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## Introduction

The history of contrastive language studies dates back to ca. 1000 A.D. when Aelfric, an English abbot, wrote a grammar of Latin entitled *Grammatica*. Following his work, early contrastive studies were cross-linguistic comparisons, motivated pedagogically. An important change to this trend occurred in the 19<sup>th</sup> century when scholarly attention was focused on the development of languages, and hence, numerous contrastive studies were aimed at finding the common genetic background for groups of languages. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, contrastive language studies started to aspire to the status of a scientific discipline, which led to the development of methodology and theory of the newly arising linguistic discipline. Importantly, modern contrastive studies are of varied nature, being of both inter- and cross-linguistic character, as well as relying on a number of methods allowing researchers to analyse numerous languages. This claim seems to be corroborated by contributions to this volume, including papers compiled on the basis of presentations held at the 55<sup>th</sup> *Linguistics Colloquium*, organised by the University of Rzeszów (Poland) in September 2021.

The volume opens with an article by **Jarochna Dąbrowska-Burghardt** and **Anna Hanus**, who aim at the comparison of war metaphors in German and Polish, emerging from the discourse between the European Union and Poland on the rule of law in Poland. The next paper serves as an example of an intralinguistic study, as **Bożena Cetnarowska** compares the meanings of related noun-noun compounds with adjective-noun combinations in English, trying to identify implicit semantic links between their constituents. In turn, **Andrzej Feret** and **Magdalena Feret** propose a contrastive, interlinguistic toponymic analysis. The authors contrast Polish-language street names from the time before World War II with the war-time German designations trying to show how the different names determine the perception of the surrounding reality and thus shape the linguistic image of the world. Furthermore, **Yaroslava Gnezdilova** applies the cognitive model of metacommunication to the analysis of English and Ukrainian everyday discourse, whereas **Anna Jaremkiewicz-Kwiatkowska** makes an attempt to prove that the German classification of particles can be applied to the classification of Polish particles of analogy. Both inter- and intralinguistic contrasts can be found in the cognitively-couched study co-authored by **Robert Kiełtyka** and **Agnieszka Grząsko**. The authors analyse English terms of Greek and Romance origin denoting in their literal meaning-thread body parts, looking for the motivation for the development of their non-literal senses. Importantly, they try to show that the analysed data enjoy a near-universal cross-linguistic status. Another cognitive analysis is offered by **Ewa Konieczna**, who discusses the phenomenon of inter-lexical polysemy taking place between different spatial expressions in Polish and English. In turn, **Marcin Kudła** puts forward a proposal for a novel classification of exonyms, with the aim of providing a

more accurate and unbiased description of the phenomenon of exonymy. Importantly, since the study is meant to be contrastive, the classification is tested on geographical names in five European languages. In the next paper, **John Odoom** and **Kwasi Adomako** present a contrastive analysis of vowel nasality in Akan, a Kwa language spoken in West Africa. The authors convincingly prove that nasal vowels contrast with their oral counterparts, and indicate disparities between the production and distribution of the oral, nasal and nasalized vowels. Furthermore, on the basis of a conducted survey, **Danuta Stanulewicz** and **Ewa Komorowska** compare and contrast associations with the colour *yellow* among speakers of Polish and of Russian, whereas **Konrad Szcześniak's** paper focuses on the conditions under which learners discover contrasts between newly learned language forms. The volume closes with the article authored by **Inna Zabuzhanska** and **Tamara Yamchynska** who, on the basis of presidential debates in Ukrainian and in English, discuss communication techniques and strategies, paying special attention to the communicative aspect of silence.

As emerging from the above brief presentation of the papers collected in this volume, the reader will find here analyses carried out by researchers speaking and studying different languages, and relying on varied methodologies. Undoubtedly, they all contribute to our understanding of languages as well as the non-linguistic culture-bound reality which inadvertently affects the shape and structure of languages.

**Robert Kieltyka & Beata Kopecka,**  
**Guest editors**

## LEGE ARTIS

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### SEMANTIC LINKS BETWEEN CONSTITUENTS OF ENGLISH COMPOUND NOUNS AND PHRASAL NOUNS:

#### *PARENT+NOUN VS. PARENTAL+NOUN*

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**Abstract:** The present paper investigates semantic relations which connect meanings of constituents of selected English noun-noun compounds and adjective-noun phrasal nouns. The questions considered here include, among others, the preference for the subject-type or object-type reading of the left-hand constituent (when the right-hand component is a deverbal noun) and the possibility of replacing the noun-noun construction by the adjective-noun construction in the case of particular compound types.

**Key words:** noun-noun compounds, adjective-noun combinations, compound semantics, synthetic compounds.

### 1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to compare the meanings of selected English noun-noun (NN) compounds and adjective-noun (AN) combinations as well as to identify implicit semantic links between their constituents. I investigate the coexistence of NN and AN combinations which contain the noun *parent* or the denominal relational adjective *parental* as their left-hand element.

Morphological compound nouns in English are productively formed by combining two (or more) nouns, e.g., *toy shop* and *car production*. And conversely, formation of morphological adjective-noun compounds is less productive in English, and, as is pointed out by Giegerich (2005) and Bauer et al. (2013: 452), it may even be difficult to distinguish between AN compounds and AN phrases. Selected AN combinations, such as *hothouse* and *redskin*, pass tests for compoundhood (as discussed by, among others, Cetnarowska 2019: 25-30; Lieber & Štekauer 2009; Szymanek 1989: 36-43), since they are written as single orthographic words, exhibit semantic opacity, and the main stress falls on the left-hand member. Some other AN combinations, such as *long drink* and *slow food*, do not display

(all) the properties diagnostic for English compounds. In spite of showing semantic opacity, the stress here falls on the right-hand member and the components of the combination are written as separate orthographic words.

In this paper, I am concerned with AN compound-like combinations which contain the denominal adjective *parental*. Denominal adjectives such as *parental*, *electric*, or *presidential*, exhibit a general meaning which can be stated as 'relating to N' (where N is the base noun, e.g., *parent* in *parental*), 'pertaining to N', or 'associated with N'. They are referred to as nonpredicating adjectives (Levi 1978), associative adjectives (Giegerich 2005), or relational adjectives (Rainer 2013; ten Hacken 2019). Levi (ibid.) treats expressions consisting of a nonpredicating adjective and a noun as so-called complex nominals, i.e., as lexical constructions. She points out that denominal relational adjectives, such as *electrical* in *electrical engineer* and *musical* in *musical box*, are noun-like in their semantic interpretation and differ in their syntactic properties from other adjectives. Relational adjectives are non-gradable and cannot occur in the predicative position (cf. *\*very electrical engineer*, *\*This engineer is electrical*). Giegerich (ibid.) employs the pro-form *one* test to draw a boundary between AN lexical combinations and AN syntactic phrases. He concludes that *electrical engineer* is a lexical (i.e., compound-like) expression since its head cannot be replaced by *one* (cf. *\*the electrical engineer and an electronic one*) while *rural policeman* is a syntactic unit (cf. *a rural policeman or an urban one*).

Instead of attempting to divide combinations of relational adjectives and nouns neatly into lexical and syntactic units, I adopt the view expressed by, among others, Gaeta and Ricca (2009) and Booij (2010). Gaeta and Ricca (ibid.) employ the feature [ $\pm$ morphological] to separate expressions which are outputs of a morphological process from those which are produced by syntactic rules or schemas. They use the feature [ $\pm$ lexical] to distinguish between expressions which have a lexical (i.e., naming) function and those which have a descriptive function. They analyse AN multi-word units, such as *electrical engineer*, as [-morphological] and [+lexical] expressions. In a similar vein, Booij (ibid., 168) observes that lexical units can be built by means of syntactic construction schemas. AN expressions exhibit lexical integrity: their constituents are not subject to syntactic operations, such as reordering and modification (cf. *\*engineer electrical* and *\*parental unexpected approval*). Following Booij (ibid.), Masini and Audring (2019), and Cetnarowska (2019), I refer to *electrical engineer* and *parental approval* as phrasal nouns, which exhibit naming function in spite of being built by syntactic processes.

While semantic links between constituents of NN compounds have been investigated by a number of researchers (e.g., Bourque 2014; Jackendoff 2010; Levi 1978; Pepper & Arnaud 2020; Schäfer 2018; ten Hacken 2016), the interpretation of AN phrasal nouns has been discussed less frequently (though see Levi 1978; Rainer 2013; ten Hacken 2019; Warren 1984). Even less attention has been given to the comparison of the semantics of groups of NN compounds and corresponding AN units. Therefore, in this paper I analyse the meanings of English NN compounds and AN combinations which share the same left-hand constituent: either the noun *parent* or the denominal adjective *parental*. The data for the analysis are collected from the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA). Special focus is laid on synthetic compounds, which are headed by deverbal nouns and whose left-hand member can be treated as an argument of the head (cf. Plag 2003: 149; Spencer 2005: 88). I consider the question whether there are discernible preferences for the object-type or the subject-type interpretation of the non-head constituent of selected NN synthetic compounds as opposed to the interpretation of the relational adjective in corresponding AN combinations. The polysemy of NN and AN units is illustrated. I also identify types of *parent*+NOUN compounds, which lack corresponding *parental*+NOUN phrasal nouns.

The layout of the paper is as follows. The immediately following section mentions some influential classifications of implicit semantic relations observable between constituents of NN compounds, as well as between the semantic base of the denominal adjective and the head noun in AN combinations. Section 3 presents briefly the methodology adopted and the research questions posed in this article. In Section 4, a family of NN compounds is discussed which contain the noun *parent* as their left-hand element. AN combinations are then analysed in which the denominal adjective *parental* occurs in the pre-head position. Furthermore, a brief comparison is carried out of the meanings and frequency of use of members of selected pairs of NN compounds and AN phrasal nouns. Conclusions are given in Section 5.

## **2. Implicit relations between constituents of AN phrasal nouns and NN compounds**

In her analysis couched in the framework of Generative Semantics, Levi (1978) proposed nine Recoverably Deletable Predicates (abbreviated as RDPs and listed in 1) in the underlying structure of complex nominals. RDPs signal the relationship between elements of complex nominals (including both NN compounds and AN combinations) and are assumed to be deleted in the course of derivation.

(1) CAUSE, HAVE, MAKE, USE, BE, IN, FOR, FROM, ABOUT

Jackendoff (2010) identifies a set of thirteen semantic functions which connect the meanings of constituents of English NN compounds and which are largely based on Levi's list of Recoverably Deletable Predicates. Related sets of semantic functions have been postulated by Bourque (2014) and revised by Pepper and Arnaud (2020).

Bauer and Tarasova (2013), following Levi (*ibid.*), argue that the same type of implicit semantic relations can be observed between components of NN compounds and AN expressions. This is shown in (2), adapted (with some modifications) from Bauer and Tarasova (*ibid.*, 5-6). The predicate CAUSE (similarly to HAVE and MAKE) is reversible, as is indicated by the occurrence of the relations N1 CAUSE N2 and N2 CAUSE N1 in (2).

(2)	Relation/ RDP	NN compound	AN phrasal noun
	N1 CAUSE N2	<i>sex scandal, withdrawal symptom</i>	<i>viral infection</i>
	N2 CAUSE N1	<i>tear gas, shock news</i>	<i>malarial mosquitoes</i>
	N1 HAVE N2	<i>lemon peel, school gate</i>	<i>feminine intuition</i>
	N2 HAVE N1	<i>camera phone, picture book</i>	<i>industrial area</i>
	N1 MAKE N2	<i>court order, snowball</i>	<i>molecular chain</i>
	N2 MAKE N1	<i>computer industry, silk worm</i>	<i>musical clock</i>
	N2 USE N1	<i>steam iron, wind farm</i>	<i>manual labour</i>
	N2 BE N1	<i>island state, soldier ant</i>	<i>professorial friends</i>
	N2 IN N1	<i>field mouse, letter bomb</i>	<i>autumnal rain</i>
	N2 FOR N1	<i>arms budget, steak knife</i>	<i>avian sanctuary</i>
	N2 FROM N1	<i>business profit, olive oil</i>	<i>solar energy</i>
	N2 ABOUT N1	<i>tax law, love letter</i>	<i>criminal policy</i>

Levi (*ibid.*) postulated her RDPs to explicate the semantic link between elements of root compounds (as defined by Lieber 1992 and Spencer 2005). These are compounds whose head is a non-derived noun (e.g., *doghouse*) or a morphologically complex noun, which is not deverbal (e.g., *family responsibility*). They contrast with synthetic compounds listed in (3-5), in which the non-head corresponds to an argument in a predicate denoted by the base verb. The left-hand noun in the compounds in (3) can be given the subject-type interpretation (cf. *airline hiring* and *The airline hired pilots*). It is regarded as subject-referencing by Bauer et al. (2013: 467-471). The pre-heads of the compounds in (4) correspond to direct objects in their sentential paraphrases. The pre-head nouns in (5) are prepositional-object referencing, as is shown by the possibility to paraphrase *army retiree* as 'someone who retires FROM the army'.

- (3) subject-referencing N1: *party nomination, airline hiring, Ford nominee, nightfall*
- (4) object-referencing N1: *baby swapping, taxi driver, ball kick*
- (5) prepositional-object referencing N1: *ash disposal, army retiree, tax vote*

When discussing possible senses of AN combinations, Rainer (2013: 19) notes that relational adjectives in some Slavic languages cannot express the direct-object relation, as is shown by the infelicity of *?furgonnyj voditel* (lit. van.RA driver) 'van driver' in Russian. This restriction appears to be violable for English, as is indicated by the acceptability of the object-referencing adjectives in the complex nominals *presidential assassination* (cf. *Someone assassinated the president*), *papal abduction*, and *ambassadorial nomination*. Consequently, one of the questions asked in Section 4 is which relational adjectives in the AN combinations under consideration can be treated as referring to the object (i.e., Patient/Theme participant) of a given event. First, however, in the immediately following section (i.e., Section 3) I briefly present the methodology and the research questions.

### 3. Methodology, data collection, and research questions

Giegerich (2005: 578) argues, in agreement with Levi (1978: 52), that neither the head nor the non-head constituent of an AN complex nominal can provide a clue to the interpretation of the whole unit. He emphasizes the importance of encyclopaedic knowledge in predicting the intended meaning of AN expressions, such as *musical box* and *electrical engineer*.

However, other researchers (e.g., Bagasheva 2020; Bauer 2019; Cetnarowska (forthcoming); Mattiello & Dressler 2018) highlight the advantages of the paradigmatic approach to the study of the meanings of compounds and multi-word units. Mattiello and Dressler (ibid.) notice that in some compound families the semantic relationships holding between compound components are fairly stable. This is shown for the class of English compound adjectives which contain the head *collar*, e.g., *white-collar* 'relating to non-manual work', *blue-collar* 'relating to manual work', *green-collar* 'designating work relating to the preservation of the environment', and *pink-collar* 'relating to employment associated with women'. The *X-collar* group of compounds is regarded by Mattiello and Dressler (ibid.) as a nuclear compound family. It contains compounds which show the same category of their constituents, the same degree of transparency and the same type of semantic relationships.

Consequently, I carry out a semantic analysis of a family of NN compound nouns and a corresponding family of AN phrasal nouns. I employ the data from COCA and examine NN compounds which have the same pre-head constituent, namely the noun *parent*. I compare them with AN phrasal nouns which have the denominal adjective *parental* in the pre-head position. I focus on *parent+NOUN* compounds



and *parental*+NOUN phrasal nouns which show the highest number of attestations in COCA. I pay particular attention to NN compounds and AN phrasal nouns whose head is a deverbal noun.

When identifying semantic links between constituents of compound nouns and phrasal nouns I make reference to Recoverably Deletable Predicates (from Levi 1978) and to semantic functions adopted by Bourque (2014) or Pepper and Arnaud (2020). I also make use of the semantico-syntactic classification of compounds postulated by Scalise and Bisetto (2009). They draw a distinction between subordinate, coordinate, and attributive-appositional compounds. The complement-head (or argument-head) relation can be postulated between constituents of subordinate compounds, such as *table leg* and *car production*. Elements of coordinate compounds can be linked by the conjunction *and*, e.g., *actor-singer* 'someone who is both an actor and a singer'. In the case of attributive-appositional compounds, such as *hot dog* and *snail mail*, the pre-head component acts as a modifier of the head.

The following research questions are addressed in the next section:

- 1) What covert semantic relations can be observed between elements of NN compounds and AN phrasal nouns under analysis?
- 2) Is the choice between the object-referencing and subject-referencing interpretation of the non-head element determined by the choice between the NN construction and the AN construction, or is it influenced by the derivational type of the head (which can be a suffixal or a zero-derived deverbal noun in synthetic compounds and compound-like units)?
- 3) Which *parent*+NOUN compounds cannot be replaced by *parental*+NOUN phrasal nouns?

#### **4. A case study: *parent*+NOUN and *parental*+NOUN combinations**

##### *4.1 NN compounds*

A search in COCA for the string *parent*+NOUN brings 10,720 instances of such NN units, 1,513 of them being unique combinations. I restricted my attention to the 100 most frequent combinations. Fifteen of the most common ones are given below (with the number of their attestations in COCA given in brackets).

- (6) *parent company* (2092), *parent involvement* (663), *parent education* (330), *parent training* (235), *parent star* (147), *parent organization* (142), *parent teacher* (136), *parent rating* (142), *parent companies* (117), *parent families* (116), *parent report* (110), *parent element* (109), *parent corporation* (100), *parent support* (100), *parent participation* (91)

The NN compounds *parent company* (or its plural form *parent companies*), *parent star*, *parent element*, and *parent corporation* are root compounds, in which the modifier noun *parent* exhibits the extended sense 'something out of which another thing has developed' (<https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/parent>). When explaining the meanings of those compounds, one could employ Levi's implicit predicate BE, e.g., *parent company* 'a company which is (like) a parent for another company'. The corresponding semantic relation employed by Bourque (2014) or Pepper and Arnaud (2020) is FUNCTION, i.e., 'a company which serves as a parent'.

It is worth noting that some other NN combinations in (6) are parts of larger NNN or ANN units in the exemplary sentences culled from COCA. For instance, *parent teacher* is an exocentric coordinate compound, which does not occur in isolation in COCA but which appears as a complex pre-head in NNN combinations, such as *parent teacher organization*, *parent teacher conference*, *parent teacher association*, and *parent teacher meetings*. Additionally, there are 659 instances of the hyphenated *parent-teacher* compound in COCA (e.g., *parent-teacher conference*).

There are also *parent+NOUN* endocentric coordinate compounds, which can occur as independent units, e.g., *parent volunteer* 'both a parent and a volunteer'.

The string *parent families* does not form a constituent, yet it can be found in various ANN combinations in COCA, e.g., *single parent families*, *one parent families*, *two-parent families*, and *the gay and lesbian parent families*. The noun *parent* forms here a complex modifier with the preceding adjective or with the numeral (i.e., *single parent*, *one parent*).

In the case of synthetic *parent+NOUN* compounds headed by deverbal nouns denoting events (for instance, *interview*) or denoting results of events (e.g., *report* or *rating*), a question can be asked whether the noun *parent* is object-referencing or subject-referencing. As observed by Lieber (1992: 81) or Spencer (2005: 88), typically the first constituent of English synthetic compounds is interpreted as the internal argument (i.e., the direct object) of the verb, which is the derivational base of the second (deverbal) constituent. On the other hand, being a parent requires playing an active role in the child's life. Consequently, the noun *parent* may be expected to denote an Agent and to exhibit the subject-referencing bias in synthetic compounds.

The *parent+NOUN* compounds listed in (6) with the subject-referencing non-head are *parent participation* (cf. *parents participate in school life*), *parent ratings* (i.e., ratings of the child's behavioural problems provided by its parent), and *parent report* (i.e., a report prepared by a child's

parent). Some other NN compounds attested in COCA in which *parent* receives the subject interpretation are mentioned in (7):

- (7) *parent consent, parent expectation, parent responses, parent meetings, parent behaviour, parent permission, parent success*

Lieber (2010) observes that subject-referencing non-heads are easier to find in compounds headed by non-affixal (i.e., zero-derived) deverbal nouns than among synthetic compounds headed by suffixal deverbal nouns. This is not fully confirmed by the NN expressions in (7), which contain both suffixal and non-affixal deverbal nouns as their right-hand elements.

In the case of *parent involvement, parent education, and parent training* in (6) the pre-head noun corresponds to the direct object (with the role of Patient or Theme) of the deverbal constituent, as is shown by the sentential paraphrase *Someone trains parents* provided for the compound *parent training*. A few other instances of synthetic *parent+NOUN* compounds in COCA in which *parent* is object-referencing are listed in (8).

- (8) *parent empowerment, parent engagement, parent interviews, parent notification, parent surveys*

*Parent support* and *parent care* are ambiguous between the subject-referencing and object-referencing interpretation of the left-hand constituent. Encyclopaedic knowledge generally suggests that a parent should be interpreted as someone who provides care and support for the child. This is shown by the sentences in (9) culled from COCA.

- (9) a. *when we know already that parent care would be better than day care*  
b. *Parent support. According to Mijares (2009): Parents were in the background supporting the teachers*

In contrast, the expectation that the pre-head noun denotes the Patient/Theme argument of the verb (from which the head noun is derived) is met in the sentences in (10). As is implied both by the context (i.e., the surrounding discourse in 10a) and the cultural context, elderly parents are taken care of by their adult children whereas school children's parents (mentioned in 10b) receive support from their peers, teachers, or psychologists (see Kövecses 2017 for a detailed discussion of types of context). In half of the instances of *parent support* in COCA (56 occurrences) this NN compound

forms a constituent of a larger compound. The head nouns in the combinations *parent support groups*, *parent support worker*, *parent support program*, *parent support network* and *parent support team* imply that parents can be interpreted as Patients (or as participants simultaneously acting as Patients and Agents).

- (10) a. *a new study, which finds that women appear to provide as much elderly parent care as they can, while men contribute as little*  
b. *who offer counseling services to both parents and children in the form of parent support groups, family counseling, and individual counseling*

While the compounds *parent care* and *parent support* are polysemous and show two distinct interpretations, i.e., 'care by the parent' and 'care for the parent', the compound *parent talk* exhibits promiscuity (in the sense of the term used by Jackendoff 2010). It appears in COCA mainly as a name of a community-based organization “helping families with young children connect, learn, play, and grow together” (<https://parenttalk.org/>). Several implicit predicates can be used to explicate its meaning, e.g., talk FOR parents and talk ABOUT parents. Alternatively, it can be treated as a synthetic compound whose left-hand constituent is subject-referencing (cf. *Parents talk*).

*Parent education* can be treated as a synthetic compound with an object-referencing pre-head noun (as suggested by the paraphrase *Someone educates parents*), or as a promiscuous root compound whose constituents can be linked by various implicit predicates: FOR (education for parents), HAVE (education that parents possess), or ABOUT (education on how to be a parent).

*Parent organization* occurs as a polysemous compound, the paraphrase of which requires either the implicit semantic predicate BE, i.e., 'an organization which is (like) a parent' (as in the phrase *The Smithsonian, the Hirshhorn's parent organization*,) or the predicate FOR 'an organization for parents' (as in the phrase *The parent organization, where Peterson volunteers*).

#### 4.2 AN combinations

Let us now investigate *parental*+NOUN complex nominals in COCA. There are 11,502 instances of such combinations, 1,432 of them being unique strings. As in the case of *parent*+NOUN units, I examined the 100 most frequent combinations. Fifteen of the most common ones are given in (11), with the number of their instantiations in COCA added in brackets.

- (11) *parental involvement* (854), *parental rights* (684), *parental consent* (571), *parental support* (387), *parental control* (329), *parental leave* (251), *parental education* (199), *parental notification* (178), *parental permission* (165), *parental controls* (159), *parental authority* (142), *parental supervision* (139), *parental responsibility* (133), *parental abduction* (132), *parental care* (131)

The adjective *parental* refers to the subject of the event denoted by the deverbal nouns *consent*, *support*, *control*, *permission*, *supervision*, *abduction*, and *care* in (11). Moreover, the subject-type reading is observable for this relational adjective in the overwhelming majority of the remaining AN sequences under consideration, which are headed either by suffixal nouns (in 12a) or by affixless deverbal nouns (in 12b).

- (12) a. *parental acceptance*, *parental approval*, *parental behaviour*, *parental drinking*, *parental expectations*, *parental guidance*, *parental kidnapping*, *parental monitoring*, *parental nurturance*, *parental participation*, *parental pressure*, *parental rejection*, *parental smoking*  
b. *parental abuse*, *parental advice*, *parental influence*, *parental neglect*

While the non-head in AN complex nominals is not expected to have the object-type reading (see Rainer 2013), the relational adjective in the following *parental*+NOUN combinations in (11), with a large number of examples in COCA, is object-referencing: *parental involvement*, *parental education*, and *parental notification*.

The expression *parental support* usually exhibits the subject-type reading of the relational adjective (i.e., support given by the parent) (see 13a), yet some examples can be found in COCA in which *parental* denotes the object of the action (13b).

- (13) a. *While 75 percent of transgender young people without parental support said they were depressed, only 15 percent of those who had parental support reported symptoms of depression.*  
b. *Does membership in parental support organizations or receipt of professional interventions, where parents receive emotional and instrumental support and encouragement to take on a proactive advocacy role for their child, have an impact on their affect, coping strategies, and SOC?*

The adjective *parental* in *parental alienation* is prepositional-object referencing, since the whole expression refers to a behavioural disorder when a child is alienated from one of the parents after their divorce. Similarly, *parental attachment* can be treated as having a prepositional-object referencing non-head element, as is implied by the paraphrase *Parents are attached to their children*. In the strings *parental rights*, *parental authority*, and *parental responsibility* the relational adjective can be interpreted as 'pertaining to a parent' or 'belonging to a parent', hence the implicit semantic relation between the constituents of such AN units can be expressed by means of the predicate HAVE (Levi 1978) and the semantic function of POSSESSION (Bourque 2014; Pepper & Arnaud 2020).

#### 4.3 Comparing selected NN and AN units

Let us examine some pairs consisting of NN and AN units that have both been attested fairly frequently in COCA.

- (14) a. *parent support* (100) – *parental support* (387),  
b. *parent involvement* (663) – *parental involvement* (854),  
c. *parent participation* (91) – *parental participation* (79)

The higher frequency of *parental support*, in comparison to *parent support*, may be due to the speaker's preference for signalling clearly the intended interpretation of the parent as the Agent. As was mentioned in Section 4.2, the majority of pre-heads in the *parental*+NOUN combinations with a high number of attestations in COCA are subject-referencing. This can be further exemplified by phrases in which the relational adjective *parental* is followed by the head noun and by the genitive *of*-phrase which indicates the object of the action, as in *parental support of games*.

The fact that *parental involvement* is a very frequent expression in COCA may come as a slight surprise, since the adjective denotes here the internal argument of the event. However, it is possible to argue that it is a subject-referencing AN expression if one employs the sentential paraphrase *Parents get involved (in school life)*. The implicit semantic relation between the constituents of NN or AN expressions in (14b) is thus similar to the relation between *parent* (or *parental*) and the head *participation* in (14c). Moreover, as is observed by Malicka-Kleparska (1988: 109-129), selected *-ment* nominals (related to psychological movement verbs) can be treated as derived from passive verb forms. Such an assumption makes it possible to treat *parental* as denoting the subject of the state (or of the passive event) not only in *parental involvement* but also in, among others, *parental attachment* (35 hits in COCA), *parental engagement* (17), *parental bereavement* (7), *parental commitment* (5), or *parental disappointment* (5).

Certain NN compounds and AN combinations allow the same interpretation but differ considerably in the frequency of their occurrence in COCA.

- (15) a. *parent notification* (12) – *parental notification* (178)
- b. *parent guidance* (2) – *parental guidance* (123)
- c. *parent permission* (18) – *parental permission* (165)

In the case of both *parent notification* and *parental notification* the non-heads denote the Patient/Theme participant, as is illustrated in (16).

- (16) a. *Administration approval and parent notification took place prior to the study.*
- b. *Anyway, we know she wasn't 18, because Georgia requires parental notification for a minor to obtain an abortion*

Although one could expect a higher frequency of the NN compound (since *parent* is interpreted as the object of the action), *parental notification* prevails as a fixed (legal) term, particularly when it refers to the abortion policy in the United States. It could be added that *parental* occurs in a number of AN expressions in COCA, which belong to specialized legal terminology, e.g., *parental guidance*, *parental leave*, *parental home*, *parental abduction*, *parental permission*, *parental rights*. This confirms Rainer's (2013: 28) observation that in the Western European languages (including English) many denominal adjectives belong to the formal register. Corresponding NN combinations are not attested in COCA (e.g., ??*parent leave*) or they are exemplified by fewer examples, such as *parent guidance* and *parent permission*.

The meanings of NN and AN combinations may overlap partly. For instance, both *parental ratings* and *parent ratings* refer to some kind of measure used in assessing the influence of parents on child problems (such as stammering), or in estimating the parents' awareness of those problems. *Parental rating* is additionally used to denote parental guidance concerning the suitability of films for children of various age groups.

