / avoid agreement* (Culpeper 1996: 357; Bousfield 2008: 108) is inherent to this discourse type. Other impoliteness strategies, however, such as *use taboo language*, *threaten/frighten* (Culpeper 1996: 358) appear to be disallowed. Gricean Maxims are adhered to, with the exception of strategic flouting of maxims of relevance and quantity (Grice 1975), when participants rather than admit they do not have a good counterargument, offer a good argument that is vaguely relevant to the issue at hand (for details see Górska & Drogosz forthcoming). As to Leech's Politeness Principle, only the Agreement Maxim (Leech 1983: 32) appears to be flouted, again, a feature essential to the discourse type at hand. Finally, opponents in a debate routinely threaten each other's face when they attack each other's positions. Positive face is at risk when the opponent implies, or in some cases states, that the other's position is unreasonable, and negative face is threatened metaphorically when the other's freedom to believe what they like is challenged, and literally in the case of interruptions.

The key concept to the present analysis is the frame of struggle for survival. Within this frame, ideas compete with each other for preservation, within the evolutionary struggle for survival, with the weakest ideas/arguments being forced out by stronger ones. This is evident in the way the participants

of the debate in question formulate their arguments. Frames become apparent in the use of "[f]rame-evoking words and phrases, frame-evoking references and allusions, register markers (especially with respect to lexical choice and syntax), discursive style, … , and so on" (Morgan 1997: 276).

3. The analysis

The material analysed in the present paper is a debate between Richard Dawkins, a representative of evolutionism and atheism, and John Lennox, a philosopher of science and a Christian. There is a moderator and an audience present. The debate took place and was recorded in Oxford Museum of Natural History, and is available online (Fixed Point Foundation 2009). This debate is atypical among this type of debates in that the opponents are both scientists, and in that they both denounce creationism (for an overview and history of the evolutionist/creationist debate see Barczewska 2017: 12–33). The analysis has been carried out on audio-video recording of the debate as well as the transcript. Where necessary, extralinguistic information has been taken into account. The main arguments presented by the debaters have been identified and analysed. In the following sections four such examples are presented and discussed in detail. These examples are taken from a fragment that starts 9 minutes into the debate and spans over 11 minutes. Such a choice of the sample to present in this paper has been made for the sake of space – the arguments are often lengthy and require context, so for the clarity of presentation, four arguments revolving around the same topic and following one another almost immediately have been chosen. They are two argument-counterargument pairs. Also, for the sake of clarity, the extralinguistic information in the examples quoted has been limited to a minimum (*e.g.* a dot in brackets indicates a pause shorter than a second, a number in brackets indicates the number of seconds in a pause, an underlined section has been pronounced emphatically).

3.1. Argument 1: "Illusion of design"

The question at hand at this point in the debate is whether the universe is designed or not. Lennox claims that the complexity of the universe points to the existence of a creator – if the universe is "rationally intelligible," there must be "a mind behind it" (this is a quote from John Lennox elsewhere in the debate). Dawkins counters with the argument that the universe may seem designed without it being designed – as, in his opinion – was the case with the origin and development of the natural world.

Example 1
Lennox: […] now how do <u>you</u> account for the rational intelligibility of the universe.
Dawkins: Well John, you said that I believe that the universe is a freak accident which is the opposite of what you believe uh… for many years, for many centuries indeed it seemed perfectly obvious that it couldn't possibly be a freak accident because you really had to look at living creatures the sort of magnificent diversity we see this in this- in this museum and **everything looks designed** so it was clearly preposterous to suggest that it was due to any kind of freak accident hhh **Darwin came along and showed that it's not actually a freak accident but nor is it designed**. There's- There's a third way, which in the case of biology is evolution by natural selection, which produces a close imitation of something that is designed. it's not designed. we know that now. we understand how it happened, erm, but it looks very designed (.) Now the cosmos hasn't yet had its Darwin we don't yet know, how the laws of physics came into existence, how

the physical constants came into existence, and so we can still say is it a freak accident or was it designed. **The analogy with biology might discourage us from being too confident that it's designed because we had our fingers burned before** the nineteenth century with the thing that- that biology which looks so much more obviously designed that we- we got our fingers burned there. now in the case of the cosmos, freak accident or design the point that I've made over and over again is that **even if we don't understand how it came about (2.0) it's not helpful, to postulate a creator**. Because a creator is the very kind of thing that needs an explanation. [HSBG: 9:00–10:59]

The actual expressions used by Dawkins to make this argument have been printed in bold in Example 1 above. Here they are quoted for clarity:

- "everything looks designed";
- "Darwin came along and showed that it"s not actually a freak accident but nor is it designed";
- "The analogy with biology might discourage us from being too confident that it"s designed because we had our fingers burned before";
- "even if we don"t understand how it came about it"s not helpful, to postulate a creator."

So the argument is constructed as follows: design had been a valid explanation before Darwin, Darwin has shown that the design was just an illusion, therefore, where we seem to see design, we should suspect just an illusion of design, creator is no longer a valid explanation. As has been stated before, often in the debates rather than make their response relevant in terms of content, debaters choose to counter with an argument that is strong, but only loosely relevant to the argument it is supposed to counter. This is true in the case of Example 2 in the next section.

3.2. Counterargument 1: "Not a freak accident"

In Example 2 Lennox points to the "phenomenal precision" with which the laws of physics operate, and circles back to his argument that this precision points to the existence of a creator – "a mind behind it."

Example 2
Lennox: […], and you said somewhere that it's terribly terribly tempting to believe that that has been design but that Darwin has shown us that's this design is an illusion, but I've been very interested in the kind of thing that Simon Conway Morris has been saying recently that if you take the evolutionary pathways, they're navigating through an informational hyperspace with **phenomenal precision** and therefore there is the impression of design at that level, i mean **if this mechanism that you talk about which doesn't apply for the origin of life at all** but let's leave that aside **if it is so phenomenally clever then it itself is giving evidence that there's a mind behind it**.
Dawkins: (.) **The whole point of Darwinian natural selection is that it works without design, without foresight without guidance** [HSBG 14:47–16:02]

In Example 2 Lennox actually makes two points that are designed to weaken Dawkins' argument – to point to the fact the latter's argument is not actually "stronger":

1. The cosmos is too precise to be an accident, therefore, "freak accident" is not a valid explanation of its existence.
2. The mechanisms discussed by Darwin do not account for the origin of life.

So, we can see two levels of argumentation – one that refers to the content of what has been said by the opponent, and second, a meta-argument, referring to whether the opponent's argument was valid at all. So the opponent's point is not stronger, because it on the one hand does not provide an explanation for the issue at hand (the origin of life), nor does it disprove the possibility of the existence of a creator. This is met with a rejection and a rephrasing of the previously made point on the part of Dawkins (the underlined phrases were pronounced with emphasis).

3.3. Argument 2: "Why bother?"

In this argument–counterargument pair the discussion revolves around whether the process of natural selection is guided or not. The first line in Example 3 is the last sentence of Dawkins' turn the beginning of which was the last line of Example 2 – after developing his argument and supporting it with examples and references to other scholars, he repeats his main point – natural selection is not guided. When Lennox seems to be impervious to his argumentation, Dawkins lets out an exasperated "no!" followed by: "why bother when you have a perfectly good explanation that doesn't involve guidance."

Example 3
Dawkins: […] It's not it's not caused, it's not guided, there's no need it to be guided, but the whole point is that it works without guidance
Lennox: but it could be guided, or do you completely shut that out
Dawkins: no! **I mean why bother when you have a perfectly good explanation that doesn't involve guidance** [HSBG 17:00–17:28]

The "why bother" argument works only within a frame where ideas/explanations compete for "life" in our minds, thus when we have a "perfectly good explanation" we simply ignore any other possible explanations, because they have lost the competition for our attention. It is worth noting that once again, Dawkins returns to a previously stated argument about the redundancy of a creator to the explanation of the origins of life and the universe.

3.4. Counterargument 2: "God and science are not opposing explanations"

Finally, in the last example, the main weight of argumentation has been shifted, but only very slightly. Now the question is whether an agent is necessary for the explanation of the issues at hand. Lennox makes a point about science accounting for the laws of nature at the level of the process or the mechanism, while God exists at the level of agent. Thus, they are not in opposition with each other, as they exist on different plains of thinking. This argument is wholeheartedly and completely rejected by Dawkins.

Example 4
Lennox: No. And this is a very important point because i **detect in many of your writings that you oppose God vs. science as explanations**. When Newton discovered the law of gravity he didn't say marvellous, now I can know how it works i don't need God. .hh God is an explicator at the level of an agent not a mechanism, so that we can study mechanisms and biology, the more suffix- suss- sophisticated they are the more that might well point towards an agent. **You don't argue away the existence of an agent by showing that there is a mechanism. And I don't quite understand how you manage to get if i understand you right God and science as alternative explanations**

Dawkins: Well **I think you do get rid of- of an agent if the agent is superfluous to the explanation**. That when- when you're erm studying something that's happening there may well be an agent and it may be if you're watching er a car driving along and avoiding obstacles and turning left and turning right you say there is an agent controlling that car and certainly there is, there is a driver. But if- if you don't need an agent, to explain what's going on, and we don't in the case of biology we don't in the case of gravity. Of course I accept that Newton was a theist, he lived in the seventeenth century and everybody was, but erm **you don't need an agent and agent is a superfluous explanation it's a gratuitous grafting on of something that you don't need** [HSBG 18:57–20:26]

For the sake of clarity, the elements of the argument made by Lennox are as follows:

- "I detect in many of your writings that you oppose God vs. science as explanations";
- "You don"t argue away the existence of an agent by showing that there is a mechanism";
- "And I don"t quite understand how you manage to get, if I understand you right, God and science as alternative explanations."

Thus, the thrust of the argument is that scientific explanations of known phenomena do not get rid of or disprove the possibility of the existence of God. This shift in focus, however, does not challenge the "struggle for survival" frame – the argument is not that both explanations are equally valid, but rather, that while science explains certain phenomena at the level of mechanism, God provides an explanation at the level of the agent. Still, such a shift is completely rejected by Dawkins, who simply rephrases his arguments about an agent being superfluous to the explanation of the origin of life and the universe.

4. Discussion

Debates such as the one under analysis are instances of highly structured conflictive discourse. Previous research suggests that they are framed by the metaphor of war, where the attack is realised by means of *challenge* impoliteness strategy (Bousfield 2008) and the defence by means of the strategy *deflect* (Górska & Drogosz forthcoming). This productivity of *challenge* as an impoliteness strategy and the surprising proclivity of the participants to deflect brings to the fore the following question: what is it that is being challenged? A challenge, by definition, requires an impoliteness trigger (Jay 1992), however, Górska and Drogosz (forthcoming) have found that the majority of challenges in the debates in question occur without a trigger. This in turn would suggest that it is the mere standpoint of the opponent that the debaters find offensive. It would appear that the most fundamental conflict between evolutionists and creationists lies in the resistance of the former to apply the evolution frame to the explanations. Alternatively, both sides of the conflict follow the scheme of "the less fitted explanation should be done away with," only disagreeing as to what that better fitted explanation is. This is apparent in how arguments in many such debates are reducible to whether it is or is not possible to explain the world without reference to God.

In the arguments found in the sample, some of which have been presented in section 3, it has been apparent that the struggle metaphor highlights the antagonistic view of life on the one hand, and is never challenged in the debates on the other. The battle seems to be for "whose explanation is the fittest," and the frame of "natural selection" underlies the debates – the scientific explanation is expected to "force out" the "God explanation."

5. Future work

Certainly more research needs to be done to see the degree to which the struggle for survival frame permeates our thinking within the origin of life and the universe debate. The debate discussed in this paper is specific in that two scientists rather than a scientist and a theologian are involved. The hypothesis put forward in this paper would certainly benefit from testing against other participants in other debates. The general public also seems to be involved in the debate – in the form of comments below videos documenting the debates, but also blogs and memes commenting on current issues connected to the ongoing conflict between believers and non-believers. The material is abundant, the only restriction is time.

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Marcin Kudła
University of Rzeszów

On Apples, Tomatoes, Carrots, and Other Fruits: Controversies Concerning Categorisation

Abstract

While at first glance the difference between fruit and vegetables appears to be clear, there are some problematic cases. One of them is the tomato, which is commonly regarded as a vegetable, although – technically speaking – it is a fruit. The aim of the present paper is to explain the controversies concerning the classification of tomatoes and other similar examples. In particular, the prototype-based approach to categorisation appears to offer a better chance of revealing the mechanisms that stand behind the issue of categorisation, than the classical approach.

Keywords: categorisation, fruit, plant, prototype, vegetable.

1. Introduction

Critics of the European Union have at their disposal a number of examples which expose the inconsistency and illogicality of certain EU regulations. One of them is the statement that the carrot is a fruit, which can be found in a directive relating to fruit jams and other jam-like food products (*Council Directive 2001/113/EC*).[1] A careful reader of the document will notice that it is "for the purposes of this Directive" that the above-mentioned foodstuffs are included into the category FRUIT. This, in turn, suggests that – rather than being undereducated – the authors of the directive tried to avoid further complication of EU legislation while accounting for certain unique regional recipes. In other words, they wanted to – so to speak – have their jam and eat it.

1 The document is a revised version of the *Council Directive 79/693/EEC*.

It is not the aim of the present paper to argue for or against legislative proposals of EU bureaucrats, let alone the EU itself. Yet I will argue that ordinary EU citizens (or language users) display a similar craving for order, which sometimes leads them to equally paradoxical conclusions.

2. Fruit: a definition

First, however, let us try to come up with a clear definition of the category that has caused the confusion, namely FRUIT. Traditionally, it contrasts with the category VEGETABLE, both denoting food derived from plants. As to the differences, on the face of it, enumerating properties common to all members of a category which is so familiar to human beings appears to be child's play. Yet a moment of reflection suffices to reveal the difficulties inherent in the task. Firstly, there is no clearly distinguishable shape that all fruits share: arguably, the majority of them are round or roundish (oranges, peaches, berries, grapes, apples, *etc.*), or oval (lemons, kiwis, *etc.*). However, there are popular fruits with distinct non-round shape, such as strawberries, bananas, or pineapples. Colour is of even less assistance, for while red, yellow and green seem the most common, in fact fruits occupy almost the whole spectrum of light perceptible by humans.[2] Taste appears to be more promising, as most fruits are praised for their sweetness. Even so, some fruits – such as grapefruit, lemon, lime and pomegranate – are bitter or sour. Finally, the sense of touch can offer some clues, albeit not conclusive. In particular, many fruits are succulent, yet many others are pulpy. To add to the confusion, virtually all of the above-mentioned potential defining characteristics may vary within the species.[3]

Having been failed by common knowledge, we may turn to more technical aspects of the category in question. From the botanical point of view, a fruit is a mature ovary containing one or more seeds from which another specimen of a particular plant may evolve (*EB*). At first glance there is nothing controversial about this definition, and most people would probably see it as a welcome solution to the problem. Yet the logical consequence of such an assumption may be more difficult to accept. In particular, taking the seed as a basis for the definition means including tomatoes, cucumbers, beans, corn and all kinds of nuts into the category FRUIT. Yes, technically speaking, these are all fruits, although most people would probably not classify them as such.[4]

As can be seen, there is an evident mismatch between the scientific and popular understanding of the category FRUIT, the latter being less accurate and objective. The question arises, then, whether we should discuss the naïve view of the concept of FRUIT at all, given its shortcomings. The answer is (obviously) "yes," not only for the sake of satisfying the academic thirst for knowledge about the meanders of human reasoning, but also, or – we should say – first of all, because it is the nonscientific interpretation that most people usually employ. In other words, it may not be true, yet it is real. Thus, a researcher's task

2 The only colour absent from fruits is blue, although some could be described as "bluish."

3 Consider, for instance, the range of different hues, shapes, sizes and tastes which can be found in apples.

4 We may mention in passing another problem with the botanical definition: many fruits sold commercially – for instance nearly all bananas – are in fact seedless clones of a single cultivar, that is, a plant variety obtained through selective breeding (*EFN*). Obviously, we might at this point object to this argument on the grounds that seedless fruits are mutant forms of their "seed-full" counterparts. Still, it does not change the fact that a banana bought at a local marketplace will almost certainly be lacking seeds, and yet nobody will question its status as a fruit.

is to explain the origin of the discrepancy as well as the appeal of the popular view. Let us begin, however, with a few comments concerning the internal structure of the category in question.

3. Fruit as a prototype category

The necessity of accounting for the internal structure of the non-expert version of the category FRUIT stems from the fact that – unlike its scientific counterpart – it eludes the traditional, or classical approach to categorisation by means of listing the so-called *essential features*, a concept which goes back to Aristotle (see Tredennick 1933: 239). Instead, it resembles Wittgenstein's ([1953] 1978: 31–33) example of GAME, a category held together by a network of family resemblances, whereby even the most characteristic properties are shared only by some members of a category. Thus, we can find various configurations of shape, size, colour, taste, *etc.* among fruits, yet there is no feature common to all. The presence of seeds is of little help either, since they can also be found in tomatoes, cucumbers, nuts, *etc.*, which are not perceived as members of the category in question. By the same token, the information that a fruit is part of a plant is too general to be useful.

Importantly, admitting the limitations of the classical approach and viewing the concept of FRUIT as a Wittgensteinian category does not necessarily mean accepting overwhelming chaos. To put it differently, treating none of the properties as universal does not mean regarding all of them as equally important. Indeed, some properties are more common and/or more salient than others. Consequently, we may distinguish the centre and the periphery of the category, or – to use the terminology introduced by American cognitive anthropologists and psychologists (see Berlin & Kay 1969; Heider 1971, 1972; Rosch 1975) – *prototypical* and *peripheral* members.

3.1. The apple: a prototypical fruit

The attributes mentioned above, such as sweetness, round shape or succulence, apply to the prototypical representatives of the category FRUIT, rather than to all. There are many fruits which fulfil these criteria, such as peaches, cherries, oranges, or mangoes. Yet within Western civilisation the apple seems the natural candidate.

The plant originated in Central Asia and was probably one of the earliest trees to be cultivated (Sauer 1993: 110). Apple trees were widely grown in ancient Greece and Rome and the fruit found its way into mythology, for instance as the object which led to the Trojan War. As a matter of fact, the cultural status of the apple was already well-established in the Roman Empire, for it survived the transition from paganism to Christianity, settling firmly in the position of "forbidden fruit."[5] The apple was present in the minds of Europeans (and later also Americans) in various settings between the Middle Ages and the 21st century. It can be found on the head of William Tell's son, in the anecdote explaining how Isaac Newton discovered gravitation, in the German folk tale (collected by the Brothers Grimm) *Snow White*, in the nickname for the New York City, and in the name and logo of a prominent technology company.

The importance of the apple for the Western culture is also visible in the number of idioms and proverbs alluding to the fruit in various languages. Some, like *apple of discord* and *Adam's apple*, are derived

5 The Bible does not in fact mention the fruit by its name, yet Christian tradition often gave it the form of an apple, which can be seen in the art of Albrecht Dürer, Hans Holbein the Younger and Peter Paul Rubens, to provide but a few examples.

from the classical and biblical traditions (the *OED*). Others, such as *rotten apple* or *the apple doesn't fall far from the tree*, are examples of folk wisdom, with the fruit in question serving as a vehicle for describing traits of character (*CALD*). Yet others, like *the apple of one's eye* (the *OED*), draw on the characteristics of the fruit itself, which in this case is its roundness.[6]

Finally, and more to the point as far as the structure of the category fruit is concerned, the apple was so deep rooted in European culture that in various European languages its name can be seen as synonymous with the one denoting fruit in general. Thus, in ancient Greece *μῆλον* 'apple' was also used as a generic term for fruits, especially exotic ones (*OLED*). The Romans used the term *mālum*, borrowed from the Greeks, to refer to apples, but also any soft fruit with a kernel inside, for example peaches, quinces, lemons, *etc.* (*LD*). Latin *pōmum*, in turn, which denoted both fruit in general and apples in particular (*LD*), became the source of French *pomme* 'apple' (*DD*). As a matter of fact, the French copied the classical pattern, for when the potato and tomato were brought to Europe from newly-discovered America in the 16th century, they were named, respectively, *pomme de terre*[7] and *pomme d'amour*[8] or *pomme d'or*,[9] the latter two having been finally replaced by *tomate* only in the 19th century (*TLFi*).[10] Likewise, between the 16th and 19th centuries the forms *love-apple* and *apple of love* could also be found in English (the *OED*). Even earlier than that, we can find O.E. *eorþæppla* 'cucumbers,'[11] M.E. *appel of paradis* 'banana,' and M.E. *pineapple*[12] (the *OED*, *OLED*).

3.2. The tomato: a vegetable-like fruit

The above examples lead us to the question why the tomato, apparently once seen as a kind of fruit, is now considered a vegetable. The dilemma is not new and is by no means of academic nature only. In the 1880s, it gained a practical dimension in the United States of America after the introduction of a tariff which included imported vegetables, yet omitted fruits (Smith 1994: 151). The case ended up in the U.S. Supreme Court, which resolved it in 1893 by stating that:

> Botanically speaking, tomatoes are the fruit of a vine, just as are cucumbers, squashes, beans, and peas. But in the common language of the people, whether sellers or consumers of provisions, all these are vegetables which are grown in kitchen gardens, and which, whether eaten cooked or raw, are, like potatoes, carrots, parsnips, turnips, beets, cauliflower, cabbage, celery, and lettuce, usually served at dinner in, with, or after the soup, fish, or meats which constitute the principal part of the repast, and not, like fruits generally, as dessert. (*Nix v. Hedden* 1893)

6 The apple stands here for the (supposedly round) pupil. The fact that there is a substantial number of fruits which are more round than the apple only proves its strong position in our culture.

7 Literally 'apple of the earth.'

8 Literally 'apple of love.'

9 Literally 'apple of gold.' This variant may be either a reference to a variety of the fruit, or – as reported by *FDLNT* and *OLED* – a corruption of Italian *pomodoro* (literally 'apple of gold'), which, in turn, was a corruption of earlier Italian *pomo da moro* (literally 'Moorish apple'). The Italian term is the source of Polish *pomidor* 'tomato' (*SWO*).

10 The two phytonyms can still be heard in the south of France (*TLFi*).

11 Literally 'earth-apples'; this term is mentioned in one source only.

12 Interestingly, the term originally meant 'pine cone,' so it was used metaphorically to describe a part of a plant that was not a real fruit. However, once it was extended – also metaphorically – to include the species *Ananas comosus*, as well as its fruit, it came close to making a full circle.

Thus, the right answer to the question which category – FRUIT or VEGETABLE – the tomato belongs to is: "both." This is possible if we assume that the former is in fact a double category, a botanical one (part of a plant) and a culinary one (food). The two overlap, yet are not identical. It is the latter which contrasts with VEGETABLE.

Still, this does not explain why within folk taxonomy the tomato is *not* a fruit. After all, apart from having seeds, it shares some properties with many other fruits: it is round and juicy – in fact more so than the apple. True, it is not as sweet as the latter, but then again, some varieties of the apple are actually sour, so sweetness is not the only criterion. It may be the intensity that makes the difference – the tomato has low sugar content and does not "oversweeten" the dish it is included in. Consequently, it is used in soups, sauces, sandwiches, *etc.*, or a side dish, similarly to vegetables and other vegetable-like fruits, such as cucumbers and peppers, as well as legumes (including peas and beans).[13]

As a matter of fact, not all problematic cases of fruits are confused with vegetables. Some are actually perceived as separate categories. These include various kinds of nuts, such as the chestnut, hazelnut,[14] or acorn, as well as cereal grains, such as the wheat, barley, oats, rye, maize and rice. From the botanical point of view, all of them are classified as dry fruits, as are the edible parts of buckwheat and sunflowers (Mauseth 2009: 535).