Let us close the discussion by mentioning some *parent+NOUN* root compounds which have no corresponding *parental+NOUN* combinations.

Attributive-appositional root compounds whose elements are linked by the implicit predicate BE (Levi 1978), and which are interpretable as 'N1 is (like) N2' or 'N1 serves as N2' (Bourque 2014; Pepper & Arnaud 2020), generally lack corresponding AN phrasal nouns. Hypothetical AN expressions *??parental company*, *??parental star*, and *??parental plant* do not occur as replacements for the institutionalized NN compounds *parent company*, *parent star*, and *parent plant*.

Coordinate NN compounds, such as *parent volunteers*, do not (on the whole) possess synonymous AN phrasal nouns. There are only two instances of *parental volunteers* and one example of *parental volunteer* in COCA, as illustrated by the sentence *The success of any Head Start program depends on the involvement of parental volunteers during the day*. This contrasts with 77 hits for *parent volunteers* and 34 hits for the singular form *parent volunteer*.

Exocentric coordinate NN compounds which cannot appear as independent nouns but which form complex modifiers of NNN compounds, such as *parent teacher conference*, cannot be replaced by AN combinations, as is shown by the unacceptability of *??parental teacher conference*.

## 5. Conclusions

Although there does not exist a one-to-one correspondence between the type of multi-word expressions and the semantic link between their constituents, the investigation of selected groups of noun-noun compounds and adjective-noun phrasal nouns in English has shown some discernible tendencies in their interpretation.

The left-hand constituent of synthetic *parent+NOUN* compounds exhibits the preference for the object-type interpretation. However, the meaning of *parent* combined with encyclopaedic knowledge, the cultural context, and/or the discourse context of an utterance can foster its interpretation as the subject of the event denoted by the deverbal head. The occurrence of subject-referencing pre-heads in synthetic *parent+NOUN* compounds is not determined by the type of the head. It can be either a non-affixal (zero-derived) noun, as in *parent consent*, or a suffixal deverbal noun, as in *parent participation*.

As for *parental+NOUN* phrasal lexemes headed by non-affixal or suffixal deverbal nouns, e.g., *parental care*, *parental permission*, and *parental guidance*, they frequently contain subject-referencing left-hand constituents. However, the interpretation of such components as referring to the object (of the action) is not excluded. This can give rise to the synonymy of selected adjective-noun and noun-noun combinations, such as *parental notification* and *parent notification*. The availability



of both the object-reading and the subject-reading of the pre-head constituent in such multi-word expressions is the reason why some of them are polysemous, e.g., *parent support* and *parental support*.

In addition to being treated as synthetic multi-word units, selected adjective-noun combinations and noun-noun compounds headed by deverbal nouns can be interpreted by means of covert semantic predicates or semantic functions that have been proposed for root compounds. For instance, *parental leave* can be regarded as a phrasal noun with a subject-referencing pre-head (cf. *Parents leave their jobs temporarily to take care of their children*), as an adjective-noun expression whose constituents are linked by the covert predicate FOR (i.e., a leave for parents), or as an adjective-noun unit which can be paraphrased by means of the predicate HAVE (i.e., a leave that parents are entitled to have). This type of semantic promiscuity is exhibited also by noun-noun compounds, such as *parent organization*.

When comparing members of noun-noun and adjective-noun pairs, I have pointed out that, in spite of being roughly synonymous, they may exhibit differences in their level of formality (since adjective-noun units may belong to specialized legal vocabulary). Moreover, their range of meanings may show partial overlap rather than identity (as in the case of *parent ratings* and *parental ratings*).

I have identified noun-noun compound types, which do not undergo replacement by adjective-noun phrasal lexemes. They include exocentric coordinate compounds, which occur as pre-head constituents in complex compound nouns (e.g., *parent teacher* in *parent teacher meetings*). Noun-noun compounds which, similarly to coordinate compounds, call for the predicate BE in their interpretation but which belong to the attributive-appositive class are not likely to be replaced by adjective-noun phrasal nouns, either. This was shown by the infelicity of ??*parental company* when compared to the institutionalized compound *parent company*.

Furthermore, the analysis presented in Section 4 has confirmed the view that when examining implicit semantic links between constituents of compound nouns or phrasal nouns, it is useful to focus on families of such multi-word units.

### **List of abbreviations**

AN – adjective-noun

COCA – the Corpus of Contemporary American English (=Davies 2008)

NN – noun-noun

RA – relational adjective


RDP – Recoverably Deletable Predicate

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## Résumé

The purpose of this article is to find discernible tendencies in the choice English speakers make between the use of noun-noun compounds and adjective-noun phrasal lexemes. Therefore, an analysis of the most common *parent*+NOUN and *parental*+NOUN combinations is carried out based on the Corpus of Contemporary American English. Implicit semantic links are examined between the constituents of those multi-word expressions. Particular attention is given to the possibility of the object-type reading or the subject-type reading of the left-most elements of such units headed by deverbal nouns. While the choice of the noun-noun construction often corresponds to the object-type reading and the adjective-noun construction correlates with the subject-type (i.e., agentive) reading of the pre-head constituent, examples are given of polysemous multi-word units which allow both interpretations. It is shown that world knowledge, cultural context, and sentential context can influence the meaning of a given noun-noun or adjective-noun combination. It is emphasized that English compound nouns and phrasal nouns are promiscuous, since several implicit predicates or semantic functions can be used to explicate the sense of a multi-word expression. It is pointed out that attributive-appositive compounds do not have corresponding adjective-noun equivalents. This is also demonstrated to be true of coordinate noun-noun compounds which cannot occur in isolation but which function as complex pre-head constituents of larger compounds. Semantic investigations carried out in the paper proved relevant for the study of compounds or phrasal lexemes, which share a common constituent. This confirms the adequacy of paradigmatic approach to the semantic analysis of multi-word lexemes.

**Key words:** noun-noun compounds, adjective-noun combinations, compound semantics, synthetic compounds.

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### DEFENCE OR ATTACK?

## THE METAPHOR OF WAR IN A CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF GERMAN AND POLISH POLITICAL DISCOURSE

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**Abstract:** The aim of this article is to analyse the use of war metaphors in the discourse between the European Union and Poland on the rule of law in Poland. The study is based on the methodology of discursive linguistic comparison developed by the Düsseldorf School and Lakoff and Johnson's theory of conceptual metaphor. The analysis confirms two positions in the approach to the dispute over relations between Poland and the European Union.

**Key words:** discourse linguistics, politolinguistics, Polish and German print media, war metaphors in public discourse, functions of metaphors, argumentation patterns.

### 1. Introduction

War metaphors are omnipresent in daily political issues, linking our views to well-known experiences. In this way, they make it possible to present difficult questions without using sophisticated terminology and, at times, they virtually dominate discourses on particularly complex topics. As a result, each discourse is characterised not only by its specific terminology, but also by a discourse-specific metaphor (Panassenko et al. 2018; 2020). This paper examines the use of war metaphors in the context of the contentious and extensive discourse between the European Union and Poland on the issue of the rule of law in Poland.

The starting point for this study is the interview given by Polish Prime Minister Mateusz Morawiecki to the British newspaper "Financial Times" on October 24, 2021. Morawiecki gave this statement after attending numerous meetings with the President of the European Commission, Ursula von der Leyen and a two-day summit with other EU leaders in Brussels, which included a debate on the Polish rule of law issue. In this interview, the Polish Prime Minister announced that the Polish Supreme

Court's Disciplinary Chamber, which was declared illegal by the European Court of Justice, would be abolished by the end of the year. However, he warned that if the European Commission "starts the third world war" by withholding money promised to Poland, he would "defend our rights with any of the weapons which are at our disposal" (cf. Foy & Fleming 2021). Morawiecki used military rhetoric in the aforementioned interview and accused the EU of making demands on Poland with a "gun to our head", and more over called on Brussels to withdraw its threat of legal and financial sanctions if it wants to resolve the rule of law crisis in Poland (ibid.).

The military rhetoric used by Morawiecki clearly proved so noteworthy for the European speech communities that the aforementioned military metaphors were quoted in headlines in various languages. The Italian "La Stampa" titles its article:

It.: *"Polonia, il Premier: 'Se UE inizia guerra pronti a difenderci' Con tutte le armi disponibili"* [Eng.: "Poland, PM: 'If EU starts war we are ready to defend ourselves' with all available weapons"] (25.10.2021).

The British newspaper "The Telegraph" writes *"Poland's PM warns against starting 'World War Three' "* (25.10.2021).

The French "Le Figaro" headlines the article:

Fr. *"Le premier ministre polonais dénonce 'un pistolet braqué sur la tempe' de son pays par l'UE"* [Eng.: "Polish Prime Minister denounces 'a gun to the head' of his country by the EU"] (25.10.2021).

The Greek financial newspaper "Naftemporiki" headlines its article:

Gr. *"Πρωθυπουργός Πολωνίας: Η ΕΕ απαιτεί 'βάζοντάς μας το πιστόλι στον κρόταφο' "* [Eng.: "Prime Minister of Poland: EU requests 'put a gun to our head' "] (25.10.2021).

It is due to the specific character of a metaphor that, once used, it allows itself to be taken up again and to draw further metaphors after it. Metaphors are spun out and linked within a text and across texts within a discourse. This way, they are given a specific position and function thus helping shape the content and conception of the discourse.

The study of metaphor use in the context of discourse on the rule of law in Poland is based on the methodology of a discourse linguistic comparison developed by the Düsseldorf School (Böke 1996; Böke et al. 2000; Niehr 2004; Wengeler 2003) and their continuation (e.g., Dąbrowska-Burkhardt 2013; 2017; 2019a; 2019b; Hanus 2018). The discourse model of Busse and Teubert (1994) serves as the basis for comparative discourse linguistics, whereby discourse is understood as a network of statements that belong together in some way, i.e., thematically, semantically, temporally, communication domain-related, as well as type-specific, and can be accessed via text corpora. On the

other hand, the theory of conceptual (cognitive) metaphor developed mainly by Lakoff & Johnson (1980) and their colleagues (Kövecses 2010; 2015; 2017a; 2017b; 2017c; 2018; Lakoff 1987; 1993; Lakoff & Kövecses 1987; Lakoff & Turner 1989;) is used as the theoretical and methodological base for the following investigation (cf. Section 3).

The discourse becomes a meaningful object of investigation in view of its results, the plausibility of which is guaranteed by the corpus material presented. This involves the pointing out of relationships, groupings of statements, structures, linkages of statements, etc. (Busse & Teubert 1994: 16). A representative text corpus should ensure that neither essential discourse components are missing nor that a particular one is overemphasised. Representativeness is the properly weighted consideration of all argumentative positions taken in the discourse (Niehr 2002: 53). In the case of discourse analysis, a text corpus can only be representative in relation to the particular content aspect chosen for the study. In this paper, the topic concerns the issue of the rule of law in Poland, which is intensively discussed in Europe and causes bilateral tensions between the European Union and Poland. The question of the linguistic tangibility of discourse can be answered corpus-linguistically, following Jung and Wengeler (1999: 148). Although a discourse remains an abstract entity in its entirety as the sum of all statements on a particular topic, excerpts of it can be accessed in text corpora that are to be methodically compiled and systematically analysed. The analysis of texts that refer to each other quasi dialogically ex- or implicitly concerns thematically defined viewpoints, i.e., statements, arguments and topoi that crystallise in concrete texts. The text corpus represents per se a discourse part, which is determined by the research question of the investigator. The most important defining element of discourse is a topic or, in the case of discourse comparison, a common topic that is dealt with at the same time, if possible.

## **2. Criteria for the compilation of the corpus and research methods**

The compilation of the corpus results from the endeavour to analyse relevant evidence for the development of the German and Polish discourse fragments after an event that appears to be particularly significant, in this case Morawiecki's "Financial Times" interview.

The position of the interview with the Polish Prime Minister for the newspaper "Financial Times" can be described as *initial* in the studied discourse. It is a *primary text* to which several analyzed corpus texts refer. These *secondary texts* include news items, editorials and commentaries.

As a result of the specific combination of written and oral language in the press, which is particularly evident in the case of the text type "press interview" (Burger 2005: 146), it is possible to take the

original "spoken" language into account within the homogeneously compiled corpora. By doing this, one can take into account, among other things, the constellation of orality and writtenness when conceptually oral texts appear as medially written texts. In this context, Koch and Oesterreicher (1994: 587), following Lyons (1981: 11), mention the possibility of "medium-transferability", which makes the opposite combinations (medially graphic/conceptually oral; medially phonic/conceptually written) particularly exciting for cultural-historical, pragmatic and linguistic-historical turning points.

The corpus used for the analysis comprises articles from the print and online press, which appeared in the Polish and German media and either explicitly comment on the aforementioned interview or also implicitly refer to it. The research was based on 30 texts from the Polish press and 13 articles from the German press. The corpus consists of articles that are related to the interview mentioned, in this case texts that were published between October 25 and November 3, 2021. The focus is on qualitative evaluations, quantitative aspects remain subordinate. For the discourse-linguistic comparison, the questions of what is emphasized, tacitly asserted, insinuated, concealed or hidden by the metaphors are of importance. In the case of nationally heterogeneous text corpora, their compilation is particularly important because they should be constructed for their comparability and representativeness (Böke et al. 2000: 13).

Following Hermanns (1995: 88), who speaks of the so-called prototext of discourse, which raises a topic and sometimes even pre-determines the central ideas and key words of an establishing discourse, the cited interview of Morawiecki is identified as the prototext. In order to make the corpus usable, criteria are specified that narrow it down under four aspects: subject, time, text type, and linguistic level of analysis. The decisive factor in this analysis is not the origin of the discourse participant, but rather his statements. These were widely reported not only in one EU country, so that the assumption is obvious that we are dealing with topics that evoke transnational discourse.

Methodologically, the work proceeds on two levels: the lexical level of metaphors and the syntagmatic level of stereotypes and argumentation patterns. Both levels are closely linked. On the lexical level, it is not exclusively a matter of examining isolated individual terms and finding their designation in the text, but rather their contextual embedding in the respective individual text as well as their intertextual networking with other terms and neighbouring discourses (cf. Dąbrowska-Burkhardt 2013: 21).

The selected metaphors characterizing the style of transnationally conducted political discourse concerning the rule of law in Poland are linguistic units that cannot be exposed solely by methods of



semantic analysis of a lexical unit or distributional analysis in a sentence, nor by those of contextual analysis. The selection of these linguistic units is thus also justified by the salient fact that they represent an immanent part of a broader discourse and must be examined in this discourse. Thus, the methodology of discourse analyses is undoubtedly an unavoidable part of each comprehensive study of this kind. The implementation of discourse analyses enables the researcher to provide the required two-step investigation containing both cognitive metaphor theses and the methods of suprasegmental (macrolinguistic and supra-textual) discourse analyses (cf., among others, Ifversen 2003: 62-69). The sufficiency of this complex approach depends, however, on its practical implementation in the empiric parts of this paper, which is, for its part, a question of a technical rather than a methodological nature. The cognitive metaphore analyses can be carried out neither as a pre-phase of a discourse analyses, nor as its post-phase, but solely as one description and explanation unit. Moreover, the analysis is carried out against the historical-political background and taking into account the press specifics of both linguistic communities.

The paper makes practical use of the methods of political linguistics which emerged as a result of the pragmatic turn in linguistics, and in particular provides diverse methods of metaphor (cf. Böke 1996; Klein 2002; Liebert 2003; Liedtke 2002; Musolff 1996; 2005) and discourse analysis (cf. Böke 1996; (cf. Bilut-Homplewicz 2011; Czachur 2011; Dąbrowska-Burkhardt 2013; Hanus 2018; 2020; 2021; Jung 1996; Niehr 1996; Spitzmüller & Warnke 2011; Teubert 2002; Warnke & Spitzmüller 2008). Moreover, it must be emphasized that discourse-analytical study of metaphor also takes into account its illustration. Thus, the studied corpora are analysed under the aspect of text-illustration relation, i.e., multimodally. No extra-linguistic elements of a multimodal text are excluded from the analysis, so that not only single lexemes or texts, but also graphic elements of an entry referring to the analysed war metaphors are considered.

### **3. Political metaphor and its discourse-constituting function**

In the field of politics, metaphors play a very important role because political action is almost always 'imageless and colourless' (Münkler 1994: 126). For this reason, imagery from outside is needed to make the unimaginable imaginable and the ambiguous unambiguous (Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Thibodeau & Boroditsky 2011).

In 1974 Eroms (1974: 7) already points out that political language is affirmative, concerned with the approval of the speaker, and thus makes use of evaluative expressions that appeal to feelings. In this context, metaphors play an essential role because they evoke familiarity through concrete

associations. Metaphors can help us think about a problem by simplifying the issue, highlighting some aspects and deemphasizing others (Flusberg et al. 2018).

Drommel and Wolff (1978: 79) stress that metaphors are both persuasive and manipulative; persuasive because their purpose is to persuade rather than convince and to appeal to the affective behavioural component of the listener; manipulative because they merely pretend to be rational arguments. Rigotti (1994: 25) points out that metaphors are often used unconsciously and habitually in the form of familiar templates and only rarely are created *ex novo* to demonstrate new models that seem more appropriate for interpreting political reality.

Following Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) concept of metaphor, this paper takes an investigative perspective beyond the word level by assigning the linguistically fixed metaphor lexemes to word-field-like metaphor types. This in turn allows us to show how the discourse under investigation is structured by metaphor use.

Both scholars are adherents of a cognitive metaphor theory in which they do not place the linguistic realisation of an individual metaphor, but the concept lying deeper than it, at the centre of scholarly interest, because "our conceptual system is largely metaphorical, then the way we think, what we experience, and what we do every day is very much a matter of metaphor" (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 3). An individual metaphor forms "merely one (of often many) manifestations of a deeper-lying concept" (Klein 2002: 221), which in this concrete study for the investigative caesura "crisis of the rule of law in Poland" is associated in the transnationally conducted discourse with certain metaphorical expressions, such as *World War Three, putting a gun to Poland's head, defend our rights with all the weapons at our disposal*, etc.

War metaphors are an example of a well-established field of metaphors in our language that plays an important role as a means of highlighting and legitimizing feelings on controversial and emotionally charged issues (Musolff 1991: 1). They are ubiquitous. We encounter them in private conversations as well as in public media discourses on social, economic and political issues (Flusberg et al. 2018; Lakoff 1992; Lakoff & Johnson 1980).

Language users have a well-defined schematic knowledge of what *war* means. This knowledge is based on the fact that one clearly distinguishes between the opposing parties by contrasting one's own, positively perceived group, with the foreign group of the enemy and thus negatively marked one.

#### 4. Patterns of argumentation

Argumentative patterns, as emphasised by many researchers (cf., e.g., Czachur 201; Dąbrowska-Burkhardt 2013; Felder 2006; Hanus 2017; 2018), are the resultant of semantic struggles, battles of specific approaches and viewpoints. Views, often contradictory, are negotiated and actualised in discourse, in a kind of dispute. What ultimately matters, however, is which viewpoints dominate the discourse and become valid.

Following Wengeler (1997: 129), "patterns of argumentation" are abstract, predominantly logically oriented argumentations that dominate in a certain period and recur in the study corpus. The analyses of discursive argumentations provide an insight into dominant ways of thinking at a certain time. In the following analysis, these are thought structures of the approach to a political question in the context of crisis of the rule of law in Poland.

#### 5. Contrastive analysis of the research material

The analysis focuses on significant central expressions of transnational discourse, which were selected according to the following criteria:

- they represent important expressions in the media discourse on the tensions between the EU and Poland, i.e., they are used thematically;
- their clear accumulation in the studied discourse is an additional indicator of their relevance;
- they are repeatedly paraphrased, i.e., there is extensive synonymy or competition of expressions;

Source analysis consists of two methodologically sound parts: external interpretation and internal interpretation of the texts under analysis. External interpretation focuses on identifying the relevant relationships between the general discursive areas, i.e., political, cultural, social, etc., the conceptual area and the linguistic coding area for each sample text passage. Internal interpretation works with the techniques of underlining (collocation partners) and **bolding** (key words and metaphors) and involves an intra-contextual analysis from which, even without external commentary, it becomes clear what relations exist between the base lexeme and its variants and collocation partners. Corpus-specific collocations are collocation partners, i.e., words and groups of words that regularly occur together in the analysed discourse and are linguistically realized together for semantic-pragmatic reasons (cf. Bußmann 2008: 345). For this reason, the references presented in this way should not be understood as mere "long quotations", but always as "internally conceived" analyses. They also allow the reader to gain a transparent idea of the – partly distant – means of anaphoric and cataphoric reference at the textual level.

5.1 *The metaphor (Pl. "Trzecia Wojna Światowa") – 'The Third World War' – and the documentation of its variants and collocation partners in Polish*

The focus of Polish reporting after the publication of Morawiecki's interview is clearly on the metaphor of (Pl. *Trzecia Wojna Światowa*) – 'The Third World War'. The realisation of military metaphor takes place not only linguistically but also graphically. The socio-political weekly "Polityka", which is secular and critical of the 2021 ruling party *Prawo i Sprawiedliwość* – Law and Justice Party (PiS) – presents Morawiecki on its front page as a determined fighter with a machine gun, a Polish flag as a headband, a bare torso and a tattoo of the Polish eagle. This graphic bears the title:

Pl. *III wojna światowa i inne wojny PiS* – [Eng.: **World War Three** and other PI S wars] (3.11.2021).

The reader learns explicitly that World War Three, in the context of the Polish Prime Minister, a member of the Law and Justice party, does not come as a surprise, as this party also wages other conflicts. The war mentioned by Morawiecki is perceived and evaluated in an extremely differentiated manner by various groups in Poland, depending on what kind of political profile the respective medium represents and with which parties it sympathises. As a result of the discourse-analytical investigation, two dominant voices can be distinguished in the Polish study corpus, which can be described as pro and contra the war metaphors used by Morawiecki in the "Financial Times". Due to the limited pages of this article, only exemplary voices are presented below in their broad conceptual context, illustrating firstly a position in favour of, and secondly in disagreement with, the metaphor of war on the international stage.

A positive assessment of the interview, including the war metaphors used by Morawiecki, can be found in the daily newspaper "Nasz Dziennik", which is a national Catholic paper. The daily is created close to "Radio Maryja" and promotes Christian values, tradition and Polish culture. The following passage justifies the Polish Prime Minister's use of the war metaphor. The article shows that for the good of Poland in the current situation in dealing with Brussels, the metaphorical message is justified and appropriate:

Pl. *Premier [...] zarzucił Komisji Europejskiej, że stawia Polsce żądania, "przystawiając jej pistolet do głowy" [...] Unia Europejska zachowuje się coraz bardziej jak imperialna potęga, czego przykładem są jej spór z Polską i sposób, w jaki chce na niej wymusić podporządkowanie się – pisze [...] [e]kspert prawa z Uniwersytetu Swansea [...] "Główny problem dla UE polega na tym, że w dużej mierze, to co mówi Morawiecki jest słuszne [...] Bruksela chce, by jej ekspansywne i niepociągane do odpowiedzialności sądy miały carte blanche w określaniu, co leży w zakresie*

kompetencji UE. [...] "zastraszanie [...], w jakie zaangażowała się von der Leyen, nie jest dobre dla reputacji Brukseli zwłaszcza w Europie Wschodniej i Środkowej. Kraje te mają długą historię bycia pod okupacją niechcianych reżimów" [...] Morawiecki [...] zarzucił Komisji Europejskiej, że stawia Polsce żądania, "przystawiając jej pistolet do głowy". Wezwał Brukselę, by [...] wycofała groźby sankcji prawnych i finansowych. [...] jakkolwiek ruch w kierunku redukcji "funduszy spójności" spotka się z **mocnym odwetem**. "Co się stanie, jeśli Komisja Europejska rozpocznie **trzecią wojnę światową**? Jeśli do tego dojdzie, będziemy bronić naszych praw wszelką bronią, która jest w naszej dyspozycji" – odparł szef polskiego rządu (26.11.2021).

[Eng.: The Prime Minister [...] has accused the European Commission of making demands of Poland by "**putting a gun to its head**". [...] The European Union is behaving more and more like an imperial power, as exemplified by its dispute with Poland and the way it wants **to force Poland to subordinate**, writes [...] [e]xpert in law from Swansea University [...] "The main problem for the EU is that to a large extent, what Morawiecki says is right [...] Brussels wants its expansive and unaccountable courts to have carte blanche in determining what is within the EU's remit. [...] "The **intimidation** [...] that von der Leyen has engaged in is not good for Brussels' reputation especially in Eastern and Central Europe. These countries have a long history of **being occupied by unwanted regimes**" [...] Morawiecki [...] accused the European Commission of making demands on Poland by "**putting a gun to its head**". He called on Brussels to [...] withdraw threats of legal and financial sanctions. [...] any move to reduce "cohesion funds" will be met with **strong retaliation**. "What happens if the European Commission starts **a Third World War**? If that happens, we will **defend our rights with all the weapons at our disposal**" – countered the head of the Polish government.]

In the quoted excerpt, the use of the war metaphor by the Polish Prime Minister meets with understanding and even approval, as it is perceived as a defence of Poland against a loss of sovereignty. This view is dominated by unequivocally conservative press organs promoting Catholicism such as: "Do Rzeczy", and "Nasz Dziennik".

However, in the surveyed corpus there are also numerous voices critical of the Prime Minister in the context of his use of military metaphors in the interview for the "Financial Times". An example of such a negative perception of Morawiecki's war metaphors comes from the weekly newspaper "Polityka":

Pl. **Wojenną mowę** zaaplikowano [...] do "konfliktu" z Unią. [...] Morawiecki [...] rozważał, "co się stanie, jeśli Komisja Europejska rozpocznie **III wojnę światową** z Polską"? I odpowiadał: "**będziemy bronić naszych praw wszelką dostępną bronią**". Tymczasem "**brukselski okupant**" [...] nałożył na Polskę kary finansowe [...] za odmowę wykonywania wyroków unijnego Trybunału Sprawiedliwości.

Ta, coraz bardziej kosztowna, bezsensowna **wojna** [...] skończy się zapewne wycofaniem PiS na góry upatrzone pozycje, tak żeby tylko dostać unijne pieniądze. Ale **retoryka militarna** pozostanie: będzie trąbione o naszym zwycięstwie [...] Już padły zapowiedzi ewentualnych działań odwetowo-zaczeprnych wobec Komisji Europejskiej [...] Migalski przypomina, że **narracja wojenna, wezwanie do obrony przed** czyhającymi zewsząd zagrożeniami, jest stałą metodą polityczną PiS. W tym sensie rzeczywiście trwa **wojna światowa – Polska PiS kontra reszta świata** [...] Nie lekceważmy skuteczności tej na pozór paranoicznej taktyki. [...] Szukanie winnych, kreowanie wrogów, militaryzacja języka, atmosfera wiecznej wojny są od sześciu lat naszą polityczną codziennością (3.11.2021: 6).

[Eng.: The **war speech** was applied [...] to the "conflict" with the EU. [...] Morawiecki [...] considered "what will happen if the European Commission starts a **Third World War** with Poland"? And he answered: "we will **defend** our rights with **all available weapons**". Meanwhile, the "Brussels **occupier**" [...] has imposed financial penalties on Poland [...] for refusing to comply with judgments of the EU Court of Justice. This increasingly costly and pointless **war** [...] will probably end with PiS withdrawing to preconceived positions in order to receive EU money. But the **military rhetoric** will remain: it will be **trumpeted about our victory** [...] There have already been announcements of possible retaliatory and offensive actions against the European Commission [...] Migalski says that the **war narration, the call to defend oneself** from threats lurking from everywhere, is a permanent political method of the Law and Justice party. In this sense, there is indeed **a world war going on – PiS Poland versus the rest of the world** [...] Let us not underestimate the effectiveness of this seemingly paranoid tactic. [...] The search for the guilty, the creation of enemies, the militarisation of language, the atmosphere of **perpetual war** have been our political everyday life for six years.]

### 5.2 The metaphor (Ger. "Dritter Weltkrieg") – 'The Third World War' – and the documentation of its variants and collocation partners in German

In the German discourse, the readers of all print media examined are confronted exclusively with a negative evaluation of Morawiecki's interview. A typical example of this view is the text segment from the weekly magazine "Der Stern":

Ger. Im Streit um die Rechtsstaatlichkeit hat [...] Morawiecki die EU davor gewarnt, versprochene Gelder für sein Land zurückzuhalten, und dabei von einem "**Dritten Weltkrieg**" gesprochen. "Wenn sie den **Dritten Weltkrieg** beginnen, werden wir unsere Rechte mit allen uns zur Verfügung stehenden Mitteln verteidigen" [...] Er schloss nicht aus, dass Warschau wichtige EU-Vorhaben [...] blockieren könnte. [...] von der Leyen hat angekündigt, miliardenschwere EU-Corona-Hilfen für Polen solange zu blockieren, bis das Land bestimmte Justizreformen zurückgenommen hat. Die EU-Kommission verstoße gegen europäisches Recht, indem sie die Corona-Hilfen für sein Land weder genehmige

noch ablehne, sagte Morawiecki [...] "Je später wir es bekommen, desto größer ist der Beweis für diese diskriminierende Behandlung und die diktat-ähnliche Vorgehensweise der EU-Kommission" [...] Morawiecki warf der EU-Kommission [...] sie stelle "**mit einer Pistole an unserem Kopf**" Forderungen an sein Land. Damit spielte er darauf an, dass die Behörde finanzielle Sanktionen gegen Polen [...] beantragt hat, weil die Disziplinarkammer zur Bestrafung von Richtern trotz einer anderslautenden EuGH-Entscheidung weiter arbeitet. [...] Ein Sprecher der EU-Kommission, sagte [...] Für **Kriegsrhetorik** im Verhältnis zwischen den EU-Ländern oder zwischen Mitgliedstaaten und EU-Institutionen sei kein Platz (25.10.2021).

[Eng.: In the quarrel over the rule of law, [...] Morawiecki warned the EU not to withhold promised funds for his country, talking of a "**Third World War**". "If they start **the Third World War**, we will **defend our rights with all means at our disposal**" [...] He did not rule out that Warsaw could block important EU projects [...]. [...] von der Leyen has announced that she will block EU Corona aid worth billions for Poland until the country has withdrawn certain judicial reforms. The EU Commission is violating European law by neither approving nor rejecting Corona aid for his country, Morawiecki said [...] "The later we get it, the greater the proof of this discriminatory treatment and dictate-like approach of the EU Commission" [...] Morawiecki accused the EU Commission [...] of making demands on his country "**with a gun to our head**". He was alluding to the fact that the authority has requested financial sanctions against Poland [...] because the disciplinary chamber for the punishment of judges continues to operate despite an ECJ ruling to the contrary. [...] A spokesperson for the EU Commission, said [...] There is no place for **war rhetoric** in relations between EU countries or between member states and EU institutions.]

The Polish Prime Minister's war metaphors in the German print media are each marked as a quotation and reproduced in the literal translation from English.

### *5.3 Tracing the analysed expressions back to two patterns of argumentation*

The analysis carried out, in which the respective national reports were examined with their division into the category of voices, makes it possible to identify general trends in the transnationally conducted discourse on the question of the rule of law in Poland. In both the German and Polish print media, war metaphors play a central role because they are discussed in an engaged manner in both countries following Morawiecki's interview. The division of voices examined in Sections 5.1 and 5.2 with the category of collocation partners expressing themselves pro and contra Morawiecki's war metaphoric underlies the two patterns of argumentation competing with each other in the study corpus regarding the issue of the rule of law in Poland.

In the analysed transnational discourse, two dominant argumentative patterns can be clearly distinguished:

(a) SINCE THE EUROPEAN UNION IS THREATENING POLAND AND ENDANGERING ITS SOVEREIGNTY, POLAND MUST DEFEND ITS RIGHTS WITH ALL WEAPONS AT ITS DISPOSAL.

vs.

(b) SINCE POLISH PRIME MINISTER THREATENS THE EUROPEAN UNION AND ITS VALUES, THE EUROPEAN UNION MUST DEFEND ITS RIGHTS WITH ALL THE MEANS AT ITS DISPOSAL.

The Polish right-wing and pro-government press is consistently positive about Morawiecki's war metaphor, i.e., in favour of the first argumentation pattern. The second argumentation pattern, on the other hand, is diagnosed in the Polish left-wing and centrr-left press as well as in the German-language press. The use of the respective argumentation pattern is thus not necessarily linked to the national perspective of a single language community, but to the respective political profile of the analysed press organ. Although all German press texts represent the second argumentation pattern, the Polish reporting presents a differentiated picture regarding Morawiecki's war metaphors, which includes both pro and contra statements regarding his metaphorical mode of expression.

## **6. Contrastive analysis results**

In summary, the war metaphors used by the Polish Prime Minister are very important for the examined discourse on the rule of law in Poland. The discourse-constituting function of war metaphor can be compared with the text-constituting and text-structuring function. War metaphors are varied, modified and further developed in the analysed transnationally discourse. The conducted analysis also revealed that the metaphors used point forward or backward and connect with other adjacent textual elements. The use of war metaphors could be detected in the headlines or in the lead of the press texts as well as throughout the article, often used as leitmotifs. The war metaphors determined the examined discourse excerpt and the metaphorically used lexemes could be reconstructed within the two examined national text corpora. In this sense, the war metaphors traverse, structure, and interpret the discourse across texts. The analysis of the corpus confirms two positions in the approach to the dispute over relations between Poland and the European Union. However, they are not delimited by the cultural boundaries of a given national community. On the one hand, we have to deal with the unambiguously offensive attitude of the right-wing Polish press, which denies the good intentions of the European Union and affirms the attitude of Morawiecki in his statement for the "Financial Times".



Symptomatic for the analysed discourse is the difference in the understanding of the notions of defence and attack. The Polish pro-government press emphasises that the EU is attacking Poland by threatening it with sanctions, which could be the trigger for another world war. In this context, Prime Minister Morawiecki is profiled as a hero, a patriot defending the sovereignty of his own country.

Other Polish newspapers, as well as German-language ones, emphasise the defence of universal values, the community values of the whole united Europe. In this context, the attitude of the Polish government is perceived as an attack on the order of the community. Symptomatic in this context is the stratification of attitudes in the Polish press. The attitude of fighting for national sovereignty is dominated by the attitude of defending and preserving community values, where national interests disappear from the field of vision and give way to superior community interests, which was confirmed by the analysis conducted with the help of selected tools used in the linguistic analysis of discourse.

## Notes

Translation of all the quotations from German and Polish are done by Jarochna Dąbrowska-Burkhardt.

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## Résumé

The article offers a contrastive analysis of the issue of the rule of law in Poland in the discourse

between the European Union and Poland, which has increasingly become the focus of mass media attention in recent years in various European countries. We perceive the interview given on 24 October 2021 by the Polish Prime Minister Mateusz Morawiecki to the "Financial Times" as a discursive event that has become the basis of the following media discourse. The analysis aims to trace the Polish and German national discourse in order to identify the main trends in the development of the transnational discourse. Taking the metaphors of war used by Morawiecki in the above-mentioned interview as a reference point, we analyse the central metaphors and argumentative patterns. The conducted empirical contrastive research draws on the categories of discourse and political linguistics. Methodologically, the analysis proceeds on two closely connected levels: the lexical level, i.e., metaphors, and the syntagmatic level, i.e., patterns of argumentation. The analysis of the function of war metaphors used by the Polish Prime Minister and the argumentation schemes make it possible to identify general trends in the transnationally conducted discourse on the question of the rule of law in Poland. The results of the analysis confirm two positions in the approach to the dispute over relations between Poland and the European Union. Importantly, they are not delimited by the cultural boundaries of a given national community but seem to be divided into two factions: voices supporting the government's policy and those for whom universal values are more important than national politics.

**Key words:** discourse linguistics, politolinguistics, Polish and German print media, war metaphors in public discourse, functions of metaphors, argumentation patterns.

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**LEGE ARTIS**

Language yesterday, today, tomorrow

Vol. VII. No 2 2022 Special issue

**URBAN ONOMASTICS IN GDYNIA: ON THE FUNCTIONS OF STREET  
DESIGNATIONS IN GDYNIA DURING WORLD WAR II***Andrzej S. Feret\***Jagiellonian University, Cracow, Poland**Magdalena Zofia Feret**Jan Kochanowski University, Kielce, Poland**\*Corresponding author*

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**Abstract:** The article is a contrastive study showing how streets and squares in Gdynia (Poland) were named in World War II. Street renaming served as a stamp of Nazi domination. The assumed contrastive methodological perspective takes into account the social, political, and economic factors as well as the interconnections between geographical names and issues such as power, politics, domination, social identity, and collective memory. Also, an attempt is made to determine if functions proposed in professional literature can be observed in "new" urban designations.

**Key words:** hodonym, Gdynia, World War II, Nazi dictatorship, change of street designations.

**1. Introduction<sup>1</sup>**

Street names do not only have a function of topographical-spatial orientation, but also reflect history and are an instrument of political and cultural influence. At the time of the National Socialist dictatorship, street and place names were changed in Germany. In the cities of the occupied Poland, many streets and squares were also renamed during World War II. Street renaming served among others as a stamp of Nazi domination. All street names referring to Polish history or culture were wiped out.

At the beginning of World War II the name of the German-occupied city *Gdynia* was replaced with *Gotenhafen*, which was to be in use since then. The decision to choose the name *Gotenhafen*, derived from the name of one of the Germanic tribes and implying their likely connections with the area, was justified with the claim that the name of the contemporary city's quarter, and then a neighbouring village – Oksywie (Kashubian *Òksëwié*, Ger. *Oxhöft*), recorded as long ago as in 1209 (Słownik Geograficzny ..., 1886: 437), is alleged to be derived from the old Scandinavian word *oxihoved* – [ox head]. The names of the streets were changed there as early as in the autumn of 1939 (cf. Feret 2020:

229). After that change, more followed, as one of the objectives of the new administration back then was to make new inhabitants feel "at home", sense a sort of continuity and a cultural link between the city and the German Third Reich (cf. Choroś & Jarczak 2013: 351).

Thus, the change of the street names was the result of something more than just complying with administrative needs. That makes the contrastive toponymic analysis inseparable from the social and political as well as the economic factors. As we are going to see, the interconnections between geographical names and issues such as power, politics, domination as well as social identity and collective memory can be observed in the Nazi German name-giving practices in Gdynia (Gotenhafen).

## **2. Objective, method, and material**

The principal objective of this article is to present the process of changing street and square names in Gdynia during World War II, which was enforced by the Nazi German authorities focused on adjusting the symbolic space to both the historical as well as political ideology. The street names discussed in the contexts of historical as well as political ideology lead us to the methodology of critical discourse analysis (cf. Wodak 2009: 1-33). Street (re) naming is grounded in social, political, and ideological practices, which can be revealed through a language analysis – in this case on the onomastic level. As it turns out, the "city-text" (Rutkowski 2019: 267) is a complex structure which plays a key role in the (re)construction of social reality. Its ideological message is usually expressed only implicitly and indirectly. The application of critical discourse analysis often allows for discovering interdependencies between textual and discourse structures, on the one hand, and social, political and ideological ones, on the other.

Almost 610 Polish hodonyms have been analysed. The data come from German and Polish city maps, Gotenhafen street inventory from 1942 and studies concerning the history of Gdynia during World War II by contemporary historians. The documents regarding German hodonyms cover the period from 1940 to 1944. Polish documents made prior to the beginning of the war were a source of information concerning the urban condition of Gdynia then. To complete the picture, one has to mention that the number of German names outs the number of Polish ones by two thirds. It results from the fact that the names of the streets were repeatedly changed within the period of the German presence: from taking over the city till abandoning it. Furthermore, one must bear in mind that a street's length can be divided into sections, each being given a separate name. As this paper is a linguistic analysis, all the names from the aforementioned period are taken into consideration, regardless of their chronological order if that is what the analysis demands.

The basic methods of this contrastive analysis involve making the inventory of the Polish street names from 1939 and then the inventory of the German street names from 1940 to 1944, followed by comparing both of them with the objective of identifying differences in street naming. Furthermore, the process of street naming itself has been examined, together with the accompanying factors, causes, and consequences. An attempt was made to explain the etymology of the toponyms from the years 1940–1944 along with their properties and modifications as well as to answer the question concerning the associations of the German street and square names with the Polish toponyms and a possible justification of the changes. As we are going to see, there is a 50% correspondence between Polish names and German names. The aforementioned methodological framework integrating interdisciplinary perspectives on urban names allows for investigating its nature and the reasons behind the discrepancy.

Since toponyms are regarded as a reflection of national and cultural relations, they are sometimes replaced with the ones that do not violate political correctness imposed in the analysed period (cf. Grotek 2016: 209). This means that names of streets constitute specific cultural areas, for they convey certain mental patterns. The language and the culture of this language users' society determine perception of the surrounding reality and, therefore, shape the linguistic worldview (cf. Bartmiński 2012: 266), the indicators of which are, among others, street names, namely the names of streets in the German-occupied Poland from the World War II period. This is so because all objects of the (para)linguistic reality are perceived in terms of the co-relation between culture and reality and thus account for new ways of perception of the surrounding world, implying a particular interpretation of reality (cf. Teubert 2019: 26-34) and shaping the linguistic image of the world.

The aforementioned observation can be applied mainly to the toponyms created since the 18<sup>th</sup> century, which professional literature defines as secondary. Primary toponyms, which were created on the basis of realistic features, appear to be much older, since they have functioned as reference and orientation signs since the Middle Ages<sup>2</sup>. The latter are associated with the following functions (see Nübling et al. 2015: 243-245)<sup>3</sup>:

- indicating direction – a street name reveals where this street goes;
- indicating location – a street name reveals the street's positioning in relation to another object.

Professional literature (cf. Owsinski 2018b: 296) also lists the following toponyms which may be regarded as apparently primary:

- possessive street names referring to (groups of) people who used to live in this street, or to objects

which used to be there;

- characterizing street names referring to natural objects that used to be nearby, the street's location, purpose or features;
- commemorating street names functioning as monuments: originally they reminded of their builders, former owners, at present of characters or facts important for the specified cultural area (see Feret & Feret 2021: 70).

The latter group, often imposed by the administration, may become a means linked to the area's culture, a representative of ideology or political movement connected with current historical or political circumstances (cf. Behne 2014: 42-44; Owsiniński 2018a: 258).

The classification of hodonyms as directional, locational, possessional, characterizing, and commemorating as proposed in Nübling et al. (2015) will be adopted for the exposition of the data. The order of presenting the results of the contrastive analysis in this paper also results from the adopted classification.

### 3. Results

This paper, as it must comply with its quantitative limits, covers only a selection of the most illustrative instances. The examples included here feature the spelling and punctuation according to the original. Each German name not included in the tables is followed by corresponding original pre-war street name in round brackets. If the analysed street name was repeatedly changed during the war, all names concerning the instance are separated with a slash.

The tables below show the conclusions drawn from the study in the light of the aforementioned functions of hodonyms. The order of the contrastive analysis results presentation is the consequence of the adopted classification as proposed in Nübling et al. (2015). The group of hodonyms indicating direction covers 158 examples and thus is the biggest in number.

Table 1. Comparison of German directional hodonyms and Polish pre-war names (Source: Own processing)

German name	Polish pre-war name
<i>Berliner Str.</i> – [ <i>Berlin St.</i> ]	<i>ul. Warszawska</i> – [ <i>Warsaw St.</i> ]
<i>Danziger Str.</i> – [ <i>Gdansk St.</i> ]	<i>ul. Cieszyńska</i> and <i>ul. Śląska</i> – [ <i>Cieszyn St. and Silesian St.</i> ]
<i>Dirschauer Weg</i> – [ <i>Tezew Rd.</i> ]	<i>ul. Olchowa</i> – [ <i>Alder St.</i> ]
<i>Elbinger Weg</i> – [ <i>Elblag Rd.</i> ]	<i>ul. Techniczna</i> – [ <i>Technology St.</i> ]
<i>Görlitzer Weg</i> – [ <i>Zgorzelec Rd.</i> ]	<i>ul. Filomatów</i> – [ <i>Philomath Society St.</i> ]
<i>Hamburger Str.</i> and <i>Kieler Str.</i> – [ <i>Hamburg St. and Kiel St.</i> ]	<i>ul. Polska</i> – [ <i>Polish St.</i> ]
<i>Marienburger Str.</i> – [ <i>Malbork St.</i> ]	<i>ul. Litewska</i> – [ <i>Lithuanian St.</i> ]
<i>Marienwerder Str.</i> – [ <i>Kwidzyn St.</i> ]	<i>ul. Inżynierska</i> – [ <i>Engineers St.</i> ]
<i>Sachsenstr.</i> – [ <i>Saxon St.</i> ]	<i>ul. Zgody</i> – [ <i>Concordia St.</i> ]

However, the general image of the change within this group is not homogenous, as one encounters different techniques of giving new names. On the one hand, there are the street names, which remained quite the same, as they were just formally Germanised, such as *Sieradzkastr.* (*ul. Sieradzka*) – [*Sieradz St.*], or were replaced with their direct German equivalent, such as *Oxhöfter Str.* (*ul. Oksywska*) – [*Oksywie St.*]. Another alternative in the case of directional hodonyms was replacing the word *ul.* (*ulica*) – [*street*] with *Straße* – [*street*] or *Gasse* – [*lane*] (cf. Pelka 2012: 26). On the other hand, there occasionally appears a changed name, which can be doubtlessly regarded as commemorating, that is indicating national values, e.g., *Katzbachstr.*<sup>4</sup> (*ul. Gordona*) – [*Katzbach St.* (*Gordon St.*)]. All in all, the hodonyms indicating direction were more frequent and, therefore, better represented during the war, compared to the situation prior to September 1, 1939, when there were 138 directional hodonyms, e.g., *ul. Berestecka* – [*Berestechko St.*], *ul. Chełmińska* – [*Chelm St.*], *ul. Drohobycka* – [*Drohobych St.*], *ul. Fromborska* – [*Frombork St.*], *ul. Gnieźnieńska* – [*Gniezno St.*], *ul. Halicka* – [*Halych St.*], *ul. Jasielska* – [*Jasło St.*], *ul. Kaliska* – [*Kalisz St.*], *ul. Lidzka* – [*Lida St.*], *ul. Łowicka* – [*Łowicz St.*].

The group of hodonyms indicating location in the pre-war period features 38 examples, e.g., *ul. Kolejowa* – [*Railway St.*], *ul. Leszczyński* – [*Hazel St.*], *ul. Łąkowa* – [*Meadow St.*], *ul. Młyńska* – [*Mill St.*], *ul. Nasypowa* – [*Embankment St.*], *ul. Ogrodowa* – [*Garden St.*], *Pl. Dworcowy* – [*Station Sq.*], *Rynek Oksywski* – [*Okisywie Market Sq.*], *ul. Sadowa* – [*Orchard St.*], *ul. Warsztatowa* – [*Workshop St.*]. Strangely, after the change of names this group is less numerous (30 examples).

Table 2. Comparison of German locational hodonyms and Polish pre-war names (Source: Own processing)

German name	Polish pre-war name
<i>Alte-Dorfstr.</i> – [ <i>Old Village St.</i> ]	<i>ul. Starowiejska</i> – [ <i>Old Village St.</i> ]
<i>Bahnhofspl.</i> – [ <i>Station Sq.</i> ]	<i>pl. Konstytucji</i> – [ <i>Constitution Sq.</i> ]
<i>Eisenbahnstr. / Eisenbahnsiedlung</i> – [ <i>Railway St. / Railway District</i> ]	<i>ul. Osada Kolejowa</i> – [ <i>Railway District St.</i> ]
<i>Grenzstr. / Grenzweg</i> – [ <i>Border St. / Border Rd.</i> ]	<i>ul. Graniczna</i> – [ <i>Border St.</i> ]
<i>Hafenstr.</i> – [ <i>Harbour St.</i> ]	<i>ul. Portowa</i> – [ <i>Harbour St.</i> ]
<i>Kasernenstr.</i> – [ <i>Barracks St.</i> ]	<i>ul. Turystyczna</i> – [ <i>Tourist St.</i> ]
<i>Neustädter Str.</i> – [ <i>New Town St.</i> ]	<i>ul. Wejherowska</i> – [ <i>Wejherowo St.</i> ]
<i>Seebadstr.</i> – [ <i>Bathing Area St.</i> ]	<i>ul. Popiela</i> – [ <i>Popiel St.</i> ]
<i>Teichweg</i> – [ <i>Mere Rd.</i> ]	<i>ul. Stawna</i> – [ <i>Mere St.</i> ]

Apart from morphological and phraseological calques, one may then observe here brand-new names, all sharing the characteristic of indicating a place nearby, e.g., the name *Seebadstr.* – [*Bathing Area St.*] refers to a sandy coast where one could bathe in the sea, *Bahnhofstr.* – [*Station St.*] indicates the railway station, which was where the road would lead.

The number of possessional street names from the war period is slightly smaller than the number of those, which appeared on street name signs before the war began. The former do not necessarily present a consistent image.

Table 3. Comparison of German possessional hodonyms and Polish pre-war names (Source: Own processing)

German name	Polish pre-war name
<i>Bäckerstr.</i> – [ <i>Baker St.</i> ]	<i>ul. Piekarska</i> – [ <i>Baker St.</i> ]
<i>Fischersiedlung</i> – [ <i>Fishermen District</i> ]	<i>ul. Niepołonecka</i> – [ <i>Niepołonice St.</i> ]
<i>Fischerstr.</i> – [ <i>Fisherman St.</i> ]	<i>ul. Rybińskiego</i> – [ <i>Rybiński St.</i> ]
<i>Handwerkerstr.</i> – [ <i>Craftsmen St.</i> ]	<i>ul. Rzemieślnicza</i> – [ <i>Craftsmen St.</i> ]
<i>Pilotenstr.</i> – [ <i>Pilots St.</i> ]	<i>ul. Celna</i> – [ <i>Customs St.</i> ]
<i>Richterstr.</i> – [ <i>Judges St.</i> ]	<i>ul. Sędziowska</i> – [ <i>Judges St.</i> ]
<i>Stellmacherstr.</i> – [ <i>Wheelwright St.</i> ]	<i>ul. Kołodziejka</i> – [ <i>Wheelwright St.</i> ]
<i>Vermessungsstr.</i> – [ <i>Measurement St.</i> ]	<i>ul. Miernicza</i> – [ <i>Measurer St.</i> ]
<i>Wikingerstr.</i> – [ <i>Vikings St.</i> ]	<i>ul. Jana z Kolna</i> – [ <i>Jan of Kolno St.</i> ]
<i>Zunftsstr.</i> – [ <i>Guild St.</i> ]	<i>ul. Cedrowa</i> – [ <i>Cedar St.</i> ]

One may immediately notice that the vast majority of them correspond with the Polish patterns e.g., *Bootsmannstr.* (*ul. Bosmańska*) – [*Bosun St. (Bosun St.)*]. The case study of *Fischerstr.* lets us conclude that the German name was indirectly derived from the Polish surname in the original name *ul. (Jana) Rybińskiego*, which has the same root as a fisherman's profession (Pol. *ryba* – Eng. *fish*). Furthermore, in this group one may find the names which differ significantly from their Polish "originals": *Wikingerstr.*, *Zunftsstr.* In these cases, one can hardly speak of a genuine possessional function of the street names introduced during the war. This would rather reveal certain political measures aimed at imposing German culture. On the Polish side, one can identify 39 examples, e.g., *ul. Admiralska* – [*Admiral St.*], *ul. Bajończyków* – [*Bajończycy St.*], *ul. Celna* – [*Customs St.*], *ul. Góralska* – [*Highlanders St.*], *ul. Harcerska* – [*Scouts St.*], *ul. Inżynierska* – [*Engineers St.*], *ul. Kasztelańska* – [*Castellan St.*], *ul. Lotników* – [*Pilots St.*], *ul. Nauczycielska* – [*Teachers St.*], *ul. Oficerska* – [*Officers St.*].

The analysed material also revealed 39 examples of characterizing hodonyms.

Table 4. Comparison of German characterizing hodonyms and Polish pre-war names (Source: Own processing)

German name	Polish pre-war name
<i>Ackerstr.</i> – [ <i>Growing Field St.</i> ]	<i>ul. Klonowa</i> – [ <i>Maple St.</i> ]
<i>Dorfstr.</i> – [ <i>Village St.</i> ]	<i>ul. Jasnogórska</i> , <i>ul. Kordeckiego</i> and <i>ul. Gen. Sowińskiego</i> – [ <i>Jasna Góra St.</i> , <i>Kordecki St.</i> and <i>General Sowiński St.</i> ]
<i>Eichenstr. / Eichenweg</i> – [ <i>Oak St. / Oak Rd.</i> ]	<i>ul. Dębowa</i> – [ <i>Oak St.</i> ]
<i>Fichtenstr.</i> – [ <i>Spruce St.</i> ]	<i>ul. Cisowa</i> and <i>ul. Jodłowa</i> – [ <i>Yew St.</i> and <i>Fir St.</i> ]
<i>Grenzfließstr.</i> – [ <i>Border Stream St.</i> ]	<i>ul. Wileńska</i> – [ <i>Vilnius St.</i> ]
<i>Kreisstr.</i> – [ <i>Circle St.</i> ]	<i>ul. Prezydenta</i> – [ <i>President St.</i> ]
<i>Promenade</i> – [ <i>Promenade</i> ]	<i>Promenada Królowej Marysieńki</i> – [ <i>Queen Marie's Promenade</i> ]



<i>Schuttstr.</i> – [ <i>Rubble St.</i> ]	<i>ul. Nasypowa</i> – [ <i>Embankment St.</i> ]
<i>Unterführung</i> – [ <i>Subpassing St.</i> ]	<i>ul. Podjazd</i> – [ <i>Driveway St.</i> ]
<i>Wiesenweg</i> – [ <i>Meadow Rd.</i> ]	<i>ul. Sadowa</i> and <i>ul. Łąkowa</i> – [ <i>Orchard St. and Meadow St.</i> ]

In many cases of street names constituting this group, one can make an attempt to recreate the motivations behind such choices:

*Helablickstr.* (*ul. Przebendowskich*) – [*Helview St. (Przebendowscy St.)*] led towards the Baltic coast, where the Hel Peninsula could be seen then and also today.

*Steinstr.* (*Aleja Marszałka Piłsudskiego*) – [*Stone St. (Marshal Piłsudski Alley)*] runs along the district of Kamienna Góra (Steinberg) – [*Stone Mountain*] even today.

*Ringstr.* (*ul. Okrężna*) – [*Ringroad (Ringroad)*] runs around a residential area.

Near *Wiesenstr.* (*ul. Malczewskiego*) – [*Meadow St. (Malczewski St.)*] there were actual meadows.

The list of characterizing names in Polish is slightly longer; it amounts to 44 hodonoms, e.g., *Bulwar Nadmorski* – [*Seaside Boulevard*], *ul. Cicha* – [*Quiet St.*], *ul. Długa* – [*Long St.*], *ul. Falista* – [*Wavy St.*], *ul. Handlowa* – [*Trade St.*], *ul. Jasna* – [*Light St.*], *ul. Krótka* – [*Short St.*], *ul. Leśna* – [*Forest St.*], *ul. Łączna* – [*Joining St.*], *ul. Młyńska* – [*Mill St.*]. The juxtaposition of the German and Polish names reveals 50% of corresponding street names. However, the other half features the names, which are inconsistent.

The groups of commemorating street names before and during the war are almost equal in numbers (199 vs. 182 examples).

Table 5. Comparison of German commemorating hodonoms and Polish pre-war names (Source: Own processing)

German name	Polish pre-war name
<i>Admiral-Hipper-Str.</i> – [ <i>Admiral Hipper St.</i> ]	<i>ul. Św. Piotra</i> – [ <i>St. Peter's St.</i> ]
<i>Bismarckstr.</i> – [ <i>Bismarck St.</i> ]	<i>ul. Kwiatkowskiego</i> and <i>ul. Poniatowskiego</i> – [ <i>Kwiatkowski St. and Poniatowski St.</i> ]
<i>Chamissostr.</i> – [ <i>Chamisso St.</i> ]	<i>ul. Sieroszewskiego</i> – [ <i>Sieroszewski St.</i> ]
<i>Derfflingerweg</i> – [ <i>Derfflinger Rd.</i> ]	<i>ul. Sztumska</i> and <i>ul. Górna</i> – [ <i>Sztum St. and Upper St.</i> ]
<i>Eberhardstr.</i> – [ <i>Eberhard St.</i> ]	<i>ul. Techniczna</i> – [ <i>Technology St.</i> ]
<i>Fahrenheitweg</i> – [ <i>Fahrenheit Rd.</i> ]	<i>ul. Krakowska</i> and <i>ul. Olsztyńska</i> – [ <i>Cracow St. and Olsztyn St.</i> ]
<i>General-Schlieffen-Str.</i> – [ <i>General Schlieffen St.</i> ]	<i>ul. Podolska</i> – [ <i>Podole St.</i> ]
<i>Hans-Sachs-Str.</i> – [ <i>Hans Sachs St.</i> ]	<i>ul. Fromborska</i> – [ <i>Frombork St.</i> ]
<i>Jürgen-Wullenwever-Str.</i> – [ <i>Jürgen Wullenwever St.</i> ]	<i>ul. Zgody</i> – [ <i>Concordia St.</i> ]
<i>Klaus-Störtebecker-Str.</i> – [ <i>Klaus Störtebecker St.</i> ]	<i>ul. Zygmuntowska</i> – [ <i>Sigismund St.</i> ]

The analysis of the names themselves leads to a rather unpredictable conclusion, revealing a few surprising phenomena. While one may assume that certainly the names bearing direct connection with the National Socialist ideology or the Third Reich would account for the highest number of instances,

this is not the case. Such hodononyms amount to only 18 examples. Studying the city map reveals such names as *Adolf-Hitler-Pl.* (*Skwer Kościuszki*) [*Adolf Hitler Sq. (Kościuszko Sq.)*] and *Adolf-Hitler-Str.* (*ul. Świętojańska*) [*Adolf Hitler St. (St. John's St.)*]. The table below shows further hodononyms associated with the Nazi ideology.