3.3. The carrot: a fruit-like vegetable

It needs to be stated that the above-mentioned criterion of cuisine does not save the classical approach to categorisation. On the contrary, the conventional element appears to invite a breach.[15] Thus, the FRUIT/VEGETABLE distinction does not correlate strictly with that of DESSERT/MAIN COURSE, as can be seen in the traditional roast turkey with cranberry sauce, a staple of American Thanksgiving dinner and British Christmas dinner, or carrot jam, a Portuguese delicacy.[16] The latter example is precisely what stood behind including carrots in the list of fruits in the above-mentioned EU directive (Bernard 2013: 98). For the carrot, similarly to prototypical fruits, is sweet; sweet enough to use it as the main ingredient of a jam or a cake. Other vegetables which have fruit-like properties are rhubarb[17] and sweet potatoes, both mentioned in the directive under discussion.[18]

Admittedly, part of the confusion concerning the classification of fruits stems from the lack of symmetry between the categories FRUIT and VEGETABLE. In particular, while the former – even as a type

13 The term *legume* comes from French *légume*, whose primary sense – strangely enough – is 'vegetable,' although it can also refer to legumes (the *OED, TLFi*).

14 It should not perhaps by now come as a surprise that not all *-nuts* are in fact nuts. Specifically, the walnut, coconut (and also almond) belong to drupes, together with cherries and peaches, while the peanut is a legume (*EB*).

15 *Cf.* the saying *rules are made to be broken*, which illustrates the rebellious or – alternatively – experimental side of human nature.

16 Carrot jam should by no means be regarded as a radical example of category mixing, especially if one takes into account bacon or garlic ice-cream.

17 Rhubarb stalks, to be more specific.

18 Interestingly, the directive also includes vegetable-like fruits, such as tomatoes, cucumbers, pumpkins, melons and watermelons (*Council Directive 2001/113/EC*), apparently because of their dubious status. Following this train of thought, we may – with a pinch of salt – define such a food item as "a fruit which is used as a vegetable which may be used as a fruit."

of food – is derived from a specific part of a plant, in the case of the latter we can only say that it is *some* part of a plant, usually, but – as the example of the tomato shows – not always, other than fruit.[19]

4. Concluding remarks

Although the classical approach to categorisation may be useful for describing the outside world, our interpretation of it – as we have seen – apparently complies with the prototype approach, despite our deeply ingrained longing for order. As for the tomatoes, surely nobody expects consumers to go to a greengrocer's or a supermarket – having learnt that they are fruit – and demand their relocation to the proper category. After all, as observed by the British journalist, musician and broadcaster, Miles Kington (2003), "knowledge consists of knowing that a tomato is a fruit, and wisdom consists of not putting it in a fruit salad."

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19 This may be the stem (asparagus), root (beets, carrots, radishes, etc.), leaves (cabbage, lettuce, rhubarb, spinach, *etc.*), tuber (potatoes), bulb (garlic, leeks, onions) or flower (cauliflower, broccoli).

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Means and Forms of Czech-Polish Semi-Communication via SMS

Abstract

It was Einar Haugen (1966) who introduced into linguistics the term semi-communication. He examined the means of verbal communication in a group of three Scandinavian languages, the interlocutors of which used different language codes in one communication act. Asymmetry of such a discourse is manifested by a communiqué formulated in one mother tongue and perceived by a recipient on the basis of his/her own vernacular code knowledge. This article aims at analysing means and forms of Czech-Polish semi-communication via SMS. The investigation indicates that writers used in their SMS messages intended for the other-language recipients especially those linguistic means, by which they seek to increase the clarity of text messages intended for recipients – speakers of closely related (West Slavonic) languages.

Keywords: semi-communication, receptive multilingualism, intelligibility, Czech, Slovak, Polish.

1. Introduction

1.1

The term semi-communication, introduced into linguistics by Einar Haugen (1966) while examining the means of verbal communication in a group of three Scandinavian languages, represents an asymmetric form of discourse that involves interlocutors using different language codes in one communication act. Asymmetry of such a discourse is manifested by a communiqué formulated in one mother tongue and perceived by a recipient on the basis of his/her own vernacular code knowledge. Such a form of communication places on the communicating participants greater demands: in order for the verbal communication to be effective, the producer/originator tends to choose such language resources, which

he/she considers to be for the other-language recipient as understandable as possible. The greater the effort the communiqué sender makes in choice of language means, the lesser effort in deciphering of a foreign-language text is demanded from the recipient.

Research in semi-communication currently follows two general paths: first is the continual research in *parole*,[1] which explores language elements implemented in a discourse, the second approach (new) looks into a proximal distance on the *langue* level, especially by employing the Conditional entropy method; research using this method is conducted between Danish, Swedish and Norwegian languages (Bokmål) (Gooskens 2006). The Conditional entropy method allows researchers to measure the relative distance between different languages, which means that for one participant of a semi-communication is the language of the communication partner closer/farther than the other one (Mooberg *et al*. 2007).

From the communicants' point of view the act of semi-communication is a part of a receptive multilingualism (Braunmüller 2007). The receptive multilingualism is seen as a twin-coded communication in which passively bilingual interlocutors are able to understand each other. To be passively generally assumes a prior stage of conscious learning of a language. The semi-communication, however, does not rely on the communicant's conscious language learning, but in order to have a semi-communication at all, three conditions must be fulfilled/met.

The first condition is a close relationship between languages, in which the communicants communicate.

The second condition is institutional links between environments in which the other-language discourse participants operate: the existence of shared public and public-service organizations and agencies, government bodies, and consequently the public media. Such an environment then increases a need of a contact between speakers of two or more languages. For this reason, semi-communication is more likely to be encountered in countries with federal or confederative structure and in countries with mutual above-standard relationships. Closer contacts between members of such other-language states and countries happen on cultural, social and political levels.

The third condition is an absence of conscious learning of the language of the communication partner.[2]

1.2

Semi-communication as partial twin-coded communication was from the 1970s also studied among the West-Slavic languages, but only on a limited level focusing at a contact between Czech and Slovak speakers, bearers of different written languages who lived in a single state structure (Horecký 1979; Budovičová 1982; Lipowski 2005; Nábělková 2008). In order to properly examine the semi-communication

1 Intelligibility between Danish, Swedish and Norwegian speakers explicitly examined Maurud, Ø. (1976) "Reciprocal comprehension of neighbour languages in Scandinavia." [In:] *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research* 20; 46–52.

2 Based on European institutions forecasts, Michael Clyne (2003, "Towards inter-cultural communication in Europe without linguistic homogenization." [In:] *Die konsten der Mehrspachigkeit. Globalisierung und Sprachliche Vielfalt*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften; 39–48) drew four possible scenarios of possible multi-ethnic communication in the European Union: (1) the communication code is the English language as the lingua franca; (2) a speaker learns several genetically related languages, that are taught in contrast to the principal mother-tongue language code; (3) a speaker acquires several languages that are used in neighbouring states; (4) each speaker uses his mother-tongue and understands the language of other interlocutors. The fourth point includes the semi-communication phenomena which are discussed in this paper.

research among the West Slavic languages would be necessary to use the experience and knowledge of researchers in the semi-communication of the North-Germanic languages.[3]

In this article we try to deepen the knowledge gained from the research of contacts between different languages at the *parole* level and analyse communication via SMS messages between speakers of two West Slavic languages – Czech and Polish, and marginally the Slovak language. The purpose of the SMS communication analysis is to pinpoint the linguistic means by which the communiqué producers consciously modify their messages (Zábranský 2012/2013: 131) or vice versa, modify them without the producer's consciousness (negative transfers). Another purpose of this analysis is to try to establish, whether it is the aim of the producer to convey a clear communiqué to the recipient, or whether it is the unintended use of the other-language elements (transfers).

Although SMS communication research is nowadays being engaged in by a countless number of scholars, research in SMS communication in terms of the use of multiple codes in a single discourse, or even in a one single communiqué among West Slavic languages, is still lacking.

2. SMS analysis

The researched pool of SMS messages were communications made between Czech and Polish speakers, several communiqués between one Slovak and a few Czechs. To complement our research, we also took into consideration a SMS communication between the single-code speakers. Participants were 25–50 years of age. The language source is deposited in the archives of the Regional Prosecutor's Office in Wrocław, Poland (Prokuratura Okręgowa we Wrocławiu) File No. V Ds 79/13.

In the presented data the author (producer, sender) of the SMS message is always marked according to his/her linguistic affiliation (CZ, PL or SK) and gender (m, f), and after the dash the same information about the recipient (recipient, addressee). Accurate data regarding the age of the communicants could not be determined.

The available source did not allow tracking of the recipients' responses – from the SMS messages was it not possible to construct dialogues. Therefore, we focused entirely on research of language means that were used by producers of such communiques. Depending on the nature of language resources, which the sender thought would help the recipient in understanding the communication, we divided them into:

1. specific-purpose borrowings;
2. quotation expressions;
3. contact variants;
4. means of substandard spheres of a language.

2.1. Specific-purpose borrowings

The term "specific-purpose borrowings" refers to words and terms of the recipient's language used in the producer/sender communiqué that are different form their mother tongue vocabulary, yet the sender feels their relationship (often because of common Slavic origin), so it is incorporated into the morphological

3 Lipowski (2012, 2013a).

structure of their own language (and language of the communiqué). These borrowings are typical only for a language of a specific speaker and serves its purpose only in a particular situation. We divided them into nouns determining relative positioning/localization, transfers of auxiliary verbs, pronominal numerals and pronominal adverbs in the role of adverbial determination and expressions regarded by the sender as somehow characteristic/symptomatic.

2.1.1. Nouns determining the relative localization

CZ2(m)I-PL4(f): […] szukam auto gieudu v lubine. […]

PL(m)-CZ2(m): Ona ma tylko auto na lubin a barak ma w krzywej jak jedziesz z chojnowa na dalnice. To je jej cislo.zavolaj do nej jak budes.[…].vesnica krzywa.

PL(m)-CZ2(m): Zavolaj misi jak ne bude viedet gde moj tatko ma byt niech mi zavola a pocka pod lekarnia.ja cekam u ojca

PL(m)-CZ2(m): Ne.rekles ze cekam u tatka nebo na bytu gde lekarna?

PL1(m)1-CZ(f): mam zl.ale na dalnici w krzywej masz nonstop zmieniarne.kantor masz korony czeskie? muzesz zamienic? Kolik masz km.ja cxekam na bytu.

By using the specific-purpose borrowings that determine the relative location of an object, the author of the communiqué tries to indicate the place of a meeting, specific intention or position (even relative). Czech expressions used for this purpose are in Polish communiqué adapted morphologically, *e.g. vesnica* (*vesnice* [village]), phonetically *lekarnia* (*lékárna* [pharmacy]), or both ways *zmieniarne* (acc. as *směnárnu* [exchange office]). For prepositional phrases both Polish and Czech speakers leave prepositional phrase in the original (morphologically not adapted) form: *na dalnici* (*na dálnici* [on the highway]), *na bytu* (*na bytě* [at the flat]).

CZ(f)-CZ(m): Je to zlutastacia Lotos s Mekacem.Milu Slapni na to,nebo tady umrznu

The above example does not represent a real semi-communication, it is a message sent by a Czech speaker to another Czech speaker. However, it demonstrates the sender's effort to give the exact position in the other-language environment in order to easily identify the place stated in the message. Polish proper noun *Lotos* is characterized by a Polish common noun *stacja* (*stanice* [petrol station]) developed by Czech attributive adjective *žlutá* [yellow].

2.1.2. Auxiliary verb **být** *[to be]*

Frequent verb *být* [to be][4] in personal forms is registered/noticed in the original form by Czech authors:

4 Verb "to be":

	Czech language			Polish language		
	person	**present tense**	**future tense**	**person**	**present tense**	**future tense**
singular	já [I]	jsem	budu	ja	jestem	będę
	ty [You]	jsi	budeš	ty	jesteś	będziesz
	on, ona, ono [He, She, It]	je	bude	on, ona, ono	jest	będzie

CZ(M)-PL(f): Jestem

CZ2(m)-PL3(m): Czest,kde ted jestes, my jsme v Psiem poli

CZ2(m)I-PL4(f): Prepraszam,jestem u legnici […]

Whereas the Polish writer creates grammatically correct, although symptomatologically syntactical terms:

PL(m)-CZ2(m) Budes do poludnia?

PL(m)-CZ(m) […] reklem ze budes za 20min

PL(m)-CZ(m): Kiedy budes?

Here, the auxiliary verb *budeš* [will be] requires addition of a proverbial determination of a location. It is possible to declare, that a price for an intelligible communication in this case (by using a Czech auxiliary verb in the correct form in the second person singular) is a negative transfer from the Polish language in the form of unexpressed adverbial determination.

In the following communication by a Polish sender emerge a Morphological calque – negative transfer of an imperfective future form as a composite form of the verb *bude jít* [will go]:

PL(m)-CZ(m): prosim te.musis byc pred 1:00 moja kunda zena rekla ze bude jit kolem 1:00 a jak ne budu mit auta mam jit taxikiem a nema juz penidzy

2.1.3. Pronominal numerals and adverbs with adverbial function

In a brief verbal SMS communication is important to put accent particularly on the clarity of the most important components of the text. In the case of arranging a meeting via SMS a precise definition of a place and a time of such an appointment is required (see also section 1.1). Communicants therefore seek those expressions, that would allow locating time and place, and in order to provide that information as univocally as possible, they choose such lexemes which they consider to be familiar to addressees:

CZ2(m)-PL(m): Ok.jeste nevim jestli tam pojedu, ale i tak chci s tebou dnes nebo jutro mluvit.

PL(m)-CZ2(m): Plus antena?to dobra cena.ok tak czekam zitra na tebe u ojca.

PL(m)-CZ(m) jo ale nie odbiera.zavolam mu zitra znowu.

PL(m)-CZ2(m): Wez mi trochu do kurenia.diky

	Czech language			Polish language		
	person	**present tense**	**future tense**	**person**	**present tense**	**future tense**
plural	my [We]	jsme	budeme	my	jesteśmy	będziemy
	vy [You]	jste	budete	wy	jesteście	będziecie
	oni [They]	jsou	budou	oni	są	będą

PL(m)-CZ(m): posluchaj jak to udelamy.dnes wececer prijet na byt a zitra rano pojedymy po auto z chojnowa.

PL(m)-CZ(m): Kiedy budes?

One of the Polish speakers with a greater linguistic competence created a whole string of connections, or syntagma, using the aforementioned parts of speech:

PL1(m)-CZ2(m): Budu dnes vecer nebo zitra po poludniu ale myslim ze zitra.ciao

In this subgroup, we would include use of the Slovak adverb of time in a communication between a Czech and Slovak speaker:

CZ(m)-SK(m): Zajtra?ok?

Strong influence of foreign-language environments and foreign-language communicants is also reflected in the penetration of certain frequent expressions into communication of the same-code speakers. Such expression is the pronominal number *ile* (*kolik* [how much]):

CZ(f)-CZ(m): Jo napisu mu to mam se do te Sotey rano pro jistotu stavit?Jo a ile"

2.1.4. Expressions recognized by the sender as expressive or otherwise significantly characteristic

In the last group of the specific-purpose borrowings we included expressions characteristic or perceived as somehow striking, expressive and sometimes humorous by the sender. The noun *maminka* [mother] is usually perceived by Polish speakers as having a diminutive yet powerful positive characteristic of something warmly childish:

PL1(m)1-CZ(f): […] Jerzy maminka: Danuta

PL(m)-CZ2(m): […] luci chce z mamka sie videt i adwokat chce cislo a dane dowodu osobistego maminki.

In the following communiqué, the Polish author took advantage of the so called interlingual homonymy. Noun *barák*, which is in the Czech language a synonym for a villa or an opulent building, has in Polish meaning as 'shack' or 'house falling apart':

PL(m)-CZ2(m): Ok.dnes?nebo jak?ona ma 2 bambini a z tatkiem na baraku.

PL1(m)1-CZ1(f): ne.mimi na baraku a ja z klaudia.budu zitra na baraku ale mimi rekl ze dnes budu jit na czechy.

It could be said with a high degree of certainty, that the semantic contrast of nouns *barák*/*barak* [house], that indicate in the Polish language similar denotation as in the Czech language – 'a building,' but

in the Czech with positive, whereas in Polish with negative connotations, was for the Polish speaker an impulse to learn this word and use it in communication. From both messages it is clear that both Polish speakers knew the Czech connotative meaning of the noun, which automatically means they were aware of their semantic contrast, manifested in extent (intensity) of its properties.[5]

As a phonetically expressive term, from the speaker's point of view, also could be seen with the adverb *všechno* [everything] in a Slovak communiqué:

SK(m)-CZ(m): Je vsechno ok? Lebo si sa uz vcera neozval

2.2. Quotation expressions

As a quotation expression, words or phrases are usually identified as foreign, that are not adapted to the neither phonetic nor morphological systems of the receiving language (compare also Hrbáček 1971).

2.2.1. Application of quotation expressions in single-coded communication

In the available texts, quotation expressions are found in the vast majority of single-coded Czech-Czech communiqués, less than in Slovak-Czech communiqués. Although they fulfil the condition of a semi-communication only in the latter case, the communications between the same-language speakers are interesting for the discussed topic, because these foreign codes are used to improve verbal understanding, and not for reasons to make the message more interesting:

CZ(f)-CZ(m): 290 zl + podatek 206 zl. Pracuje do 17

CZ(m)-CZ(f): Kurva,neodjebavej nema prawo jazdy…jeste by to hodila do skarpy!bude set i libit.

CZ(f)-CZ(m): Jo napisu mu to mam se do te Sotey rano pro jistotu stavit?Jo a ile"

CZ(m)-CZ2(m): Jsi normalni!kolem ktere??musim se domluvit i s fiestou!!

CZ(f)-CZ(m) Budu na tom druhem numeru

In some cases, the quotation expressions show qualities of borrowings (the phrase *kolem které* [around what time] or the verb *koštovat* [taste] which in this case has the meaning 'the price of'):

CZ(f)-CZ(m): Jo napisu mu to,mam se do te Sotey rano,pro jistotu stavit?Jo a ile by mela max. kostovat,ta chatrc?

CZ(f)-CZ(m): ? by měla max.koštovat ta chatrč?

CZ(f)-CZ(m): Uz jsem tu,zaraz ti napisu ile to bude kostovat

The Polish principal verb *kosztować* [cost], which occurs in the three following communiqués, is adapted several times by the Czech speaker. Since it is a phonetic adaptation, thus external, it is considered as

5 Nouns *barák*/*barak* [house] can also be seen as the contact variant – see section 2.3.

the quotation expression. At the same time, however, this verb performs the role of the contact synonym (see section 2.3).

2.2.2. Quotation expressions in Slovak-Czech semi-communication

Slovak-Czech SMS communication uses some Czech phrases traditionally known in the Slovak environment. It seems that the Slovak sender not only increases the intelligibility of a communication for the perception to the Czech speaker, but especially brings to the communiqué some inner delight in the updated news:

SK(m)-CZ(m): Ok.ja taky

SK(m)-CZ(m): To vis ze jo. Ok volaj potom ahoj

A sort of "attractiveness" in updating the message by other language codes is evidenced by a SMS message containing elements of the three codes: the Slovak communiqué is "spiced up" by Polish pronominal adverb *kiedy* [when] and the Czech expressive verb *makám* [toil, plod]. The communiqué, although unique in the available source of messages, may be another sign that the Slovaks are from the entire West Slavic language group the most adaptable while in contact with neighbouring Slavic language speakers:

SK(m)-CZ(m): Kiedy . Ja teraz makam lebo som 4 dni zameskal

2.3. Contact variants/alternatives/options

2.3.1

The main product of interlingual (twin-coded) communication between users of close languages are contact variants (contact synonyms) (Buzássyová 1993; Lipowski 2013a, 2013b). A contact variant (usually lexeme or phrasal idiom) in semi-communication is typical particularly to spoken language. Contact variants are basically interlingual synonyms, that are identical or very similar in form, but their meanings are not identical. In one of the languages used in twin-coded communication the contact variant is symptomatological, but it does not exceed the boundaries of that language standard. Contact variants are various parts of speech, with the absolute majority of semantic verbs and nouns.

2.3.1.1

Among the semantic verbs dominates verbum dicendi *říci/říct* [say], which Polish speakers identifies with the old Polish word *rzec*. That has in the contemporary Polish language a flavour of an old-fashioned style or bookishness. The neutral prefixed form is *orzec*. In the semi-communicates sent by Polish writers, the verb *říci/říct* is used for most of the time in correct form for the Czech language:

PL(m)-CZ2(m): Kamil volal i rekl ze motor funguje ale dal starter do kontroli i starter bierze 100 apmer mocy .to je za viele o 90%.jak tak zostawi to za miesiac budu tensam problem.hleda tec starter. rekl ze to 80-100zl.bude

PL(m)-CZ2(m): A masz dane starej bednarowej dla adwokata?rekla ci miska?luci chce z mamka sie videt i adwokat chce cislo a dane dowodu osobistego maminki.

PL(m)-CZ2(m): Dobry kamrat jestes.dekuju ci i jeszcze raz przepraszam.edyta rekla ze chce sie szukac z toba.co ty na to?

PL1(m)-Cz(m) Vecer budu w legnicy z klaudia.zavolaj 2h pred.rekne ci gde jestem.

PL(m)-CZ(m): jisem ne jechal bo miska rekla ze to udela.ze ja mam ne jechac.to wsechno co mi rekles o nej to prawda...teraz to vidim.drugi raz ne jedu nigdzie.ja sem

PL(m)-CZ(m): ted?mogu jechac z tobou dnes ale vecer.ja ty a gosia ok?jestem na dalnicy.volam do godi ale rekla mi ze to ne prawda ze sem byl po auto a jebla telefonem

PL(m)-CZ(m): prosim te.musis byc pred 1:00 moja kunda zena rekla ze bude jit kolem 1:00 a jak ne budu mit auta mam jit taxikiem a nema juz penidzy

PL1(m)-CZ1(f): ne.mimi na baraku a ja z klaudia.budu zitra na baraku ale mimi rekl ze dnes budu jit na czechy.

PL1(m)-CZ1(f): misia reknij mili zeby poslal mi sms nebo ma penidze dnes nebo ne?jak ma tak bude dnes jak nema tak nebudu.zitra mousim zostac z klaudia.

PL(m)-CZ2(m): […] volal i rekl ze motor funguje ale dal starter do kontroli i starter bierze 100 apmer mocy .to je za viele o 90%.jak tak zostawi to za miesiac budu tensam problem.hleda tec starter. rekl ze to 80-100zl.bude

Sometimes the Polish speaker adapts this word morphologically to his/her native code:

PL(m)-CZ2(m): Poslalem jej sms i reklem ze zavolas jak budes.tam je pompa orlen.reklem ze tam budes cekat

PL(m)-Cz(m) jak muzesz koupit 500 bude super.je 500 i newim czy 400 mi sprzeda.moze reknoc wsechne nebo nic.jak nebudes mit penidze na 500 zostaw na 400.

PL(m)-CZ (m) […] barak otwarty muzesz isc do srodka.reklem ze budes za 20min

PL(m)-CZ(m): moja zena czeka na mnie w legnicy a chce byn jechal do klaudii.moge jej reknoc ze dojedu zitra wecer ale dnes musim jit na legnicu.mimi ja sem twoj prija

PL1(m)-CZ1(f): reknij mimi by koupil mi czarne(ciemne) piwo.diky

PL1(m)-CZ1(f): reknij mili niech mi zavola

2.3.1.2

In order to establish a contact, the common Polish greeting *Witam* [hello, welcome] is used by a Czech speaker in the message aimed at a Polish recipient:

CZ2(m)-PL5(m): Witam,proshe te,nehodil by jsi me, z Dobroszowa do Wroclawi?