Table 6. Comparison of German hodononyms associated with the Nazi ideology and Polish pre-war names  
(Source: Own processing)

German name	Polish pre-war name
<i>Albert-Forster-Str.</i> <sup>5</sup> – [ <i>Albert Forster St.</i> ]	<i>ul. Morska</i> – [ <i>Marine St.</i> ]
<i>Dietrich-Eckhardt-Str.</i> <sup>6</sup> – [ <i>Dietrich Eckhardt St.</i> ]	<i>ul. Cieszyńska</i> and <i>ul. Śląska</i> – [ <i>Cieszyn St. and Silesian St.</i> ]
<i>General-Litzmann-Pl.</i> <sup>7</sup> – [ <i>General Litzmann Sq.</i> ]	<i>pl. Kaszubski</i> – [ <i>Kashubian Square</i> ]
<i>Gneisenaustr.</i> <sup>8</sup> – [ <i>Gneisenau St.</i> ]	<i>ul. Asnyka</i> – [ <i>Asnyk St.</i> ]
<i>Gustav-Frenssen-Weg</i> <sup>9</sup> – [ <i>Gustav Frenssen Rd.</i> ]	<i>ul. Grottgera</i> – [ <i>Grottger St.</i> ]
<i>Hans-Zöberlein-Str.</i> <sup>10</sup> – [ <i>Hans Zöberlein St.</i> ]	<i>ul. Ujejskiego</i> – [ <i>Ujejski St.</i> ]
<i>Hans-Knirsch-Str.</i> <sup>11</sup> – [ <i>Hans Knirsch St.</i> ]	<i>ul. Gen. Bema</i> – [ <i>General Bem St.</i> ]
<i>Herbert-Norkus-Weg</i> <sup>12</sup> – [ <i>Herbert Norkus Rd.</i> ]	<i>ul. Bydgoska</i> – [ <i>Bydgoszcz St.</i> ]
<i>Hermann-Göring-Str.</i> – [ <i>Hermann Göring St.</i> ]	<i>ul. 10 Lutego</i> <sup>13</sup> – [ <i>10th February St.</i> ]
<i>Horst-Wessel-Str.</i> <sup>14</sup> – [ <i>Horst Wessel St.</i> ]	<i>ul. Abrahama</i> and <i>ul. Wysockiego</i> – [ <i>Abraham St. and Wysocki St.</i> ]

One may, however, notice that some of the hodononyms within this group seem to be neutral prior to a more detailed study. Yet, a thorough analysis reveals deliberate motivations. Some actions were taken with a specific purpose because of the war circumstances in order to imply that historical and cultural development of Poland had been shaped by the German cultural tradition.

Table 7. Comparison of German history- and culture-associated hodononyms and Polish pre-war names  
(Source: Own processing)

German name	Polish pre-war name
<i>Burgunderstr.</i> – [ <i>Burgundy St.</i> ]	<i>ul. Zygmunta Augusta</i> – [ <i>Sigismund Augustus St.</i> ]
<i>Freikorpsstr. / Schillerstr.</i> – [ <i>Freikorps St. / Schiller St.</i> ]	<i>ul. Legionów</i> – [ <i>Polish Legions St.</i> ]
<i>Fridericus-Rex-Str.</i> – [ <i>Fridericus Rex St.</i> ]	<i>ul. Witomińska</i> – [ <i>Witomin St.</i> ]
<i>KöniggrätzerStr.</i> – [ <i>Königgrätz St.</i> ]	<i>ul. Dantyszka</i> – [ <i>Dantiscus St.</i> ]
<i>Moltkestr.</i> – [ <i>Moltke St.</i> ]	<i>ul. Batorego</i> – [ <i>Batory St.</i> ]
<i>Preußenstr.</i> – [ <i>Prussian St.</i> ]	<i>ul. Drogowa</i> – [ <i>Road St.</i> ]
<i>Sedanstr.</i> – [ <i>Sedan St.</i> ]	<i>ul. Admiralska</i> – [ <i>Admiral St.</i> ]
<i>Tannenbergpl. / Hindenburgpl.</i> – [ <i>Tannenberg Sq. / Hindenburg Sq.</i> ]	<i>pl. Bolesława Chrobrego</i> – [ <i>Boleslaw Chrobry Sq.</i> ]
<i>Teutonenstr.</i> – [ <i>Teutonian St.</i> ]	<i>ul. 3 Maja</i> and <i>ul. Kołobrzaska</i> – [ <i>3<sup>rd</sup> May St. and Kolobrzeg St.</i> ]
<i>Verdunstr.</i> – [ <i>Verdun St.</i> ]	<i>ul. Emigracyjna</i> – [ <i>Immigration St.</i> ]

Some of the Polish names within the analysed group were not in line with the reality of the occupied country, as they commemorated both the individuals (*ul. Zygmunta Augusta*, *pl. Bolesława Chrobrego*) and the groups of people (*ul. Legionów*, *ul. Filomatów*) whose role in the Polish history was tremendously memorable. Therefore, it seems fully understandable for the Germans in the circumstances of World War II to change the street name: *ul. 3 Maja*, commemorating the Constitution

of May 3, 1791, whose objective was to save the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and which, according to Davies (1996: 699) was the first constitution of this type in Europe.

The number of the pre-war commemorating names in the Polish language is slightly higher than those introduced during the war: the analysed city map features 199 of them, e.g., *ul. 11 Listopada* – [November 11 St.], *ul. Abrahama* – [Abraham St.], *ul. Biruty* – [Biruta St.], *ul. Ceynowy* – [Ceynowa St.], *ul. Dachnowskiego* – [Dachnowski St.], *ul. Ejsmonda* – [Ejsmond St.], *ul. Fredry* – [Fredro St.], *ul. Gedymina* – [Gedymin St.], *ul. Hallerczyków* – [Haller's Army St.], *pl. Górnośląski* – [Upper Silesian Sq.]. Furthermore, one must point out that there seems to have been an extra element of German contempt accompanying motivations for changes such as, e.g., *Berliner Str.* (*ul. Warszawska*), *Mozartweg* (*ul. Moniuszki*), *Adolf Hitler Sq.* (*pl. Kościuszki*) or *Hans-Knirsch-Str.* (*ul. Gen. Bema*).

Moreover, a general trend concerning the street name changes should be identified (cf. Feret 2017: 79-83): the chosen name may have had the same initial sound as the preceding one. Also, acoustic similarity and the length of the word, that is a comparable number of syllables, may have been taken into consideration.

Table 8. Comparison of German phonetically motivated hodonyms and Polish pre-war names (Source: Own processing)

German name	Polish pre-war name
<i>Böttcherstr.</i> – [Coopers St.]	<i>ul. Bednarska</i> – [Cooper St.]
<i>Danielstr.</i> – [Daniel St.]	<i>ul. Danielskiego</i> – [Danielski St.]
<i>Herderstr.</i> – [Herder St.]	<i>ul. Hallerczyków</i> – [Haller's Army St.]
<i>Kniprodeweg</i> – [Kniprode Road]	<i>ul. Kujawska</i> – [Kujawy Road]
<i>Laubstr.</i> – [Leafy St.]	<i>ul. Lindego</i> – [Linde St.]
<i>Mozartweg</i> – [Mozart Road]	<i>ul. Moniuszki</i> – [Moniuszko St.]
<i>Ratiborer Str.</i> – [Raciborz St.]	<i>ul. Remborska</i> – [Rembor St.]
<i>Schönecker Str. / Weg</i> – [Schönecker St. / Road]	<i>ul. Żmudzka</i> – [Samogitian St.]
<i>Wagenstr.</i> – [Wagon St.]	<i>ul. Wawrzyniaka</i> – [Wawrzyniak St.]
<i>Zempelburgstr.</i> – [Sępólno Krajeńskie St.]	<i>ul. Sępólna</i> – [Sępólno St.]

Obviously, only these instances of the whole corpus in which other potentially contributing factors were not at play seem to support this hypothesis.

#### 4. Conclusions

Below we present the conclusions resulting from the comparison of Gdynia's hodonyms prior to September 1939 and after the changes imposed by the war conditions.

Regarding the hodonyms indicating direction one may observe a quantitative increase: on the analysed city map from 1938 there are 140 street names of this type, while after the change their

number rises by 13% (to 158). One must, however, note the opposite trend within the group of street names indicating location: those introduced after the onset of the war (32) are less numerous than those from 1939 (38). The discrepancy is more noticeable in the case of possessional street names: 40 Polish ones versus 15 German ones. Also, there were fewer (39) characterizing street names after the change. They appeared more frequently before the war (44). Commemorating hodonyms are nearly equally represented in both groups being subject to this comparison.

The introduction of new hodonyms in Gdynia during World War II was a very clear and important turning point for the city itself, as street names belong to the semiotic composition of the local and national identity. The "city-text", which among others includes street names, functions as a system of political identification, the aim of which is to establish a certain worldview, which also represents the balance of power in the society and can be understood as a physical manifestation of hegemonic discourse. In this respect, the change of street names in Gdynia (Gotenhafen) during World War II was closely related to the legitimization of the new political order in this geographical area, i.e. an urban space was regarded as an area where new power relations were validated. By designing or selectively re-interpreting "national" narratives of unity and tradition, landmarks were created. Consequently, changing street names, not only in the circumstances discussed in this paper, can be understood as part of a discourse that intertwines legitimacy of a given system with everyday life, controlling meanings of concepts and symbols and making alternative narratives fade into oblivion.

## Notes

1. The change of street names across occupied Poland is a subject of the research project conducted by the authors of this paper. Its results – each from a different research perspective – were published in several papers (see References). This also concerns the change of street names in Gdynia, yet the functions of the newly introduced hodonyms have not been discussed so far, as considering them would have gone beyond the scope assumed for that study. To complete the picture, it should be mentioned that another publication of our series of articles concerning street name changes during World War II is planned.
2. Handke (1992: 25-27) claims they date back even to the ancient period.
3. Myszka (2018) discusses several alternative ways of classification.
4. To commemorate the Battle of the Katzbach of August 26, 1813, in which the Silesian army commanded by General Field Marshal Blücher and Major General Gneisenau defeated Napoleon's forces (cf. Biereye 2006 [1913]: 114).
5. Albert Forster was a gauleiter of the NSDAP in Gdansk from 1930 to 1945, and from 1939 was the Reich's governor there.

6. Dietrich Eckart was a writer and publisher, an early supporter and ideologist of national socialism.
7. Karl Litzmann was a general of Prussian infantry during World War I and later an NSDAP politician.
8. August Neidhardt von Gneisenau was a Prussian field marshal. It also was the name of one of the first ships whose tonnage significantly exceeded the limits imposed by the Treaty of Versailles (cf. Breyer 2001: 125; Garzke & Dulin 1985: 212).
9. Gustav Frenssen was a German novelist supporting people's socialism and national socialism.
10. Hans Zöberlein was a writer, national socialist and a leader of an SA brigade.
11. Hans Knirsch was a German politician of national movement in Austria and Czechoslovakia, a co-founder of the National Socialist German Workers' Party (Deutsche Nationalsozialistische Arbeiterpartei DNSAP).
12. Herbert Norkus was a member of Hitlerjugend organisation, killed by communists during a propaganda campaign; he was then presented as a 'martyr' of this organisation.
13. On February 10, 1920 General Józef Haller and some representatives of the Polish government threw a platinum ring into the Baltic Sea as a sign of Poland's solidarity with the sea, granted to Poland after the Treaty of Versailles (cf. Orłowski 2007: 320-321). On February 10, 1926 the Council of Ministers issued a decree granting city rights to Gdynia, a former fishing village.
14. Horst Wessel was an SA sturmführer in Berlin, posthumously acclaimed as the NSDAP martyr.

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## Résumé

This paper covers a comparison of hodonyms from the pre-war and war-time periods. The name of the city of Gdynia was replaced with Gotenhafen under the German occupation, at the beginning of World War II. The street names were changed here in the autumn of 1939, as one of the most important goals of the new administration was to give the new population a sense of home, continuity, to link the city to the German Reich in terms of culture. Street names contribute to constituting a cultural

area, they convey certain thought patterns, determine the perception of the surrounding reality, and thus shape the linguistic image of the world. All objects of (para)linguistic reality are regarded as based on the culture-reality correlation, which contributes to the way the world is perceived and interpreted, forming the linguistic worldview. There were several initially neutral names, which resulted from a deliberate action taken to imply that the historical and cultural development of Poland was shaped by the German cultural tradition. When renaming a street, the name with the same initial sound as the existing one was commonly chosen. Concerning the honyms' functions, the representation of commemorative ones is nearly equal in both the compared groups. There are fewer characterising street names after the change than before the war. This discrepancy is even stronger in the case of possessional names, yet, quite unlike in the case of directional references: their number had increased by more than 13%. As for the group of locational names: those introduced after the outbreak of the war are fewer in numbers than in 1939. The change of street names was conducted so consistently that the original Polish names were no longer found in Gdynia's urban landscape, replaced with the German ones – new or created in reference to the Polish names.

**Key words:** honym, Gdynia, World War II, Nazi dictatorship, change of street designations.

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### COGNITIVE MODEL OF METACOMMUNICATION: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ENGLISH AND UKRAINIAN METADISOURSE

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**Abstract:** The article focuses on establishing and developing the cognitive model of metacommunication in English and Ukrainian everyday discourse. Special attention is drawn to the input, which is the intention of the speaker, the meditational process, which reveals the mental event stimulated by the intention of the speaker, and the output, which reflects some particular metacommunicative behaviour.

**Key words:** cognitive model, (in)variant, metadiscourse, metacommunication, metapragmatic awareness, metapragmatics.

#### 1. Introduction

The notion of metacommunication has long been in the focus of interest of linguists, particularly since 1951 when this term first appeared in Bateson's "*Communication: The Social Matrix of Psychiatry*", and was later developed in Watzlawick, Beavin, and Jackson's "*Pragmatics of human communication*" (1967). The latter happened to impact Soviet and Post-Soviet linguists – notably, Рочептсов (Почепцов 1981), Devkin (Девкин 1981) and their adherents (Гнезділова 2021; Дементьев 2010; Чхетиани 1987 etc.), who interpreted metacommunication broadly. Consequently, its task is to support the communication process.

On the contrary, the narrow understanding of metacommunication – as a contact-establishing and contact-maintaining phenomenon only – made European linguists distinguish the reflexive function alongside the metalinguistic and metacommunicative. The diversity of meta-functions with vague borderlines between them led to the development of a new trend in linguistics in the 90s called metapragmatics, well described in Gnezdilova (2018). Yet, I would like to specify it here that it was "*Reflexive language. Reported speech and metapragmatics*" (Lucy 1993) that turned out to be a "terminus a quo" of a separate branch in pragmatics, which was later outlined in the "*Concise encyclopedia of pragmatics*" (Caffi 2009) and in "*Foundations of pragmatics*" (Bublitz & Norrick

2011), and discussed from the point of view of its practical implications in "*Metapragmatics in use*" (Bublitz & Hübler 2007), considering the metapragmatics of humour (Ruiz-Gurillo 2016), of press releases (Geert 1999), of academic written discourse (Gnezdilova 2018) etc. In spite of the advantageous usage of the term "metapragmatics" in reference to meta-phenomena globally, "metacommunication" is still applied in opposition to "communication", as in "*Communication and Metacommunication in Human Development*" (Branco & Valsiner 2004), or in relation to the classification of metacommunicative means, as in "*Investigations into the Meta-communicative lexicon of English. A contribution to historical pragmatics*" (Busse & Hübler 2012).

Nevertheless, both Eastern and Western European scholars traditionally view metacommunication in the scope of (meta)pragmatics as a pragmatic phenomenon. However, being inspired by Gurevich's cognitive space theory of metacommunication (Гуревич 2009), I define metacommunication as a cognitive and discourse phenomenon which organizes, controls and correlates speech interaction of discourse participants by (non)verbal means (see Гнезділова 2021: 31). Moreover, its cognitive nature has clearly been marked by metapragmatic / metacommunicative awareness (Barron 2002: 109, 204; Gnezdilova 2017: 45; Hübler & Busse 2012: 2-3; Mertz & Yovel 2002: 255-256, 263; Verschueren 2000: 439, 450-453; Гнезділова 2021: 59, etc.) as it equals metacommunicative knowledge which, undoubtedly, is cognitive. Actually, as it was noted by Chernenko, language in use and verbal communication studies in modern linguistics are generally viewed as cognitive information exchange (2019: 2).

This article deals with cognitive modelling of metacommunication, but it is not limited to distinguishing its invariants and variants, on the one hand, and constituents, on the other, as the latter was well covered in the doctoral thesis last year (see Гнезділова 2021). I would like to go further and answer two questions – the first one is about intention modelling; whereas the second one, indicated at the 55<sup>th</sup> Linguistic Colloquium, is about cognitive models of English and Ukrainian metacommunication in comparison, which, actually, are in the focus of this research.

## **2. Methodology and theoretical framework**

This research has been performed within the *metacommunicative and manipulative modelling method*, which was developed and well grounded in (Гнезділова 2021: 96-130). Thus, taking into account the objective of this article, i.e. cognitive modelling of metacommunication, as well as its tasks: (i) to build a cognitive model of metacommunication; and (ii) to compare its realizations in the English and Ukrainian languages; I would like to specify the modifications applied to the aforementioned method (see Fig. 1 below).

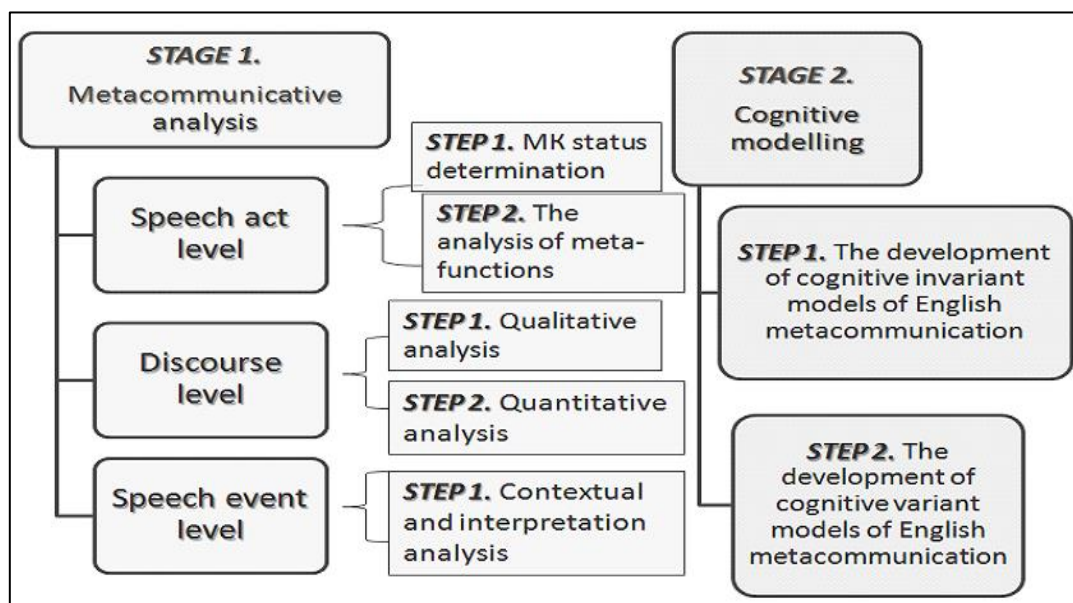


Figure 1. The metadiscourse analysis and its cognitive modelling. Source: Own processing

Firstly, the "manipulative component" has been excluded from the scheme as this research is devoted to the metapragmatic discourse analysis in its classical perspective and understanding. Secondly, only cognitive modelling has been studied here, with discourse modelling being left out. My interest in the cognitive perspective of metacommunication was prompted by its few analyses in the scope of cognitive studies (Гнезділова 2021; Гуревич 2009), which actually contradict the traditional interpretation of metacommunication as an exceptionally pragmatic phenomenon and the idea that metacommunication does not deal with cognitive information (see Шевченко 2004), on the contrary, it renders no more than sociative information.

In my opinion, there is no terminological discrepancy if one takes into account that nowadays the term "pragmatics" comprises its two branches: metapragmatics (see above) and cognitive pragmatics (Шевченко 2017; Foolen 2019; Schmid 2012; Shevchenko & Gutorov 2019, etc.). Therefore, if one is to consider that pragmatic linguistics in its broad sense is cognitive (Шевченко 2017: 114) as it deals with such cognitive categories / methods / operations as cohesion (ibid: 119), mapping (Sammut-Bonnici, McGee 2014; Wheeldon 2010), interpretation and sense construing (Шевченко 2017: 114); then it appears to be logical to treat metacommunication as both *cognitive and pragmatic phenomenon*, with a set of *meta-means*, used to regulate interaction and to create "the supportive communicative climate" (Sieriakova et al. 2020: 132), on the one hand; and the *metapragmatic awareness* of how to use them, on the other (see Fig. 2 below). Metapragmatic awareness regulates the usage of meta-means, provides the participants of interaction with all types of supporting information, and is responsible for processing that information in "regulating attitudes and beliefs

about social norms and maintaining socially shared rules" (Pinich 2019: 216). What is more, it gives an opportunity to count the meta-index of any discourse via the reinterpreted quantitative method of Greenberg (see Гнезділова 2018: 49-50; 2021: 111-117). In addition, metacommunication establishes the organization of interaction and the transition of propositional information in discourse in accordance with some "cognitive scenarios" (Шевченко 2004) which are the clear and obvious indication of the existence of some cognitive metacommunicative models.

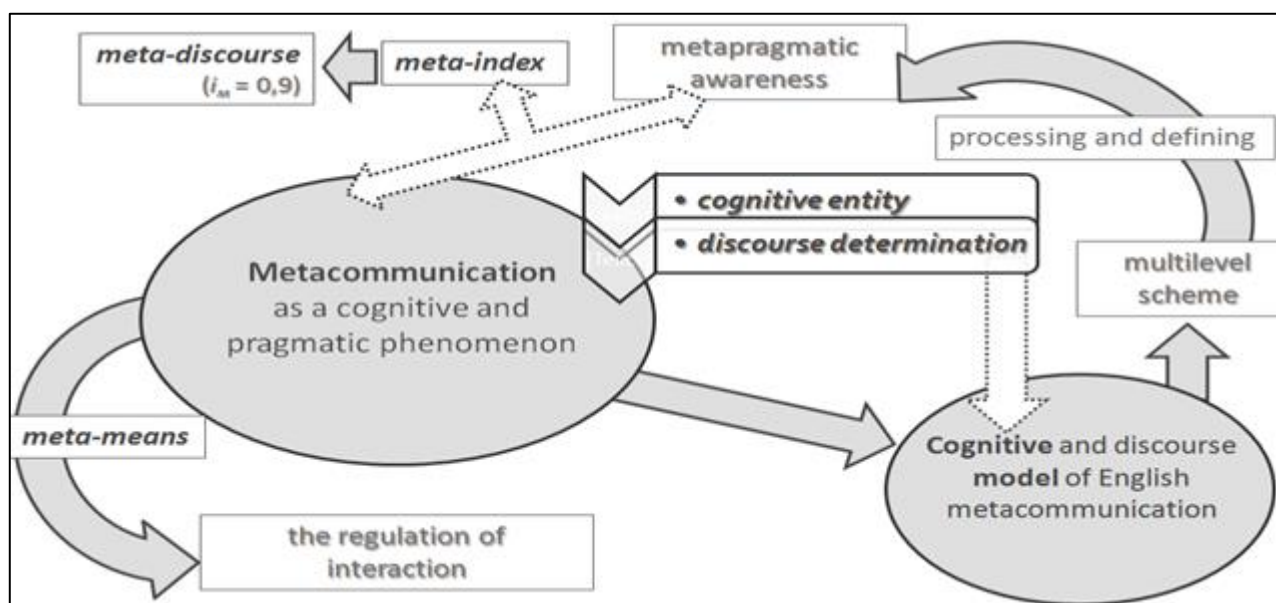


Figure 2. Metacommunication as a cognitive and pragmatic phenomenon. Source: Own processing

### 3. The cognitive model of English and Ukrainian metadiscourse

What I would like to start with is the terminological issue concerning the notion of "cognitive model" and, consequently, the validity of metadiscourse cognitive modelling. The latter can be proved, to my mind, by Yokoyama's approach to cognitive modelling of informational discourse (Yokoyama 1986: ix, 6), where she studies the consistent patterns and rules that regulate conscious transition of verbalized knowledge from one speaker to another. Moreover, while scrutinizing that knowledge, she establishes that its [cognitive model of informational discourse] informational component, which includes propositional, specifying, existential, predicative and referential, is accompanied by metainformational, which comprises the knowledge of the code and of the discourse situation, which, to my mind, relates to metacommunication.

I share Kubryakova's and Demyankov's approach to the definition of the cognitive model (Кубрякова 1997: 56-57), which, actually, takes as its basis van Dijk's mental models (2006: 168), and is understood as the scheme or the subjective representation of the discourse situations, rooted in the

speakers' consciousness and, consequently, intentions, reflecting the metacommunicative knowledge and experience that constitute the metapragmatic awareness (see Fig. 3 below).

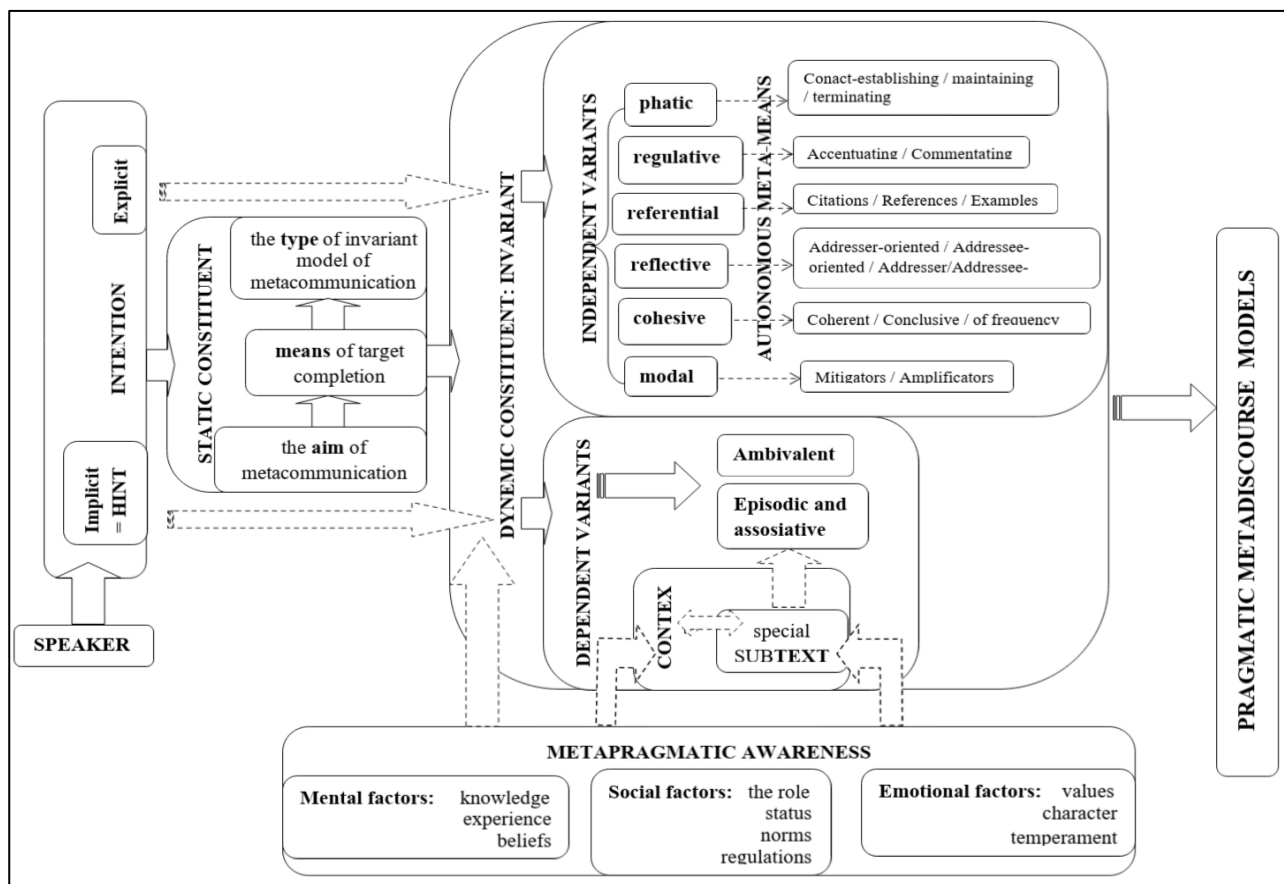


Figure 3. Cognitive model of metacommunication. Source: Own processing

The metadiscourse cognitive model consists of two major components – static and dynamic. The static component which is unchangeable in all cognitive invariant-variant models of metacommunication deals with information analysis, which the speaker receives during (meta)communication in the focus of his/her intention, aim and the ways of its realization. The dynamic component reflects the ways of information processing on the basis of the metacommunicative awareness of the speaker (the analysis of mental, emotional and social factors), the result of which is the corresponding speech behaviour. The dynamic component has been proved to be changeable and realized in two invariant models: cognitive invariant independent model of metacommunication which varies in six types of metacommunication (phatic, regulative, referential, reflective, logical and structural, and subject-modal) and cognitive invariant dependent model of English metacommunication which varies in two types (ambiguous and episodic-associational) (see Гнезділова 2021: 11). Here I would like to specify that those two components correlate with "the stages of human cognitive activity", outlined by Panasenکو (2021: 594). The static component comprises two first stages: primary information and information processing; while

the dynamic component involves "background knowledge, which is of cultural value" (in other words, that is metapragmatic awareness) and final estimation (ibid.).

Regarding the question of cognitive models of English and Ukrainian metacommunication in comparison, I do affirm now that all six types of independent (explicit) metacommunication are present in both English and Ukrainian metadiscourse (see Table 1 below). Moreover, the aforementioned cognitive model is true for both English and Ukrainian metacommunication (see Fig. 3 above). It is, by all means, not enough to analyze only two languages to state that this model is universal, but, I guess, it can be viewed as an attempt at generalization.

However, it would have been a huge mistake to say that there are no differences between English and Ukrainian metacommunication. First, I have spotted some specifics of Ukrainian phatic metacommunication, not typical of English, i.e., while greeting, Ukrainians wish good health to their addressee (*Доброго здоров'я / здоров'ячка! Здоровенькі були!*); what is more, they practice various extensive excuses like *На жаль, не можу... / Мені дуже шкода / Із задоволенням би / Охоче, але...; Шкодную, що не зміг...* which, actually, correspond with English "sorry but..." used to express their willingness to help or to do something for the addressee, on the one hand, and their pity that they cannot realize that, on the other. Second, extended regulative and referential means often prevail to introduce arguments (e.g., *Довести своє твердження я можу такими аргументами – [I can prove my statement by the following arguments]*) or examples (e.g., *Яскравим прикладом цієї / схарактеризованої вище ситуації може дати... – [The bright example of this situation / the situation analyzed above may be...]*). Finally, it is in Ukrainian tradition to use *we-* instead of *I-* structures in argumentative and scientific discourse (addresser-oriented reflective metacommunication); furthermore, addresser/addressee-indefinite meta-means, especially passive in structure, are more characteristic of Ukrainian reflective metacommunication.

Table 1. Autonomous meta-means in English and Ukrainian

The type of meta-means	English	Ukrainian
phatic	<i>Good afternoon! Hello; I'm so pleased to meet you; How can I help you? Sorry</i>	<i>Доброго дня / здоров'я! Привіт; Моє шанування! Чим можу допомогти? Вибач(те)</i>
regulative	<i>In total; as a whole; From this perspective; Moreover; I would like to point out</i>	<i>Загалом; З огляду на; До того ж; Зуважу(имо), що</i>
referential	<i>For example / instance; e.g.;</i>  <i>In accordance with / according to; Silverstein identifies</i>	<i>Наприклад; Так; за приклад може правити такий випадок; Згідно з; услід за; Відомий український педагог Василь Сухомлинський сказав</i>
reflective	<i>My point is this; in my opinion;</i>  <i>Just consider / think of...;</i> <i>It means;</i> <i>But who knows</i>	<i>На мою думку / моє переконання; моя точка зору на цю проблему така; Просто уяви(ть), що...; Це означає, що...; Хтозна</i>
cohesive	<i>First, second; the first step to; At first; first of all; first and foremost; Previous research showed;</i>  <i>So; Thus</i>	<i>По-перше, по-друге; Перш за все;  Повертаючись до думки про...; Як уже ззначалося; Отже; Таким чином</i>
modal	<i>As you may see; You might not know; I must / can say</i>	<i>Як можна побачити; Напевно ви не знаєте; Потрібно сказати; можна зазначити;</i>

To sum up, I would like to state that the previously discussed theoretical points are true of both English and Ukrainian metadiscourse, and their cognitive model can be illustrated with examples 1-2, stressing how speakers' intentions have been realized and what effect has been created. For the sake of objectivity, it would have been desirable to analyze more than two examples, but, unfortunately, it is not entirely possible for reasons of space.

(1) Eng. *Kate: Neighbours. [Together] Hello! [All laugh]*

*Summer: Well, hi. Um, we're the Symonds from next door. I'm Summer, and this is my husband Larry.*

*Larry: Hey, neighbours.*

*Summer: I just wanted to bring you this welcome gift...of various samples from the new Robustion Aphrodite line of beauty products. But I'm sure you're in no mood for guests.*

*Steve: Don't-Don't be silly. I'm Steve Jones.*

*Kate: Come in. Come in.*

Summer: Hi.

Steve: Aw. Nice to meet you. Steve [to Larry].

Larry: Uh, Larry Symonds. Pleased to meet you.

Kate: This is Jenn and Mick, and I'm Kate.

Jenn: Hello.

Larry: Hi, Mick. Nice to meet you.

Kate: So nice to meet you.

Larry: You too.

Steve: Do you have kids? Because they should come over and meet Mick and Jenn.

Larry: Actually, we don't. I was, uh- I wasn't able- [Murmurs]

Steve: Oh. What?

Summer: I know that with a big move in "conduction"...with a woman's naturally fluctuating hormones, it can leave your skin a wreck, but you'll find that the Aphrodite line...of beauty products can really give you a glow.

Steve: I bet. Look at you. You're a vision of beauty.

Summer: Well, thank you.

Steve: You're welcome. Larry, wanna grab a cold one? Come on.

Larry: Okay?

Summer: Sure. Yeah, sure. Okay.

Kate: Come on in. Well, would you like a tour?

Summer: Sure. These rooms are divine.

Kate: Thank you.

Summer: You should come over to our house, and we can talk decor.

Kate: Oh, I would love that. (Dinzler & Borte 2009)

Example 1, excerpted from the American movie "The Joneses" (2009), shows the metacommunicative situation of "getting acquainted with neighbours". Summer, accompanied by her husband Larry, is determined to get introduced to the new neighbours as soon as possible and to present them a welcome gift (explicit intention); thus, her implicit intention is to advertize the new Robustion Aphrodite line of beauty products and to get new customers. These intentions mark the static component of the cognitive model of Summer's metadiscourse – her aim is to give them that gift during the introduction as this phatic speech event is perfectly suited there (the means of aim completion). She starts with contact-establishing means (*Well, hi. Um, we're the Symonds from next door. I'm Summer, and this is my husband Larry*), continues explaining the reason for their coming via contact-maintaining *I just wanted to bring you this welcome gift* and wants to round up the



acquaintance with the contact-terminating *But I'm sure you're in no mood for guests* (dynamic component, independent metacommunication).

Yet, the Joneses' intention (implicit) is to become a role model for the neighbours to aspire to, so they do their best to impress them [the neighbours], and phatic speech events are widely used by them to demonstrate themselves as welcoming, sociable, hearty etc. Hence, when Kate (mother) gives a signal 'Neighbours', the so-called "family" quickly gather together and display the upmost friendliness possible (the aim), marked by their emphatic *Hello* (the contact-establishing means). Contact-maintaining means are realized via introductions (*I'm Steve Jones; This is Jenn and Mick, and I'm Kate*), invitations (*Come in. Come in; You should come over to our house*), compliments (*I bet. Look at you. You're a vision of beauty; These rooms are divine*), words of gratitude (*Well, thank you; You're welcome; Oh, I would love that*), offers (*Larry, wanna grab a cold one? Well, would you like a tour?*) etc. (see the underlining in Example 1). Also, it needs to be stressed that not only phatic metacommunication has been used. Regulating metacommunication is represented by the encouraging (*Don't-Don't be silly; Come on*), evasive (*Actually*), and confirmable (*Sure. Yeah, sure. Okay; Sure*) markers which help the conversation flow naturally. Metacommunication in this example helps to keep the attention of the interlocutors and makes them follow the socially-recognized scenario of speech behaviour.

(2) Ukr. *Mother: Вас вітає славне місто Ужгород! Серце Закарпатської області. Куди ідем?* – [*The fine town of Uzhgorod welcomes you! The heart of Transcarpathia. Where to?*]

*Son: На Шахту.* – [*To Shakhta district*].

*Mother: Сідайте зручніше. Приготуйтеся до незабутньої подорожі містом сакур.* – [*Sit comfortably and get ready for an unforgettable journey through the town of cherry blossom*] ... *Як там погода в Києві?* – [*How's the weather in Kyiv?*]

*Son: Так само як тут. Може трохи тепліше.* – [*Same as here. Maybe bit warmer*]

*Mother: А взагалі як? Ніхто не бунтує?* – [*Is anyone protesting?*]

*Son: Та ні. В Києві класно.* – [*It's cool in Kyiv*] <...>

*Mother: Я взяла пару вихідних. Хіба ти не радий?* – [*I took a few days off. Aren't you happy?*]

*Son: Дуже радий.* – [*Very happy*]

*Mother: Чесно?* – [*For sure?*] <...> *З приїздом, синуку* – [*Welcome, son*] (Лукіч & Кальченко 2019).

Example 2, excerpted from the Ukrainian movie "*Мої думки тихі*" – [*My thoughts are silent*] (2019), demonstrates a mocking "small talk" between a mother and her son. The mother, while meeting her

son, pretends to be a taxi-driver and starts with contact-establishing *The fine town of Uzhgorod welcomes you! The heart of Transcarpathia* and contact-maintaining *Sit comfortably and get ready for an unforgettable journey through the town of cherry blossom*. The son plays along and makes it as though he is an ordinary passenger while answering metacommunicative questions about the weather and Kyiv (*How's the weather in Kyiv?*), i.e. *Same as here, Maybe bit warmer* or *It's cool in Kyiv*. In fact, I assume that the mother has two different explicit intentions which are displayed via two closely-knit targets (the static component): to entertain and to express a warm welcome to her son. The latter is expressed at the very end of their talk, again, by means of phatic metacommunication (*Welcome, son*). The dynamic component here is composed mainly out of phatic metacommunication; yet, regulating metacommunication is represented as well – it is very important for the mother to know that her son is really happy to see her, and it results in the use of the confirmable marker *For sure*.

#### 4. Conclusions

As noted in the present paper, one might claim that, firstly, metacommunication is both a cognitive and pragmatic phenomenon and, secondly, metacommunication is differently presented in English and Ukrainian discourse.

Regarding the two-sided interpretation of metacommunication, two stages of analysis were outlined there. These include metapragmatic analysis, which is targeted at the investigation of the pragmatic nature of metacommunication, and cognitive modelling which schematically presents its cognitive character. The cognitive model of metacommunication comprises two components where the static one deals with the realization of the speaker's intentions and the information processing, while the dynamic one relates to metapragmatic awareness, social context and cultural environment.

The comparative modelling of English and Ukrainian metadiscourses allowed me to pinpoint that English speakers' explicit intentions are obvious to the recipients at the very beginning of the conversation, while in the Ukrainian metadiscourse they are not obligatorily bound to the beginning of the talk; on the contrary, they are clearly articulated only at the very end of interaction. In relation to the specifics of English and Ukrainian metadiscourses it should be mentioned that there are no differences in major types of English and Ukrainian metacommunication, but there are discrepancies as to the use of some metacommunicative markers there.

Needless to say, the present study does not answer all the questions we may have with respect to the specifics of cognitive modelling of English and Ukrainian metacommunication. With my initial study,

I call for further inquiries into cognitive and discourse modelling of English and Ukrainian metacommunication. Also, I have been prompted for further thought and reflection on metamodelling of scripted and spontaneous speech in comparison, as well as intention modelling of scripted instances of language use with the focus on both the screenwriter's and the characters' intentions.

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## **Résumé**

This research focuses on establishing and developing a cognitive model of metacommunication in English and Ukrainian everyday discourse. Inspired by a universal model of the smallest unit of informational discourse, I connect the input in the particular speech situation with the intention of the speaker. The output behaviour, on the other hand, reflects the metacommunication type required by the speaker. The meditational process, which reveals the mental event stimulated by the intention of the speaker, is of importance for the proposed model as well. The mental event comprises two cognitive constituents of various kinds. The first constituent is static and includes the analysis of the speaker's intention and desire via such steps as recognizing their motives and aims. Then, the speech situation is evaluated and the most efficient form of communication, discourse type or speech event is chosen. The second – dynamic – constituent is understood as a specific filter for sorting out language means via 'metapragmatic awareness'. The latter requires the speaker's background knowledge, skills, social environment and other ideational factors or so-called 'knowledge sets'. In other words, the speaker's experience, social and/or personal behavioural norms and restrictions, and predicted emotional feedback influence the choice of metacommunication type, either independent (phatic, regulating, referencing, reflexive, logic, modal) or dependent (ambivalent and episodic), accompanied by the corresponding set of language means most suitable under the circumstances. Moreover, static constituent is marked as universal, as it remains the same in both meaningful communication and metacommunication. On the contrary, the dynamic constituent is, in any case, realized via metacommunication, which either shapes the meaningful information or manages the meta-utterance in its traditionally positive way.

**Key words:** cognitive model, (in)variant, metadiscourse, metacommunication, metapragmatic awareness, metapragmatics.

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### FOCUS PARTICLE INVENTORIES IN POLISH AS COMPARED TO GERMAN

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**Abstract:** The aim of this study is to show that Polish particles of analogy *również, także, też, nawet*, as well as restrictive particles *tylko, wyłącznie*, can be described according to an already existing classification system of focus particles proposed for German. Based on this system, the former are understood to be additive particles and the latter - restrictive particles. The afore-mentioned particles are further divided into scalar and non-scalar depending on the context. The results obtained are relevant to the contrastive description of German and Polish particle inventories.

**Key words:** focus particle, information structure, equivalence, additivity, restrictivity, scalarity.

#### 1. Introduction

In German, focus particles represent a clearly differentiable subclass, which has been described in detail in the specialist literature. The additive particle *auch* (also), the restrictive particle *nur* (only), and the scalar particle *sogar* (even) are considered prototypical for this class of particles. The class of Polish focus particles has not been described as such at all. This does not mean, however, that Polish is devoid of such particles that occur syntactically and discourse-pragmatically in the usage similar to that of German focus particles. The aim of this paper is to identify a group of focus-sensitive particles in Polish that can function as equivalents to the German focus particles *auch*, *nur*, and *sogar*, taking into account the semantic features of additivity, restrictivity, and scalarity. Thus, on the one hand, the available data concerning the equivalence relation between German and Polish particles will be revised and, on the other hand, relevant semantic similarities and differences between the particle inventories of German and Polish will be indicated from the linguistic point of view.

With reference to the equivalence data from the German-Polish and Polish-German dictionaries consulted as well as from the contrastive studies conducted on the two languages, it can be stated that, as a rule, attempts are made to assign a Polish equivalent to a German particle and vice versa. This approach always leads to difficulties when particle meanings or usages in the two languages do not



correspond completely but only overlap, or when a particle has no equivalent in the other language. Another reason why these dictionaries and studies should be viewed critically is that the condition of belonging to the same word class, which should be recognised as a basic condition, especially with regard to particles, is often not taken into account when determining the equivalents. This condition results, above all, from the specific role of particles as focus-sensitive operators that contribute to the arrangement of information structure. From this perspective, it is difficult to imagine that units of other lexical words can function as equivalents to focus particles. The points of criticism already mentioned will be taken into account in the corpus analyses of Polish particle inventories to be carried out in Section 3 of this paper. Prior to this, in Section 2, the semantic and syntactic properties of the German focus particles as well as the Polish focus-sensitive particles will be discussed. Subsequently, the semantic features required for the subclassification of particle inventories in the two languages will be accounted for.

## **2. Focus particles in German and Polish**

### *2.1 Definition*

Focus particles in German represent a clearly differentiable, even if heterogeneous, subclass, whose units nevertheless have a number of semantic and syntactic properties common to all focus particles. According to Dimroth and Klein (1996: 74), they are optional elements "that always operate on a given structure ... and modify it in a characteristic way". That is, they can, in principle, be removed from the construction without the remaining clause becoming ungrammatical. Altmann (1976) states that the most important property of focus particles is that they refer to a part of the sentence that carries the focus (see also Jackendoff 1972). However, focus particles do much more than mark the focused expression. They imply a contrast without which the utterance could not be interpreted correctly. The contrast is between the focused expression and a set of alternatives to it. Furthermore, it should be noted that focusing plays a decisive role in the shaping of information structure. It follows that focus particles function as "extremely context-dependent" (König 1991: 5).

The Polish literature also points to the highlighting, or focusing, function of particles. Drawing on the latest definition of Polish particles by Grochowski et al. (2014: 26), they function as the operators of a metatext that affect the syntax of a sentence. They open up a position for the rheme of the sentence. In turn, grammatically unmarked expressions, i.e. expressions belonging to different parts of speech, syntactic groups, and whole sentences, can serve this purpose. They co-occur with these expressions, but do not have a syntactic relationship with them and do not demand any specific grammatical-semantic properties from their co-occurrences. The literature also points to their mobility in the sentence and to the role of the *common ground* in the correct interpretation of particle sentences in

the target language. In view of the above definitions, it can be stated that linguistically relevant similarities between the particle inventories in the two languages in question can be identified. Consequently, Section 2.2 will concern the subclassification of focus-sensitive particles in German and Polish, with special attention paid to their semantic features such as additivity, restrictivity, and scalarity (for more on focus particles in Slavic languages, see Kisiel 2019, for more on focus particles compared in German and Polish, see Jaremiewicz-Kwiatkowska 2016; 2017; 2018).

## 2.2 Subclassification

Since Altmann's research work (1978: 119-120), a distinction has been made in German between quantifying and scalar focus particles (see also Bayer 1996). Quantifying focus particles include the particles *auch* and *nur*, whereas the particle *sogar* belongs to the subclass of scalar focus particles. The differences between the prototypical particles mentioned above lie in the specific relation they establish between the focused expression and its alternatives (Rooth 1992: 2). Accordingly, the particle *nur* is called a restrictive, or exclusive, focus particle because of the exclusion of the alternatives, whereas the particle *auch* is called additive, or inclusive, because here the alternatives are included instead of excluded (see Examples 3a-4a below). The scalar particle *sogar*, in turn, relates the focused constituent "to a choice set whose elements have a certain order" (Dimroth 2004: 28). According to Altmann (1978: 120), this order is to be understood as a context-dependent scale formed from the relevant alternatives of the focus and on which the focus is assigned a maximum or minimum position. This scale assignment is usually accompanied by a valuation (see also Jacobs 1983: 129). Thus, for example, the listener can infer from an utterance (see Example 1) that money ranks high on the scale of desirability for the speaker or that he assumes that money fulfills this role for the listener.

(1) Ger. – "*Sogar* [*Geld*]<sub>F</sub> *verachtet er*".

Eng. – "He despises **even** [money]<sub>F</sub>".

Since the class of focus particles is not defined in Polish at all, the Polish equivalents to the German prototypical focus particles *auch*, *nur*, and *sogar* are assigned to other subclasses. With regard to the classification according to the Dictionary of Polish Particles (Grochowski et al. 2014), these belong to the class of comparative particles, that is, they comment on what is said about objects or facts that are being talked about in the sentence. Here, a comparison with other objects and facts is also implied. With this in mind, the speaker can either emphasise similarity between the objects or facts, as with the particles of analogy (inclusive, or additive), or the speaker can reject such similarity, as with the restrictive particles (restrictive, or exclusive, Bogusławski 1986). According to the Dictionary of Polish Particles (Grochowski et al. 2014), particles of analogy include lexical units such as: *jeszcze*

(also), *nawet* (even), *i* (and also), *również / także / też* (also) while the subclass of restrictive particles includes such items as: *jedynie, tylko, tylko i wyłącznie, wyłącznie* (only). For further analyses in the context of this paper, however, the number of Polish focus-sensitive particle inventories will be restricted for reasons of space. Therefore, the analogy particles *i* and *jeszcze*, as well as the restrictive particles *jedynie* and *tylko i wyłącznie*, will be excluded from the discussion. This decision is based on the observation that these particles appear less frequently than the rest as the equivalents of the German prototypical focus particles *auch, nur, and sogar*.

This classification underlines the quantifying function of the particles in question. It is also noticeable that the particle *nawet*, which is considered the equivalent of the German focus particle *sogar*, is assigned to the subclass of analogy particles. Presumably, there are no studies in Polish that have examined the scalar use of the particle *nawet*; however, this property of the particle *nawet* to assign a maximum or minimum position to the focus on a scale is signalled by some authors (Grochowski 2009; Kiklewicz 2004). For example, Kiklewicz (2004: 182) underlines the inclusive meaning of the particle *nawet*, i.e., the membership of an object in an associative collection, yet contrary to the assumed norm of that object (or group of objects). Analysing the example sentence (see Example 2), it becomes clear that Piotr belongs to a group of people who have solved the task, but he has done so despite a lack of ability, i.e., against his own norm.

(2) Pol. – "*Nawet [Piotr]<sub>F</sub> rozwiązał to zadanie*".

Eng. – "[**Even** [Peter]<sub>F</sub> has done this task]".

This is in line with the observation that the German particle *sogar* behaves in the same way as the focus particle *auch* with regard to assertion and presupposition, but here another meaning component is added that is crucial for the classification of *sogar*. In the literature, this is analysed as a conventional implicature (Sudhoff 2012: 206-207). To illustrate this, consider Examples 2a and 2b.

(2a) Ger. – "*Sogar [Peter]<sub>F</sub> hat diese Aufgabe gelöst*".

Eng. – "**Even** [Peter]<sub>F</sub> has done this task".

Assertion: Ger. – "Peter hat diese Aufgabe gelöst".

Eng. – "Peter has done this task".

Presupposition: Ger. – "Niemand außer Piotr hat diese Aufgabe gelöst".

Eng. – "No one but Peter has done this task".

Conventional implicature: Ger. – "Es ist unwahrscheinlich, dass Peter diese Aufgabe gelöst hat".

Eng. – "It is unlikely that Peter has done this task".

(2b) Pol. – "*Nawet [Piotr]<sub>F</sub> rozwiązał to zadanie*".

Eng. – "**Even** [Peter]<sub>F</sub> has done this task".

Assertion: Pol. – "Piotr rozwiązał to zadanie".

Eng. – "Peter has done this task".

Presupposition: Pol. – "Nikt oprócz Piotra nie rozwiązał tego zadania".

Eng. – "No one but Peter has done this task".

Conventional implicature: Pol. – "Jest mało prawdopodobne, że Piotr rozwiązał to zadanie".

Eng. – "It is unlikely that Peter has done this task".

The analysis of the relationship between assertion and presupposition can also be used to support the parallels already shown in the subclassification of German and Polish particle inventories into the groups of additive and restrictive particles (see Examples 3ab-4ab):

(3a) Ger. – "*Nur [Peter]<sub>F</sub> hat diese Aufgabe gelöst*".

Eng. – "**Only** [Peter]<sub>F</sub> has done this task".

Assertion: Ger. – "Niemand außer Piotr hat diese Aufgabe gelöst".

Eng. – "No one but Peter has done this task".

Presupposition: Ger. – "Peter hat diese Aufgabe gelöst".

Eng. – "Peter has done this task".

(3b) Pol. – "*Tylko/Wyłącznie [Piotr]<sub>F</sub> rozwiązał to zadanie*".

Eng. – "**Only** [Peter]<sub>F</sub> has done this task".

Assertion: Pol. – "Nikt oprócz Piotra nie rozwiązał tego zadania".

Eng. – "No one but Peter has done this task".

Presupposition: Pol. – "Piotr rozwiązał to zadanie".

Eng. – "Peter has done this task".

(4a) Ger. – "*Auch [Peter]<sub>F</sub> hat diese Aufgabe gelöst*".

Eng. – "**Also** [Peter]<sub>F</sub> has also done this task".

Assertion: Ger. – "Peter hat diese Aufgabe gelöst".

Eng. – "Peter has done this task".

Presupposition: Ger. – "Noch jemand außer Peter hat diese Aufgabe gelöst".

Eng. – "Someone else besides Peter has done this task".

(4b) Pol. – "*Także/Również [Piotr]<sub>F</sub> rozwiązał to zadanie*"./"[Piotr]<sub>F</sub> też rozwiązał to zadanie".

Eng. – "**Also** [Peter]<sub>F</sub> has done this task"/"[Peter]<sub>F</sub> has **also** done this task".

Assertion: Pol. – "Piotr rozwiązał to zadanie".

Eng. – "Peter has done this task".

Presupposition: Pol. – "Jeszcze ktoś oprócz Piotra rozwiązał to zadanie".

Eng. – "Someone else besides Peter has done this task".

In conclusion, even though both classification systems of particles (German and Polish) differ from each other, it can be observed that in both languages a distinction can be made between additive and restrictive focus-sensitive particles. Moreover, it can be stated that the scalar use of particles is not exclusively the domain of German, but can also be demonstrated for Polish.

### 2.3 Restrictiveness, additivity and scalarity as semantic features

An important point in the discussion regarding the classification of focus-sensitive particles into the subclass of additive, restrictive, and scalar particles is that not all focus particles can be clearly assigned to one class (Sudhoff 2012: 208). As the following examples (5-7) show, the particle *sogar* can occur scalarly and additively at the same time. The particle *auch*, in turn, has the scalar meaning dimension in addition to the additive one. And finally, the restrictive particle *nur* can be used both scalarly and restrictively. In other words, the feature of scalarity seems to be able to occur as an independent meaning dimension in both additive and restrictive focus particles, thus affecting the meaning contribution of the particle.

(5) Ger. – "Peter hat **sogar** [Maria]<sub>F</sub> geküsst".

Eng. – "Peter kissed **even** [Maria]<sub>F</sub>".

(6) Ger. – "Diese Frage ist **auch** [für Experten]<sub>F</sub> schwierig zu beantworten".

Eng. – "This question is difficult to answer **even** [for experts]<sub>F</sub>".

(7) Ger. – "Maria ist Professorin, Peter **nur** [Doktorand]<sub>F</sub>".

Eng. – "Maria is a professor, Peter is **only** [a doctoral]<sub>F</sub> student".

As a solution to these differentiation difficulties, Foolen (1983) proposed a classification system in which, on the one hand, the terms restrictive [+ restrictive] and additive [– restrictive] are understood as a pair of opposites, and, on the other hand, scalar and non-scalar focus particles [+/- scalar] are distinguished in addition to these two dimensions of meaning. According to Sudhoff (2012), however, this system proves to be insufficient as it cannot accommodate such particles as *nur* and *auch*, which can be used either scalarly or non-scalarly depending on the context. Consequently, the author proposes an extension of this system to include another feature [ $\alpha$  scalar]. This should be understood as distinguishing three subsets of focus particles with respect to the characteristic of scalarity: those that are never scalar [– scalar], those that are always scalar [+ scalar], and those that are interpreted as either scalar or non-scalar [ $\alpha$  scalar] (see Table 1 according to Sudhoff 2012: 210).

Table 1. Classification of German, Dutch, and English focus particles according to Sudhoff (2012: 210)

		[- scalar]	[α scalar]	[+ scalar]
[- restrictive]	dt. nl. en.	ebenso evenzo also	<b>auch</b> ook	<b>sogar</b> zelfs even
[+ restrictive]	dt. nl. en.	allein allen purely	<b>nur</b> only	maar

As Table 1 shows, this extended system was applied by the author to the focus particle inventories of German, Dutch, and English. Based on the fact that the present paper concentrates on the prototypical focus particles *auch*, *nur*, *sogar* as well as their Polish equivalents, further in the paper, the aforementioned classification will be applied to the Polish particle inventory and contrasted with the German data (in Section 3). It is even more interesting that the Polish particles have not yet been studied with respect to the feature of scalarity. Before that, however, some exemplary particle sentences with *auch*, *nur*, *sogar* will be presented (see Examples 8-12), showing the multidimensionality of their meanings or usages pointed out by Sudhoff (2012) (see Examples 8-12). Like in the analysis of Polish particle inventories (in Section 3), these are corpus clauses presented in a narrow context. The selected examples are obviously limited to the prototypical particles discussed in the framework of the present paper and were taken from the ParaSoL corpus.

(8) Ger. – " *Lass mich vorbei!*" Iwan sprang nach rechts, der Kantor ebenfalls, Iwan sprang nach links, [der Schurke]<sub>F</sub> **auch**. *Hampelst du mir mit Absicht vor den Beinen rum?* – schrie Iwan in tierischer Wut. *Ich bring dich auch gleich zur Miliz!* ".