In the message above a distinct effort of the sender to attract more attention from the message recipient – a Polish taxi driver, could be seen. In the greeting function the contact variant *witam* has to be regarded as a symptomatologic (in the Czech language the greeting requires the personal pronoun in the subject: *vítám vás* [(I) welcome you]). Peculiarity of this formulation is further manifested by the fact that the Czech sender used this expression in connection with a verb in the second person singular, while in modern-day Polish communication, the greeting *witam* is commonly used when making contact in electronic media.

2.3.1.3

The verb *szukać* is used by a Czech speaker in accordance with the Polish meaning 'search':

CZ2(m)I-PL4(f): Prepraszam,jestem u legnici a szukam auto gieudu v lubine.

The Polish verb *szukać* is formally homonymous with synchronous Czech expressive word *šukat* in the sense of having sexual intercourse.[6] Polish speakers have used this verb twice in the reflexive form with the reversible pronoun *się* [one-self], apparently due to identification of this word with the Polish expressive reversible verb *pieprzyć się* [fuck]:

PL(m)-CZ2(m): Reknij edycie kiedy dojade na barak do tebe.ona chce sie szukac z tobou

PL(m)-CZ2(m): Dobry kamrat jestes.dekuju ci i jeszcze raz przepraszam.edyta rekla ze chce sie szukac z toba.co ty na to?

2.3.1.4

The same Polish speaker uses a different verb dicendi closely linked to the telephone communication – *zavolat*, exploiting the Czech meaning of this word 'to make a phone call' (a meaning unknown to Polish language). This verb is used in various forms in accordance with the Czech meaning, the imperative form is only adapted:

PL(m)-CZ2(m): Poslalem jej sms i reklem ze zavolas jak budes.tam je pompa orlen.reklem ze tam budes cekat

PL(m)-CZ2(m): Kamil volal i rekl ze motor funguje ale dal starter do kontroli i starter bierze 100 apmer mocy. […]

PL(m)-CZ2(m): Zavolaj mi jak wstaniesz

PL(m)-CZ2(m): Zavolaj misi jak ne bude viedet gde moj tatko ma byt niech mi zavola a pocka pod lekarnia.ja cekam u ojca

6 The Czech verb *šukat* [fuck] is synchronously expressive. As an archaism it also occurs in the sense as 'look intensively and quickly for something,' 'search swiftly,' 'deftly move around the room' or 'move agilely.'

PL(m)-CZ(m): ted?mogu jechac z tobou dnes ale vecer.ja ty a gosia ok?jestem na dalnicy.volam do godi ale rekla mi ze to ne prawda ze sem byl po auto a jebla telefonem

2.3.1.5

Czech verb *volat* [call] in the above sense is related to the Polish verb *dzwonić*[7] [call] that the Czech speaker uses in accordance with the meaning in Polish language while messaging to a Polish recipient.

PL(m)-CZ2(m): Poslalem jej sms i reklem ze zavolas jak budes.tam je pompa orlen.reklem ze tam budes cekat

PL(m)-CZ2(m): Kamil volal i rekl ze motor funguje […]

CZ2(m)-PL(m): Ja jsem mu vcora dzvonil.

2.3.1.6

To express the meaning of the word *odjet* [leave, drive away] the Czech speaker uses the prefixed verb *vyjet* [start, depart] in line with the Polish meaning, commonly used in the Czech language as well. In this case, it cannot be unequivocally said, that this is a semi-communication phenomenon or interference:

CZ2(m)-PL(m): Promin,vyjizdela pred 11h.na autostrade byl wypaDek.rikal jsem ji to at tam je do 12h.

CZ2(m)-PL(m): bude.Misa,pred 10min.vyjela.

2.3.1.7

The verb *podobać się* [like] is used with the correct meaning in the following Czech communiqué:

CZ2(m)-PL(m): Ve wroclawiu,ale niepodoba se mi tu.

2.3.1.8

In the following messages conducted in Polish, the Polish sender uses the less common word *drzewo*, a noun meaning 'mass' (it is, however, very likely that it is slang term for forbidden goods). On the contrary, the Czech speaker used in response to the Polish recipient the standard Polish word *drewno* [wood]:

PL3(m)-CZ2(m): Czy po poludniu bedziecie w domu ? Drzewo chca przywiezc.

CZ2(m)-PL3(m): Juz jsi to drewno kupil?

PL3(m)-CZ2(m): halo Drzewo dzis czy jutro?

PL3(m)-CZ2(m): Drzewa nie bedzie bo nie ma jak prywiezc.

7 The Czech verb *zvonit* has a meaning of 'sound the bell' or 'to produce the sound of a bell.'

2.3.2

A part of the contact variant nouns are expressions technical in nature, coming from the field of engineering, informatics or construction:

PL(f1)-CZ2(m): Jak budes na baraku zavolaj mi.mam klienta na hyundaia.

PL(m)-CZ2(m): Mimi tu je spetny sygnal.krzywa 39.przed pompa do prawa a 600m barak z niebieskim dachem

PL(m)-Cz(m) 60….04 pani halinka.barak otwarty muzesz isc do srodka. […]

PL(m)-CZ2(m): Ona ma tylko auto na lubin a barak ma w krzywej jak jedziesz z chojnowa na dalnice. To je jej cislo.zavolaj do nej jak budes.66….74.vesnica krzywa.

PL(m)-CZ2(m): Przyjedz zitra do poludnia po motor.kup bateryku do motoru.ta funguje ale jest stara

PL(m)-CZ(m): ja sem nebyl szofer.ne moja vina.jakbym bym z kim innym ne miska tak by to ne bylo. rekles jej vecer by moja baterke dac do bmw?ona mi rekla bym tego ne robil.

CZ2(m)-PL(m): Pockej tam ja tam dojedu a necham tam motor a toho tvojeho mechanika.ok?

Writers of those messages developed a "successful" effort to avoid misunderstandings – all underlined contact synonyms in Polish communiqués are used with the correct Czech meaning, as well as in Czech communiqués the contact word *motor* [engine – in Czech] is used in Polish (figuratively) in the sense of *motocykl*/*motorka* [motorcycle]. In the Polish communiqué the variant *barák* is used in the sense of 'house,' *i.e.* in the sense in which it is currently and commonly used in colloquial Czech language. Similarly the colloquial term *baterka* [flashlight or battery] is used in the sense of a 'car battery' that is morphologically adapted into Polish. The evidence, that it is a contact variant rather than perhaps a quotation expression, lays in the fact that the Polish writer adapts the lexeme in another communication to the Polish diminutive *bateryjka*. It is significant that such adaptation of this entire lexeme in Polish, compensates, in a sense, a rare morphological non-adaptation: the Polish writer adds the Czech grammatical case ending *bateryjk<u>u</u>* (and not *bateryjkę*).

2.3.3

Between the contact variants, the interjection *cześć* [hi] appears in a communiqué sent by a Czech speaker, in which he employs in the Polish meaning as a standard greeting for contact. In the Czech language the noun *čest* regarded as a form of an out-dated or expressive greeting, but neutral as a noun denoting 'positive moral status or moral clarity' [honour]. On the contrary, the Polish word *cześć* is as a noun, in the sense of 'respect or regard,' rarer.

CZ2(m)-PL3(m): Czest,kde ted jestes, my jsme v Psiem poli

CZ2(m)-PL3(m): Czest,[…] ze tebou prijede okolo 18h.bendes doma?

2.3.4

The purpose of the following communication of a Czech speaker is to seek help with another Czech person to find out a reading from a timetable. The sender used the preposition *okolo* [around] that in Polish language forms the prepositional phrase expressing time (whereas in Czech it is linked with determination of a place). Use of this preposition in Czech-Czech SMS communication can be assessed as negative transfer; due to the communication situation, the nature of the message and type of communicants, it is unlikely that this is the (intentional) updating of SMS:

CZ(f)-CZ(m), Podivej se,kolik mi to jede okolo 17:30

2.4. Means/devices from substandard sphere of a language

2.4.1

Although the Czech communicants are not dialect-speakers, some elements of Salesian-Polish dialect used in the Karviná and Těšínsko region develop into their idiolect. These speakers are aware of the lexical dialect phenomena, which is proven by its application in some SMS communiqués aimed at Polish partners; mostly in use of adverbs:

CZ(m)-PL(f): Jdes chlastat dziszo?

CZ2(m)-PL(m): Sebrali toho kamarada AMG.Jeep bende nachystany dziszo nebo v pondeli.

CZ(m)-PL(f): A cimu tak pozdno?

CZ2(m)-PL(m): Ja jsem mu vcora dzvonil

In one message the noun in the adverbial function of a place *do roboty* [to work] is used. The noun *robota* (work or job in Polish; in Czech it has the colloquial meaning of hard work, drudgery or corvée) is also a contact variant that is in the Salesian-Polish dialect used with the meaning of 'employment' in the sense of 'place of work'[8]:

CZ2(m)-PL(f1): Jdes dziszo do roboty?

2.4.2

This frequent prepositional phrase (*do roboty*) came into communication of two Czech speakers and could be considered as a negative transfer from a dialect to the standard Czech language:

CZ2(m)-CZ(n): V kolik jde do roboty?

2.4.3

On the other hand, in SMS messages sent by a Polish author we can find lexical elements of the substandard Polish language sphere – coming from the Upper-Silesian dialect:

8 In Polish, in this sense, it is somewhat outdated.

PL(m)-CZ(m): Wsechno ok hehe cekam na tebe moj kamracie

PL(m)-CZ2(m): Dobry kamrat jestes.dekuju ci i jeszcze raz przepraszam.edyta rekla ze chce sie szukac z toba.co ty na to?

PL1(m)1-CZ1(f): zavolaj mi co mam robic.ten kamrat czeka.rychle

PL(m)-CZ2(m):Wez mi trochu do kurenia.diky

PL(m)-CZ(m): biegal po tej vescinie hledal pomocy placil za swoje penidze a ona kuryla to gowno w aucie.

2.4.4

In a Slovak-Czech semi-communication is, as a substandard Slovak element, used the verb *pokecať*[9] [chat]:

SK(m)-Czech: Ty si magor. Tak si volame aby sme sa stretli niekde a pokecali ok?

SK(m)-Czech: Urcite budem ale pokecame zajtra okoloobedu by som vyrazil

2.4.5

In one communication the Czech sender has used a regional (Moravian) form of a pronoun, with non-contractional group of phones (in linguistic sense) *oje* familiar in standard Polish:

CZ2(m)-PL(m): Pockej tam ja tam dojedu a necham tam motor a toho tvojeho mechanika.ok?

The application of this pronoun form is rather considered as a negative transfer. Non-contractional forms in shape-forming (in morphemic sense) extension are alive in both Czech-Salesian and Moravian substandard, thus it is likely that the author used it unintentionally.

3. Conclusion

By the analysing of SMS communication between Polish, Czech and Slovak speakers, we have confirmed that writers used in their SMS messages intended for the other-language recipients especially those linguistic means, by which they seek to increase the clarity of text messages intended for recipients – speakers of closely related (West Slavonic) languages.

9 *Kecať* a *pokecať* [chat] are non-standard Slovak lexemes, often used in informal conversation, as well as in dialogic and other texts. In certain circles of Slovak linguists, writers and cultural workers, there is a fight against using this distinct Bohemian lexeme. See for example: Mihalik, Vojtech (1995) *Ako nehrešiť proti slovenčine*. Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo Spolku slovenských spisovateľov.

Table 1. Semi-communication phenomena

Type of semi-communication phenomenon	Number of units	Number of occurrences
Specific purpose borrowings	**22** (23)*	**36** (37)
Contact variants	**12** (13)	**51** (52)
Substandard means	**9** (9)	**13** (14)
Quotation expressions	**4** (12)	**4** (16)

* Numbers in brackets indicate the number of communications including single-coded communication

3.1

The statistical research has shown that in terms of lexical units (rarely also syntactical links) used in the SMS semi-communication are the most frequented the special-purpose borrowings, followed by contact variants and substandard means, which were solely expressions of the regional Silesian dialect used on both sides of the Czech-Polish borders, and the least used were quotation expressions. The analysis also demonstrates that the contact variants are the most common and the most frequent means, by which the writer tries to achieve understandability of the message. A variety of the contact variants, however, is much lower than in the case of the special-purpose borrowings. Thus, it could be concluded that the contact variants are the most characteristic means of semi-communication, writers use them with a high level of consciousness, repeating them in their communiqués, getting used to them as a means of convergence of their native language-code with the closely related language-code of the recipient. In comparison with the special-purpose borrowings, which number is in our research much higher, the contact variants are embedded in the linguistic consciousness of the writer to a higher degree (they are repeated more often in messages), while the application of the special-purpose borrowings derives more from the extra-linguistic reality that consequently motivates the writer, therefore they are repeated in SMS texts relatively much less.

Both Polish and Czech authors of SMS messages used elements of the Silesian dialect, which is used on both sides of the Czech-Polish state borders. Based on the analysis, we believe that the respondents did not know the dialect actively, but passive knowledge of some elements of the dialect are skilfully exploited in their text messages. Some elements of the dialect mingle with the contact variants.

Four different quotation expressions were used in the researched semi-communications four times. However, it is significant that the quotation expressions are a popular means of single-coded Czech-Czech communication. Influence of the Polish language environment supported, even openly instigated the Czech communicants to speed up the communication with one another, simplified it and made it more straightforward. The reason was to save space and time while writing the messages (shorter lexemes) and more explicit denotation (identification of an object or phenomenon in the Polish language environment).

3.2

Selected and categorized language means of the researched texts shows that their application was mostly intentional. The purpose of their use has been improvement and transparency of the text messages. We recognize, however, that in some messages presented here, some of the language elements were used unconsciously and as such, they fall into a category of linguistic transfers (negative). In other SMS

messages, Czech-Slovak and Slovak-Czech, lexemes or phrases to beautify/enrich the communication were used. However, it cannot be explicitly backed up, that application of such a linguistic phenomenon was intentional. We conclude, that this is rather a transfer and not a semi-communication intent, on the basis of our own frequent participation in the West Slavic languages communication environment, where the semi-communication is realized, but also on the basis of purely linguistic analysis – structure lexeme, semantic and formal comparison to foreign languages mentioned in this writing, to equivalents in the language of the sender, and so on.

3.3

The semi-communication over electronic devices, especially via SMS, is a perspective area of research which indicates a new progressive phenomena in language and ability of this phenomena to assert itself in (relatively) spontaneous communication, shows the direction of development of adaptation phenomena in closely related languages, and it is good source and a means of research for convergence of the colloquial language in its written form.

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Marlena Oleksiuk
University of Wrocław

English in Korean – Konglish

Abstract

Korean is spoken by around 75 million individuals in South Korea, North Korea, China, Japan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and Russia. The relationship between Korean and other languages is not precisely known; however, several etymologists believe it to be an individual tongue from the Altaic group of languages. Human mobility and access to global information cause the interaction between one language and another, thus giving the possibility of loanwords in the native language. The Korean language is also the type of language in which many loanwords can be found. In Korean there are numerous loanwords from English. Nowadays the young Korean generation use Konglish, which is an Interlanguage consisting of English and Korean words. Konglish contains Korean lexical items with English loanwords nativized into Korean. English words used in daily conversation, advertising, and entertainment are included and seen as fashionable. However, usage of this type can frequently give rise to misunderstandings due to issues of sentence structure or vocabulary.

Keywords: Korean language, Konglish, borrowing, contact linguistics, corpus based analysis, loanwords.

Konglish – a language mix of English and Korean

Before the Korean alphabet was invented by King Sejong in 1446, Koreans wrote in Chinese characters and used the Chinese language in daily life. Even now, Chinese characters still exist in Korean language, but have become displaced by the ever increasingly popular English.

Language in South Korea underwent great changes after the end of the Korean War (1950–1953), because Koreans began to use many words from English called Konglish kor. 콩글리쉬 [kong- geullishi]. The mix of Korean and English follows few scrupulous principles. Koreans do not copy every English term exactly; for example "nail polish" kor. 매니큐어 [maenikyueo] is used for "manicure," not for "nail polish." Konglish also embraces mistranslations and likewise fabricated phrases which include

English words but which are not conveniently implied by English speakers. For instance, "cell phone" is translated as 핸드폰 [hand phone]. Simple loanwords contain one single word, such as "alibi" kor. 알리비 [allibi], "champion" kor. 챔피언 [chaempieon], or "computer" kor. 컴퓨터 [keompyuteo]. On the other hand, compound loanwords are composed of at least two words, such as "sharp pencil" kor. 샤프펜슬 [syapeupenseul], "data-processing machine" kor. 데이터처리 [deiteocheoli] or "touch screen multi vision" kor. 터치스크린멀티비젼 [teochiseukeulinmeoltibijeon].[1]

Konglish follows the rules of the deeply phonetic Korean alphabet. It is evident in the cultural structure of South Korea. The consonant at the end of the English word is often changed into a vowel in Korean: "translation," for example: "best-seller" kor. 베스트셀러 [beseuteuselleo], "door" kor. 도어 [do-eo], "dancer" kor. 댄서 [daenseo], "over" kor. 오버 [obeo], "computer" kor. 컴퓨터 [keompyuteo].

Moreover, there is in Seoul, for example, a luxury apartment named "Luxtige," which is a combination of the English words "luxury" and "prestige." Suk Gee-hyun from the Korea Herald[2] informs us that it helps the promotion of the premium brand's image. But Konglish can also be embarrassing. It is often translated into English directly without taking into account of cultural differences or common expressions which foreigners frequently find difficult to understand, such as those sometimes found on slogans or signboards. As an example, one of the Korean universities displays a huge slogan which spells "coffee burn" instead of "coffee bun." English translations in restaurants are much worse and contain many misunderstandings or incomprehensible terms. There is also a linguistic division in the modern use of Konglish between South Korea and North Korea. North Korean deserters can have trouble when coming to South Korea, because much of the Konglish used there is not used in North Korea. This can lead to misunderstandings, confusion and postponed integration into society. Modern cultural use of Konglish often employs poor grammar and vocabulary, which is evident on signs, packages, and TV around Korea; for example the word "Fight!" which means not an actual fight but 'maintain progress with something' or 'do not give up.' The increase of Konglish in the Korean language has been ascribed to Koreans' growing exposure to native English speakers, chiefly during their educational time. Koreans' teaching of others can lead to sealing errors into the language. Lack of planning in the training system can result in inexperienced Korean teachers, who are chosen to teach English without preparation or education in teaching English. These teachers cease using Konglish in the classroom. Even well-prepared teachers might stop using materials which contain plentiful errors and Konglish. This can generate a feeling of passiveness in learning technically and structurally correct English. Students treat teachers as the example and if teachers make mistakes, these are absorbed by them.[3] The issue of poor Konglish has also increased in tourism relations. There is a threat that incorrect English in brochures, on signs, websites, and generally in other media might cause tourists to change their destination. This is not only a concern in remote or small places, but even mainly international locations such as Incheon Airport. More than 49 signs were found to contain English errors when the airport was opened for business. Additionally, poor Konglish usage can lead to the failure of business deals. A foreign business partner can lose confidence in a Korean company because of misunderstandings. A poll in 2010 showed that 44% of local governments in South Korea used an English phrase in their slogans. The slogans at the time included: Lucky Dongjak, Dynamic

1 See Kim Seong-kon, "Funny and embarrassing Konglish."

2 Suk Gee-hyun, "'Konglish' floods into apartment brand names."

3 See David Cohen, "'Konglish' replaces good English."

Busan, Yes Gumi, Colorful Daegu, Ulsan for You, Happy Suwon, New Start! Yesan, Super Pyeongtaek, Hi-Touch Gongju, Nice Jecheon and Just Sangju.[4]

The heavy domination of American culture in South Korea increased the phenomenon of borrowing English words, particularly at the end of the 1980s. From that time the Korean language has started a new stage called "mixed language." The television titles news used by media or names of department stores are borrowed from English. For example:

"Good morning economy" kor. 굿 모닝 이코노미 in Korean [gus moning ikonomi]
"To feel happy" kor. 기분이 나이스하다 in Korean [gibun-i naiseuhada] – TV programme name
"KBS News Line" kor. KBS 뉴스라인 in Korean [KBS nyuseulain]
"KBS News Panorama" kor. KBS 뉴스파노 in Korean [KBS nyuseupano][5]

According to an increase of English words in use in South Korea, not only are many foreign words borrowed, but there is also a mixture of Roman letters with Hangul. For example:

Konglish word (한국어)	**revised romanization**	**actual English translation**
시에프	Siepeu	commercial film
레미콘	Lemikon	ready-mix concrete truck
화이트	hwaiteu	white out (correctional liquid)
드라이버	deulaibeo	screwdriver
포켓볼	pokesbol	pool (billiards game)
클립	keullib	paper clip
파스	paseu	plaster/pain relief patch
크레용	keuleyong	crayon
크레파스	keulepaseu	crayon/pastel
크림 파스타	keulim paseuta	pasta with cream sauce
매직펜	maejigpen	magic marker
오므라이스	omeulaiseu	omelette with rice filling
펑크	peongkeu	puncture (flat tire)
레포츠	lepocheu	leisure sports
글래머	geullaemeo	a voluptuous woman
백 댄서	baeg daenseo	backup dancer
백 뮤식	baegmyujig	background music
백 보컬	baeg bokeol	backing vocals
오픈카	open car	convertible
에로	elo	erotic movie
파마	pama	perm
데모	demo	demonstration/protest
다큐	docu	documentary
홈피	home-p	homepage
오에이치피	o-eichipi	overhead projector

4 See Lee Tae-hoon, "English logos popular, but often humorous."

5 임유란: 콩글리시 대소동, 책사람 (2004: 208).

Konglish word (한국어)	**revised romanization**	**actual English translation**
트로트	teuloteu	foxtrot (music genre)
트랜스	teulaenseu	transformer (power)
체크	chekeu	checkered pattern
콘디션	kondisyeon	physical condition
미팅	miting	blind date
오토바이	otobai	motorcycle
팬티	paenti	underwear (male or female)
커닝	keoning	cheating
미싱	mising	sewing machine

Konglish and loanwords

There is a difference between Konglish and loanwords, because when loanwords enter the Korean language, they do not change their meaning; it is easier for English users to understand, the pronunciation is recognizable and the meaning is exactly the same.[6] For example:

Konglish word (한국어)	**revised romanization**	**actual English translation**
컵	Keob	cup
포크	Pokeu	fork
초콜릿	Chokollis	chocolate
아이스크림	aiseukeulim	ice cream
콜라	Kolla	cola
주스	Juseu	juice
피자	Pija	pizza
비타민	Bitamin	vitamin
샌드위치	saendeuwichi	sandwich
와인	Wain	wine

When Konglish is created, the meaning of the words is changed and it is not real English. Very often words which are borrowed from English to Korean are shortened, and most of them lose the consonant at the end in exchange for a vowel, which changes the pronunciation of the word. Moreover, it is difficult to understand for foreigners, because they cannot understand the word without studying. It often happens that Konglish is composed of adding Korean morphemes and English words to create new words. In many cases native English speakers have difficulties in comprehending such words.[7] For example:

Konglish word (한국어)	**revised romanization**	**actual English translation**
오바이트	overeat	vomit
개그맨	gaegeumaen	comedian
버버리	beobeoli	trench coat

6 Waterhause (2012: 34).

7 Ibidem, 34.

Konglish word (한국어)	**revised romanization**	**actual English translation**
에어컨	eeokeon	air conditioner
아파트	apateu	apartment
센티	senti	centimeter
리모컨	limokeon	remote control
와이셔츠	waisyeocheu	collared dress shirt
셀프	selpeu	self service
나이트	naiteu	night club
노트	noteu	notebook
헬스	helseu	health club
원피스	wonpiseu	dress
밴드	baendeu	bandage/Band-Aid
스탠드	seutaendeu	desk lamp
사이다	saida	sprite (soft drink)
아이쇼핑	aisyoping	window shopping
핫도그	hasdogeu	corn dog
더치페이	deochipei	Dutch treat
샤프	syapeu	mechanical pencil
이벤트	ibenteu	sale/promotion
원룸	wonlum	bachelor apartment
원샷	wonsyas	bottom's up
머플러	meopeulleo	scarf
핸드폰	haendeupon	cell phone
콘센트	konsenteu	electrical outlet
서비스	seobiseu	on the house / free of charge
싸인	ssain	signature
랩	laeb	plastic wrap
텔레비	tellebi	television
텔레비 프로	tellebi peulo	television program
코팅	koting	lamination

Rules of word formation in Konglish

There are different types of English loanwords word formation processes in Korean. Loanwords should coexist with native words in Korean. An expression from one language is transferred to another language and used in everyday communication and morphological rules; but violations in phonological, semantic and syntactic aspects are very likely to occur.