Eng. – " 'Let me pass!' Ivan jumped to the right, the cantor too, Ivan jumped to the left, the [scoundrel]<sub>F</sub> **too**. 'Are you jumping in front of my legs on purpose?' – Ivan shouted in animal rage. 'I'll take you to the militia right away too!' " (**additive dimension of meaning**).

(9) Ger.– "*Kein fremdes Schicksal interessierte Sie mehr, nur noch Ihr eigenes. Ihre Angehörigen fangen an, Sie zu belügen. Sie wittern Unrat, laufen zu gelehrten Ärzten, dann zu Kurpfuschern und vielleicht auch [zu Wahrsagerinnen]<sub>F</sub>*".

Eng. – "No one else's fate interested you any more, only your own. Your relatives begin to lie to you. You smell mischief, run to learned doctors, then to quack doctors, and perhaps **also** [to fortune tellers]<sub>F</sub>" (**scalar dimension of meaning**).

(10) Ger. – " *Ich verstehe Sie sehr gut*, antwortete Strawinski ernst, berührte den Poeten am Knie und fügte hinzu: *Bleiben Sie ruhig und fahren Sie fort*'. *Das tue ich*, sagte Iwan, bemüht, sich Strawinskis Ton anzupassen, denn er wusste schon aus bitterer Erfahrung, dass **nur** [Ruh]<sub>F</sub> ihm helfen konnte".

Eng. – " 'I understand you very well,' Stravinsky replied gravely, touched the poet on the knee and added, 'Stay calm and continue.' 'I will,' Ivan said, trying hard to match Stravinsky's tone, for he already knew from bitter experience that **only** [staying calm]<sub>F</sub> could help him" (**restrictive dimension of meaning**).

(11) Ger. – "*Eine Bühne, ein dunkelroter Samtvorhang, der mit vergrößerten Abbildungen goldener Zehnroubelstücke wie mit Sternen übersät war, ein Souffleurkasten und sogar Publikum. Nikanor Iwanowitsch wunderte sich, dass dieses ganze Publikum **nur** [aus Männern]<sub>F</sub> bestand und dass sie alle aus irgendwelchen Gründen Barte hatten*".

Eng. – "A stage, a dark red velvet curtain dotted with enlarged images of golden ten-rouble coins like stars, a prompter's box and even an audience. Nikanor Ivanovich was surprised that this whole audience consisted **only** [of men]<sub>F</sub> and that they all had beards for some reason" (**scalar dimension of meaning**).

(12) Ger. – "*Er trat noch einen Schritt näher an William heran, als hätte er Angst, dass ihn jemand hörte: 'Auch hier geht es um, auch hier in diesen geweihten Mauern! Weißt du es?' 'Ich weiß es,' der Abt hat es mir gesagt, er [hat mich] **sogar** [gebeten]<sub>F</sub>, ihm bei der Aufklärung behilflich zu sein*".

Eng. – "He took another step closer to William, as if he was afraid someone would hear him: 'It's about to happen here, too, within these hallowed walls! Do you know it?' 'I know it,' the abbot told me, he **even** [asked me]<sub>F</sub> to help him find out" (**scalar dimension of meaning**).

Based on the elementary division of focus particles into the subclasses of additive, restrictive, and scalar particles, which is common in German-language literature, Sudhoff (2012) proposed an even more differentiated subdivision. According to this author, among the additive and restrictive particles there are those that are "always scalar", "never scalar", and also those that can be "either scalar or not scalar" depending on the context. This classification system by Sudhoff (ibid.) will also be applied in the following corpus-linguistic analysis of the Polish focus particle inventories (Section 3).

### 3. Corpus linguistic analysis of Polish particle inventories

#### 3.1 Materials and methods

As the Polish equivalents of the prototypical focus particles *auch*, *nur*, and *sogar*, lexical units from the group of analogical particles (*również*, *także*, *też*, *nawet*) as well as restrictive particles (*tylko*, *wyłącznie*), as already elaborated in Section 2, will be included in the present analysis. The aforementioned Polish particles will then be examined for such semantic features as additivity, restrictivity, and scalarity using Sudhoff's classification model (as discussed in Section 2), and thus compared to the German focus particles. The question to be answered is whether the analogous particle inventories of the two languages fully correspond in their meanings and usages. The National

Corpus of the Polish Language was chosen for the analysis. For each of the particles to be analyzed, 50 occurrences were selected and, in this way, 450 particle sentences were included in the analysis. These were selected using the IPI PAN and PELCRA corpus search engines. The sample was random, and the selected sentences containing particles were taken from both written and oral texts. Similarly to Foolen (1983) and Sudhoff (2012), the data obtained will be tabled and supported with a number of examples.

### 3.2 Results and discussion

With regard to the obtained data, which are included in Table 3 below, it should be noted that the Polish particles *również*, *też*, *także*, which are assigned to the group of additive particles, can also be used scalarly in certain usages [– restrictive/ $\alpha$  scalar]. Thus, they can be identified as the complete equivalents of the German focus particle *auch*. The same applies to the restrictive particle *tylko*, that is, this particle, too, can occur in either the scalar or non-scalar meaning dimension, depending on the context, and thus function as the equivalent of the German particle *nur* [+ restrictive/ $\alpha$  scalar]. Furthermore, it should be observed that the Polish particle *nawet* turns out to be scalar and at the same time also additive [+ scalar/– restrictive], just like the German particle *sogar*. Finally, in Polish there is one more scalar particle which at the same time has a restrictive meaning dimension [+ scalar/+ restrictive], i.e. the particle *wyłącznie*. Thus, we can speak of an equivalence between the German focus particle *nur* and the Polish particle *wyłącznie* only in this meaning or usage (in the sense of *nur/ausschließlich*). However, from the corpus data it appears that this equivalence relationship is characterised by a low frequency of occurrence.

Table 2. Classification of Polish focus particles, as compared to German (Source: Own processing)

		[– scalar]	[ $\alpha$ scalar]	[+ scalar]
[– restrictive]	dt. pl.		auch również też także	sogar nawet
[+ restrictive]	dt. pl.		nur tylko	wyłącznie

What follows is an exemplification of how the particles included in Table 2 are distributed in sentences. Each sentence with a particle is presented in a broader context, since only by contextual embedding can the scalar meaning dimension of additive/restrictive particles be grasped (Examples 13-22).

(13) Pol. – "Tylko nielicznych przywieziono w wyniku udowodnionej im działalności w organizacjach konspiracyjnych. Zadecydowana większość znalazła się w obozie bez żadnego, nawet najbardziej



nieformalnego wyroku. Czerwonym winklem oznaczono **również** [ludzi zatrzymanych w łapankach ulicznych lub aresztowanych w wyniku masowych represji]<sub>F</sub>".

Eng. – "Only a few were brought in as a result of proven activity in underground organisations. The vast majority found themselves in the camp without any, even the most informal, verdict. The red line **also** marked [people arrested in street round-ups or arrested as a result of mass repression]<sub>F</sub>" (**additive dimension of meaning**).

(14) Pol. – "Drodzy państwo, dzisiaj chcemy porozmawiać o rzeczy niesłychanie trudnej, o rzeczy, która dotknęła. Nie tylko tych, którzy zostali deportowani siedemdziesiąt lat temu, ale również dotknęła nasze rodzin i czy tego chcemy, czy też nie dotyka **również** [nas samych]<sub>F</sub> w konsekwencjach".

Eng. – "Dear Ladies and Gentlemen, today we want to talk about something extremely difficult, something that has affected not only those who were deported seventy years ago but also our families and, whether we like it or not, it **also** affects [ourselves]<sub>F</sub> in its consequences]" (**scalar dimension of meaning**).

(15) Pol. – "Madlena Kratiuk zdobyła złoty medal podczas turnieju kwalifikacyjnego do MP w judo, w kategorii wagowej do 52 kg. Zostawiła w pokonanym polu osiem konkurentek i uzyskała oczywiście finałowy awans. To ogromny sukces samej zawodniczki klubu UKS "Samuraj", którego jest aktualnie reprezentantką i w dużej mierze **także** [Wojciecha Augustynowicza]<sub>F</sub>, pod którego okiem m. in. trenuje".

Eng. – "Madlena Kratiuk won the gold medal during the qualification tournament for the Polish Championships in judo, in the weight category up to 52 kg. She left eight competitors in the field of defeat and, of course, she gained the final promotion. It is a great success of the UKS "Samuraj" Club, which she currently represents, and **also** [Wojciech Augustynowicz]<sub>F</sub>, under whose supervision, among others, she trains" (**additive dimension of meaning**).

(16) Pol. – " 'Moje wyścigi są nagrane, będziemy je analizować i po nich będę wiedziała więcej na temat tego, dlaczego byłam tylko druga. Szczerze mówiąc cieszę się z tego srebrnego medalu bardzo'. 'A z tego, że zostawiłaś za sobą kilkunastu chłopaków, nie tylko z Polski, ale innych krajów Europy, **także** [RPA]<sub>F</sub>?' – 'Jasne, że satysfakcja po wygraniu z chłopakami zawsze jest' ".

Eng. – " 'My races are recorded, we will analyse them and after that I will know more about why I came only second. To be honest, I'm very happy with the silver medal.' 'And the fact that you left behind a dozen or so guys, not only from Poland, but other European countries [South Africa]<sub>F</sub> too?' 'Sure, there is always satisfaction after winning with the boys.' " (**scalar dimension of meaning**).

(17) Pol. – "W moim doświadczeniu specyficzne jest to, że prawie nie miałem rodziny. Prawie wszyscy zginęli podczas wojny. Poza rodzicami uratowała się tylko bratowa ojca z córką i synem. Przeżyli

wojnę na aryjskich papierach, gdzieś na wsi pod Lwowem. Uratował się **też** [Szymon Szechter]<sub>F</sub>, dalszy kuzyn mojego ojca, który walczył w Czerwonej Armii".

Eng. – "What is peculiar about my experience is that I had almost no family. Almost everyone was killed during the war. Apart from my parents, only my father's sister-in-law with her daughter and son survived. They survived the war with Aryan papers somewhere in the countryside near Lviv. **Also** [Szymon Szechter]<sub>F</sub>, my father's more remote cousin, who fought in the Red Army, survived" **(additive dimension of meaning)**.

(18) Pol. – "Głos Wiesława tchnie chłodem. Jakby rozmawiał z kimś obcym, obojętnym. Milczenie, ciche chlipanie i wreszcie skarga wykrzyczana przez łzy: '**Też** [ty]<sub>F</sub> jesteś przeciw mnie! Rozumiem, boli cię, że twoja córka jest oskarżona? Ty się chyba czegoś boisz tatusiu?' "

Eng. – "Wiesław's voice gives off coldness. It is as if he were talking to a stranger, to someone indifferent. Silence, silent sobbing, and finally a complaint shouted through tears, '[You]<sub>F</sub> **too** are against me! I see it hurts you that your daughter has been accused? You must be afraid of something, daddy?' " **(scalar dimension of meaning)**.

(19) Pol. – "Jeśli okaże się, że drzewa usychają, naliczymy kary grzywny – mówi Jadwiga Szymańska, kierownik Referatu Ochrony Środowiska w UmiG w Serocku. W przypadku obumarcia drzew kary będą bardzo wysokie i mogłyby wynieść w zależności od obwodu drzewa **nawet** [80 tys. zł za sztukę]<sub>F</sub>".

Eng. – "If it turns out that the trees wither, we will charge fines, says Jadwiga Szymańska, the head of the Environmental Protection Department at the municipal office in Serock. If the trees die, the fines will be very severe and could amount to **even** [80 thousand zloty per tree]<sub>F</sub>, depending on the circumference" **(scalar dimension of meaning)**.

(20) Pol. – "Jeśli mam wyznać prawdę, w tamtych czasach w ogóle przestałam się uczyć: całą moją pozał się Boże wiedzę zdobyłam w szkole podstawowej, później już było tylko stopniowe zapominanie, czego się nauczyłam, głupienie, staczanie się po równi pochyłej. Przechodziłam z klasy do klasy, a jakże – i to z opinią bardzo dobrej uczennicy! – **wyłącznie** [dzięki mojej Wrodzonej Inteligencji i Nabytej w domu Kulturze]<sub>F</sub>. **Wyłącznie**".

Eng. – "If I have to confess the truth, in those days I quit learning completely: all my knowledge, God forbid, was acquired in primary school, then it was just a gradual forgetting of what I had learnt, getting stupid, going downhill. I went from class to class and, indeed, with a reputation as a very good student! – **only** [thanks to my Innate Intelligence and Home Acquired Culture]<sub>F</sub>. **Only**." **(scalar dimension of meaning)**.

(21) Pol. – "A Bill Gejts wie co mówi. On się zna na tym. Kto rządzi obrazami rządzi umysłami. Dlaczego o tym mówię, dlaczego cytuję po raz drugi Gejtsa, **tylko** [w innym kontekście]<sub>F</sub>. Otóż dlatego, że konsumowanie obrazów medialnych wyjaławia umysł i redukuje potrzebę ciszy".

Eng. – "And Bill Gates knows what he is talking about. He knows his stuff. He who rules images rules minds. Why am I mentioning this, why am I quoting Gates a second time, if **only** [in a different context]<sub>F</sub>. Well, because consuming media images emaciates the mind and reduces the need for silence" (**restrictive dimension of meaning**).

(22) Pol. – "**Tylko** [szczerze i otwarcie]<sub>F</sub>. Daję wam robotnicze słowo, **tylko** [szczerłość]<sub>F</sub> wam pomoże. Towarzysz Mauser silił się na łagodny ton: – 'Nie zapominajcie o waszych kontaktach w Gdyni i o kpinach z wystawy. "Oto jest Ameryka" zorganizowanej we Wrocławiu' ".

Eng. – "**Only** [sincerity and openness]<sub>F</sub>. I give you the workers' word, **only** [sincerity]<sub>F</sub> will help you. Comrade Mauser was trying to be gentle in tone, 'Do not forget your contacts in Gdynia and the mockery of the exhibition. 'This is America' organised in Breslau.' " (**scalar dimension of meaning**).

#### 4. Conclusions

In this paper, the semantic features required for the subclassification of focus-sensitive particles in Polish were discussed and compared with the German focus particle inventories. The analysis of the obtained data allows one to conclude that scalarity can appear as an independent dimension in the case of both particles of analogy and restrictive particles, although special importance of contextual embedding in differentiating individual modes of meaning should be pointed out here. This is especially noticeable in the field of particles, where the specification of meanings and the possibility of equivalence are often associated with great difficulties, whereas consistent descriptive categories seem to be of great significance. In other words, the present study has relevance to the lexical-semantic description of Polish particle inventories, on the one hand, and for German-Polish lexicography, on the other.

It should also be noted that during the analysis of the results, an interesting observation was made from which a starting point for future research may arise. It is noticeable that the scalar usage of the focus particles *nur/tylko* is characterised by a relatively high frequency compared to the purely restrictive one. With regard to the focus particle *auch*, it could again be established that its scalar meaning dimension proves to be much less conspicuous in comparison to the purely additive usage. However, based on the fact that in Polish there are three different particles (*również, także, też*) that can function as the equivalents of the German focus particle *auch*, the question arises as to how this relationship is distributed in terms of frequency of occurrence in the two (additive and scalar) meaning dimensions for each of these particles. Further investigation is needed here to prove the significance of this observation.

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## Résumé

The aim of the study is to identify a group of focus-sensitive particles in Polish, which can function as equivalents to the German focus particles *auch*, *nur*, and *sogar*. In this way, the available data on German-Polish particle lexicography are revised. This investigation also has additional relevance for the lexical-semantic description of Polish particle inventories as compared to German focus particles. It should be noted that research on German focus particles has been conducted since the 1960s, whereas the class of Polish focus particles has not been described as such at all. This does not mean, however, that Polish is devoid of such particles that occur syntactically and discourse-pragmatically in the usage similar to that of German focus particles. With regard to the equivalence relationship between the German and Polish particle inventories, it should again be observed that, as a rule, attempts are made to assign Polish equivalents to German particles and vice versa. However, the exact specification of meanings as well as the mutual assignment of lexical units of the two languages is often connected with great difficulties, especially in the area of particles, which serve as focus-sensitive operators for structuring information. Therefore, consistent descriptive categories are

needed. The present paper uses a classification model based on such semantic features as additivity, restrictivity, and scalarity. The analysis of German and Polish sentences containing particles shows that it is difficult to clearly assign individual particles to a certain class. A special role seems to be played here by the feature of scalarity, which can occur as an independent dimension of meaning for both additive and restrictive focus particles. From the results obtained, it is also possible to identify many similarities in meaning and usage between the German and Polish particle inventories in question.

**Key words:** focus particle, information structure, equivalence, additivity, restrictivity, scalarity.

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### IN SEARCH OF COGNITIVE MOTIVATION FOR SEMANTIC CHANGE: THE CASE OF WORDS THAT ORIGINATE FROM BODY PARTS

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**Abstract:** The aim of this paper is to account for the semantics of English terms of Greek and Romance origin from the area of BODY PARTS used figuratively with reference to various human and non-human properties. The analysis of the data (the lexical items under scrutiny are: *cadet, caprice, carnation, courage, dishevelled, gorgeous, melancholy, pygmy* and *sarcasm*) shows that the motivation for the rise of the senses subject to investigation may be sought in the conceptual operation of such mental mechanisms as metaphor, metonymy, their cooccurrence or conceptual integration.

**Key words:** conceptual metaphor, metonymy, source, target, body parts.

#### 1. Introduction

It comes as little or no surprise that body part terms are employed in many languages to describe metaphorically other ordinary vocabulary items. English provides many examples where words like *mouth, foot, neck* and *eye* have extended to inanimate objects like rivers, mountains, bottles and potatoes, e.g., *the leg of the table, the tongue of the shoe, the bowels of the building, the eye of the storm, the eye of a needle* (Polish *ucho igielne* 'the ear of a needle'), *an eye on a potato* 'one of the dark spots from which new stems grow', *the mouth of the river, the foot of the mountain*. Usually there is some kind of relationship between the body part and the item it comes to describe, for instance, an association to do with shape, size, function or location, e.g., the prominent or projecting part of objects – *a nose* or *a muzzle of a gun*.

However, words may evolve to such an extent that there is very often a striking difference between their modern meaning and their original usage. In this paper, our aim is to propose an analysis of English terms of Greek and Romance origin from the area of BODY PARTS used figuratively with

reference to various human and non-human properties. Our paper will therefore be devoted to changes that involve both inter- and intralinguistic contrasts.

The article is organized as follows. Firstly, we briefly focus on the methodology, namely the cognitive framework adopted in the paper and the way we have obtained the data for our investigation. The analysis of selected words in the main part of the paper follows the methodological tools offered by the Cognitive Linguistics paradigm. Finally yet importantly, the major findings, conclusions, and implications for future research may be found in the final section of the paper.

## **2. The theoretical framework and the corpus of data**

The theoretical framework adopted in the paper is the theory of conceptual metaphor proposed originally by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), which evolved in a number of later publications, for example, Barcelona (2000), Kövecses (2010; 2015; 2017a; 2017b; 2018), as well as conceptual metonymy (see, for example, Kövecses & Radden 1998 and Radden & Kövecses 1999) and conceptual integration (see Fauconnier & Turner 2002).

As argued by Kövecses (2015: ix), "conceptual metaphors consist of sets of systematic correspondences, or mappings between two domains of experience and [...] the meaning of a particular metaphorical expression realizing an underlying conceptual metaphor is based on such correspondences".

In this account, we also adopt Kövecses' (2006: 99) earlier position that: "Metonymy is a cognitive process in which one conceptual element or entity (thing, event, property), the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity (thing, event, property), the target, within the same frame, domain or idealized cognitive model (ICM)".

In turn, Goossens (1990) analysed cases of the joint operation of the two conceptual mechanisms, that is metaphor and metonymy, in the form of metaphonymy. Various patterns of metaphor-metonymy interaction are studied by Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez and Díez Velasco (2002). Finally, the theory of conceptual integration or conceptual blending, as discussed by Fauconnier and Turner (1998; 2002), subsumes metaphor and metonymy as special cases of a general mental projection mechanism. The proponents of this cognitive mechanism believe that due to the presence and working of conceptual integration, people have the ability to invent new concepts, create art, science, religion, culture and language. Our standpoint is that the conceptual mechanisms of metaphor, metonymy,



metaphonymy, and also conceptual blending, can be held responsible for the rise of new meanings, that is for both understanding, processing and describing semantic changes.<sup>1</sup>

The corpus of data used for our analysis has been obtained from the *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* website (<http://www.merriam-webster.com>) whose editors, in the Words at Play section (<https://www.merriam-webster.com/words-at-play>), regularly upload lists of semantically related words. In this account, we bring to the fore selected words with less-obvious body-part origins. Out of 12 words provided by the website (*cadet, caprice, carnation, courage, dishevelled, ganache, gorgeous, leer, melancholy, pygmy, sarcasm* and *supercilious*) nine lexical items displaying near-universal status cross-linguistically (*cadet, caprice, carnation, courage, dishevelled, gorgeous, melancholy, pygmy* and *sarcasm*), as discussed in section four, have been chosen as lexical material to be analysed in this paper. As far as the other three lexical items are concerned (*ganache, leer* and *supercilious*), we have deliberately excluded them from the analysis given that they are not present in the macrostructure of <https://www.indifferentlanguages.com/> which, in turn, allows us to determine the potentially (near) universal cross-linguistic status of the data subject to analysis.

### 3. Literature review

There is no dearth of research on conceptual metaphor and metonymy as such, quite the opposite, one may refer to and benefit from sizable literature on these conceptual mechanisms within the framework of Cognitive Linguistics. Likewise, there have been a number of works devoted to the source domain of BODY PARTS. This contribution is a humble attempt to analyse some "veiled" representatives of the domain in question from a cross-linguistic perspective.

As far as the literature discussing body organs from the cognitive perspective is concerned, it is worth mentioning: Peña Cervel's (2001) paper devoted to the analysis of metaphors for emotions with body parts as the source domains, Urios-Aparisi's article (2010) dealing with the importance of both metaphor and metonymy of the body parts in Almodóvar's films, Więclawska's (2012) diachronic perspective on head-related lexical items, Manerko's (2014) paper on human body parts in English idioms as well as Zahedi's (2012) "cognitive semiosis of human mind".

Among other works, let us mention the collection of articles gathered in Sharifian et al. (2008) which examines the interaction between culture, body organs and various languages from the cognitive perspective. By the same token, Zouheir, Maalej and Yu (2011) address the issues regarding the role of selected body parts in the conceptualization of our emotions, character features or mental abilities.

Another work, namely Brenzinger and Kraska-Szlenk (2014) discusses the mechanisms of metaphor and metonymy in metaphorical language. Last but not least, let us refer to the comparative studies on the relationship between embodiment and cultural models explored in Kraska-Szlenk (2020).

#### **4. Selected terms originating from body parts from a contrastive perspective**

Using the *Online dictionary* website <https://www.indifferentlanguages.com/> we have searched more than 100 languages in six different groups (European, Asian, Middle-Eastern, African, Austronesian and other languages) in order to indicate the range of use of the analysed lexical items (*cadet*, *caprice*, *carnation*, *courage*, *dishevelled*, *gorgeous*, *melancholy*, *pygmy* and *sarcasm*) provided by <https://www.merriam-webster.com/words-at-play/words-from-body-parts>. It is fitting to add that given the differences between the Roman script and the writing systems of Asian languages, we deliberately do not take into account the latter ones and in these cases the numbers are given as rough estimates.

The results of our research (which unfortunately for space reasons cannot be reproduced here in its entirety) have shown that the words *melancholy*, *sarcasm*, *cadet* and *caprice* are present in approximately 50-60 different languages. The lexical item *pygmy* can be found in about 50 languages, while *courage* in circa 12 languages. Details are shown in Table 1. One is justified in claiming that such terms originating from body parts as *melancholy*, *sarcasm*, *cadet* and *pygmy* enjoy an almost universal status cross linguistically, which, in all likelihood, may result from the interaction between different cultures. One can naturally emphasise the role of classical languages – Greek, Latin, but also Romance languages as exemplified by *caprice*.

As far as European languages are concerned, we may safely say that nearly half of the words provided by <https://www.merriam-webster.com/words-at-play/words-from-body-parts> may be said to have attained near-universal status: *sarcasm* may be found in 88% of European languages, *cadet* in 83%, *melancholy* in 79%, *pygmy* in 69% and *caprice* in 67% of this group of languages. A possible reason for this status quo is the fact that languages sharing similar or the same cultural roots naturally have a lot in common, which may result in the presence of similar or virtually identical forms of some lexical items in analysed languages. Various cultures around the world have their own traditions or religions and, as a result, their conceptualization of certain notions/phenomena is similar.

Table 1. Distribution of the analysed lexical items across languages of the world

	European languages (42) <sup>2</sup>	Asian languages (36) <sup>3</sup>	Middle-Eastern languages (4) <sup>4</sup>	African languages (13) <sup>5</sup>	Austronesian languages (10) <sup>6</sup>	Other languages (3) <sup>7</sup>
<i>cadet</i>	35	≤ 3	0	≤ 9	≈ 9	2
<i>caprice</i>	28	≤ 13	1	7	5	2
<i>carnation</i>	≤ 3	≤ 4	≈ 1	≤ 4	≤ 2	2
<i>courage</i>	9	≤ 1	0	0	0	2
<i>dishevelled</i>	≤ 7	≈ 8	0	≈ 9	≈ 4	0
<i>gorgeous</i>	≤ 1	≤ 3	0	≤ 2	0	0
<i>melancholy</i>	33	≤ 8	1	7	3	2
<i>pygmy</i>	29	≤ 15	≈ 1	7	6	2
<i>sarcasm</i>	37	≤ 7	0	4	≈ 2	2

One should also emphasise the role of embodiment and cognition in meaning construal. Our body and its experience may be said to serve as a universal source domain for metaphorical mappings into the more abstract target domains. However, it is various cultural models that provide perspectives from which given body organs are perceived as salient and significant when we want to comprehend those abstract domains (Gibbs 1999). Cultural models perform an interpretative function in the perception of the body, because they may explain the same embodied experience in a different manner given that people in different corners of the world may actually fathom and construe their bodily experiences (e.g., emotions) differently.

It would be interesting to explore whether the same body parts are used in different languages in order to conceptualize the same human experiences. Moreover, we also need to discuss the cultural models that seem to explicate both the similarities and differences in the conceptualizations of body parts. Given that the heart is the centre of emotions/feeling, whereas the brain is said to be the centre of thought/knowledge (at least in European cultures), we should answer the question of whether there are specific organs employed to conceptualize the same emotions or traits universally and whether the same mechanisms (metaphor, metonymy<sup>8</sup>, metaphonymy) are used in their conceptualization. Finally yet importantly, it should be investigated what cultures use the same body parts to conceptualize the same emotions/traits/cultural values/mental facilities.

## 5. Discussion of selected terms originating from body parts

In this section, we are going to analyse the semantics of nine lexical items (*dishevelled*, *gorgeous*, *courage*, *sarcasm*, *cadet*, *pygmy*, *carnation*, *melancholy* and *caprice*) that originate from body part terms. We shall discuss the etymology of these words and the role played by body parts in their creation. However, our major aim will be to look for the conceptual motivation responsible for the

rise of the analysed terms in English as well as elucidating the role of body parts in the embodied conceptualization of, for example, emotions.

### 5.1 Metonymic motivation for semantic change: dishevelled and courage

The adjective *dishevelled* appeared in English in the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>9</sup> The word derived from Old French *descheveler* 'to disarrange hair' acquired a similar meaning in English, where it has been used with reference to hair 'without coif or head-dress; hence, with the hair unconfined and flung about in disorder'. It may sometimes appear in a wider sense, that of 'undressed, in dishabille' (the *OED*). The analysed lexical item must have undergone further meaning extensions since in present-day English it may also be used with reference to scruffy people and clothes or ruffled hair. This sense emerges from the following context extracted from the *OED*: "But at the moment, to our astonishment, Theodore whipped away the screen and revealed Kralfesky, slightly purple of face and disheveled, standing free in a pool of ropes and chains." – Gerald Durrell, *Fauna and family* (1979).

Since *dishevelled* 'with disarranged hair' is based on the French root *cheveu* 'hair', it is obvious that the adjective has retained the original meaning in English which may, however, be generalized on the basis of the part for whole metonymic extension UNTIDY/SLOVENLY HAIR FOR UNTIDY/SLOVENLY APPEARANCE. In this case, the metonymic source UNTIDY/SLOVENLY HAIR provides mental access to UNTIDY/SLOVENLY APPEARANCE OF A PERSON, which is presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Metonymic motivation in *dishevelled*

Metonymic source:	Metonymic target:
PART	WHOLE
untidy/slovenly hair	untidy/slovenly appearance

To continue in a similar vein, another term whose meaning is motivated by metonymic projection is *courage*, used in the sense 'mental or moral strength to venture, persevere, and withstand danger, fear, or difficulty'.<sup>10</sup> It came to English from the Old French *corage*, but the roots of the word may be traced back to Latin *cor* 'heart'. Despite the fact that, as stressed in Ayto (2005), in Modern English heart is employed as a metaphor for 'innermost feelings or passions', we are more inclined to treat it as an example of metonymy HEART FOR FEELINGS/PASSIONS. The Old French *corage*, in turn, was employed with reference to a wide array of emotions, such as 'anger' or 'lust'. It was not until the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century when the basic sense of the lexical item underwent the process of the

narrowing of meaning and since then it has been applied to 'bravery'. Therefore, as we may observe, there is a connection between the body organ called heart and the abstract noun *courage* derived from the Latin word for *heart*. Indeed, there is a close connection between *heart* and *courage*, which may be observed on the basis of the definitions of the former noun in dictionaries. For instance, according to the *Cambridge dictionary*, apart from its most basic sense, *heart* may also be employed with reference to courage and determination, as in the following examples: *You're doing really well - don't lose heart now* or *Take heart – things can only get better*.<sup>11</sup>

It seems that Latin root *cor* 'heart' can be identified as a metonymic vehicle which provides mental access to certain qualities that are conceptually related to this body part because the heart is associated with broadly understood emotions. Thus, as shown in Table 3, the general metonymy might have the shape HEART FOR EMOTIONS, e.g. *He has lost his heart*, while the more specific metonymy is COURAGE (Latin *cor* 'heart') FOR MENTAL OR MORAL STRENGTH.

Table 3. Metonymic motivation in *courage*

Metonymic source: <i>COR</i> 'HEART'	Metonymic target: EMOTIONS
the focal point of feelings (figuratively)	positive feelings
Metonymic source: COURAGE	Metonymic target: MENTAL OR MORAL STRENGTH

As Table 3 portrays, the semantics of *courage* is motivated in two steps by separate metonymic projections. Being etymologically related to Latin *cor* 'heart' which metonymically stands for the seat of emotions, the abstract noun *courage* provides mental access to such emotions as mental or moral strength.

### 5.2 A metonymic chain: *cadet* and *pygmy* vs. *metaphor* from *metonymy*

As far as the etymology of the word *cadet* is concerned, its original meaning in English was 'younger brother' although in French, from where it came to English, *cadet* is just 'a little head' (see Ayto 2005). The noun is an altered form of a Gascon *capdet* 'chief', which stemmed from Vulgar Latin *capitellus* 'little head' which, in turn, was a diminutive of Latin *caput* 'head'. The change in meaning from 'chief' to 'younger son' may be motivated by the fact that in Gascon families, younger sons used to be sent to the French court, where they were supposed to work as officers. In fact, when the French *cadet* was borrowed by English it retained its original spelling (see Ayto 2005). Nowadays, *cadet* is

employed with reference to a military school student,<sup>12</sup> which, obviously, coincides with the Gascon sense of the word.

Again, as in the case of *dishevelled*, the change of the sense 'a (little) head' into that of 'a (young) person' seems to be motivated by the *pars pro toto* metonymy. The change 'a (young) person' > 'a military school student' may also have metonymic origin (GENERAL FOR SPECIFIC) associated with specific historical habits. The metonymic motivation in the form of a metonymic chain behind the development of *cadet* is portrayed in Table 4.

Table 4. Metonymic motivation in *cadet*

Metonymic source:	Metonymic target:
PART	WHOLE
'a (little) head'	'a (young) person'
GENERAL	SPECIFIC
'a (young) person'	'a military school student'

Let us now proceed to the discussion of another body-part-related term whose meaning development seems to be motivated by a metonymic chain. As confirmed by Ayto (2005), the meaning of the Greek *pugmé* 'fist' was extended and started to be employed for 'measure of length equal to the distance from the elbows to the knuckles'. Given that the distance was quite short, the word underwent the process of derivation and the form *pugmaíos* started to be figuratively used with reference to somebody who is not tall, or, to be more precise, dwarfish. This form passed into English (*pygmy*) from the Latin word *pygmaeus*. In antiquity and the Middle Ages, the word was applied to name any mythical races characterized by short height. It was as late as in the 19<sup>th</sup> century when the noun began to designate the inhabitants of equatorial Africa who were short in stature (see Ayto 2005). Apart from the fact that the lexical item in question is used with reference to a certain group of Africans<sup>13</sup>, it might also describe an unusually short person.<sup>14</sup>

Our analysis pivots on two facets of one domain (SIZE, SHAPE AND DIMENSION), namely DISTANCE (the metonymic source/vehicle) which provides mental access to another aspect of this domain, namely HEIGHT (the metonymic target). Obviously, the distance from one body part to another (in this case both are located on the upper limb) is quite short; therefore it might figuratively be employed with reference to people who are not tall. The metonymic projections DISTANCE FOR HEIGHT and HEIGHT FOR NATION (CHARACTERISTIC FEATURE FOR SOMEONE DISPLAYING THIS FEATURE) are displayed graphically in Table 5.

Table 5. Metonymic motivation in *pygmy*

Metonymic source: DISTANCE	Metonymic target: HEIGHT
'from the elbows to the knuckles'	'short'
HEIGHT	NATION
'short'	'inhabitants of equatorial Africa short in stature'

In this case, due to the working of the mechanism of conceptual metonymy, in fact the metonymic chain DISTANCE FOR HEIGHT FOR NATION, the lexical item *pygmy* originally belonging to the area of body parts ('fist') started to indicate physical height both in general and specifically in order to refer to a particular nation known for characteristic height.

In turn, the semantics of the lexical item *gorgeous* seems to be motivated by the activation of metonymy followed by metaphor. The etymological sources that have been consulted, for example the *OED*, inform us that the term is related to the Early Modern English *gorgiuous*, *gorgeouse* which itself is a borrowing from the Middle French *gorgias* ('elegant, fashionable'), a continuation of the Old French *gourgias*, *gorgias* ('gorgeous, gaudy, flaunting, gallant, fine'), connected with the Old French *gorgias* ('a gorget, ruffle for the neck'), derived from the Old French *gorge* ('bosom, throat'). One may therefore hypothesise that in this case the sense evolution was probably that of 'throat' > 'swelling of the throat or bosom due to pride, bridling up' > 'assuming an air of importance, flaunting'.

The theoretical mechanisms adopted in this paper suggest that, as shown in Table 6, the meaning of *gorgeous* seems to stem from the metonymy-metaphor interaction: OBJECT/BODY PART FOR SENSATION/ACTION INVOLVING THIS BODY PART metonymy is followed by metaphor motivating the rise of the sense 'assuming an air of importance'.

Table 6. Metonymy-metaphor interaction in *gorgeous*

Metonymic source: OBJECT/BODY PART	Metonymic target: SENSATION/ACTION
'throat'	'swelling of the throat or bosom due to pride, bridling up'
Metaphorical source:	Metaphorical target:
'swelling of the throat or bosom due to pride'	'assuming an air of importance'

The Old French body part term *gorge* 'throat' provides mental access to the action of the swelling of the throat which, in turn, motivates the rise of the metaphorical sense 'assuming an air of importance'.

### 5.3 Metaphorical motivation: carnation

Most people, when they think of the word *carnation*, imagine a picture of a flower. It is therefore slightly confusing to find that the word comes from a root meaning, quite simply, 'flesh' (Latin *carn-*). The word shares its roots with such decidedly non-floral words as *carnivorous*, *carnage*, and *carnal knowledge*. The reason for this situation is that before it started to refer to a flower, *carnation* was employed with reference to the colour of certain tints of human flesh. In this respect, let us trace its etymology provided by the *Merriam-Webster dictionary*: Latin *carñātiōn-em* 'fleshiness, corpulence' from *carn-em* 'flesh'; compare the French *carnation*, and the Italian *carnagione* 'the hue or colour of one's skin and flesh' (Polish *karnacja* 'complexion'). Consider the following example portraying the present-day sense of *carnation*: "Neither the fetid Rose, nor the withered Carnation, nor the dusty Nasturtium, nor the diseased-looking Pea would oblige Lady Jane's suitor." – Paul Bell, in *Littell's living age*, August 1850.

In terms of the methodological apparatus employed in this paper, we may speak about a general conceptual metaphor PLANTS ARE HUMANS and a sub-metaphor A FLOWER RESEMBLING THE COLOUR OF HUMAN FLESH IS HUMAN FLESH, which may be presented in the following way:

Table 7. Metaphorical motivation in *carnation*

A FLOWER RESEMBLING THE COLOUR OF HUMAN FLESH IS HUMAN FLESH metaphor	
Metaphorical source: HUMAN FLESH	Metaphorical target: A FLOWER RESEMBLING THE COLOUR OF HUMAN FLESH

Thus, one may venture a claim that human flesh and its colour serve as a metaphorical source mapped onto the target domain of plants.

### 5.4 Metonymic motivation vs conceptual integration: the case of melancholy

The noun *melancholy* 'a sad mood or feeling'<sup>15</sup> comes from the Greek *melagkholiā*, from where it gave rise to the late Latin *melancholia* and the Old French *melancolie*. The Greek term is a compound which consists of *mélās* 'black' and *kholé* 'bile'. The word *bile*, in turn, is related to the English *gall*. Therefore, we may say that from the etymological point of view, *melancholy* means the same as 'black gall' (see Ayto 2005). According to medieval theory of medicine, a human being's physical and mental health are dependent on four substances/'humours' that run through people's bodies, namely: blood,



phlegm, yellow bile, and black bile.<sup>16</sup> The balance of these four substances determines our condition and health. A surfeit of black bile makes a person more liable to such negative states as depression or melancholy.

The Humoral Theory was widespread for more than two thousand years, all the way until the middle of the 19th century when it was replaced by the germ theory. Until then people had believed in humoral rather than pathogenic causes of diseases. In all likelihood, the concept of humours stems from the time of the Pharaohs in Egypt (Abu-Asab et al. 2013) from where it was transferred to Ancient Greece. The doctrine was developed and expounded by Hippocrates (460-370 BCE) who claimed that the humours had an important influence on both our personality and behaviour (Bhikha & Glynn 2017: 15029).

In terms of the methodological apparatus employed in the paper, the meaning 'a sad mood, feeling' of the lexical item *melancholy* is metonymically motivated: SUBSTANCE FOR STATE OF MIND. Therefore, we may put forward a hypothesis that the contemporary sense of the noun is metonymically conditioned. The correspondence between the metonymic source and the target is presented in Table 8.

Table 8. Metonymic motivation in *melancholy*

Metonymic source:	Metonymic target:
SUBSTANCE	STATE OF MIND (MOOD)
'black bile'	'a sad mood, feeling'

From the perspective of conceptual integration theory worked out by Fauconnier and Turner (1998), we may suggest a hypothesis that the formation of the compound *melancholy* is the outcome of the operation of conceptual integration of two input spaces, namely *mélās* 'black' and *kholé* 'bile'. This conceptual blending involves a set of mappings between the two input spaces, a generic space containing elements of what the two inputs have in common and the blended space in which the sense 'a sad mood or feeling' emerges.

**Input space 1:** *mélās* 'black'

**Input space 2:** *kholé* 'bile'

**Blended space:** *melagkholiā* black bile

In this particular case, the sense 'a sad mood or feeling' of the compound (metonymical blend) *melancholy* results from a set of mappings that occur between the input spaces mentioned above. It is worth noting that, as far as symbolic values connected with colours are concerned, black is – by and large – associated with "negativity, depression and desperation" (Philip 2011: 155). In the European tradition, it is a colour of mourning, hence its obvious connotations with death, remorse, grief and penance (Kopaliński 1990). Philip (2011: 154) stresses that black is the colour of bile, which – in turn – is closely connected with anger.

The common feature between these two entities is that they revolve around emotions. Both concepts may represent negative emotions (black > despair; bile > anger) and these seem to be a common denominator contributing to the final conceptual shape of the emergent blend. The emergent meaning of *melancholy* is based on the conceptual material provided by the two input spaces, that is the element *mélās* 'black' provides mental access to mourning, despair, wrongdoing, evil, darkness while *kholé* 'bile' is conceptually associated with anger, ill temper and peevishness.

#### 5.5 Metaphtonymy vs conceptual integration: caprice and sarcasm

The word *caprice* as we know it today refers to people's specific behaviour characterized by unexpected and impulsive changes of mind.<sup>17</sup> This sense is connected with the etymology of the word, which is of Italian origin. And so, the Italian *capriccio* 'fright, a state of being startled, shivering' is a compound based on two words, namely *capo* 'head' and *riccio* 'hedgehog'. Given that a petrified person's hair is said to stand on end like the spines of the hedgehog, the compound soon started to be used figuratively (Ayto 2005). The lexical item's contemporary meaning referring to fickle people has also been influenced by another animal, namely goat (Italian *capra* 'goat') which is known for its impulsive behaviour (Moder 1987).

Interestingly, both metonymic source (vehicle) (part of an animal – head of a hedgehog) and target (whole animal – hedgehog) are metaphorically motivated and arise from the schema HUMANS ARE ANIMALS. Therefore, we may suggest a combined operation of two mechanisms, namely metonymy and metaphor. Such an interaction is known as metaphtonymy (see Goossens 1990). In short, in such a case metonymic projection is preceded by metaphorical mappings. Table 9 presents the figurative meaning development of *caprice*.

Table 9. Metaphonymic motivation in *caprice*

<b>Stage 1: PART FOR WHOLE metonymy</b>	
Metonymic source: PART	Metonymic target: WHOLE
head of a hedgehog	whole hedgehog
<b>Stage 2: HUMANS ARE ANIMALS metaphor</b>	
Metaphorical source: ANIMALS	Metaphorical target: HUMANS
the spines of the hedgehog	a frightened person's hair

From the perspective of the Conceptual Integration Theory, we are dealing here with two input spaces and a *pars pro toto* mechanism that takes place between them.

**Input space 1:** *capo* 'head'



PART FOR WHOLE metonymy

**Input space 2:** *riccio* 'hedgehog'

**Blended space:** *capriccio* 'fright, a state of being startled, shivering'

On the other hand, however, if we take into account that another animal, namely *capra* 'goat' might have affected the contemporary sense of the compound, we shall propose the following diagram accounting for the rise of the compound in question:

**Input space 1:** *capra* 'goat'

**Input space 2:** *riccio* 'hedgehog'

**Blended space:** *capriccio* 'fickle behaviour of a person'

We may hazard a guess that the contemporary sense of *caprice* results from the fusion of two animals' properties (attributes/features), namely the goat's fickle behaviour and the hedgehog's spines. And so, both animals' behaviour may be ascribed to human beings, as both may be volatile. Likewise, human hair resembles hedgehogs' spines, therefore it is easy to draw a comparison between these two attributes. A set of mappings is established between the two input spaces, specifying that a petrified person's hair, which is said to stand on end, may be associated with the spines of the hedgehog. Next, a generic space is created containing elements of shared material that the two inputs have in common (shape – roundness, hair vs. spikes, that is a person's behaviour and appearance is associated with a hedgehog's appearance and the instinctive behaviour of a goat). Finally, a blended space is created in which a combination of 'a hairy head' and 'a hedgehog' gives rise to the Italian sense 'fright, a state of being startled, shivering' and the English sense referring to people's specific behaviour characterized

by unexpected and impulsive change of mind, which is probably influenced by associations with another animal, namely goat (Italian *capra* 'goat') which is known for its impulsive behaviour.

Yet another term whose meaning is a result of both metaphorical and metonymic motivation is that of *sarcasm*. According to Moder (1987), *sarcasm* 'the use of remarks that clearly mean the opposite of what they say, made in order to hurt someone's feelings or to criticize something in a humorous way'<sup>18</sup> derived from the Greek *sarkazein* which, in turn, came from *sarx* 'flesh'. Historically speaking, the use of Greek *sarkazein* was first recorded in the following two senses: 1) 'to tear flesh like dogs' and 2) 'to pluck grass with closed lips as horses do' (see Moder 1987). One may therefore hypothesise that the change of the verbal sense 'to tear flesh like dogs' into 'to bite the lips in rage' results from a specific instantiation of the general conceptual metaphor HUMANS ARE ANIMALS realised as HUMAN ACTION IS ANIMAL ACTION. In all likelihood, the sense of *sarcasm* that we are familiar with today may have been developed from 'to bite the lips in rage', which is also attested in the *OED*. Then, the sense of the word was slightly modified into 'to speak bitterly' and it was this definition that gave rise to the noun *sarkasmos* employed as 'mockery' (see Moder 1987).

Thus, in terms of the methodological apparatus employed here, the underlying conceptual mechanism responsible for the rise of the sense 'to bite the lips in rage' from earlier 'to tear flesh like dogs' is metaphor formalised as HUMAN ACTION IS ANIMAL ACTION, while the present-day sense of *sarcasm* results from the working of conceptual metonymy that may be formulated as ACTION FOR ANOTHER ACTION ('to bite the lips in rage' for 'to speak bitterly'). Both rage and bitterness may be labelled as negative emotions and there is also a close connection between biting one's lips and the activity of speaking which is performed by the lips themselves. The following diagram (Table 10) portrays the figurative meaning development of *sarcasm*:

Table 10. Metaphor-metonymy interaction in *sarcasm*

Metaphorical source: ANIMAL ACTION	Metaphorical target: HUMAN ACTION
'to tear flesh like dogs'	'to bite the lips in rage' (source)
	ACTION FOR ANOTHER ACTION metonymy ↓
	'to speak bitterly' (target)

As Table 9 shows, the shift 'to bite the lips in rage' > 'to speak bitterly' is an example of a metonymic projection where the metonymic source/vehicle is placed in the metaphorical target domain.

In terms of the conceptual integration framework, one may opt for the existence of the following spaces:

**Input space 1:** 'to tear flesh like dogs'

**Input space 2:** 'to bite the lips in rage'

**Blended space:** 'to speak bitterly'

We may, therefore, suggest a hypothesis that the rise of the present-day sense of *sarcasm* is the outcome of the operation of conceptual integration of two input spaces, namely 'to tear flesh like dogs' and 'to bite the lips in rage', a set of mappings between the two input spaces, a generic space containing elements of what the two inputs have in common (tearing, biting flesh) and the blended space in which the sense 'to speak bitterly' emerges.

## 6. Concluding remarks

In this paper, an attempt has been made to show in what way the mechanisms of conceptual metaphor, metonymy, metaphonymy and conceptual integration may be used to account for the semantic motivation of selected words originally naming body parts.

As the conducted analysis shows, the nine lexical items under scrutiny may be divided into five groups according to the mechanisms that motivated the creation of their meanings. Thus, it turns out that conceptual metonymy is the mechanism that played a substantial role in the development of the meanings of *dishevelled* and *courage*, in which single metonymic projections may be identified. In turn, series of projections, or metonymic chains, and metonymy-metaphor interaction lead to the evolution of the present-day senses of *cadet*, *pygmy* and *gorgeous*, respectively. In the case of the semantic change that affected the meaning of *carnation*, one may speak about metaphorical motivation. Furthermore, there are also three lexical items whose semantics may be interpreted as the working of either conceptual integration or the mechanism of metonymy (*melancholy*) or metaphonymy and/or conceptual blending (*caprice* and *sarcasm*).

The paper is a pilot study pointing to an interesting area of research and as such it does not aspire to cover a number of issues which still remain as potential scope for future research. One of the areas worth investigating might be the question of why particular body part terms are used as possible source domains and why these figurative terms are so commonly employed, not only in English but possibly also in other languages, to the extent that – at least some of them – may be argued to have

acquired near-universal status in a cross-linguistic perspective (e.g., Polish *sarkazm* 'sarcasm', *melancholia* 'melancholy', *kaprys* 'caprice', *kadet* 'cadet', *pigmej* 'pygmy').

Drawing on the concept of embodied cognition, according to which the human mind is not only inseparably connected to the body but also the body exerts influence on the mind, one may argue that parts of the body and the way in which we conceptualise them influence the mind in that, through the use of language, the latter enables us to verbally access the body. Thus, the centrality of the human body can be shown to strongly affect the nature of our experience verbalized through language use. In other words, body part terms are used as vehicles or source domains to conceptualise other areas of our experience.

It is worth noting that five out of nine of the analysed lexical items (*sarcasm*, *cadet*, *melancholy*, *pygmy* and *caprice*) may be said to have acquired a cross-linguistic(ally) universal status, at least in European cultures. In all likelihood, in the case of *pygmy* it is the fact that the noun functions as a proper name that determined its universal status. By the same token, the noun *cadet* belongs to military terminology, hence it is used in a number of languages. In turn, the influence of Greek philosophy might have resulted in the popularity of *melancholy*. As far as the universal status of *sarcasm* and *caprice* is concerned, we may hazard a guess that it might be connected with the fact that some words connected with strong emotions become more prevalent than others. Indeed, it turns out that body parts are connected with various emotions, both positive and negative (courage, rage, sadness, haughtiness, pride).

Our results may prove to corroborate not only the conceptual nature of metaphors, metonymies, metaphonymies or cases of conceptual integration as such, but also their impact on social cognition – the relatively high frequency of appearance of some of the terms (e.g. *sarcasm*, *melancholy*, *cadet*) in English and their presence in other languages mentioned in the body of this paper indicates the influence that these concepts may exert on social cognition – they seem to be deeply entrenched and culture-bound terms. Since the meanings of the words discussed in this paper are motivated by, among others, conceptual metaphor and metonymy, we wish to argue, being inspired by Kövecses (2017a: 215), that the presence of both the Conceptual Metaphor and Metonymy Theory may be evidenced at all levels of linguistic description, while their "important contribution to connecting mind with the body, language with culture, body with culture, and language with the brain" cannot be underestimated.

## Notes

1. For example, see Grząsko and Kiełtyka (2021) for a cognitive account of the language of flirtation.
2. The languages provided by the *Online dictionary* <https://www.indifferentlanguages.com/> in this section are as follows: Albanian, Basque, Belarusian, Bosnian, Bulgarian, Catalan, Corsican, Croatian, Czech, Danish, Dutch, Estonian, Finnish, French, Frisian, Galician, German, Greek, Hungarian, Icelandic, Irish, Italian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Luxembourgish, Macedonian, Maltese, Norwegian, Polish, Portuguese, Romanian, Russian, Scots Gaelic, Serbian, Slovak, Slovenian, Spanish, Swedish, Tatar, Ukrainian, Welsh, and Yiddish.
3. The languages provided by the *Online dictionary* <https://www.indifferentlanguages.com/> in this section are as follows: Armenian, Azerbaijani, Bengali, Chinese Simplified, Chinese Traditional, Georgian, Gujarati, Hindi, Hmong, Japanese, Kannada, Kazakh, Khmer, Korean, Kyrgyz, Lao, Malayalam, Marathi, Mongolian, Myanmar (Burmese), Nepali, Odia, Pashto, Punjabi, Sindhi, Sinhala, Tajik, Tamil, Telugu, Thai, Turkish, Turkmen, Urdu, Uyghur, Uzbek, Vietnamese.
4. The languages provided by the *Online dictionary* <https://www.indifferentlanguages.com/> in this section are as follows: Arabic, Hebrew, Kurdish (Kurmanji), Persian.
5. The languages provided by the *Online dictionary* <https://www.indifferentlanguages.com/> in this section are as follows: Afrikaans, Amharic, Chichewa, Hausa, Igbo, Kinyarwanda, Sesotho, Shona, Somali, Swahili, Xhosa, Yoruba, Zulu.
6. The languages provided by the *Online dictionary* <https://www.indifferentlanguages.com/> in this section are as follows: Cebuano, Filipino, Hawaiian, Indonesian, Javanese, Malagasy, Malay, Maori, Samoan, Sudanese.
7. The languages provided by the *Online dictionary* <https://www.indifferentlanguages.com/> in this section are as follows: Esperanto, Haitian Creole, Latin.
8. According to Yu (2008), metonymy often provides the link between bodily experience and metaphor as far as the mapping process from concrete experience to abstract concepts is concerned, which may be seen in the following way: bodily experience → metonymy → metaphor → abstract concepts.
9. See the *Oxford English dictionary (OED)*: c. 1381 Chaucer Parl. Foules 235 In kyrtelles al discheuel [v.rr. dysshuell, discheuele, dissheueld, dissheueled, dischiefflee] went þei þer.
10. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/words-at-play/words-from-body-parts>: "It is interesting to note that Mr. McCarthy thinks favorably of it as a profession, and records his conviction that nothing but laziness and lack of courage will prevent a capable journalist making a thousand a year." – *Pitman's journal of commercial education*, August 1896.
11. <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/heart>

12. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/words-at-play/words-from-body-parts>: "When Inger-Johanna with impetuosity rushed to the defense of Grip, she saw in him only the son of the idiotic 'cadet of Lurleiken,' as he is called, one of the well-known, amusing figures of the country." – Jonas Lie, in *The granite monthly*, 1894.
13. Consider the following quotation extracted from the *Merriam-Webster dictionary*: "The opinion that Pygmies are not a mere sport of Nature, but that they have representative claims as members of the great families of mankind, is as old as Homer, Hesiod, or the eternal hills." – Robin Goodfellow, *A weekly journal of fact and fiction*, 1861.
14. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/words-at-play/words-from-body-parts/pygmy>
15. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/words-at-play/words-from-body-parts/melancholy>: "He reread the first paragraph, his eyes itching with melancholy and pride." – Martin Amis, *The information*, 1995.
16. The idea of humours (fluids) results from the observation of the human body and, to be more precise, a human's freshly drawn blood which is characterized by the fact that it divides into four parts named as follows: the red fraction was known as the sanguinous (blood) humour, the white one as phlegm, the yellow-coloured layer on top was termed yellow bile, whereas the heavy part was the black bile (Bhikha & Glynn 2017: 15030).
17. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/words-at-play/words-from-body-parts/caprice>: "But again man does not realize the vast power woman wields in the business world – through her desires, her caprices, her will." – Bertha A. Loeb, in *The business philosopher*, February, 191.
18. <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/sarcasm>: "You have been working hard," he said with heavy sarcasm, as he looked at the empty page.

## List of abbreviations

OED – *Oxford English dictionary*

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## Resumé

The aim of this paper is to account for the semantics of English terms of Greek and Romance origin from the area of BODY PARTS used figuratively with reference to various human and non-human properties. The methodology adopted is the theory of conceptual metaphor, conceptual metonymy, metaphonymy as well as conceptual integration. The research shows that the analysed data enjoy a near universal cross-linguistic status and the senses subject to investigation have arisen due to the working and interplay of various conceptual mechanisms. Specifically, it turns out that conceptual metonymy is the mechanism that played a substantial role in the development of the meanings of *dishevelled* and *courage*, in which single metonymic projections may be identified. In turn, series of projections, or metonymic chains, and metonymy-metaphor interaction lead to the evolution of the present-day senses of *cadet*, *pygmy* and *gorgeous*, respectively. In the case of the semantic change that affected the meaning of *carnation*, one may speak about metaphorical motivation. Furthermore, there are also three lexical items whose semantics may be interpreted as the working of either conceptual integration or the mechanism of metonymy (*melancholy*) or metaphonymy and/or conceptual blending (*caprice* and *sarcasm*). The fact that the meanings of the words discussed in this paper are motivated by, among others, conceptual metaphor and metonymy seems to corroborate the

claim that the presence of both the Conceptual Metaphor and Metonymy Theory may be evidenced at all levels of linguistic description, while the argument that they connect mind with the body, language with culture, body with culture, and language with the brain seems only natural.

**Key words:** conceptual metaphor, metonymy, source, target, body parts.

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## LEGE ARTIS

Language yesterday, today, tomorrow

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### INTER-LEXICAL POLYSEMY OF SPATIAL PREFIXES AND PARTICLES IN POLISH AND ENGLISH

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**Abstract:** The present paper discusses inter-lexical polysemy in Polish and English taking place between different spatial expressions, conveying roughly similar meanings. The analysis reveals that despite certain affinities between lexical items under study, they are not interchangeable and their use is restricted to specific contexts. Differences between the investigated spatial expressions stem from distinct TR-LM configurations that underlie respective image-schemas, representing their primary senses and constituting source domains for metaphorical conceptualisations.

**Key words:** primary metaphor, EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor, image schema, spatial expression.

#### 1. Introduction

Polysemy of verbal particles and prefixes, both in English and Slavic languages, has been heavily researched within the framework of cognitive linguistics. As regards verbal prefixes in Slavic languages, Janda (1986) described their semantic networks in Russian, Dąbrowska (1996) and Tabakowska (2003) in Polish, Šarić (2012) in Croatian and Tchizmarova (2012) in Bulgarian. English verbal particles have been investigated by Brugman and Lakoff (1988), Lindner (1983), Lindstromberg (2010), Morgan (1997), Rudzka-Ostyn (2003) and Tyler and Evans (2003), to mention but a few. The reason for which this topic is so frequently undertaken is that the study of polysemy patterns is assumed to be capable of providing an insight into the workings of the human mind by focusing on the conceptual mechanisms responsible for triggering meaning extensions.