It requires cultural understanding and recognition of the nuance and context. That is why an English user should proofread the expression instead of using a dictionary or translation software.

Omitting affixes

To indicate pluralities in English nouns, it is necessary to add /-s/ or /-es/ at the end of the noun. When an English noun enters as a loanword into Korean, the inflection seems to disappear, as in the following examples:

> "slippers" kor. 슬리퍼 [seullipeo], "high heels" kor. 하이힐 [haihil], "blue jeans" kor. 블루진 [beullujin], "frying pan" kor. 프라이팬 [peulaipaen] (the -ing suffix was rejected here), "curried rice" kor. 카레라이스 [kalelaiseu]

Koreans also tend to omit /-ing/ and /-ed/ suffixes in English which change the word class from verb or noun into an adjective. It is replaced by Korean suffixes such as 하다 hada, which is a verb meaning 'to do.' Koreans completely change the class of a word; for example, "shopping" in Korean is a noun, and when one expresses a wish to do it (verb), instead of saying "to shop" one adds the verb 하다 -hada and creates "shopping" hada kor. 쇼핑하다 [syopinghada]. The same applies to the creation of adjectives, because in Korean verbs and adjectives have the same suffixes. Korean also adds 하다 -hada to some English loanwords to create Konglish adjectives such as: "romantic" kor. 로맨틱하다 [lomaentighada].

Coining

Korean also creates new English items. These expressions are borrowed from English, but when they enter Korean, the meaning is changed and might be difficult to understand for the English user. This word formation is called Coining. This type of phenomenon creates a completely new word. For instance: 모닝서비스 [moningseobiseu], which means 'morning service,' is an expression derived from English. However, when it is used in Korean, it does not mean supplying service in the morning. Instead, it is a definition which means 'breakfast menu' in fast food restaurants or food stands, and it is usually a menu which consists of a piece of bread, boiled egg, salad on small dish, and a cup of coffee. Moreover, there are other examples, such as "play guide" kor. 프레이가드 [peullei gaideu] and "nightery" kor. 나이터 [naiteo]. "Play guide" refers to a ticket office in Korean. If one goes out in Korea, for instance to the theatre, a baseball game or a music concert, Koreans say 놀다 [nolda], which is translated into "play" in English. They also use "guide," because information is available at the ticket office. This explains why they believe that "play guide" is a correct expression. The last example can also be classified by origin, because it attaches the suffix /-er/, which changes "night" into a noun. In the case of Coining, Koreans think that "nighter" is somebody who does something at night. Koreans more frequently play baseball at night. So "nightery" refers to baseball players playing the match at night.

Acronym and abbreviation

There is a problem in the Korean language, when loanwords entering it must be converted into the Korean alphabet, so Koreans try to maintain the right pronunciation, but ultimately they do not represent the initial letters in acronyms so much as in words: LASER kor. 레이저 [leijeo], UNESCO kor. 유네스코 [yuneseuko], and NASA kor. 나사 [nasa].

There is the same issue with abbreviations. The word in Korean represents only the sound, but does not reflect the series of letters, as, for example: WTO World Trade Organization kor. 더블유티오 [deobeul-yutio] means 'W, T, O.'

Clipping

There are two types of clipping: front clipping and back clipping. The word "bulldozer" kor. 도저 [dojeo] is the example of front clipping. 아파트 [apateu] that is "apartment," and 수퍼 [supeo] "supermarket," are examples of back clipping. Front and back clipping can take place not only in single words, but also in compound words. Examples of front clipping in compound words are: 벤츠 [bencheu] "mercedez benz," and 콜라 [kola] "coca cola."

Compounding

There are many Konglish words, which are compounds of English and Korean words or English with another English word. Most importantly, compounded words are nouns and are pronounced differently. Examples of compound loanwords:

(1) English (N) + Korean (N) Compounding:
가스통 [gaseutong]: 가스 gas + 통 container = gas container
디지털시계 [dijiteolsigye]: 디지털 digital + 시계 watch = digital watch
버스표 [beoseupyo]: 버스 bus + 표 ticket = bus ticket

(2) Korean (N) + English (N):
감차집 [gamchajib]: 감차 potato + 집 chip = potato chip
신용카드 [sin-yongkadeu]: 신용 credit + 카드 card = credit card
안전벨트 [anjeonbelteu]: 안전 safety + 벨트 belt = safety belt

Blending

Blending is very similar to compounding, but it takes only part of a word and joins one to another. In English this is a very popular phenomenon; it is easy to find such words as: brunch, which is combination of words: breakfast + lunch, Spanglish: Spanish + English, motel: motor + hotel, smog: smoke + fog. In Konglish, English words are blended into Korean, such as:

컴푸터피아 [keompyuteo pia] computer + phobia = computer phobia
라이거 [laigeo] lion + tiger = liger

Ambiguous, unambiguous and semantically deviated words

Ambiguous translations in Konglish are multi-interpretable, for example: 코드 [kodeu], which can be interpreted into "code," "chord," or "cord" or 펜 [pen], which can be equivalent to "pan" or "fan." Unambiguous words have only one reference, for instance: 스포츠 [seupocheu] "sport," 배드민턴 [baedeuminteon] "badminton," 다운로드 [daunlodeu] "download." Semantically deviated words are incorrectly translated into Korean and the meaning of the word is completely incomprehensible for English users, such as: 보이 [boi] "boy" = 'young man serving on entertaining facilities' or 샤프펜실 [syapeupenseul] "sharp pencil" = 'mechanical pencil.'[8]

8 See *Konglish*… (2009: 23–87).

Conclusion

To sum up, it is necessary to say that in every single language there are borrowings from others. There are diverse types of English loanwords in Korean word formation. Loanwords must coexist with the native language to be comprehensible. To express a borrowed word in another language it is necessary to take into account such issues as violation in phonology, morphological rules, semantic and syntactic aspects and misunderstanding of incorrect translations. Nowadays English is a global language and it is borrowed by many countries all over the world as it makes communication much easier. It is also well perceived when we have English borrowings in native languages, because it is proof that the country is modern. But it requires awareness of using English borrowings, because the inappropriate use of English words gives rise to many mistakes and misunderstandings in everyday life.

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God'spower Tamaraukuro Prezi
Niger Delta University, Wilberforce Island, Bayelsa State, Nigeria
University of Malta, Msida, Malta

Introduction to Ịzọn Language and Culture

Abstract

This paper aims to introduce Ịzọn to the world audience. We note the status of Ịzọn as a "main" language, the geographical location of the Ịzọn people in the Niger Delta of Nigeria, the occupations of the Ịzọn, the consonants, vowels, vowel harmony and nasalized vowels in Ịzọn. We observe that in Ịzọn a vowel becomes nasalized when it occurs in the environment of a nasal; that a high tone marked (´), and a low tone marked (`) perform both lexical and grammatical functions in Ịzọn; that Ịzọn has S-O-V word order; that each word category is written separately; that the negative *gha* is marked on the verb; and that borrowed words, names of places and languages are nativised. We throw some light on the Ịzọn numerical system, namely: the traditional cardinal numbers such as *óyí* (10), *sí* (20), *andẹ́/ọndẹ́* (400) and *andẹ́ịmandẹ́/ọndẹ́ịmọndẹ́* (160,000); the modern standardized numbers such as 100 *ọdọ́zọ́*, 1000 *ọgíźíí*, 1,000,000 *ịpámụ́* and 1,000,000,000,000 *ẹndẹ́ríí* and the ordinal numbers, *bụlọụ* 1st and *mamụ karamọ* 2nd. Next we look at the kinship, persons, religious, colour, body parts, cooking, occupational and other terminology in the lexicon of Ịzọn. Finally we observe some salient aspects of Ịzọn culture such as their dressing, religion, food, festivals, dances, traditions, and customs.

Keywords: Ịzọn, vowel harmony, nasalized vowels, tones, sí.

Introduction: The Ịzọn people and language

Nigeria has over 150 million people who speak 521 languages. In terms of number of speakers, the three "major" languages are Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba. The six "main" languages are Ịzọn, Fulfulde, Tiv, Kanuri, Efik/Ibibio, and Edo. All others are termed "minor." Ịzọn is a Niger-Congo language. Ịzọn refers both to the people and to the language. It is the fourth largest ethnic group in Nigeria, and has a population of

over three million people who speak 27 different dialects. The language is endangered by the attitude of its people who prefer to use English rather than Ịzọn, for economic reasons.

The main occupations of the Ịzọn are fishing, palm-wine tapping, gin-making, canoe-carving, net making, thatch making, basket weaving, harvesting palm fruits, farming and trading along the rivers, creeks and coastlines of the Niger Delta.

Ịzọn means "truth" and connotes honesty, trustworthiness, intelligence, courage, and eloquence. The Ịzọn people in Nigeria spread from Bayelsa and Rivers State in the East to Ondo state in the West, and from the coast of the Atlantic Ocean in the South to Elemebiri on the River Niger in the North (Donwa-Ifode 2005). Ịzọn is therefore a cluster of dialects spread over a wide geo-political area known as the South-South Geo-Political Zone. Although mutual intelligibility decreases in some cases over wide geographic areas and across dialectal boundaries, the people are ethnically one.

Ịzọn is currently spoken, used in broadcasting on radio and television, studied as a subject, and used as a medium of instruction in Bayelsa, Delta, Edo, Ondo and Rivers State in Nigeria. It is the main language of Yenagoa, Southern Ijaw, Kolokuma/Opokuma, Sagbama and Ekeremor Local Government Areas (LGA) of Bayelsa State; Burutu, Bomadi, Patani and Warri North LGAs of Delta State; the Ovia South West LGA of Edo State; the Ese-Odo LGA of Ondo state, and the riverine LGAs in Rivers State bordering Bayelsa State.

Apọị, Bassan, Biseni, Bụmọ, Egbema, Ekpetiama, Fụrụpagha, Gbarain, Ikibiri, Kolokuma, Kọụ, Kumbọ, Ogboin, Ọkọdịa, Olodiama, Operemọ, Oporoma, Oyiakiri, Seimbiri, Tarakiri and Tungbo dialects are spoken in Bayelsa State. Iduwini, Isaba, Kabụ, Ọbọtebe, Ogbe-Ijọh, Ogulagha, Oporoza (Gbaranmatu), Mein and Tuomo are spoken in Delta State. Apọị and Arogbo are the only Ịzọn dialects that are spoken in Ondo State, a majority Yoruba-speaking State.

For further introduction and discussion on Ịzọn dialects, see also Prezi (2014b: 262–275), Agbegha (2009: 91–103) and Okaba (2008: 9–10).

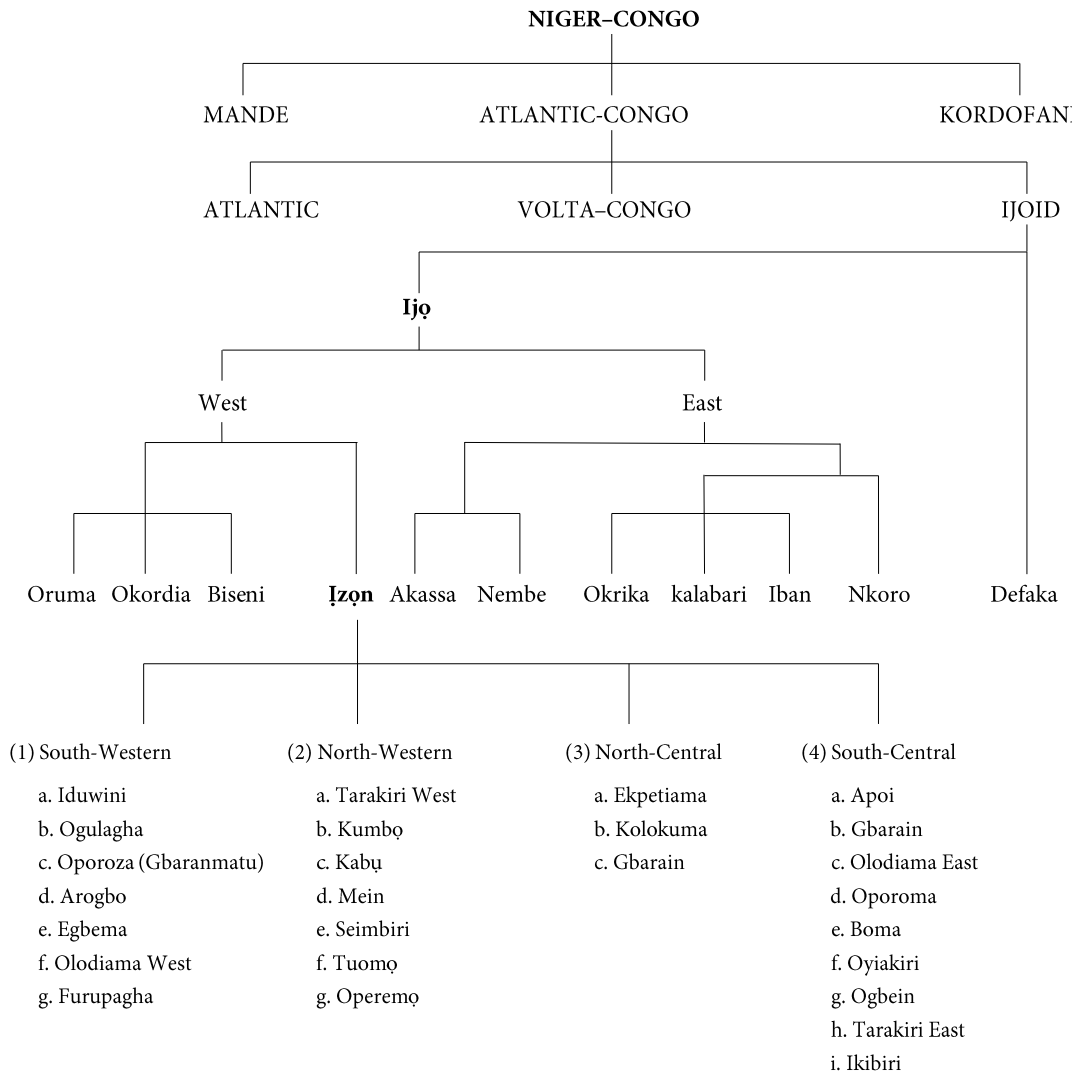

Figure 1. Chart showing the place of Western and Eastern Tarakiri, Ịzọn, Ịjọ and Ijoid, in a genetic tree of Niger–Congo. Adapted from: Jenewari (1980), Williamson (1989b), Lee & Williamson (1990) and Williamson & Blench (2000: 22).

1. The phonemes of Ịzọn

1.1. The consonants of Ịzọn

The following are the phonemic consonants of Ịzọn and examples of words which contain them, along with their glosses in English.

			Example	English gloss
1.	/p/	p	*paa*	'appear; go out'
			paan	'to denigrade by hooting at'
			pịrị	'give'
			pẹ́rẹ́	'rich/wealthy'
2.	/b/	b	*ba*	'kill'
			bẹ́rẹ́	'to complain'
			bẹlẹ	'pot'
3.	/t/	t	*tị́n*	'tree'
			tụbọụ	'child'
			tụkpa	'lamp'
4.	/d/	d	*dada*	'father'
			dawai	'to dream'
			dii	'rope'
			dumoun	'hair'
			dumu	'spear'
5.	/k/	k	*ka*	'mature'
			koro	'to fall; alight'
			kírí	'ground'
			kárá	'to carve'
			kịrị́	'to chop finely'
			kọ́rọ́	'rafia palm tree'
			kọnọwei	'leopard'
6.	/g/	g	*ga*	'worship'
			goo	'to read'
			gịdẹ	'fish basket'
7.	/m/	m	*mọ*	'and'
			mọụn	'hunger'
			maamụ	'two'
8.	/n/	n	*nana*	'possess'
			nini	'nose'
			noun	'needle'
9.	/ŋ/	ng	*angịị*	'egg'
			noun	'needle'
10.	/f/	f	*fa*	'lost'
			fịrị	'work'
			fụ́rụ́	'smell'
			fanụ	'fence'
11.	/v/	v	*vumuye*	'catapult'
			vinmọ	'to quench'
			aviinviin	'dragonfly'
12.	/s/	s	*sara*	'funnel'
			sango	'demijohn (glass jar)'
			sibiri	'alligator'

			Example	English gloss	
13.	/z/	z	*zuye*	'type of fish trap'	
			zii	'to give birth'	
			azuzu	'fan'	
14.	/kp/	kp	*kpapụye*	'scissors'	
			akpa	'bag'	
15.	/gb/	gb	*agbuka*	'shoes'	
			gbabụ	'narrow'	
			gboro	'plant' v.	
			egbelegbele	'horn'	
16.	/j/	y	*yọwẹị*	'paddle'	
			yiin	'mother'	
			yabasị	'onion'	
17.	/w/	w	*warị*	'house'	
			weri	'to abuse'	
18.	/l/	l	*la* (verb)	'to reach'	
			lọọ	'to massage'	
			ololo	'bottle'	
19.	/r/	r	*raga*	'fish trap'	
			ariri	'fishing net'	
			arụ	'canoe'	
20.	/ɣ/	gh	*gha*	'not'	
			bogha	'did not come'	
			agbegha	'it does not fit'	Note that 'gh' is extremely weak in pronunciation
21.	/h/	h	*haan*	'rallying cry or call'	Note that 'h' is used only in exclamations and ideophones
22.	/nɣ/	ngh	*akanghan*	'hornbill'	

See also Prezi (2011a, 2011b, 2014a, 2014b: 262–275) and Agbegha *et al.* (2011: 6) for further discussion.

1.2. Ịzọn vowels

1.2.1. Oral vowels

There are nine phonemic oral vowels in Ịzọn: /a, e, i, o, u, ɛ, ɪ, ɔ, ʊ/, *i.e.* a, e, i, o, u, ẹ, ị, ọ, ụ. The first set of vowels: /a, e, i, o, u/ a, e, i, o, u are wide vowels while the second set /ɛ, ɪ, ɔ, ʊ/ ẹ, ị, ọ, ụ are narrow vowels. There is vowel harmony of the eight non-open (non-low) vowels in Ịzọn so that only narrow or wide vowels normally occur together in a simple word. Wide vowels and narrow vowels do not co-occur in a simple word. However, the low (open) vowel /a/ is neutral to vowel harmony and co-occurs with either set.

			Example	English gloss
1.	/a/	a	*aba*	'fish species'
			aka	'tooth, maize'
			ada	'paint'
			agurá	'star'
			aré	'name'
			akpa	'bag'

			Example	English gloss
2.	/e/	e	*ele*	'gorilla'
			epelé	'draughts'
			esé	'trouble'
3.	/i/	i	*nini*	'nose'
			bi	'ask'
			di	'look'
			sibiri	'alligator'
			diri	'medicine'
4.	/o/	o	*obori*	'goat'
			ofoni	'bird, fowl'
			koro	'fall'
			ogboó	'land, union'
			ologbo	'cat'
5.	/u/	u	*oku*	'heavy'
			furu	'steal'
			burú	'yam'
6.	/ɛ/	ẹ	*ẹfẹrẹ*	'enamel'
			pẹlẹ	'cut, stop'
			pẹrẹ	'king, rich'
			ẹkẹrẹ	'fishing basket'
7.	/I/	ị	*kịmị*	'person'
			fị	'eat, die'
			fịrị	'work'
			ịginá	'pepper'
			dị	'skill'
8.	/ɒ; ɔ/	ọ	*kọrọ*	'raphia palm'
			tọlọ	'pick up an object'
			lọ́sị	'head gear'
9.	/ʊ/	ụ	*fụrụ́*	'smell, odour'
			arụ	'canoe'
			bụ	'pond'
			bụrọụ	'fireplace'

For further discussion on oral vowels see also Prezi (2011a, 2014a, 2014b: 262–275) and Agbegha *et al.* (2011: 4–5).

1.2.2. Nasalized vowels

There are nine phonemic nasalized vowels in Ịzọn, represented orthographically as: ã, ẽ, ẽ̩, ĩ, ĩ̩, õ, õ̩, ũ, ũ̩. In Ịzọn, when a vowel occurs in the environment of a nasal, the vowel becomes nasalized. When two vowels occur in a word before the final nasal, both vowels are affected by the nasalization. Usually, in the orthography, nasalised vowels are shown by writing the consonant "n" at the end of the syllable or at the end of the word as illustrated below.

		Example	English gloss		Example	English gloss
1.	ã	*kan*	'tear'	*cf.*	*ka*	'mature'
		saan	'urinate'	*cf.*	*saa*	'debt'
		fan	'twist'	*cf.*	*fa*	'finish, unavailable'
		tan	'gather, pack'	*cf.*	*ta*	'wife'
		paan	'to denigrade by hooting at'	*cf.*	*paa*	'appear; go out'
2.	ẽ	*geen*	'brightly-light'			
		egẽni	'visitor'			
3.	ẹ̃	*sẹẹ́n*	'shave'	*cf.*	*sẹẹ*	'all, scrape'
4.	ĩ	*piin*	'crowded'	*cf.*	*pii*	'deny'
		siin	'vomit'	*cf.*	*sii*	'go fishing'
5.	ị̃	*pịn*	'tap (palm wine)'			
		fịịn	'ringworm'	*cf.*	*fịị*	'die, death'
		tịịn	'tree; wood'	*cf.*	*tịị*	'plead; beg'
6.	õ	*goon*	'be extra bright, of light'	*cf.*	*goo*	'read'
		ondo	'last long'	*cf.*	*odo*	'pride'
7.	ọ̃	*tọn*	'measure'			
		kọọ́n	'take'	*cf.*	*kọọ*	'remain'
8.	ũ	*fũn*	'book'			
		tun	'hat/cap'	*cf.*	*tu*	'reason'
9.	ụ̃	*sụn*	'stretch'			
		fụụn	'ashes'	*cf.*	*sụ*	'fight'
		kpụn	'to pull'	*cf.*	*fụụ̀*	'caustic potash'

See also Prezi (2011a, 2014a: 38, 2014b: 262–275) and Agbegha *et al.* (2011: 3–4) for further discussion on the topic.

1.3. Tone in Ịzọn

Tone, according to Williamson (1989a: 253–278), is the pitch of the voice that makes a difference in the meaning of the words which have the same segmental phonemes. Egberipou and Williamson (1994) also give further insights into the tone patterns in Ịzọn.

There are two basic tones in Ịzọn, high and low. These two tones perform both lexical and grammatical functions in Ịzọn. High tone is marked (´) as in *bárá* 'hand.' The low tone (`) is usually left unmarked for the sake of convenience as in *eni* 'my.'

When a long series of high tones occur in a word, we usually mark the first high tone (´) to show continuing high. Thus, *amánánáówéí* could be simply marked *amánanaowei*.

Tone in Ịzọn performs both lexical and grammatical functions.

1.3.1. Lexical tone

The pitch of the voice can make a difference to the meaning of words whose segmental composition is the same. The following minimal pairs contrast:

1. Low tone:		2. High tone:	
Ado	'Edo, Bini'	*Adó*	'basket'
Abo	'a kind of bag woven from raffia or leaves of screwpine'	*Abó*	'canal'
Áma	'you!' (used in addressing a woman whose name is not known)	*Amá*	'right side'
Àri/emene	'I' (Pron.)	*Arí/éméné*	'you' (Pron.)
Agbada	'bridge, raised platform or one of the ribs'	*Abá*	'a species of fresh water fish'

1.3.2. Grammatical tone

Tone plays a significant grammatical role in the grammar of Ịzọn. In addition to distinguishing the meaning of lexical items, as in the examples above, tone also distinguishes the meanings of sentences, such as statements and questions (*cf.* 1 and 2) below:

1. *emịnị eye femịnị* 'I am eating'
   1sgS sg. PRES.PROG.-eat
2. *émḯnḯ eye fémḯnḯ* 'you (sg) are eating'
   2sgS sg. PRES.PROG.-eat

For further discussion on tone in Ịzọn see also Prezi (2014b: 270–271) and Agbegha *et al.* (2011: 10).

2. The word order of Ịzọn

Ịzọn is an SOV language, *e.g.* *Kịmịmị obori bamị*
Man-the goat killed
'The man killed the goat'

2.1. Morphology

Each word category is written separately. The negative *gha* is marked on the verb. Borrowed words, names of places and languages are nativised. For further discussion on the morphology of Ịzọn see Prezi (2011b) and Agbegha *et al.* (2011: 7–12).

3. The numeral system of Izọn

The Ịzọn use both the traditional and modern counting systems. As Evilewuru (2008: 52–56) observes, two important terms, *fénḯ* which means 'remainder' or 'extra' and *mọ* which is the conjunction 'and' dominate the counting system. Most numbers Ịzọn are made up of two parts: first, the counting bundle (called *kịẹn pou*); second, an extra or remaining part which is not up to another complete bundle, to which the term *fénḯ* is applied. The traditional major counting bundles (*pou*) in Ịzọn are *oyi* 'ten' (10), *sí* 'twenty' (20), *andẹ́* 'four hundred' (400) and *andẹ́ịmandẹ́* which is one hundred and sixty thousand (160,000).

3.1. The cardinal numbers

The cardinal numbers in Ịzọn are:

1 *kẹnị́*
2 *maamụ́*
3 *táárụ́*
4 *néín*
5 *sọ́ọ́nrọ́n*
6 *sóndié*
7 *sọ́nọ́ma*
8 *níína*
9 *isé*
10 *óyí*
11 *óyí / ói kẹnị́ fénḯ* (ten and one)
12 *óyí maamụ́ fénî* (ten and two)
13 *óyí táárụ́ fénḯ*
14 *óyí néîn fénḯ*
15 *óyí sọ́ọ́nrọ́n fénḯ* (also, die)
16 *óyí sóndíé fénḯ*
17 *óyí sọ́nọ́ma fénḯ*
18 *óyí níína fénḯ*
19 *óyí isé*
20 *sí*
30 *sí óyí fénḯ*
40 *ma sí / maa sí* (two twenties)
50 *ma sí mọ óyí mọ*
60 *tárá sí*
70 *tárá sí mọ óyí mọ*
80 *níá sí*
90 *níá sí mọ óyí mọ*
100 *sọ́ọ́nrán sí*
110 *sọ́ọ́nrán sí mọ óyí mọ*
120 *sóndía sí*
130 *sóndía sí mọ óyí mọ*
140 *sọ́nọ́ma sí*
160 *níína sí*
180 *iséna sí*
190 *iséna sí mọ óyí mọ*
200 *óyía sí*
220 *óyí kẹnị́ sí feni*
250 *óyí ma sí feni mọ óyí mọ*
300 *óyí sọọ́nran sí feni* (*dia sí*)
399 *óyí iséna sí feni mọ óyí isé feni mọ* (*i.e.* 380 and 19 = 399)

400 *andẹ́ / ọndẹ́* (also, *sía sí*)
500 *andẹ́ mọ soọ́nran sí mọ* (also, *sí soọ́nran sí feni*)
600 *andẹ́ mọ oyia sí mọ* (*sí oyia sí feni*); (*andẹ́ mọ ekise mọ, i.e.* one and a half 400s)
700 *andẹ́ mọ dia sí mọ* (*sí oyi soọ́nran sí feni*); (*sí dia sí feni*)
800 *ma andẹ́* (also, *sí ma sí feni*)
900 *ma andẹ́ mọ soọ́nran sí mọ*
1000 *ma andẹ́ mọ oyia sí mọ* (*ma andẹ́ mọ ekise mọ, i.e.* two and a half 400s)
1200 *tará andẹ́*
1600 *níá andẹ́*
2000 *soọ́nran andẹ́*
10,000 *sí soọ́nran andẹ́ feni* (twenty-five 400s)
100,000 *andẹ́ oyi ma sí feni mọ óyí mọ* (two hundred and fifty 400s: 400 in 250 places)
160,000 *andẹ́ríṃandẹ́ / ọndẹ́ríṃọndẹ́* (four hundred 400s: *i.e.* 400 into 400 places)
1,000,000 *sondia andẹ́ríṃandẹ́ mọ andẹ́ soọ́nran sí mọ* (six 160,000s and a hundred 400s)
2,000,000 *oyi ma andẹ́ríṃandẹ́ feni mọ andẹ́ oyia sí mọ* (twelve 160,000s and two hundred 400s)

3.2. The standardized counting system

Introduced by Williamson *et al.* (1990), the standardized counting system makes use of the terms for the cardinal numbers written against them.

100 *ọdọ́zọ́*
1000 *ọgí́zí́*
1,000,000 *ịpámụ́*
1,000,000,000,000 *ẹndẹ́rí́*

3.3. The ordinal numbers

The ordinal numbers, excluding the one denoting 'first,' are formed by combining the cardinal numerals with *karamọ* 'taking' or 'coming' to form phrases. In these phrases, the cardinal number comes first, and it is followed by *karamọ*. For example, *mamụ karamọ* means 'taking or coming number two.'

1st *bụlọ̀ụ*
2nd *mamụ karamọ*
3rd *taárụ karamọ*
4th *nein karamọ*
5th *soọ́nrọn karamọ*

For a more detailed discussion on the numeral system of Ịzọn, see especially Prezi (2013: 245–257), Evilewuru (2008: 52–56) and Williamson *et al.* (1990).

4. The lexicon of Ịzọn

Without being exhaustive and going into detailed discussion, the following are the equivalent words found in the lexicon of Ịzọn.

4.1. Kinship terminology

Parents, elders

father	*dau*
grandfather	*opu dau* [from *opu* 'big' and *dau* 'father']
mother	*yin*
grandmother	*opu yin* [from *opu* 'big' and *yin* 'mother']

Siblings, spouses, extended family relations

husband	*yei*
wife	*ta*
co-wife	*yanfaran*
child	*tụbọụ*
foster child	*sibe tụbọụ*
son	*yaị*
daughter	*embaụ*
grandchild	*taụ / tau-tụbọụ*
uncle (mother's brother)	*yabị*

By marriage

father-in-law (one's husband's father)	*yei-daụ*
mother-in-law (one's wife's mother)	*yaforo*
(one's husband's mother)	*yei-yin*
brother-in-law	*agọ-owei*
sister-in-law	*agọ-araụ*
wife of one's brother, or a brother or sister of one's husband	*yado* *ambiguous

Relation	*bịna bọ*
brother	*bịna owei*
older brother	*okosu owei*
younger brother	*tu owei*
sister	*bịna araụ*
older sister	*okosu araụ*
younger sister	*tu araụ*

4.2. Persons

human being	*kịmị*
man	*oweikịmị*
woman	*eyọrọkịmị*; *eyọrọ-ere*

male	*owei*
female	*eyọrọ*
child / offspring	*tụbọụ*
male child / boy	*oweitụbọụ*
female child / girl	*ẹyọrọtụbọụ*
new-born baby	*ayapịdị / ayatụbọụ*
infant / very young child	*kalatụbọụ*
old man / elderly man	*okosukịmị*
old woman / elderly woman	*okosuere*
slave-wife	*bịra-ere*
regularly married wife	*ekiye-ere*

4.3. Religious terminology

christian	*tamarauụ karị kịmị*
christianity	*tamarauụ karị bụọ*
pagan	*oru karị kịmị*
paganism / idolatory	*oru karị bụọ*
priest	*karị owei / ekian sin owei*

4.4. Colour terminology

red	*kuekue*; *wowo*; *yereyere* (conspicuously red)
orange	*iselebeni*
green	*ago*; *vilii*
yellow	*balabala*; *odoón*; *ope*
blue	*nou*; *buló* (*bulo*)
black	*dirimọ*; *kpịlịkpịlị* (very black)
white	*pịna*; *alọ* (white cloth)
brown	*kele kele*; *dakíí*
pink	*kịḿị ebimọ erein*
grey	*fọ́ụnbụ́rọụbeni*
purple	*agun-agún*

4.5. Body parts terminology

body	*angọ*
hair	*tịbị dumoun* (head); *etẹmẹ* (body)
head	*tịbị*
face	*andị*
eye	*tọrụ*
ear	*beri*
nose	*nini*
mouth	*bịbị*
lip	*bịbị-apịran* (also *bịbị-odu*)
tooth / teeth	*aka*
tongue	*mụlọụ*; *mọlọụ*
neck	*kụn*; *kọọn*

shoulder	*apele*
chest	*agbobu*; *akpụ*
arm	*bịra*; *bịrabiri*
hand	*bịra*; *bịra-bụlọụ*
finger	*bịra-ịmgbịsa*; *bịra-esangbala*
leg	*bụọ*
knee	*emgbele*
foot	*bụọ-kubu*; *bụwọ-abo*
toe	*bụọ-emgbịsa*

4.6. Bodily fluids, wastes

blood	*asịịn*
urine	*saan dịnayaị*

4.7. Cooking terminology

cook	*tụọ*
boil	*taịmọ*
fry	*gbana*
slice	*kẹrẹ*; *kẹ*
chop	*pẹlẹ*
pound	*temi*; *titi*
peel	*kara*
butcher	*baa*
grind	*san*

4.8. Utensils

pot	*bẹlẹ*
knife	*adẹịn*
spoon	*kọyẹrẹ*; *ẹngasị*
fork	*fọọkụ*
plate	*kpamanku*; *panụ*

4.9. Names of some animals

crocodile	*egere*
dog	*obiri*
elephant	*opuobori*
fish	*endi*
lamb	*anana*
lion	*adaka*
pig	*oporopo*
shark	*afụrụmọ*
snake	*seiye*; *kiriwei*
tiger	*kụnụwei* / *kọnọwei*

4.10. Vehicles and accessories

bicycle	*azigere*
canoe	*arụ*
bus; car; train	*ogboyọụarụ* / *ogboarụ*
aeroplane	*efin bekearụ* / *efin-arụ*

4.11. Parts of a house

door	*ogige*
bedroom	*okpo*
sitting-room (parlour)	*wariḳiri*

4.12. Clothing / clothes and ornaments

bag	*akpa*
brassiere	*endouserimọeye*(*-mụeye*)
cap / hat	*tun*
cloth or wrapper	*bịdẹ*
eye-glasses	*tọrụ-tuaye*
gold	*golu*
head-tie	*lọsị*
pant	*kolukapa*
shirt	*aru*
shoe	*agbụka*
shorts	*afụ*
silver	*siliva*
trousers	*saka*

4.13. Cardinal points (directions)

North	*kọnọakụ*
South	*amabịra akụ or amakụ*
East	*dụmakụ* (*dụ*) *or tụbụakụ*
West	*tamụ akụ or tamụ*

4.14. Diseases / illnesses

cough	*alọụ*
cold	*odidi*
catarrh	*niniyai*

4.15. Occupations / professions

fishing	*endi baa*
farming	*kiri gboro*
palm-wine tapping	*koro pịịn*
teaching	*tolumọ*
carving	*eyi kara*
blacksmith	*asịma-owei*

The information given on the lexicon of Ịzọn in section 4 is extracted from an unpublished work by the present author.

5. Salient aspects of Ịzọn culture

According to Bouchard (1998: 19–39), the three fundamental features of the ethnic identity are race, language, and religion. The Ịzọn language serves as an identity to the Ịzọn people. It is among the first things a child learns in Ịzọnland. The Ịzọn culture is transmitted to the child through a gradual socialization process. Thus, the Ịzọn child acquires or learns various useful skills such as building of mud/thatch houses, story-telling (at moonlight), and any other art or cultural activities from their parents, guardians and elders in society. See also Prezi (2014b: 265).

The natural identity of the Ịzọn is in their language and dressing. Ịzọn people dress decently. Traditionally, the Ịzọn man normally wears a long-sleeve shirt on his body, wears an expensive cap called *Atakala* or a bowler hat on his head, ties a big George wrapper of six yards called *igburu* (*egburu*) *bịdẹ* on his waist, wears shoes on his feet, and carries a good walking-stick (called *akọlọ*) in his hand as his dressing. Sometimes the men wear "up and down" ashoke, with a costly cap or hat and beautiful beads known as *ebọlọ*. The Ịzọn woman, on the other hand, normally ties two well-designed Hollandaise wrappers on her waist, the outer one is tied shorter (*i.e.* tied up to the knees – middle of the leg), the inner one is tied longer than the other (*i.e.* tied downward to the ankles), and she wears shoes. She wears a blouse on top of the wrappers, and wears beautiful beads or necklaces on the neck, and earrings on the ears. She plaits her hair and wears a head-gear (called head-tie or scarf) to cover her head. Traditionally, Ịzọn ladies were expected to dress decently. There is a kind of dressing expected of a father, mother, young girl, young boy and elderly man or woman in different situations, *e.g.* when going for a burial ceremony, marriage ceremony, and so on.

The traditional Ịzọn man is expected to stand for the truth at all times, and talk with confidence and dignity. He loves peace and lives a peaceful life. He loves festivals such as fishing festival, masquerade festival, dance festival, *etc.*

The traditional Ịzọn man values women, marries many wives, and consequently has many children who assist him in the business of distilling gin. Although polygamous, he tries to love his wives equally as much as possible. He pays the dowry (bride-price) on each of his wives. He does an introduction on which occasion he pays the love fee, and later does a traditional marriage for each wife. Increasingly nowadays, however, the youth do church wedding and many additionally register their marriages in court.

The Ịzọn man eats ample food. He settles near rivers and engages in fishing. Owing to the hard works the Ịzọn people engage themselves in, they usually eat foods that contain carbohydrates and other energy-giving foods. The favourite foods of the Ịzọn are palm fruit (*banga*) soup, oil soup, pepper soup and plantain. He usually eats in a group with his sons, especially the grown ones. He loves to have a lot of pepper in his food. That is why he loves pepper soup so much. Before and after meals, they wash their hands according to age-seniority. Drinks, meals, fish and meat are always shared according to seniority.

Ịzọn men eat alligator pepper and kola nuts when they take their favourite hot alcoholic drinks such as native gin, Schnapps, Bertola, *etc.* They also drink a lot of the palm wine which they tap.

In ancient times, the Ịzọn worshipped idols, gods and deities (*oru*) such as *Benikurukuru* – the chief deity (*Amananaoru*), *Obudou* – the producer of fog for protection, *Ingozu* and *Anumu* – the gods of

wealth, *Osun* – the god of thunder, *amadasu*, *Mamiwata* – the god of the waters, *Opuogula*, *Onanaowei*, *Gbanagha*, *alụta bụbọụ*, *odele*, and *egbesu* the god of war. They also used to make masquerades such as *awọụziowu* "giver of children", *Burutu-ogbo* and *ọkẹlẹkẹ́*. Nowadays majority of the Ịzọn are Christians and no longer participate in the worship of idols.

The Ịzọn people have chiefs of families, compounds or quarters (*egede*) called *Alaowei*, and they have kings (*Pẹ́rẹ*) who preside over clans made up of several towns and villages.

The favourite pastimes of the Ịzọn are story-telling in moonlit nights and wrestling after processions to both ends of the community, especially during the dry season.

The best known Ịzọn musicians are late King Robert Ebizimor, Chief I. K. Belemu, Barrister S. Smooth and Bestman Doupere. The Ịzọn culture and people have different types of dances such as *Ungu sei*, in which they use water pots and other materials to produce music for the dancers. The Ịzọn culture also has *Owigiri* as one of the major cultural dances.

When an Ịzọn man sees his fellow Ịzọn man, they greet each other. The younger person shows a sign of respect to the elder person by kneeling down or by genuflecting. The younger person (whether male or female) greets the senior and announces *ukoidẹ* meaning 'I am on my knees'; 'I kneel'; genuflection – sign of respect to the elder person. The elder person then says *seri* or *seri tịẹ* meaning 'rise or get up.'

The ethical practices and other useful traditional skills and knowledge are deliberately transmitted to younger generations through myths, proverbs, pithy-sayings and ceremonies.

Some forbidden things in Ịzọn tradition are as follows:

1. An Ịzọn man does not have sexual relations with a woman who is under her menstruation. The Ịzọn claim it weakens a man's spirit, but this may also be due to unhealthiness of a menstrual flow.
2. An Ịzọn man does not pass under women's clothes when they are spread to dry. The Ịzọn claim it weakens the man's spirit.
3. An Ịzọn man is not expected to see the placenta and afterbirth when a woman delivers a child. This is a superstitious belief.
4. Ịzọn persons do not use the left hand to take, give or pass on something. The Ịzọn feel it is disrespectful.
5. An Ịzọn man does not have sexual relations with a woman during the period of war. The Ịzọn claim it weakens the man's spirit, and could result in the untimely death of the man if he goes as a soldier to the war front.
6. An Ịzọn man does not use a bathing bucket or basin to fetch drinking water or store food items. This may be due to traditional wisdom concerning the unhealthiness of using such bath items because germs and bacteria could be contained therein.
7. When a war-boat or war-canoe sets out from its community for its destination, it is not expected to berth at any other community. The Ịzọn claim it dampens the morale of the soldiers. Addititionally, the men could be dissuaded from proceeding to the battlefront.

See also Evilewuru (2008), Okaba (2008) and Prezi (2014b) for further discussions on Ịzọn culture.

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When Do Nouns Control Sentence Stress Placement?[1]

Abstract

The relation between sentence stress and grammatical category is not a new problem, but largely ignored in recent research, in which such related topics as given/new information, focus and its scope and sentence stress have often been misdirected and misconstrued. Sentence stress placement has traditionally been described in terms of two conditions: (i) the stress must fall on a contextually new lexeme; (ii) it must fall as far towards the end of the utterance as possible. The main claim of the present paper is that in **neutral intonation**, the place of the "neutral" stress, as contrasted with the "emphatic"/"contrastive"/"corrective" stress, is controlled by the contextual information value of the noun. The analysis of simple transitive sentences in English, German and Polish, each with a different syntactic structure, allows for the following, specific claims: (a) sentence stress must fall on the contextually "new" noun if such is present; (b) sentence stress must **not** fall on a contextually "given" noun; (a) and (b) lead to the conclusion that other grammatical categories, regardless of whether they are "new" or "given," get the stress only in the absence of a "new" noun. It is also suggested that in some cases the prosodic parameters may be irrelevant in distinguishing "neutral" from "emphatic" stress.

Keywords: sentence stress placement, neutral intonation, end-focus principle, givenness, contextual information value of nouns, emphasis, contrastive/corrective interpretation.

1. Introduction

The problem of the relation between sentence stress and grammatical category is not new. However, the results of very early research have been either purely statistical or intuitive and inconclusive. As early as in 1551 John Hart (edited by Bror Danielsson 1955) observed that the more important a word is,

1 I wish to thank dr Samuel Bennet for proofreading the text and insightful comments and Małgorzata Waryszak for preparing the phonetic analyses with the Praat program.

the stronger is its stress. He proposed that the most important words are nouns, adjectives, demonstrative and interrogative pronouns, principle verbs and adverbs. The order of that list might be taken to be indicative of the order of importance. Two centuries later, John Walker distinguished "two kinds of emphasis; namely, emphasis of passion, and emphasis of sense" (1787: 18), clearly referring to the phonetic and semantic aspects of sentence stress, the latter mentioned in the context of categories: "substantive, adjective, verb, adverb, and participle" (1787: 19). Worth noting is also Barsov's (1783–1788) account of various configurations of stress and word order, so clear that it can match Jackendoff's (1972: 231 ff.) explications. The problem was also mentioned by Mathesius ([1911] 1964) in his comments on earlier works of some German grammarians. He wrote that Moritz (1786) had proposed "a descending scale of word-categories, according to their inherent stresses, starting from nouns and adjectives and ending in proclitic and enclitic pronouns and particles" (Mathesius [1911] 1964: 17).

Mathesius went on reporting that Benedix (1888) established "an analogous scale, taking into consideration various contextual circumstances" ([1911] 1964: 17), while Saran (1907) denounced "these theories of the specific stress degrees inherent in different word-categories as untenable. In his opinion, stresses are not determined by word-categories or by syntactic functions" ([1911] 1964: 17).

Mathesius also recalled Meyer's (1906) and Viëtor's (1907) statistical surveys which revealed sharp differences between the number of stressed and unstressed substantives: 77.5% and 14.8% respectively in Meyer's survey, and 84.2% and 15.8% respectively in Viëtor's. Main verbs did not show a similar divergence. The statistical approach was continued by Quirk *et al.* (1964) and Crystal (1969). Crystal found that 58% of all instances of "tonicity" (= "the placement of the nuclear tone") occur within the Nominal Group structure (the percentage corresponds to Quirk's *et al.* three-fifths of such cases) (Crystal 1969: 263). In 65% of these instances, tonicity occurred on a noun (as compared to 88% in Quirk *et al.*). From the point of view of the correlation between tonicity and form-classes, Crystal distinguished four major lexical classes: nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs (about 93% of all cases). Since the ratio between the nouns and verbs in his data was fairly balanced, Crystal was surprised to find that tonicity on nouns was significantly predominant. He concluded that "tonicity does have a regular and linguistically significant connection with form-class and group structure" (Crystal 1969: 267), but did not propose any rules.

With the emergence of the generative grammar more formal solutions have been proposed to describe the various aspects of the information structure, such as context, focus, givenness and stress placement. The restricted topic of the present paper does not necessitate a separate, comprehensive discussion of theoretical foundations of those approaches separately. Therefore, I offer only a few general comments in the present section, and discuss specific problems of context, givenness, focus, and stress in the appropriate sections below.

As Riester (2005) suggested, there are two perspectives from which the problems related to the meaning of stress can be approached. The first question is "On which word must one place an accent in order for an utterance to sound natural?" and the other is "How does a given accent contribute to the meaning of an utterance?" (Riester 2005: 299). Attempts to answer the first questions have been of phonological (Ladd 1980), syntactic (Chomsky 1971; Cinque 1993) and semantic (Schwarzschild 1999) nature. The other required "the integration of focus semantics into an existing theory of meaning as Rooth (1985) or Krifka (1992)" (Riester 2005: 299).

The first question is precisely the issue that the present paper addresses, but neither phonological nor syntactic proposals can answer it. Firstly, phonological proposals exclude meaning, which is against the main principle forcefully expressed by Leech (1967) that the study of meaning is central to the study

of communication. It is by now a trivial truth that all language forms have meaning. Stress is one of such language signs, and its semantic significance in the information structure cannot be ignored. Secondly, it also has to be remembered that communication always involves more than just one sentence, so syntactic solutions, ignoring context, will also produce incorrect or at best unsatisfactory, incomplete results. The semantic proposal by Schwarzschild (1999) concentrates on the nature of givenness and will be dealt with in the section on givenness below.

The other perspective begs the question about a semantic theory, best for handling the focus semantics. Riester (2005) suggests that that question requires "the integration of focus semantics into an existing theory of meaning as Rooth (1985) or Krifka (1992)." It has to be emphasized that "existing theory of meaning" does not necessarily mean the best one and universally accepted. This was forcefully pointed out by Leech (1974: ix–x) in the following words: "… each new book is its author's unique attempt to shed new light on a subject which always threatens to return to primeval darkness, and such is the diversity of approaches that one may read two books on semantics, and find scarcely anything in common between them."

I do not wish to claim that formal theories of language have not contributed to our understanding of some phenomena. However, none of them have proposed a comprehensive solution of the problems at issue (*cf.*, for example, German *et al.* (2006) for his criticism of Selkirk (1984, 1995) and Schwarzschild (1999)), and some are simply misconceived. For example, within the minimalist framework, Tajsner (2008: 263) suggested that the stress in *The BABY disappeared* is explained by postulating a structure of two identical subjects in one sentence [$_{TP}$The baby disappeared {the baby}]. Tajsner claims that the application of the NSR [Nuclear Stress Rule] in the latter structure is "automatically to the most embedded constituent, namely the copy of the raised subject" (2008: 263). Next, "of the two copies the one which carries less stress, i.e. the higher one, is deleted. The ultimate order is a result of a PF [phonetic form] stylistic fronting of the subject which restores a canonical SV order" (Tajsner 2008: 264). Putting it bluntly, "the baby" is added in order to get the stress in the final position. Once the second "baby" gets the stress (put there by Tajsner), the first "baby" is deleted and the second "baby" is raised to the subject position to get the canonical word order. All this means that minimalists can add, move, and delete constituents at will, simply to satisfy some thought up rules without any regard whatsoever to the function such manipulations serve. Equally disturbing is Tajsner's claim that "[t]he ultimate order is a result of a PF stylistic fronting…". What it means is that the difference between *The baby disappeared* and *Disappeared the baby* is only stylistic.

Apart from all deficiencies of the formalistic programs, some of which will be discussed under specific subjects, what is important from the perspective of the present paper is that none of them has even mentioned the relation between stress placement and category membership.

In 1986, Szwedek set out to find some more coherent backing to the earlier statistics and intuitions, but his interpretations were based on a limited language material, imperfect methodology and inadequate evidence. The present paper examines a much wider range of linguistic data, with improved methodology and additional evidence for the claim that in neutral intonation nouns control sentence stress placement, which, more generally, is yet another argument for the claim that nouns are a unique category in language (*cf.* Szwedek 1986, 1987, 2012).

2. Basic elements and terminology

In view of the abundant research on the subject, the consequence of which has been the diversified and often inconsistently used terminology, it is necessary, for the sake of clarity, to explain what concepts and terms will be used in the present paper, and in what sense. The terms that I want to make as precise as possible include such items as neutral vs emphatic/contrastive/corrective stress, context, information value in terms of contextually new/given lexical items, focus and its scope. The particular elements will be accompanied by brief critical discussions of some more popular research programs.

2.1. "Neutral" vs "emphatic" sentence stress

I think it is first necessary to clarify the distinction between "neutral" (at times also called "normal") and "emphatic"/"contrastive"/"corrective" sentence stress. Particularly the latter terms require an explanation. The term "emphatic"[2] was claimed to represent a "larger than life" suprasegmental complex of features (Lehiste 1970: 151). On the other hand, the terms "contrastive"/"corrective" refer to semantic relations. One of the questions is whether there is any relation between prosodic emphasis and those semantic functions. Some observations on that issue will be offered in section 6. The problem was raised by Schmerling (1976) who came to the conclusion that it is in principle possible to characterize contrastive stress in two ways: phonetically and semantically. She rejects both characterizations claiming, among others, that "the notion of 'contrastive stress', like the notion of 'normal stress', is not a particularly useful one; contrastive stress does not seem to be a clearly definable entity unto itself" (Schmerling 1976: 66).[3] This view corresponds to Enkvist's observation that "[e]mphatic focus exists to signal […] the relative weight that a speaker wants to attach to a particular element in the speech stream" (1980: 135). This means that the prosodic complex is an attitudinal device while contrast/correction are semantic phenomena. It is possible then that those functions do not necessarily need a "larger than life" prosodic realization, putting in doubt a correlation between prosody and those functions.[4]

2.2. Context

The term "context" is often used in the broad sense – the knowledge activated in both participants' minds in a given communicative situation. It does not have to be verbal. This is clear in Mathesius' (1939/1947) description of the "point of departure" (theme) as "that which is known or at least obvious in the given situation" (tr. into English by Firbas, 1964). Similarly, Chafe observed that "[g]iven (old, known) information is that knowledge which the speaker assumes to be in the consciousness of the addressee at the time of utterance. So called new information is what the speaker assumes he is introducing into the addressee's consciousness by what he says" (1976: 30). Discourse context is utilized rather sparingly by formalists, who only repeat what Chafe and other linguists formulated explicitly earlier. Those "new" ideas on the context are always couched in the specific formalistic jargon. For example, Steedman proposes the following,

2 Classical Latin *emphasis* (in rhetoric) use of language in such a way as to imply more than is said (Quintilian) (OED).

3 For an extensive discussion of various approaches to sentence stress, see Szwedek (1986), and for a criticism of generative approaches, see Szwedek (2010). I only wish to make one exception and mention Barsov's (1783–1788) account of sentence stress, which does not differ from, for example, Jackendoff's (1972) account, two centuries later.

4 A pilot prosodic analysis was done by Małgorzata Waryszak with Praat program, and those informal results presented in section 7 below confirmed the doubts.

"his own," description: "I'll assume that the speaker's knowledge can be thought of as a database or set of propositions in a logic (second-order, since themes etc. may be functions), divided into two subdomains, namely: a set S of information units that the speaker claims to be committed to, and a set H of information units which the speaker claims the hearer to be committed to" (Steedman 2004: 249).

I do not intend to play the role of a mind-reader (*cf.* Bolinger 1972) and guess what knowledge is shared by the speaker and the hearer, and for the sake of clarity of argumentation, in my analyses, I provide the context *expressis verbis*. To make the matter simple and clear, the analysed texts consist of two sentences, the first of which provides the immediate context for the second simple transitive clause,[5] which is analysed with respect to the place of the sentence stress. I wish to add at this point that it is inappropriate to talk about contextless utterances (for example, Bogusławski 1976) or "out-of-the-blue" utterances (Selkirk 1995; Tajsner 2008). As Ilene Lanin aptly pointed out in the title of her 1977 paper, "You can take the sentence out of the discourse, but you cannot take the discourse out of the mind of the speaker" (see also Schmerling 1976: 53, on the inevitability of taking context into consideration in any discussion of sentence stress).

2.3. Given/new information distinction

Continuing the brief description of the context, it is necessary to emphasize that dependent on the context is the information structure of the sentence in terms of contextually given or new information. As many scholars observed (beginning with the Prague School – Mathesius (1929, 1939), Halliday (1967), Daneš (1974), and later Lakoff (1971), Jackendoff (1972), and many others), a typical sentence consists of two segments,[6] variously called and defined in the literature, as theme and rheme, topic and comment, presupposition and focus, given and new information, already activated and newly activated, *etc*. In the methodology of the minimal, two sentence texts adopted in the present paper, I prefer to call those sections "contextually given," and "contextually new" segments, or simply "given" and "new" information. In other words, in a two sentence discourse, the second sentence consists of the "given" information segment, that is shared with the first sentence, and the "new" information segment, that is, the information absent from the first sentence.

There have been numerous proposals of formalization of that distinction, but in an attempt to find some universal, ultimate rule, some convoluted reasoning, false analyses and interpretations produced poor results. For lack of space, I will only discuss Schwarzschild's (1999) views at some length. He admits that "the distinction between 'given' and 'new' plays an important role in explaining patterns of intonational prominence," and agrees with Halliday (1967) that the following examples require different interpretations of "newness" (Schwarzschild's numbering):

(1) A. Why don't you have some French TOAST?
B. I've forgotten how to MAKE French toast.

(2) {John's mother voted for Bill.}
No, she voted for JOHN.

5 I realise, of course, that such sentences are not very frequent in real discourse, but it is a common practise in descriptions of syntax to devote one of the first chapters to the simple sentence as basic to other structures.

6 Though, occasionally, the number of segments identified in connection with the FSP, ranged from 3 to 6 (*cf.* Hajičová & Sgall 1975 and Firbas 1983).

(3) {Who did John's mother vote for?}
She voted for JOHN.

Schwarzschild (1999: 142) concludes that Halliday's "definitions" constitute an unrelated mix. One can wonder why Halliday's interpretations are taken for definitions in the first place. Secondly, Schwarzschild disregarded the fact that the capitalized words simply **are** new information, no matter whether they are textually non-derivable (1), express contrast (2) or answer a *wh*-question. On that misconceived basis, Schwarzschild suggests that "'new' be eliminated from the theory" (1999: 142) and concludes that while the generalization "Lack of prominence indicates givenness" is robust, the generalization "Prominence indicates novelty" is not robust. His examples (1)–(3) testify that the latter generalization is as robust as the first one, particularly that there are cases where "new" items **lack** prominence. Consider, for instance, the E.1 discourse in section 3 below (quoted here for convenience):

E.1.a. *What were you doing last night?*
E.1.b. *I was reading a BOOK.*

where "reading" lacks prominence and is obviously not "given," but definitely contextually "new."

Even more astonishing is Schwarzschild's (1999: 142) explanation that "[t]his asymmetry is supported by the fact that deictics and other words appear to be inherently given (Halliday 1967, 206), but one doesn't find words that are inherently novel." It has to be noted first that unfortunately Schwarzschild **distorts** Halliday's description, which reads as follows: "Anaphoric items are inherently 'given' in the sense that their interpretation depends on identification within the preceding text." It is not "other words" as Schwarzschild has it, which might be read as "and all other words" beside deictics, but very precisely only "anaphoric items."

Schwarzschild then repeats Halliday's definition in his own formalistic parlance: "An utterance is *given* iff it is entailed by prior discourse" (1999: 147). If we recall Mathesius' (1939/1947) definition of "the point of departure" ("theme") as "that which is known or at least obvious in the given situation" (1947: 234; tr. into English by Firbas, 1964), it is impossible to see how Schwarzschild's formulation substantially differs from Mathesius', Halliday's or Lanin's (1977) descriptions. Thus, we cannot share German's *et al.* (2006) view that Schwarzschild's is a significant contribution to the identification of givenness. Praising Schwarzschild, German *et al.* simply repeat what Halliday (1967) wrote, only using different, what they call "technical formulation": "[t]he very significant contribution of Schwarzschild (1999) is a technical formulation of givenness. He proposes that accent placement is predictable for any sentence if the set of entailments of the discourse context are known" (German *et al.* 2006: 152).

Schwarzschild's attempt reminds me of Leech's (1981) conclusion that "a definition in terms of a scientific formula, such as *salt* = NaCl, simply exchanges one set of linguistic symbols for another, and so postpones the task of semantic explication one step further" (Leech 1981: 3). It is also clear, that if "an utterance is *given* iff it is entailed by prior discourse," then what is **not** entailed by prior discourse, must be new (which is called "focus" by formalists). Schwarzschild (1999: 155) comes close to accepting the existence of informational "newness" when he tentatively proposes a rule that "[i]f a constituent is F-marked, it must not be GIVEN" – again, if not "given," then what? Moreover, he does not explain the reason why constituents are F-marked in the first place. He only comes up with such rules as *AvoidF:* "F-mark as little as possible, without violating Givenness," as if F-marking possibility depended on our

whim to F-mark as little or as much. Another, very "illuminating" rule is the *Basic F-Rule*: "An accented word is F-marked," which means no less than if a word happens to be accented it has to be F-marked. In other words it is the accent that determines Focus rather than the other way round. The question how the accent gets in its place remains unanswered except for a very general rule "*Foc:* A Foc phrase contains an accent" (1999: 173) which is a trivial observation in view of the many discussions of that issue (*e.g.*, Chomsky 1971; Jackendoff 1972; Szwedek 1976, 1986). That problem of the relation between Foc (focus) and stress (accent) will be addressed in the next section of the present paper.

In his conclusions, Schwarzschild (1999: 175–176) repeats that:

> Discourse appropriateness is calculated for units defined in terms of standard syntactic constituency and F-marking and it distinguishes constituents that are GIVEN from those that are not. A constituent that is GIVEN presupposes an antecedent with the same meaning, up to F-marked parts. F-marking is used parsimoniously and is constrained by discourse appropriateness and the positioning of pitch accents, the only factor contributing to intonational prominence that is considered here. F-markers that must correspond to alternatives in the discourse must dominate an accent. Non-discourse related rules of syntax/phonology regulate accent placement.

Apart from the dishonest distortion of Halliday's words, Schwarzschild's treatment of givenness and focus is seriously questionable on many accounts:

1. How does his definition of givenness really differ from Halliday's (1967)?
2. If some constituents are not-given, and thus not "new," what are they?
3. Who makes decisions about the **parsimonious** use or as little F-marking as possible?
4. What criteria are applied in the parsimonious use of F-marking?
5. What are the non-discourse related rules of syntax/phonology regulating accent placement?

Without solid answers to those questions, Schwarzschild's paper is "much ado about nothing much."

Finally, and most importantly for the present paper, Schwarzschild comes nowhere near the problem of stress placement and category membership.

The interpretation of "new" information segment, which Schwarzschild unceremoniously discarded, has caused some problems in relation to focus, scope of focus and stress placement. The next section attempts to explain the relations between those notions.

2.4. New information, focus and stress placement

The commonly employed term "focus" will not be used here because of its vagueness. It has often been applied in the sense of the "scope of focus," which is equivalent to the "new" information segment, but it was also used to refer to the "stressed item."

The phrase "scope of focus" indicates that "focus" is used as an equivalent of stress whose scope extends over other items. A good example of this ambiguity is found in Jackendoff (1972) who, in one place, defined focus as "the information in the sentence that is assumed by the speaker not to be shared by him and the hearer" (Jackendoff 1972: 230), which simply means "new information" segment, and in another place he stated that focus is realized as stress when he wrote that "a mark F, realized by stress, marks focus constituents" (Jackendoff 1972: 353).

It is also obvious from Chomsky's (1971) discussion of example (45a)[7] that focus, in the sense "new information," cannot be determined by the stress (intonation centre), a view that was experimentally proven by Pakosz (1981). In his discussion of example

(vi) *Was it an ex-convict with a red* SHIRT *that he was warned to look out for?*

the term "focus" is used in the sense "scope of focus" (= contextually new information). This is clear from his statement that this example can have as its focus any of the following phrases:

(51)
(i) *an ex-convict with a red shirt*
(ii) *with a red shirt*
(iii) *red shirt*
(iv) *shirt*

since all of them "contain the intonation center" (Chomsky 1971: 201).

Selkirk (1995) repeats Chomsky's observations on the same example only with different lexemes: *Mary bought a book on bats*, coming to the same conclusions that, what she calls Focus, can be one of the following:

- BATS;
- about BATS;
- a book about BATS;
- bought a book about BATS;
- or the whole sentence;
- Mary bought a book about BATS,

the last one as an answer to "What was happening?"

These foci she establishes on the basis of questions (only in parentheses) they are answers to (Selkirk 1995: 554). It is obvious from those examples that what she calls F-marked constituents are what used to be called simply "contextually new information" segments, that is those absent from the preceding context. The determining role of the context is beyond any doubt. Yet, Selkirk tries to formulate syntax-based rules of F-marking. First, she proposes a Basic Focus Rule:

An accented word is F-marked. (Selkirk 1995: 555)

This rule is trivial in the light of universal agreement that sentence stress falls within "new" information segment. Replacing "new" with Focus does not make Selkirk's rule a new revelation.

Once the accented word is F-marked, her "theory of focus projection hypothesizes that the F-marking of the Focus of a sentence is licenced by a chain of F-marked constituents at the bottom end of which is the word bearing the pitch accent" (Selkirk 1995: 555). She does not say, however, why a certain word is accented in the first place, and what the determination of the F-marked constituents depends on. She does not say that F-marking stops where given information begins, which in reality

7 The numbers of language expressions quoted in this section are those used in Chomsky (1971).

means, as I mentioned above, that she first has to determine the new and given information constituents, before starting her Focus projections, and then only as far as the context allows.

In other words, Selkirk describes hierarchy relations in the syntactic structure ignoring the semantic relations between the opening sentence and the response.

The only conclusion we can draw from such descriptions is that while the stress falls within the scope of focus, in no way does it **determine** the scope of focus understood as new information, which depends solely on the preceding context. In that sense the two phenomena are separate and a question which element within the scope of focus gets the stress remains unanswered.

2.5. Given vs definite

As indicated in the preceding point, the terms "given"/"new" will be used to refer to the contextual presence or absence of an item or segment. Related to the "given"/"new" distinction is the problem of definiteness. There is no need to discuss that problem in detail as it has been discussed in grammars of article-languages and in a number of works on the articleless languages (for example, Szwedek 1975, 1986 for Polish, and Chesterman 1991 for Finnish). In his 1991 book, Chesterman (Foreword) observed that languages differ "in the ways in which they draw the lines between syntax, semantics and pragmatics." In the article-languages like English and German, the situation is relatively simple because definiteness/indefiniteness is realized lexically. In the majority of cases, the use of the definite article signals givenness. However, there are examples in which a definite expression is contextually new. This is clear in the following discourse (capital letters in (b) sentence indicate the stress):

a. *I can lend you Moby Dick on DVD.*
b. *I have read the BOOK, thanks.*

The word "book" refers here to two aspects: the contents and the medium.[8] What, however, is most interesting is that the definiteness and newness do not refer to the book as a whole, but to different aspects of it. Thus, the book in (b) is clearly definite as to the contents (not any book, but the book about Moby Dick) while the medium, paper version vs DVD, is contextually new.

Definiteness in articleless languages like Polish (Szwedek 1976, 1986), or Finnish (Chesterman 1991) is similar to that in English and German, but realized differently. Disregarding such means as demonstrative pronouns as signals of definiteness, the indication of the definite/indefinite nature of nouns in Polish is syntactic, contextual and semantic. This is clear in the following example:

P.7.a.[9] *Mogę Ci pożyczyć Moby Dicka na DVD.*
[Can$_{I}$ you$_{Dat}$ lend Moby Dick$_{Acc}$ on DVD]
'I can lend you Moby Dick on DVD.'

8 The problem was introduced by Reddy (1979) as "semantic pathology." For a discussion of similar cases of metonymous readings within the cognitive framework, see, for example, Croft 1993, Barcelona 2000, Ruiz de Mendoza 2000: *The book is heavy* vs *The book is a history of Iraq*, which in the present paper would be exemplified by the pair: the content of *Moby Dick or the Whale* and the medium of that content – print vs DVD.

9 The numbers here are those used in the discussion later in the present paper.

P.7.b. *Dzięki, czytałem KSIĄżkę.*
[Thanks, read$_{\text{I; past;imperf}}$ book$_{\text{Acc}}$]
'Thanks, I have read the book.'

In the absence of any structural indicator of definiteness, the addressee looks for other clues and assumes that Moby Dick and the book refer to the same content (as in English and German), so this part of the essential information is given. What is new is the medium, print vs DVD (also as in English and German), but as there is no way in which only one aspect, here, the medium, can be stressed, the word as a whole is stressed.

I think that this is an interesting observation, since so far, givenness and newness of nouns have been assigned to the whole referent.

3. Material

The present study is based on English, German and Polish simple transitive sentences. As I mentioned in fn. 5, I am aware that such simple structures are not very frequent in real discourse. However, just as infrequent, but basic, are simple sentences, and yet, it is common for grammars to begin the description of syntax with such simple sentence structures, no doubt with the authors' awareness of their infrequent occurrence. For example, Quirk *et al.* (1972, 1985) devote some 80 pages, out of over 2000 pages, to the simple sentence. Similarly infrequent, but basic stressing patterns merit a comparable analysis.

The reason behind the choice of those three languages is that they differ in syntactic structures. English is a fixed SVO language, German *das Perfekt* has the main verb in sentence final position, and Polish is a grammatically free word order language, so the relations between syntactic structures and the place of stress in the sentence are different in the three languages.

The analysed examples are two-sentence texts and they are divided into two parts. Part I examples, discussed in more detail in section 5, consist of a question, and an answer with both the object noun and the verb contextually new, while Part II examples, discussed in section 6, consist of an affirmative clause and a response with a contextually given object noun and a contextually new verb (and adverb). The responses are presented in various configurations of sentence stress and sentence structures. By way of introduction, here are some examples with the stressed syllable in capital letters.

The structure of Part I examples:

English
E.1.a. *What were you doing last night?*
E.1.b. *I was reading a BOOK.*

German
G.1.a. *Was hast du gestern Abend gemacht?*
G.1.b. *Ich habe ein BUCH gelesen.*

Polish
P.1.a. *Co robiłeś wczoraj wieczorem*?
[What did$_{\text{you;past;imperf.}}$ yesterday evening]
'What were you doing last night?'
P.1.b. *Czytałem KSIĄżkę.*
[Read$_{\text{I;past;imperf.}}$ book$_{\text{Acc}}$]
'I was reading a book.'

The structure of Part II examples:

English
E.3.a. *I can lend you Moby Dick.* (book in hand)
E.3.b. *Thanks, I've READ the book.*

German
G.3.a. *Ich kann dir Moby Dick ausleihen.* (book in hand)
G.3.b. *Danke, ich habe das Buch geLEsen*.

Polish
P.5.a. *Mogę Ci pożyczyć Moby Dicka*. (book in hand)
[Can$_{\text{I}}$ you$_{\text{Dat}}$ lend Moby Dick$_{\text{Acc}}$]
'I can lend you Moby Dick.'
P.5.b. *Dzięki, czyTAłem książkę.*
[Thanks, read$_{\text{I;past;imperf.}}$ book$_{\text{Acc}}$][10]
'Thanks, I have read the book.'

English
E.5.a. *I can lend you Moby Dick on DVD.*
E.5.b. *Thanks, I've read the BOOK.*

German
G.5.a. *Ich kann dir Moby Dick auf DVD ausleihen.*
G.5.b. *Danke, ich habe das BUCH gelesen.*

Polish
P.7.a. *Mogę Ci pożyczyć Moby Dicka na DVD.*
P.7.b. *Dzięki, czytałem KSIĄżkę.*
[Thanks, read$_{\text{I;past;imperf.}}$ book$_{\text{Acc,def.}}$]
'Thanks, I have read the book.'

10 The unmarked, imperfective form of the verb in Polish may in certain circumstances adopt the perfective meaning (*cf.* Szwedek 1998).

4. Methodology

4.1. Recordings

The two-sentence texts were recorded by native speakers in each language.[11] As the examples will show, the place of the sentence stress in some of them was left to the spontaneous judgment of the speakers by not indicating the place of the stress with capital letters, and in some of them the stressing was forced by capital letters. For example, in the English version, the neutral intonation is represented in example (E.1.b) of the questionnaire:

E.1.a. *What were you doing last night?*
E.1.b. *I was reading a book.* (no stress prompt)

while the stress is forced in example (E.2.b):

E.2.a. *What were you doing last night?*
E.2.b. *I was READing a book.* (stress prompt)

The recordings were then presented to other native speakers of each language,[12] who were asked (i) to judge the answers as either "correct" (good) or "incorrect" (bad, strange), and (ii) to indicate the stressed item.

4.2. Questionnaires and the interpretation of results

The recordings and questionnaires in English, German and Polish consist of almost the same set of two-sentence sequences: a question and an answer (see sections 5 and 6). While the lexical content in the three languages is the same, the number of Polish examples differs from the English and German ones in that the questionnaire has two more sequences in which the word order is changed to $O_S V$[13] (sentences (P.i.b) and (P.ii.b)).

In what follows I will analyse the respondents' reactions in terms of two aspects formulated as requests – to judge whether the text is "good" or "bad" and to indicate the stressed item. The instructions were as simple as possible (for example, in terms of good–bad, or strange) adapted to the non-linguistic level of education of the respondents. For example, the question about the "goodness" might be supplemented by such words as "natural," and about the stress, additionally, by such words as "stronger," "heavier," "with greater force," *etc*. In addition to those two elements, the analysis includes my own linguistic description (in **bold** type) reflecting the interplay of three phenomena: place of the stress, stress and new information

11 For some prosodic observations concerning selected examples, see section 7.

12 The number of respondents was 9 for English, 9 for German and 14 for Polish, that is, the total of 32, but 8 were eliminated because the answers were predominantly of "I don't know" type, leaving 7 + 7 + 10 (for English, German and Polish respectively) = altogether 24 that have been analysed.

13 The subscripted $_{<S>}$ indicates the finite form of the verb with the Subject signalled by the personal ending. In particular sentences I use a clearer form V_{you}, the pronoun representing $_{2nd,sg}$ ending. If the Subject pronoun is present, which is admissible in some cases, it would be added before the verb, for example, *Ja czytałem książkę* (SV_IO_{Acc}), 'I was reading the book.'

segment, and the information value of the noun(s). Thus the comments to each text have the following components in Part I examples:

1. Is the question–answer sequence/text good or bad? Does it sound natural or not?
2. Can you identify the word that is stressed/pronounced with greater force in the answer (b)?
3. **Position of the stress**.
4. **Stress vs new information segment**.
5. **Noun character: definite/indefinite, contextually given/new**.

Part II examples have additional comments on **definiteness** and **stress on grammatical category**.

5. An analysis of Part I examples

Hypothesis (a): in neutral intonation the sentence stress must fall on the contextually new noun.

5.1. English examples

E.1.a. *What were you doing last night?*	
E.1.b. *I was reading a book.*	(no stress prompt)
GOOD/bad	7/0
stress	5 "book"/2 "not sure"
stress in final position:	**yes**
stress in new segment:	**yes**
noun:	**indefinite, new, stressed**

Description: the stress is within the new segment "reading a book," in the final position; stress placement is consistent with the main principles.

E.2.a. *What were you doing last night?*	
E.2.b. *I was READing a book.*	
good/**BAD**	0/7
stress	7 "reading"
stress in end position:	**no**
stress in new segment:	**yes**
noun:	**indefinite, new**

Description: the stress is within the new segment "reading a book"; **the new, final noun** is unstressed.

5.2. German examples

G.1.a. *Was hast du gestern Abend gemacht?*	
G.1.b. *Ich habe ein Buch gelesen.*	(no stress prompt)
GOOD/bad	7/0
stress	7 "Buch"

stress in end position:	**no**
stress in new segment:	**yes**
noun:	**indefinite, new**

Description: the stress is within the new segment "ein Buch gelesen," but not in the final position; the stress is **on the new noun in non-final position**.

G.2.a. *Was hast du gestern Abend gemacht?*
G.2.b. *Ich habe ein Buch geLEsen.*

good/**BAD**	0/7
stress	7 "gelesen"
stress in end position:	**yes**
stress in new segment:	**yes**
noun:	**indefinite, new**

Description: the stress is within the new segment "ein Buch gelesen," in the final position; **the new, non-final noun** is unstressed. Though the two major principles (stress on the new information and in final position) apply, the (b) sentence is incorrect.

5.3. Polish examples

P.1.a. *Co robiłeś wczoraj wieczorem?*
(what did$_{you}$ yesterday evening?)
'What were you doing last night?'

P.1.b. *Czytałem książkę.* (no stress prompt)
(Read$_{I;past;imperf}$book$_{Acc}$)
'I was reading a book.'

GOOD/bad	10/0
stress	6 "książkę"/4 "I don't know"
stress in end position:	**yes**
stress in new segment	**yes**
noun:	**indefinite, new**

Description: the stress is within the new segment "czytałem książkę," in the final position; the stress is **on the new noun in final position**.

P.2.a. *Co robiłeś wczoraj wieczorem?*
(what did$_{you}$ yesterday evening?)
'What were you doing last night?'

P.2.b. *CzyTAłem książkę.*
(Read$_{I;past;imperf}$book$_{Acc}$)
'I was reading a book.'

good/**BAD**	0/10

stress	10 "czytałem"
stress in end position:	**no**
stress in new segment:	**yes**
noun:	**indefinite, new**

Description: the stress is in the new segment "czytałem książkę," but in non-final position; **the new, final noun** is unstressed.

P.i.a. *Co robiłeś wczoraj wieczorem?*[14]
(what did$_{you}$ yesterday evening?)
'What were you doing last night?'

P.i.b. *KSIĄŻkę czytałem*. (Book$_{Acc}$ read$_{I;past;imperf}$) 'I was reading a book.'	(no stress prompt)
GOOD/bad	9/1
stress	10 "książkę"
stress in end position:	**no**
stress in new segment:	**yes**
noun:	**indefinite, new**

Description: the stress is in the new segment "książkę czytałem," but in non-final position; **the new, non-final noun** is stressed.

P.ii.a. *Co robiłeś wczoraj wieczorem?*
(what did$_{you}$ yesterday evening?)
'What were you doing last night?'

P.ii.b. *Książkę czyTAłem*. (Book$_{Acc}$ read$_{I;past;imperf}$) 'I was reading a book.'	
good/**BAD**	0/10
stress	10 "czytałem"
stress in end position:	**yes**
stress in new segment:	**yes**
noun:	**indefinite, new**

Description: the stress is in the new segment "książkę czytałem," and in the final position: **the new, non-final noun** is unstressed. Though the two major principles (stress on the new information and in final position) apply, the (b) sentence is incorrect.

14 The Roman numerals (i, ii) are used here in order to keep the numbers of Part II examples correspondent in the three languages. While Polish Part I examples with the Roman numerals differ in word order from those with Arabic numerals, no such variations are considered in Part II examples.

5.4. Interpretation of Part I examples

A. The (b) sentences are correct as long as the stress falls on the new noun, independent of its position (G.1.b, P.1.b and P.i.b).

B. The stress on the contextually new verb and in end position (G.2.b, P.2.b and P.ii.b) renders the sentence incorrect, even if the stress position complies with the main principles.

C. (A) and (B) show clearly the relevance of my hypothesis that in neutral intonation only the stress on the new noun makes the text correct, while the stress on the new verb renders the meaning incorrect even in the situation when the two main principles apply.

6. An analysis of Part II examples

Hypothesis (b): in neutral intonation the contextually given noun must **not** be stressed in which case the stress falls on the nearest category respecting the end-focus principle.

6.1. English examples

E.3.a. *I can lend you Moby Dick.*	(book in hand)[15]
E.3.b. *Thanks, I've read the book.*	(no stress prompt)
GOOD/bad	7/0
stress	7 "read" (3 corrections to *I've READ it*)
stress in end position:	**no**
stress in new segment:	**yes**
noun:	**definite, given**[16]
stress on noun:	**no**
stress on verb:	**yes**

Description: the stress is within the new segment, and in non-final position; **the given, definite, final noun is unstressed**.

E.4.a. *I can lend you Moby Dick.*	(book in hand)
E.4.b. *Thanks, I've read the BOOK.*	
good/**BAD**	0/7
stress	7 "book"
stress in end position:	**yes**

15 The "book in hand" situation is to strengthen the sense of Moby Dick as a book.

16 The definiteness of a noun does not necessarily make it contextually given as (E.6.b) shows. *Cf.* also *What happened? I was reading the BOOK when he came in*, where "the book" (new information) may refer to the Bible (this interpretation was suggested to me years ago by the late prof. Werner Winter in personal communication). For extensive discussions of the complex nature of definiteness in English and particularly in articleless languages, see Szwedek 1975, 1986 (for Polish), and Chesterman 1991 (for Finnish) who emphasized the complex nature of the phenomenon, involving syntax, semantics and pragmatics (see also section 2.4).

stress in new segment:	**no**
noun:	**definite, given**
stress on noun:	**yes**
stress on verb:	**no**

Description: the stress is within the given segment, in the final position; **the given, definite, final noun is stressed**. **The stress on the given noun makes the text incorrect**.

E.5.a. *I can lend you Moby Dick.*	(book in hand)
E.5.b. *Thanks, I read the book last WEEK.*	
GOOD/bad	7/0
stress	7 "week"
stress in end position:	**yes**
stress in new segment:	**yes**
noun:	**definite, given**
stress on noun:	**no**
stress on verb:	**no**
adverb:	**final, new, stressed**

Description: the stress is within the new segment, in the final position; **the given, definite noun is unstressed**.

E.6.a. *I can lend you Moby Dick on DVD.*	
E.6.b. *Thanks, I read the book last WEEK.*	
good/bad?	3 "rather correct"/4 "bad"[17]
stress	7 "week"
stress in end position:	**yes**
stress in new segment:	**yes**
noun:	**definite, given**
stress on noun:	**no**
stress on verb:	**no**
adverb:	**final, new, stressed**

Description: the stress is within the new segment, in the final position; **the given, definite noun is unstressed**. The mixed reaction may be due to the *semantic pathology* (fn. 7). Though "book" is contextually new, in contrast to DVD,[18] the "good" responses may be due to an intuitive assumption of the sameness of contents of Moby Dick and the book. Four respondents judged the text to be incorrect and suggested a change of stress to "book," correctly assuming a contrast of "book" vs DVD.

17 The latter choice was sometimes accompanied by a comment "the stress on 'book' would be better."

18 Semantically definite by metonymy: Moby Dick = book, with contrast of the medium which is new in the (b) sentence.

E.7.a. *I can lend you Moby Dick on DVD.*	
E.7.b. *Thanks, I've read the book.*	(no stress prompt)
GOOD/bad	7/0
stress	7 "book"
stress in end position:	**yes**
stress in new segment:	**yes**
noun:	**definite, new**
stress on noun:	**yes**
stress on verb:	**no**

Description: the stress is within the new segment; the stressed, final, definite "book" is contextually new, in a correct **contrast** to DVD.

E.8.a. *I can lend you Moby Dick on DVD.*	
E.8.b. *Thanks, I READ the book last week.*	
good/**BAD**	0/7
stress	7 "read"
stress in end position:	**no**
stress in new segment:	**yes**
noun:	**definite, new**
stress on noun:	**no**
stress on verb:	**yes**
adverb:	**final, new, unstressed**

Description: the stress is within the new segment; the unstressed, definite "book" indicates its given status though it is contextually new (see fn. 16). In contrast to (E.6.b), this example has been judged to be definitely incorrect. I think the reason for the different judgment of (E.6.b) is the final position of the stress on "week."

E.9.a. *I can lend you Moby Dick on DVD.*	
E.9.b. *Thanks, I read the BOOK last week.*	
GOOD/bad	7/0
stress	7 "book"
stress in end position:	**no**
stress in new segment:	**yes**
noun:	**definite, new**
stress on noun:	**yes**
stress on verb:	**no**
adverb:	**final, new, unstressed**

Description: the stress is within the new segment; the stressed, new though definite (see fn. 16) "book" **contrasts** with DVD.

Interpretation of English Part II examples:
Excluding the incorrect stressing (E.4.b, E.6.b, E.8.b) and clearly contrastive cases (E.7.b and E.9.b), we are left with two crucial texts – (E.3) and (E.5).

The importance of the (b) sentences in the two latter texts rests in the fact that:

(i) the stress clearly "avoids" the given noun even in the final position (E.3.b);

(ii) the stress is placed on the nearest available major grammatical category,[19] as far to the end as possible which in (E.3.b) is the **preceding** verb and in (E.5.b) the following adverbial phrase.

While (i) emphasizes the principle of "no stress on the given noun," (ii) shows that stress placement is in agreement with the "stress on new item" principle.

It is important to add that the (i) strategy (no stress on a given noun) does not apply to the given verb which is naturally stressed also when given: *Have you read Moby Dick. Yes, I have READ it/the book.* (the most common answers would be *Yes*, *I have*, *I have*, or, simply, *Yes*).[20]

6.2. German examples

G.3.a. *Ich kann dir Moby Dick ausleihen.*	(book in hand)
G.3.b. *Danke, ich habe das Buch gelesen.*	(no stress prompt)
GOOD/bad	7/0
stress	7 "gelesen"
stress in end position:	**yes**
stress in new segment:	**yes**
noun:	**definite, given**
stress on noun:	**no**
stress on verb:	**yes**

Description: the stress is within the new segment, and in the final position: **the given, definite noun is unstressed**.

G.4.a. *Ich kann dir Moby Dick ausleihen.*	(book in hand)
G.4.b. *Danke, ich habe das BUCH gelesen.*	
good/**BAD**	0/7
stress	7 "Buch"
stress in end position:	**no**
stress in new segment:	**no**
noun:	**definite, given**
stress on noun:	**yes**
stress on verb:	**no**

19 Notice that even if the sentence stress falls within the prepositional phrase, the stress falls on the noun; the stress on the adjective renders the interpretation contrastive.

20 In view of such examples (see also Polish and particularly German examples below), Šimík and Wierzba's (2015) constraint that "Stress-Given prohibits given elements from carrying sentence stress" is too general and, in consequence, wrong. See also Szwedek's (2010) criticism of the minimalist theory of focus.

Description: the stress is within the given segment, in non-final position: **the given, definite noun is stressed**. The answer implies an unjustified contrast of Moby Dick (book) vs book.

G.5.a. *Ich kann dir Moby Dick ausleihen.*	(book in hand)
G.5.b. *Danke, ich habe das Buch letzte WOche gelesen.*	
GOOD/bad	7/0
stress	7 "Woche"
stress in end position:	**no**
stress in new segment:	**yes**
noun:	**definite, given**
stress on noun:	**no**
stress on verb:	**no**
adverb:	**prefinal, new, stressed**

Description: the stress is within the new segment, in non-final position: **the given, definite noun is unstressed**.

G.6.a. *Ich kann dir Moby Dick auf DVD ausleihen.*	
G.6.b. *Danke, ich habe das Buch letzte WOche gelesen.*	
good/**BAD**	2/5[21]
stress	7 "Woche"
stress in end position:	**no**
stress in new segment:	**yes**
noun:	**definite, new**
stress on noun:	**no**
stress on verb:	**no**
adverb:	**prefinal, new, stressed**

Description: the stress is within the new segment, in non-final position: **the given, definite noun is unstressed**. The judgement of incorrectness is probably due to (G.6.b) speakers' assumption that the (G.6.a) speaker referred to a book, though "Buch" is contextually new, with a semantic contrast to DVD (see fns. 16 and 18). The two positive responses may be due to an intuitive assumption of the identity of contents of Moby Dick and the book.

G.7.a. *Ich kann dir Moby Dick auf DVD ausleihen.*	
G.7.b. *Danke, ich habe das BUCH gelesen.*	
GOOD/bad	7/0
stress	7 "Buch"
stress in end position:	**no**
stress in new segment:	**yes**
noun:	**definite, new**

21 Like in English, corrections were suggested to put the stress on "Buch."

stress on noun:	**yes**
stress on verb:	**no**

Description: the stress is within the new segment; the stressed, definite "Buch," in non-final position, is contextually new, in correct **contrast** to DVD.

G.8.a. *Ich kann dir Moby Dick auf DVD ausleihen.*
G.8.b. *Danke, ich habe das Buch letzte Woche geLEsen.*

good/**BAD**	2/5
stress	7 "gelesen"
stress in end position:	**yes**
stress in new segment:	**yes**
noun:	**definite, new**
stress on noun:	**no**
stress on verb:	**yes**
adverb:	**prefinal, new, unstressed**

Description: the stress is within the new segment; the unstressed, definite "Buch" indicates its given status though it is contextually new (see fns. 7 and 16). As in (G.6.b), the two positive responses may be due to an intuitive assumption of the identity of contents of Moby Dick and the book (see fn. 7).

G.9.a. *Ich kann dir Moby Dick auf DVD ausleihen.*
G.9.b. *Danke, ich habe das BUCH letzte Woche gelesen.*

GOOD/bad	7/0
stress	7 "Buch"
stress in end position:	**no**
stress in new segment:	**yes**
noun:	**definite, new**
stress on noun:	**yes**
stress on verb:	**no**
adverb:	**prefinal, new, unstressed**

Description: the stress is within the new segment; the stressed, new "Buch" correctly **contrasts** with DVD.

Interpretation of German Part II examples:
Excluding clearly incorrect stressing (G.4.b, G.6.b, G.8.b), and clearly contrastive readings (G.7.b and G.9.b) leaves for consideration two texts – (G.3) and (G.5).

The points meriting highlighting in (G.3.b) and (G.5.b) are the following:

(i) the stress clearly "avoids" the given noun;

(ii) the stress is put on the nearest available item, regardless of the category, as far to the end as possible, which is either on the final verb as in (G.3.b) or the non-final adverb as in (G.5.b).

While (i) emphasizes the principle of "no stress on the given noun," (ii) shows that stressing is in agreement with the "stress on the new item" principle.

It is important to add, that like in English, the (i) strategy does not apply to the given verb, which is naturally stressed also when given: *Hast du Moby Dick gelesen? Ja* or *Ja, ich habe es geLEsen* (in German you cannot omit the verb in the clausal version of the answer; *cf.* English *Yes, I have*).

6.3. Polish examples

P.3.a. *Mogę Ci pożyczyć Moby Dicka.* (book in hand)
[Can_{I} you_{Dat} lend Moby $Dick_{Acc}$]
'I can lend you Moby Dick.'

P.3.b. *Dzięki, czytałem książkę.* (no stress prompt)
[Thanks, $read_{I;past;imperf}$ $book_{Acc}$]
'Thanks, I have read the book.'

GOOD/bad	10/0
stress	9 "czytałem"/1 "I don't know"
stress in end position:	**no**
stress in new segment:	**yes**
noun:	**given, definite**
stress on noun:	**no**
stress on verb:	**yes**

Description: the stress is within the new segment, in non-final position: **the given noun is unstressed** (6 suggestions: *Dzięki, czytałem* and 2: *Dzięki, czytałem tę* ('this') *książkę*).

P.4.a. *Mogę Ci pożyczyć Moby Dicka.* (book in hand)
[Can_{I} you_{Dat} lend Moby $Dick_{Acc}$]

P.4.b. *Dzięki, czytałem KSIĄŻkę.*
[Thanks, $read_{I;past;imperf}$ $book_{Acc}$]
'Thanks, I have read the book.'

good/**BAD**	0/10
stress	10 "książkę"
stress in end position:	**yes**
stress in new segment:	**no**
noun:	**given, definite**
stress on noun:	**yes**
stress on verb:	**no**

Description: the stress is within the given segment, in the final position: **the given noun is stressed**. The text is incorrect due to the unjustified, imposed **contrast**: Moby Dick (book) vs book.

P.5.a. *Mogę Ci pożyczyć Moby Dicka.* (book in hand)

P.5.b. *Dzięki, czytałem książkę w zeszłym tyGODniu.*
[Thanks, $read_{I;past;imperf}$ $book_{Acc}$ in past week]
'Thanks, I read the book last week.'

GOOD/bad	10/0
stress	10 "tygodniu"
stress in end position:	**yes**
stress in new segment:	**yes**
noun:	**given, definite**
stress on noun:	**no**
stress on verb:	**no**
adverb:	**final, new, stressed**

Description: the stress is within the new segment, in the final position: **the given noun is unstressed** (6 suggestions: *Dzięki, czytałem w zeszłym tygodniu* and 2: *Dzięki, czytałem tę książkę w zeszłym tygodniu*).

P.6.a. *Mogę Ci pożyczyć Moby Dicka na DVD.*
[Can_{I} you_{Dat} lend Moby Dick_{Acc} on DVD]

P.6.b. *Dzięki, czytałem książkę w zeszłym tyGODniu.*[22]
[Thanks, $\text{read}_{\text{I;past;imperf}}$ book_{Acc} in past week]
'Thanks, I read the book last week.'

good/**BAD**	0/10
stress	10 "tygodniu"
stress in end position:	**yes**
stress in new segment:	**yes**
noun:	**given, definite**
stress on noun:	**no**
stress on verb:	**no**
adverb:	**final, new, stressed**

Description: the stress is within the new segment, in the final position: **the given noun is unstressed**.

P.7.a. *Mogę Ci pożyczyć Moby Dicka na DVD.*
[Can_{I} you_{Dat} lend Moby Dick on DVD]
'I can lend you Moby Dick on DVD.'

P.7.b. *Dzięki, czytałem KSIĄŻkę.*
[Thanks, $\text{read}_{\text{I;past;imperf}}$ book_{Acc}]
'Thanks, I have read the book.'

GOOD/bad	10/0
stress	10 "książkę"
stress in end position:	**yes**
stress in new segment:	**yes**
noun:	**new, definite**
stress on noun:	**yes**
stress on verb:	**no**

22 As pointed out earlier, Polish allows for a number of variations of word order. In addition to the short good/bad judgement of (P.6.b), some respondents suggested corrections, for example, *Dzięki, w zeszłym tygodniu czytałem KSIĄżkę*.

Description: the stress is within the new segment; the stressed, definite "książkę," in final position, is contextually new (see section 2.4), in a correct **contrast** to DVD.

P.8.a. *Mogę Ci pożyczyć Moby Dicka na DVD*.
[Can$_{I}$ you$_{Dat}$ lend Moby Dick on DVD]
P.8.b. *Dzięki, czyTAłem książkę w zeszłym tygodniu*.
[Thanks, read$_{I;past;imperf}$ book$_{Acc}$ in past week]
'Thanks, I read the book last week.'

good/**BAD**	0/10
stress	10 "czytałem"
stress in end position:	**no**
stress in new segment:	**yes**
noun:	**new, definite**
stress on noun:	**no**
stress on verb:	**yes**
adverb:	**final, new, unstressed**

Description: the stress is within the new segment; though formally contextually new, the unstressed "książkę" indicates its given status reinforced by the verb "czytałem."

P.9.a. *Mogę Ci pożyczyć Moby Dicka na DVD.*
[Can$_{I}$ you$_{Dat}$ lend Moby Dick on DVD]
P.9.b. *Dzięki, czytałem KSIĄŻkę w zeszłym tygodniu*.
[Thanks, read$_{I;past;imperf}$ book$_{Acc}$ in past week]
'Thanks, I read the book last week.'

GOOD/bad	10/0
stress	9 "książkę"/1 "I don't know"
stress in end position:	**no**
stress in new segment:	**yes**
noun:	**new, definite**
stress on noun:	**yes**
stress on verb:	**no**
adverb:	**final, new, unstressed**

Description: the stress is within the new segment; the stressed, new "książkę" correctly **contrasts** with DVD. As pointed out above, here "książkę" refers to the contrast in medium, the identity of contents being assumed.

Polish examples II – conclusions:
Excluding clearly incorrect stressing (P.4.b, P.6.b, P.8.b), and clearly contrastive readings (P.7.b and P.9.b), leaves two texts for consideration – (P.3) and (P.5).

The points referring to (P.3.b) and (P.5.b) which merit highlighting are the following:

(i) the stress clearly "avoids" the given noun even in the final position (P.3.b);

(ii) the stress is put on the nearest available item, regardless of the category, as far to the end as possible, which is either on the non-final (in this case, initial) verb as in (P.3.b) or the final adverb as in (P.5.b).

While (i) emphasizes the principle of "no stress on the given noun," (ii) shows that stressing is in agreement with the "stress on new item" principle.

Again, it is important to add that like in the case of English and German, that strategy (i) does not apply to the given verb which is naturally stressed also when given: *Czytałeś Moby Dicka? Tak*; *CzyTAłem*; *CzyTAłem tę książkę.*

6.4. Conclusions to Part I and Part II analyses

Part I examples

A. The (b) sentences are correct as long as the stress falls on the new noun, independent of the position of the noun (E.1.b, G.1.b, P.1.b and P.i.b).

B. The sentence stress **on the contextually new verb** and **in end-focus position** (G.2.b, P.2.b and P.ii.b), that is, when both major principles apply, still renders the sentence **incorrect**.

C. As predicted by my hypothesis (a) (Abstract), the sentence stress in neutral intonation texts goes with the new noun; the stress on the new verb makes the texts incorrect despite the fact that the main principles, end-focus and newness, are satisfied.

Part II examples

A. Excluding the clearly incorrect stressing (E.4.b, E.6.b, E.8.b, G.4.b, G.6.b, G.8.b, and P.4.b, P.6.b, P.8.b) and clearly contrastive cases (E.7.b and E.9.b, G.7.b and G.9.b, P.7.b and P.9.b), we are left with two crucial texts in each language – (E.3) and (E.5), (G.3) and (G.5), (P.3) and (P.5).

B. The importance of the (b) sentences in the (3) and (5) texts rests in the fact that:

(i) the stress clearly "avoids" the given noun, even in the final position in English (E.3.b) and Polish (P.3.b);

(ii) the stress is placed on the nearest available major grammatical category, as far to the end as possible which is the **non-final** verb (E.3.b and P.3.b) or adverb (G.5.b), or the **final** verb (G.3.b) or adverb (E.5.b and P.5.b).

C. While (i) emphasizes the principle of "no stress on the given noun," (ii) shows that stressing is in agreement with the "stress on new item" principle.

It is important to add that the (i) strategy (no stress on a given noun) does not apply to the given verb which is naturally stressed also when given:

Have you read Moby Dick? Yes, I have READ it/the book. (or simply, *I have*; *Yes*, *I have*; or *Yes*)
Hast du Moby Dick gelesen? Ja, ich habe es/das Buch geLEsen. (or simply *Ja*)
Czytałeś Moby Dicka? CzyTAłem; *CzyTAłem tę książkę.* (or simply *Tak*)

The above analyses and ensuing conclusions show the correctness of my main hypothesis that in neutral intonation, it is the contextual information status of the noun that governs stress placement.

7. A digression on prosody

The prosodic nature of the "larger than life" emphasis sets it apart from the relation between the noun and the stress in neutral intonation, as well as from the semantic functions of the contrastive/corrective stress. It would not, therefore, be out of place to check, although rather as a digression in the context of the present paper, whether there might be any relations between the prosodic features and stress placement in relation to the category of nouns; in other words, whether it is true that emphatic stress, presumably characteristic of contrast and correction, is really "larger than life" in relation to the stress in neutral/normal intonation. The problem gains significance in view of the fact that in a few cases the respondents differed in their judgement of the (b) sentences and sometimes they were hesitant, or inclined to correct the place of the stress.

Therefore, although a prosodic analysis is of marginal significance for the main theme of the paper, I asked a specialist[23] to perform a prosodic analysis of pitch, duration and intensity of the stressed syllables. She analysed all (b) sentences in the present paper with Praat program. However, I will use only a few diagrams to present the problem.

The introductory assumption is that in neutral intonation the main features of sentence stress – pitch, intensity and duration[24] – would not differ significantly from sentence to sentence. One would expect, however, that there would be a noticeable difference between "normal" stress and "emphatic" stress, the latter signalling contrast or correction in a "larger than life" realization (Lehiste 1970), that is with a greater magnitude of pitch, or intensity, or duration or any combination thereof. The job of such a corrective stress would be, in Enkvist's words, "to set right a poorly transmitted or wrongly received part of a message" and "to signal, not the difference between shared and new information but rather the relative weight that a speaker wants to attach to a particular element in the speech stream" (1980: 135).

The expression "the relative weight that a speaker wants to attach…" implies dependence on extralinguistic, subjective factors and thus a relative character of prosodic parameters. The examples below show the latter point quite clearly. The analyses are based on two kinds of answers: one neutral and one clearly contrastive.

ENGLISH (male voice)

E.1.a. *What were you doing last night*?
E.1.b. *I was reading a BOOK*.

Segment:	oo /ʊ/		
Duration [s]:	0,09		
Pitch [Hz]:	max 137.60	min 125.70	difference 11.90
Intensity [dB]:	max 73.92	min 70.84	difference 3.08

23 Małgorzata Waryszak, MA in logopedia with audiology, and engineer in technical physics.

24 *Cf.* Halliday (1967: 203).

E.7.a. *I can lend you Moby Dick on DVD.*
E.7.b. *Thanks, I have read the BOOK.*

Segment:	oo /ʊ/		
Duration [s]:	0,10		
Pitch [Hz]:	max 80.90	min 76.55	difference 4.35
Intensity [dB]:	max 63.87	min 57.27	difference 6.60

Comment:
A comparison of (E.1.b) – clearly a neutral answer to a question, and (E.7.b) – clearly contrastive, show that:

- duration is practically the same;
- pitch difference is slightly, but insignificantly greater in the "neutral" stress![25];
- intensity is insignificantly greater in the contrastive interpretation.

GERMAN (female voice)

G.1.a. *Was hast du gestern Abend gemacht?*
G.1.b. *Ich habe ein BUCH gelesen.*

Segment:	u		
Duration [s]:	0,08		
Pitch [Hz]:	max 224.14	min 216.48	difference 7.66
Intensity [dB]:	max 73.02	min 69.15	difference 3.87

G.7.a. *Ich kann dir Moby Dick auf DVD ausleihen.*
G.7.b. *Danke, ich habe das BUCH gelesen.* (G.6.b)

Segment:	u		
Duration [s]:	0,06		
Pitch [Hz]:	max 302.48	min 264.05	difference 38.43
Intensity [dB]:	max 74.45	min 68.23	difference 6.22

Comment:
Again, a comparison of (G.1.b) – clearly a neutral answer to a question, and (G.7.b) – clearly contrastive/corrective, show that:

- duration is practically the same;
- pitch difference is greater in the "contrastive" stress, as expected;
- intensity is slightly greater for the contrastive interpretation.

25 As Lehiste (1970: 127) pointed out, the pitch correlate was found to differ from intensity and duration in that it "tended to produce an all-or-nothing effect: **the magnitude of the frequency change** seemed to be relatively unimportant, whereas the fact that a frequency change had taken place appeared to be all-important" (emphasis is my own – A. S.).

In this case, the prosodic features are in agreement with expected values, though the difference in intensity is insignificant.

POLISH (male voice)

P.1.a. *Co robiłeś wczoraj wieczorem?*
P.1.b. *Czytałem KSIĄŻkę.*

Segment:	ą /ã/		
Duration [s]:	0.19		
Pitch [Hz]:	max 141.63	min 70.31	difference 71.32
Intensity [dB]:	max 77.44	min 61.69	difference 15.75

P.7.a. *Mogę Ci pożyczyć Moby Dicka na DVD.*
P.7.b. *Dzięki, czytałem KSIĄŻkę.*

Segment:	ą /ã/		
Duration[s]:	0.16		
Pitch [Hz]:	max 130.34	min 94.76	difference 35.58
Intensity [dB]:	max 76.46	min 60.42	difference 16.04

Comment:
Like in English and in German, a comparison of (P.1.b) – clearly a neutral answer to a question, and (P.7.b) – clearly contrastive/corrective, show that:

- duration is practically the same;
- pitch difference is significantly greater in the "neutral" stress!;
- intensity is insignificantly greater in the contrastive interpretation.

Again, I can find no explanation for the unexpected "reverse" difference in pitch – greater in the neutral intonation, smaller in the contrastive one. The difference in intensity is negligible.

All these observation clearly indicate the validity of the view of the relative weight that can be attached to particular items by a speaker, depending on his attitude towards the topic at issue, hence my proposal to call such stress attitudinal.

A brief résumé:

1. The analyses revealed no connection between the stress prosody and the role of nouns in stress placement in neutral intonation.
2. Incidentally, it looks like there is no difference in prosody between non-contrastive and contrastive cases (no emphasis in the sense of "larger than life" realization).
3. Contrast/correction are semantic phenomena; prosody is irrelevant and may range from "normal" to "larger than life," the latter being attitudinal in nature.
4. While stress-noun relations in neutral intonation is a language rule and predictable, the magnitude of prosody is purely subjective and predictable only "if you're a mind reader" (Bolinger 1972).

In short, since emphasis may be realized in innumerable variations of prosodic features, it would not lend itself to an objective measurement, and thus would be of little use for semantic purposes. Therefore, I propose to call this kind of stress (Enkvist's "focus") attitudinal, reflecting Enkvist's description of "a relative weight that a speaker wants to attach to a particular element in the speech stream" (1980: 135). As attitudinal, it would obviously be impossible to predict (*cf.* Bolinger 1972).

The only prediction that we can make about stress placement refers to its neutral form in connection with the contextual information value of nouns, as has been shown in section 5. The impression of the "larger than life" realization may be due to the stress placement other than normal.

8. Conclusions

In the present paper I argue that in neutral intonation it is the information value of the noun that determines stress assignment according to two simple rules:

1. The stress falls on the new information noun if such is present.
2. The stress must not fall on the given information noun. In the latter case, the stress falls on any other major lexical item as far to the end of the sentence as possible.

The reason for that behaviour rests in the fact that, unlike verbs, nouns represent many referents (except the so-called "unique nouns," for example, the Bible, the sun, the moon, *etc.*). In communication, it is of utmost importance to know whether the interlocutors are talking about the same referent or introduce a new referent. However, while in the structure "X reads Y," referents of X and Y may vary in innumerable ways ($X_1 - X_n$ and $Y_1 - Y_n$), the relation between them, the activity "read" remains basically the same independent of who is the Agent and what is the Object of reading. In other words, we do not distinguish $READ_1$ through $READ_n$.

It is worth mentioning that again, unlike in verbs, the noun referring function is signalled by more than one linguistic means: articles and stress in some languages, stress and word order in others, plus demonstrative pronouns in both categories. Such an accumulation of means for one category is a clear evidence of the importance of referent identification in communication.

The importance of nouns is cognitively grounded in the fact that nouns represent objects which, as Langacker (1987) pointed out are conceptually independent, while relations, represented by verbs, are conceptually dependent, a relation that was obvious in the structure of Chomsky's (1965) selectional restrictions in which verbs are described in terms of accompanying noun features.

In his 2012 paper Szwedek argued for the primacy of the noun over other categories on the basis of linguistic (selectional restrictions, clefting, American Sign Language), cognitive (metaphorical process of objectification[26]) and psychological (language acquisition) phenomena. The determining role of the contextual information value of nouns in stress assignment in neutral intonation is yet another evidence for the uniqueness of nouns among other categories.

26 For metaphorical conceptualization of abstract entities (mental, emotional, relations, *etc.*) as objects see Reddy (1979), Jäkel (1995) and Szwedek (2011).

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Justyna Alnajjar
University of Warsaw

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Review of the Book: Adam Komisarof and Zhu Hua (eds.) *Crossing Boundaries and Weaving Intercultural Work, Life, and Scholarship in Globalizing Universities* (= Routledge Research in Higher Education). London and New York 2016: Routledge. ISBN: 978-1-138-57591-2, 206 pages

Abstract

The aim of this article is to present a review of a book edited by Adam Komisarof and Zhu Hua entitled *Crossing Boundaries and Weaving Intercultural Work, Life, and Scholarship in Globalizing Universities* which is a collection of articles from various research disciplines and approaches to the field of intercultural studies such as cross-cultural and acculturation psychology, communication, sociology, cultural anthropology, applied linguistics, language teaching, and multilingualism studies. The editors point out that auto-ethnography is the method employed for the purposes of the volume, as it is both researcher- and reader-friendly and allows the connection of personal experiences to broader socio-cultural contexts. As the editors promise, the book provides the reader with a variety of perspectives on intercultural communication and gives an overview of how intercultural academics combine their work, life, and scholarship, and how they juggle between various perspectives, cultures, and languages.

Keywords: intercultural communication, acculturation, communication studies, sociology, interdisciplinary research.

This book, edited by Adam Komisarof and Zhu Hua, is a collection of articles composed by "transnational, intercultural scholars… [who] work in the field of intercultural communication" (p. 2) and reflect in their texts on how their work, life, and scholarship inform each other. The book starts with an intriguing quotation by Milton J. Bennett who highlights a unique characteristic of the contributed texts, in which "the politically correct self-absorption" is avoided for the sake of "showing us how various concepts of

cultural adaptation can bring meaning to the profoundly liminal experience of becoming intercultural" (p. i). The table of contents (pp. xi–xii) and list of figures (xii) are followed by the list of contributors and their affiliations (p. xiv), which shows that the authors of the collected texts derive from various parts of the world. In addition to geographical difference, the authors represent various research disciplines and approaches to the field of intercultural studies (such as cross-cultural and acculturation psychology, communication, sociology, cultural anthropology, applied linguistics, language teaching, and multilingualism studies (p. 1)). This points to the fact that the contributors have crossed a number of boundaries in their intercultural experiences, as aptly captured in the title of the book.

The intriguing character of the volume is well articulated in the foreword (pp. xv–xviii), written by Fred Dervin, in which the interdisciplinarity and various profiles of the contributors are highlighted. In addition, it points to the unique character of the field of intercultural studies, in which "reflexivity is unfamiliar" (p. xv). It visualises scholars' challenges and successes within the field of intercultural studies, by providing metaphors of a tightrope (they walk a tightrope without a net held by the host country) and hedgehog (adapting in a different country is like trying to embrace a hedgehog). Above all, the foreword is a harbinger of the personal touch, felt throughout the entire volume. Indeed, the contributors eagerly share personal experiences and reveal personal secrets concerning living and researching in environments culturally different from the countries in which they grew up. This is undoubtedly a great asset of the publication.

This personal nature of the book is explicitly indicated in the preface (pp. xix–xx) and introduction (pp. 1–20). The editors point out that auto-ethnography is the method employed for the purposes of the volume, as it is both researcher- and reader-friendly and allows the connection of personal experiences to broader socio-cultural contexts (p. 12). Nevertheless, it is worth pointing out that the editors left the authors room to apply further methods in their enquiries (p. 13). In the introduction, the editors discuss aspects of globalisation and its influence on mobility in the academic landscape, in addition to acculturation. Most importantly, they provide the reader with a brief, though informative explanation of the "four schools of thought regarding culture in intercultural communication studies" (p. 4). This part of the introduction is especially helpful as it makes it clear that there are various understandings of culture, with their limitations and advantages, and thus when it comes to approaching culture "an open mind" (p. 9) should be preserved. At the same time, the editors hold that culture does not always suffice to fully analyse interactions between people of different cultural backgrounds. Non-cultural aspects may also be of significance. This demonstrates the great deal of awareness that the book's editors, and the contributors of the book, employ.

In the first part of the book entitled "Acculturation dynamics" (pp. 21–88), the authors present how they attempted to adopt the culture of their host country and those organisations within which they pursed their academic career. Adam Komisarof, a native American, explains his experiences in Japan with the help of a model, which he developed based on literature on the subject and enhanced with his own experiences throughout the years. The framework devised explains four acculturation profiles within organisations, *i.e.* Marginalised Outsider, Alien, Assimilated Member, and Integrated Member, which are determined based on the acculturator's perceptions. Interestingly, the author felt himself shifting between these profiles during his work, depending on the situation he was in. Gracia Liu-Farrer, born Chinese, also reports on her organisational life in Japan. Taking a sociological approach, in particular Luhmann's systems theory (Luhmann 2013) and Swindler's theory of culture as a toolkit (Swindler 1986, 2001), she searches for potential reasons of discriminatory perceptions by immigrants at work. She also explains

how the use of Japanese provided her with a sense of ownership within the organisation in which she was employed. Another researcher of intercultural communication (and psychology), Anita Mak from Hong Kong, discusses how her experience as an academic in Australia helped her to devise a training programme, called EXCELL (Excellence in Cultural Experiential Learning and Leadership), aimed at developing immigrant and international students' sociocultural competencies when living in a host country.

The authors of two further texts in Part 1 present how the turn of events in their lives influenced their career and scholarship. David L. Sam, who was born and grew up in Ghana but pursues his career in Norway, discusses selected events – which he calls critical incidents – that significantly influenced his personal learning. Personal experiences related to feeling inferior due to his poor language skills and ethnic background led him then to choose an academic career in cross-cultural psychology. He refers to concepts of culture shock and acculturative stress, and demonstrates how personal crisis may also present opportunities for personal growth and development. The process of acculturation in the host country, with relation to ethnicity and based on selected incidents from one's own life, also applies to Deepa Oommen, who specialises in communication studies. Her Indian origin and brown skin gave her a sense of inferiority on a daily basis when being among "White Americans." It was only when she started receiving support socially in the new organisational environment that she developed a bi-cultural identity and started feeling comfortable in the United States. Therefore, she provides advice for organisations to socially support new employees and develop a culture characterised by dialogue in order to gain a global outlook (p. 86).

The second part of the book is called "Negotiating identities" (pp. 89–130) and it consists of three papers. The first text is composed by Regis Machart, a Frenchman, who used to teach French in Egypt and pursues his career as an international foreign language lecturer in Malysia. He reflects on his experiences in these countries as well as Germany, where he used to be an exchange student for some time. He argues that it is essential that interculturality is included in teaching and learning foreign languages. He attempts to avoid stereotypes and instead promotes the concept of fluid interculturality and contextualisation of every intercultural experience. In addition, reflecting on his experiences, Machart discusses the liquid character of individual (cultural) identities and points to identity changes developing over time. Maryam Borjian, an Iranian professor in the United States, specialising in educational linguistics and dealing with the politics, economics, and sociology of language, also tackles the hybridity of identity, with a special focus on the self-image and ascribed identity, by taking into account her ethnical and religious otherness. Interestingly, she includes the use of language as helping to overcome the difficulty of being immersed in two different ("seemingly incompatible and contradictory") cultures and retaining both. Brigitte Bönisch-Brednich discusses the construction of identity through specific rituals. A German academic pursuing her career in New Zealand in the field of cultural anthropology, she discusses how a mono-ethnic scholar may expand their horizons and build self-awareness through auto-ethnographic fieldwork aimed at exploring campus cultures. She also provides advice on how universities may become more successful at importing scholarly excellence.

The third, final, part of the book is devoted to "Language and interaction" (pp. 131–200), in which its authors refer to multilingualism and its role in dealing with cultural issues. Jean-Marc Dewaele, a bilingual speaker of Dutch and French, is Professor of Applied Linguistics and Multilingualism at Birbeck, University of London. In this chapter, he shows how linguistic capital influences social and cultural experiences. When crossing various geographic boundaries and experiencing cultural shock and

reverse cultural shock as part of the acculturation process in the L2 and L2 environment respectively, the author claims to have have developed a hybrid self, as his cultural and linguistic practices shifted in various directions. Similarly, Zhu Hua, a Chinese applied linguist pursuing her career at the University of London, presents in her paper how linguistic capital may be a source of cultural and identity deliberations by an individual. Zhu provides a number of examples from her personal and professional life pointing to the fact that by employing various linguistic and discursive practices, *i.e.* in interactions, an individual may negotiate the level of alignment between his/her self-oriented identity and other-ascribed identity. It may be viewed that by referring to so-called nationality and ethnic talk (NET), as Zhu (2014) terms it, and to the concept of membership categorization device (MCD) introduced by Sack (1972), she provides advice to people with ethnicity, race, language *etc.* different to that of the community in which they live, work, study *etc.* on how to handle autobiographical talk and resist cultural identities chosen by other people. Elise S. Ahn, a Korean-American dealing with global studies in education, refers to her experiences in Kazakhstan. Like Zhu, she vividly demonstrates, on the basis of selected examples from her own working life, how various boundaries related to identity are negotiated through interactions. In the final chapter, the editors of the book eloquently wrap common themes of the book. By asking five questions and providing the answers with reference to the previous chapters, the editors make the insights explicit and easy for the reader to comprehend and remember. These insights oscillate around five themes, *i.e.* (1) the main factors for inclusion and exclusion of transnational academics in their workplace and by local residents, (2) coping strategies that transnational academics may employ to acculturate smoothly and thrive socio-professionally in their faculties, (3) "best practices" for universities to support transnational academics by facilitating their socio-professional integration into their organisations, (4) the role of connection between work, life, and scholarship in transnational academics' boundary crossings, (5) the possibilities of employing various approaches to researching intercultural communication and their complementary function when examining the work, lives, and scholarship of transnational academics. This part of the book provides concluding thoughts in a very systematic manner indeed, and as such, is very useful in bringing the most important aspects to the readers' attention. It is worth noting that every article finishes with a short note on the author's profile, which gives information on where the author comes from, their career path, and their research interests. I found each note of great help in order to better understand the authors' experiences and how they shaped their research perspectives. The publication finishes with an index of the most important terms and names used (pp. 201–204).

As the editors promise, the book provides the reader with a variety of perspectives on intercultural communication and gives an overview of how intercultural academics combine their work, life, and scholarship, and how they juggle between various perspectives, cultures, and languages. Nowadays, in the light of ever growing globalisation and mobility of academics, and other professionals, this is a very important topic that has hardly been dealt with previously. This makes the book particularly interesting. Additionally, the very personal style of each article makes the book stand out among publications concerning intercultural communication. Worth noting is also the straightforward and uncomplicated manner, in which the contributors share their experiences.

The articles collected showcase that for the intercultural communication researcher it is greatly beneficial to work and live, at least for a time, in a culturally and linguistically different environment from his/her own in order to truly reflect on the aspects of intercultural communication and develop theories applicable in practice. I found it very useful that authors related their experiences to specific models and theories, thus giving their experiences a general undertone, which may help other transnational

employees/professionals comprehend the situations in which they find themsleves. In such a way, the contributors show that research and practice in the field of intercultural communication go hand in hand.

All in all, the book edited by Adam Komisarof and Zhu Hua is a great read and a valuable publication for everyone, not only transnational academics, who would like to gain a deeper understanding of the processes of boundary crossing and of working and living abroad: intercultural trainers, employees working in culturally different environments, students interested in intercultural communication, *etc.* It brings to the forefront the complexity of the processes of boundary crossing and of working and living abroad, forcing individuals into unexpected situations, experiencing unknown feelings, *etc.*, which further influences individuals and their lives to a great extent, in various respects. Ultimately, it leads to identity changes. The papers gathered here help one to take a critical look at one's own experiences and better comprehend the range of difficulties and benefits that may be encountered when living and working abroad.

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ADDRESSES OF THE EDITORS:

COMMITTEE FOR PHILOLOGY
POLISH ACADEMY OF SCIENCES,
WROCŁAW BRANCH
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