In contrastive studies, English verbal particles are frequently juxtaposed with Slavic verbal prefixes on account of the fact that both particles and prefixes function as verbal satellites (Talmy 1991) that encode a path of motion.<sup>1</sup> This formal correspondence has been acknowledged by many researchers involved in the study of English verbal particles and Slavic prefixes. For instance, Tchizmarova (2012) has noticed that Slavic prefixed verbs closely resemble English verb-particle combinations in that the "verb contributes to the source domain (literally, metonymically, or metaphorically) and the

prefix is the expression of a cognitive image schema (CONTAINMENT, VERTICALITY, etc.), instantiated either literally or metaphorically". Another researcher, Suchostawska (2005), maintains that from the point of view of semantics, English complex verbs, to which she refers as verb-particle constructions, are very much like Polish complex verbs containing prefixes. On the whole, according to Hampe (2002: 254), "particles are suffix-like elements that open general spaces of meaning to be further specified by verbs".

As regards the semantics of spatial expressions<sup>2</sup>, cognitive linguistics maintains that abstract senses of both particles and prefixes are motivated by their primary senses<sup>3</sup>, which are spatial; this should be taken to mean that they conceptualise either a static or a dynamic scene in which two participants are involved: the trajector (TR) and the landmark (LM). The trajector (TR) is the primary participant in the scene, whereas the LM is the secondary participant. The LM is usually immobile, and it functions as the background against which the TR's position or movement in space is perceived. Thus, when used in their primary senses, particles and prefixes capture human experience of space and spatial relations, which is considered to be embodied, i.e. mediated and determined by the nature of human bodies (Tyler & Evans 2003).

A vast majority of the existing studies into the polysemy of verbal particles and prefixes aim to present their semantic networks and to account for the process of meaning extensions from the primary sense. These studies frequently concentrate on a single spatial expression, such as, e.g. *on* described by Navarro (1999) or *over* investigated by Brugman and Lakoff (1988). Those papers that adopt a contrastive perspective are aimed at addressing the polysemy of a given spatial expression in one language and that of its equivalent in another – typologically different or similar – language. For example, Rudzka-Ostyn (1984) analyses polysemy patterns of the Polish prefix *wy-* 'out' and the Dutch particle and prefix *uit*, while Sokolova and Lewandowski (2010) examine the Polish and Russian inceptive prefix *za-* 'behind'. The aim of the aforementioned studies is to offer a list of cross-linguistic differences between the analysed semantic networks as well as to present similarities between them stemming from universal embodied experience, which is the same for all human beings irrespective of the language they use.

## **2. Aim, material and method**

The present paper aims to offer a different contrastive perspective on the polysemy of spatial expressions as it investigates the relatively understudied phenomenon of inter-lexical polysemy, which – as the very term suggests – takes place between different lexemes that appear to have "broadly similar readings" (Evans 2015: 101). A source of inspiration for this article was the research

into the polysemy of English verbal particles and Polish verbal prefixes encoding the relationship of verticality, which I have been involved in for a few years (Konieczna 2020). Even though the aim of the aforementioned study was to account merely for the development of semantic networks of spatial expressions encoding movement or position along a vertical axis in English and Polish, I have found that there are considerable similarities between certain senses conveyed by several different particles and prefixes. As regards the English corpus, I have found that the Control Sense<sup>4</sup> can be encoded by four particles, i.e. *up*, *down*, *over* and *under*, the Approach Sense can be expressed by particles: *on* and *up* and the Completion Sense can be encoded by particles: *up*, *down* and *over*. When it comes to the Polish sample, I have discovered that the More Sense can be expressed by *nad-* and *wz-*, the Excess Sense can be conveyed by *nad-* and *na-* and the Partial Effect Sense can be encoded by *nad-*, *pod-* and *na-*.

The study in question has been carried out by means of the lexical method (Kövecses 1986; 2017), which consists in looking for lexical items to be investigated in various kinds of dictionaries, opting for those that are based on large corpora. Therefore, I have used the OED for the English sample and SJP PWN for the Polish sample. The lexicographic sources enabled me to identify both spatial and abstract senses of the investigated lexical items by relying on their definitions (either explicit or implicit) contained in the dictionary entries, which is known as the top-down procedure (Kövecses 2011).

Because of space limitations I am unable to discuss inter-lexical polysemy between all the spatial expressions enumerated in the foregoing section; therefore, I will focus merely on the Completion Sense in the English sample, and the Partial Effect Sense in the Polish sample. The reason for choosing these two senses is that – apart from being very frequent in the two samples under study – the satellites encoding them affect the aspect of the verb: English particles expressing the Completion Sense entail a telic aspect<sup>5</sup>, while Polish prefixes expressing the Partial Effect Sense trigger the inceptive aspect (see section 3.2). My analysis is conducted with the aim of answering three research questions. First of all, to what degree are the verbal particles and prefixes – encoding senses that carry the same labels – similar to one another? Secondly, to what extent are they interchangeable? Thirdly, if it is assumed that these lexical items are "broadly similar", it must also be admitted that they are not identical, which raises the following question: what is the source of differences between them?

To answer the research questions specified above, three concepts will be relied on, namely that of the primary metaphor, the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor and the notion of an image schema. As regards the primary metaphor, it was proposed by Grady (1997; 1999), according to whom human

embodied experience gives rise to metaphorical conceptualisations. This happens when two phenomena, one of which is based on a physical perception, such as for example upward movement and an increase in quantity, are associated in the human mind. When two such distinct phenomena repeatedly co-occur in human experience, they become experientially correlated, which means that they get so strongly associated in memory that it is possible to conceptualise one experience in terms of the other. This gives rise to metaphorical conceptualisations, such as the MORE IS UP metaphor, which conceptualises an increase in quantity in terms of upward movement.

As regards the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor (Lakoff 1990), it conceptualises events in terms of physical movement and physical space. Since the main aspects of events include change and purpose, the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor comprises numerous submetaphors, such as, e.g., CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS or PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS. Consequently, movement along a path corresponds to a change that the TR undergoes, the character of which is specified by a verb denoting an action. If the TR reaches its destination, which corresponds to the end-point of the path, the change is complete, which means that the purpose of the action has been fulfilled. In other words, the result of the action has been achieved. In contrast, when the TR does not reach its destination but ends its movement close to it, the intended result has not been obtained.

The notion of an image schema was put forward by Lakoff (1987) and Johnson (1987). In their view, image schemas are recurring basic conceptual structures that originate in the course of our everyday experience of being and functioning in the world, which means that they have a bodily basis. Since our everyday experience is walking and moving from one place to another, we have developed the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL schema, whereby SOURCE represents the starting point, PATH stands for the trajectory that we follow, while GOAL represents the end-point, which corresponds to the DESTINATION in the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor. Image schemas play a very important role in providing structure to various complex concepts.

### **3. Results and discussion**

#### *3.1 The Completion Sense. Interlexical polysemy of particles: up, down and over*

As indicated in Section 2, three English particles encoding the relationship of verticality express the Completion Sense; and these are *up*, *down* and *over*. The label for this sense has been adopted from Tyler and Evans (2003), who have proved its existence for all the three particles under study in the present paper. At this initial stage of the discussion of inter-lexical polysemy, let me propose a working definition of the Completion Sense. When the particle conveys the Completion Sense, it



imposes an end-point on an event, beyond which the activity encoded by the component verb can no longer be continued. Thus, when used in this sense, spatial particles encode a telic aspect.

Since cognitive linguistics posits that all the senses of verbal particles originate as a result of meaning extension from their primary, i.e. spatial senses, the description of the primary sense of the particles: *up*, *down* and *over* as well as conceptual mechanisms responsible for triggering the Completion Sense constitute the starting point of elucidating the semantics of the particles under study. As in the adopted theoretical framework non-spatial senses are motivated by spatial ones, it is expected that the characteristics of the trajectory as well as the position of the GOAL with respect to the LM, both of which are encoded by a given particle, are going to account for the semantic peculiarities of all the three particles used to talk about the completion of an action.

In its primary sense, the particle *up* conceptualises the TR moving towards the top of an oriented LM (Tyler & Evans 2003). According to Lindner (1983: 181), the paths oriented upwards are typically limited in human experience: "[...] things in our experience don't usually go on and on, but tend to stop, flags at the end of flagpoles (*run the flag up*), cars at the height of jacks (*jack up the car*), people at the height of horses (*mount up*) [...]". When the TR reaches the top part of the LM, which represents the GOAL delimiting the path, its movement is finished. Thus, as a result of metaphorical extension, the particle *up* construes completing an action in terms of reaching the GOAL on the upward oriented path. The direction of the trajectory constitutes the basis for numerous primary metaphors, motivated by experiential correlation between upward movement and more abstract concepts, such as MORE IS UP, BRISK IS UP, or VISIBLE IS UP (Lindstromberg 2010):

- (1) *Helen went into the kitchen and began to cut **up** onions.* (BNC)
- (2) *And before long he drank **up** his coffee and slipped out.* (BNC)
- (3) *And if anyone came **up** and told me off for sleeping on the pavement I'd say I was the King of England and I can sleep anywhere.* (BNC)

In examples (1) – (3) the particle *up* not only conceptualises the completion of an action but also it expresses several shades of meaning, e.g., in (1) it profiles the concept of a large quantity. This construal stems from the image schematic potential of *up*: the trajectory proceeding in the upward direction triggers the primary metaphor MORE IS UP, which is a result of an experiential correlation between upwards movement and an increase in quantity. Consequently, the phrase *to cut up onions* not only implies bringing the activity of cutting onions to an end but also suggests that the onions will be cut into many pieces. As regards (2), the particle *up* construes the swift nature of the process of

drinking. This is a consequence of the BRISK IS UP metaphor conceptualised by *up*, (Lindstromberg 2010) which is triggered by the MORE IS UP metaphor: high velocity, when measured, is expressed in high numerical values. In (3) the particle *up* expresses both reaching the GOAL and the TR becoming clearly visible. This conceptualisation is a result of the VISIBLE IS UP metaphor, which develops through experiential correlation between the object moving upwards and its becoming visible when it enters the conceptualiser's field of vision.

Another particle denoting the completion of an action, i.e. *down*, conceptualises the vertical descent of the TR in relation to the LM. In its primary sense, *down* construes the TR's downward movement towards the bottom part of the LM. The TR's movement is finished once it reaches the GOAL located at the end of the downwards oriented path. Since purposes are conceptualised as destinations in the EVENT-STRUCTURE metaphor, the completion of an action is construed in terms of reaching the GOAL on the downwards oriented path. As stated by Hampe (2002: 195), "down codes the opposite of up in a range of verticality metaphors" on account of the opposite direction of the trajectory. For this reason, the downward orientation of the trajectory encoded by *down* constitutes the basis for several primary metaphors, such as LESS IS DOWN, CONTROL IS DOWN, DESTRUCTION IS DOWN, etc., which are the reverse of the metaphorical conceptualisations expressed by *up*:

- (4) *We waited another half an hour behind a pile of sand for the shooting to die **down**. (BNC)*
- (5) *'I was hoping Branson would be so tired I could beat him **down**, nag him into submission', says McLaren. (BNC)*

The verb *die down* (4) conceptualises the termination of the shooting activity in terms of the LESS IS DOWN metaphor: shooting becomes less and less intense until it eventually stops. The LESS IS DOWN metaphor is brought about by an experiential correlation between the level of liquid in a container going down and a decrease in its quantity. In (5) the particle *down* denotes not only the final phase of conquering the opponent (*Mr Branson*), but also bringing him under control. This semantic component attributed to *down* is a result of an experiential correlation between knocking the person down onto the ground during a physical fight and gaining control over them. For this reason, gaining control over somebody can be conceptualised in terms of the CONTROL IS DOWN metaphor.

Now let me move on to the final particle to be discussed in the present section, which is *over*. Its semantics is based on a dynamic image schema, representing the TR following an arching trajectory, which begins on one side of an obstacle functioning as the LM, continues upwards until its uppermost point, which is located higher than the obstacle and then it descends in order to reach the GOAL

situated on the other side of the obstacle (Tyler & Evans 2003). Accordingly, the completion of an activity is conceptualised as reaching the GOAL positioned on the other side of the LM. There are two important elements of this construal. One of them is that when the TR reaches the GOAL, it leaves the LM behind, and the other is that the LM is sometimes conceptualised as an obstacle:

(6) *The work goes on again, I see, now that the – holiday – is **over**.* (BNC)

(7) *The sooner you get the interview **over** the better.* (OED)

In (6) the end of a holiday is conceptualised as reaching the GOAL located on the other side of the LM, which implies that the holiday has a starting point, a culminating point when it is in full swing and an end-point when everybody is back at work. To put it differently, the state of the holiday being over is construed as the DESTINATION located on the other side of the LM, which is an instantiation of yet another EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor, i.e. STATES ARE LOCATIONS. Finishing an interview in (7) is conceptualised as completing something that is unpleasant. Therefore, it can be concluded that the LM functions here as an obstacle (which is not the case in (6)) that one needs to overcome in order to get to the other side. The TR of this construal is the activity of taking part in an interview, while the LM is represented by the trouble that those involved in it are put to.

### 3.2 The Partial Effect Sense: Interlexical polysemy of *nad-*, *pod-* and *na-*

The purpose of the present section is to account for the inter-lexical polysemy of three Polish prefixes encoding the Partial Effect Sense: *nad-* 'over', *pod-* 'under' and *na-* 'on'. By the Partial Effect Sense I mean a partial attainment of the goal of the undertaken action, which is what Szymanek (2010) refers to as an inceptive meaning on account of the fact that in this conceptualisation the initial phase of an action is profiled. In the following, I will demonstrate that the Partial Effect Sense of the three prefixes under study has been triggered through metaphorical extension of the spatial senses of the cognate prepositions, which are not only historically related to particles and prefixes but also conceptualise the same TR-LM configurations<sup>6</sup>. My assumption is that the semantic peculiarities of all the three prefixes encoding the Partial Effect Sense may be attributed to the location of the GOAL with respect to the LM construed by the cognate prepositions.

When it comes to the Partial Effect Sense of the prefix *nad-*, it is closely related to what I call the Approach Sense of the preposition *nad* (Konieczna 2020), which conceptualises the TR's movement towards a location, which is higher than and close to the LM (8), or only close to the LM (9):

(8) *We czwórkę ruszyli **nad** przepaść.* (NKJP)

[over precipice.ACC]

'They set off towards the precipice in a group of four '.

- (9) *Trzeba minąć kościół i dotrzeć na kraniec wsi, niemal **nad** granicę z wioską Ropa.* (NKJP)  
[over border.ACC]

'You need to pass the church and reach the edge of the village, almost on the border of the village Ropa'.

The Approach Sense of the preposition *nad* has triggered the Partial Effect Sense of the verbal prefix *nad-*. The term for this sense is based on Śmiech (1986: 106), who remarks that verbs prefixed by *nad-* denote "performing an action only partially, approaching a target without reaching it" [translation mine]. This sense has originated as a result of an experiential correlation between coming close to a destination and a partial attainment of the TR's goal. As exemplified by sentences (8) and (9), approaching the precipice and the border respectively, triggers the implicature of a partial attainment of the goal of the undertaken action. Due to the shift in profile of the preposition *nad*, the concept of partial goal attainment is foregrounded and the original concept of approaching a physical object in space is backgrounded. Subsequently, it is possible to conceptualise partial attainment of the goal in terms of the PARTIAL ATTAINMENT OF THE GOAL IS COMING CLOSER metaphor:

- (10) *Uśmiecha się Hans i zbliża ostrze noża do błyszczącej kaszanki. **Nad**etnie ją i podniesie*  
[over-cut.3SG.FT]

*wzrok nie tyle na proboszcza, co w stronę Gerty.* (SJP PWN corpus)

'Hans is smiling and moving the knife blade close to the glistening blood sausage. He is going to score it and raise his eyes not so much towards the parish priest but in the direction of Gerta'.

- (11) *Niebezpieczeństwo czyha też w **nad**gniłych warzywach i owocach.* (SJP PWN corpus)  
[over-rotten.PTCP.PT.PL]

'Rotting vegetables and fruit also pose a danger'.

In (10) the prefix *nad-* profiles not only achieving a partial effect of an action but also the direction in which the activity of cutting proceeds, i.e. from above. This stems from the fact that the primary sense of the preposition *nad* conceptualises the TR located higher than the LM, and this particular spatial relationship remains in existence – even though not focally prominent – in the profile of the prefix *nad-* conceptualising the Partial Effect Sense. Consequently, the verb *nadciąć* [over-cut] 'to score' cannot be replaced by the composite verb *podciąć* [under-cut] 'to cut/clip' because the prefix *pod-* construes the opposite direction of the activity of cutting, which proceeds from beneath. This is

due to the fact that in its primary sense the preposition *pod* conceptualises the TR located lower than the LM. The verb *nadciąć* can be combined with nouns denoting objects that can be subject to the activity of cutting from above, such as a piece of fabric, as exemplified by the phrase *nadciąć materiał* 'to notch a piece of fabric' (SJP PWN). In contrast, the verb *podciąć* 'to cut off small pieces' can be combined with nouns that are affected by the activity of cutting proceeding from beneath, such as hair or flower stems, as exemplified by phrases such as *podciąć włosy* 'to trim hair' or *podciąć łodygi kwiatów* 'to trim flower stems' (SJP PWN).

As regards (11), the component prefix *nad-* in the composite participle form *nadgnile* [over-rotten.PTCP.PT.PL.F] profiles not only the partial effect that the process of rotting has produced (fruit and vegetables that are just starting to go rotten) but also the position of the vantage point from which the (partial) effect of rotting can be registered (the location of the rotten spots). The vantage point, which should be understood as the eye level of the observer, is located higher than the set of the observed entities because one usually looks at fruit and vegetables, typically stored in bowls or boxes, from above. Thus, rotten spots are construed as being located on the upper surface of fruit and vegetables.

The composite expression in which the prefix *nad-* is replaced by the prefix *pod-*, i.e. *podgnile* [under-rotten] *owoce i warzywa* 'partially rotten fruit and vegetables', is not impossible in Polish, as a Google search carried out on November 20th 2021 yielded 9 results for it in comparison with 429 results for *nadgnile owoce i warzywa*. The Google results for *pod-* can be regarded as an instance of an alternative interpretation of the initial phase of the rotting process, which is seen as one affecting the bottom part of the produce. This collocation is not attested in SJP PWN and the NKJP search yielded no results for *podgnile owoce* and *podgnile warzywa*, which shows that the spatial relationship of the TR being located higher than the LM is chosen far more often to form the composite expression in question. This, in turn, stems from the fact that changes affecting the upper part of an object are much more salient than those affecting its bottom part because they can be detected far more easily.

Another prefix that expresses the Partial Effect Sense is *pod-*. This sense is closely related to what I call the Approach Sense of the preposition *pod*, which conceptualises the TR's movement towards a location that is lower than and close to the LM (12) or only close to the LM (13):

- (12) *Z banku pojechali pod zamek, gdzie czekał na nich organizator.* (NKJP)  
[under castle.ACC]

'From the bank they went up to the castle, where the organiser was waiting for them.'

(13) *Jeździł nawet gdzieś **pod** Poznań żeby pogadać z ludźmi z firmy meblarskiej.* (NKJP)

[under Poznań.ACC]

'He even used to go somewhere near Poznań in order to talk to people from the furniture company'.

The Approach Sense of the preposition *pod* has triggered the Partial Effect Sense of the prefix *pod-* in the course of the process of experiential correlation between coming close to a destination and a partial attainment of the goal of the action, as a result of which the latter can be construed in terms of the former:

(14) *Jagienka [...] wyjmuję z kamiennych wazonów **podgniłe** kwiaty [...].* (NKJP)

'Jagienka is taking partially rotten flowers out of the vases'.

(15) *Marchewkę i brokoły krótko **podgotować**.* (NKJP)

'Parboil the carrot and broccoli for a short time'.

(16) *Dlatego postanowił **podciąć** tamtemu chłopakowi gardło.* (NKJP)

'That is why he decided to slit the throat of that boy'.

In (14) the prefix *pod-* construes the partial effect of the rotting process, which has either taken its toll on the bottom part of the affected object or started therein: when flowers are kept in a vase it is their stems that go rotten first. In (15) the composite verb *podgotować* [under-cook] 'to parboil' profiles not only the partial effect that has been achieved (through cooking the vegetables for a short time) but also the location of the source of energy (a burner which is below the pot) and the direction from which it operates (from below). In Polish it is possible to distinguish a whole range of verbs in the semantic field of COOKING in which the spatial relationship of the TR (the source of energy) being located lower than the LM (the food being processed), even if it is not focally prominent, remains in the profile of the prefix: *podsmżyć* [under-fry] 'to stir-fry', *podpiec* [under-roast] 'to roast for a short while', *poddusić* [under-stew] 'to stew', etc. Needless to say, it is impossible to exchange the prefix *pod-* for the prefix *nad-* in the composite verbs at issue.

As regards the construal encoded by the prefix *pod-* in (16), the original spatial configuration is backgrounded but, notwithstanding that, the verb *podciąć* [under-cut] cannot be replaced by the verb *nadciąć* [over-cut] in which the prefix *nad-* also encodes the Partial Effect Sense. This can be explained in terms of the frame activation in the composition process in which the component prefix *pod-* 'under' and the component verb *ciąć* 'to cut' have been combined. As a result, the frame of DESTRUCTION has been activated despite the fact that at the lower level of structural organisation

the frame of DESTRUCTION is only peripheral to the prefix *pod-* and the verb *ciąć*. Therefore, the verb *podciąć* is commonly used in collocations, such as *podciąć sobie żyły* 'to slash one's wrists' and *podciąć komuś skrzydła* 'to clip sb's wings', in which it encodes the destruction of a person's life or hope/enthusiasm respectively.

Finally, when it comes to the Partial Effect Sense of the prefix *na-*, it is motivated by the dynamic sense of the preposition *na* which encodes the TR's movement, proceeding frequently from above, so that it eventually reaches its goal located on the upper surface of the LM. As a result of this kind of movement, the upper surface of the LM can be affected by the TR landing there. Consequently, the prefix *na-* is frequently used to talk about actions performed on the surface of an object, as exemplified by composite verbs, such as *napisać* [on-write.INF.PF], *narysować* [on-draw.INF.PF], *namalować* [on-paint.INF.PF], etc. This particular conceptualisation triggers the occurrence of an experiential correlation between performing an action on the surface of the LM and achieving only a partial effect of the action, which – in turn – leads to the emergence of the Partial Effect Sense of the prefix *na-*:

(17) *Aby przepołować małego kurczaka, najlepiej **naciąć** go wzdłuż grzbietu.* (SJP PWN corpus)

[on-cut.INF]

'In order to bisect a small chicken it is best to notch it along its back'.

(18) *Owoce z twardą skórką należy **nakuć** aby nie pękły podczas smażenia.* (NKJP)

[on-pierce.INF]

'Fruit with hard skin should be pricked so as to prevent them from cracking during frying'.

The prefix *na-*, when used in the Partial Effect Sense, combines with verbs that profile an action which starts on the surface of the object, such as *ciąć* 'to cut', *kłuć* 'to pierce' and *gryźć* 'to bite'. Even though the component verbs in question – when unprefixed – denote an action which is aimed at disrupting the structural integrity of a physical object, so that it can break into two or more parts, the addition of the prefix *na-* entails a shift in their profile. As a result, the composite verbs *naciąć* [on-cut] and *nakuć* [on-pierce] are formed, which denote affecting merely the exterior part of an object (by making contact with its surface) without proceeding through its interior. Consequently, the prefix *na-* profiles the achievement of a partial effect of an action by making contact with the surface of the object, which is only disturbed as a result of the undertaken action, while the structural integrity of the object in question is not affected.

#### 4. Conclusions

The purpose of the present paper has been to investigate the phenomenon of inter-lexical polysemy between three English particles: *up*, *down* and *over*, encoding the Completion Sense, and three Polish prefixes: *nad-*, *pod-* and *na-* encoding the Partial Effect Sense. The analysis has revealed that the spatial expressions under study differ from one another despite conveying "broadly similar" meanings. As has been demonstrated, the differences between the investigated spatial expressions result from the differences between their primary senses, represented by distinct image schemas, which constitute source domains for the metaphorical conceptualisations underlying the two investigated senses.

As far as the Completion Sense is concerned, the image schematic content of the particle *up* motivates the following metaphors: MORE IS UP, BRISK IS UP and VISIBLE IS UP, while the image schematic content of the particle *down* constitutes a source domain for the metaphors, such as LESS IS DOWN and CONTROL IS DOWN. This explains why *up* and *down* are not mutually replaceable when conveying this sense. For example, while the verb *cut up* (1) encodes bringing the activity of cutting to an end in the course of which many small pieces are produced, the verb *cut down* is used to talk about the completion of cutting by reducing the size of an object, usually a tree, to ground level. Likewise, while the verb *drink up* stands for a quick completion of the activity of drinking, the verb *drink down* conceptualises the downward trajectory of the liquid, as it encodes swallowing the whole quantity of liquid, such as e.g. a medicine, by drinking (LDOPV). The third particle conceptualising the Completion Sense, i.e. *over* construes finishing an activity in terms of moving along an arching trajectory, which proceeds to the other side of the LM. Therefore, *over* construes the completion of an activity as moving forwards and leaving the past behind, or as overcoming an obstacle.

When it comes to the Partial Effect Sense, image schemas representing the primary senses of the cognate prepositions not only underlie the metaphorical conceptualisations responsible for the semantic differences of the prefixes under study but also profile the TR-LM configuration, which remains a salient element of the construal. Thus, while the prefix *nad-* 'over' conceptualises a partial effect of the activity encoded by the verb, which proceeds from above, or can be spotted from there, the prefix *pod-* 'under' construes the partial effect of an activity brought about from the opposite direction, i.e. from below. For this reason, verbs such as *nadciąć* and *podciąć* are by no means synonymous even though they conceptualise the activity of cutting that has not been brought to an end. Additionally, the TR-LM configuration underlying the primary sense of the cognate preposition *pod* triggers the DESTRUCTION IS GOING UNDER metaphor, hence the use of the verb *podciąć*



in collocations that express the concept of devastation, such as e.g. *podciąć sobie żyły* 'to slash one's wrists', or *podciąć komuś skrzydła* 'to clip sb's wings'. Another prefix conceptualising the Partial Effect Sense, the prefix *na-*, construes the activity encoded by the verb as one that merely affects the surface of an object.

All in all, particles and prefixes – encoding senses that carry the same labels – have by no means "the same" lexical meanings, and they are not interchangeable. The source of differences between them lies in distinct TR-LM configurations that underlie the respective image-schemas representing their primary senses. The framework of cognitive linguistics is not only capable of accounting for these differences but it might also turn out to be very useful in language pedagogy as it could be used to explain nuances of meaning – like the ones described above – to advanced students of English.

### Notes:

1. A path of motion is encoded by the verbal satellite in the case of the so called satellite-framed languages (Talmy 1991) to which both English and Polish belong. In verb-framed languages, represented by the Romance branch, the path of motion is expressed by the verb itself.
2. Spatial expression is used here as a cover term for prepositions, particles and prefixes.
3. The concept of the primary sense as used by Tyler and Evans (2003) can be put on a par with that of the prototypical meaning as understood Langacker (1987) for whom this is the *sanctioning sense*, i.e. the one sanctioning sense extensions.
4. The convention for the graphical representation of the spatial expressions' senses has been adopted from Tyler and Evans (2003).
5. Telic aspect is defined by Croft (2012: 79) as "[...] is the existence of a natural endpoint or telos of an event".
6. According to Šarić (2012: 9), "there is a need for a systematic account of the relationship between spatial prefixes and cognate prepositions with the aim of presenting prepositional and prefixal meanings not as a haphazard collection of senses, but as structured meaning networks".

### List of abbreviations

BNC – British National Corpus

LDOPV – Longman dictionary of phrasal verbs

LM – landmark

NKJP – Narodowy korpus języka polskiego

OED – Oxford English dictionary

SJP PWN – Słownik języka polskiego PWN

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## Résumé:

The paper highlights the inter-lexical polysemy of three English verbal particles: *up*, *down* and *over*, encoding the Completion Sense and three Polish verbal prefixes: *nad-*, *pod-* and *na-*, conveying the Partial Effect Sense. The phenomenon of inter-lexical polysemy was researched by Evans (2015), who states that it takes place between different lexemes, which have roughly similar meanings. The present study is couched in the framework of cognitive linguistics and it has been carried out by means of the lexical method proposed by Kövecses (1986; 2017). The analysis clearly shows that even though the investigated spatial expressions are semantically similar to one another, they are definitely not interchangeable, which should be taken to mean that their usage is heavily restricted both by the linguistic and extra-linguistic context. Differences between the spatial expressions under study follow from different properties of image schemas that represent their primary senses and function as source domains for metaphorical conceptualisations. Thus, when expressing the Completion Sense the particle *up* additionally conceptualises high speed, big quantity and visibility, the particle *down* construes a decrease in quantity, destruction and control, while the particle *over* foregrounds overcoming an obstacle and leaving the past behind. As regards the Polish sample, when conveying the Partial Effect Sense, the prefix *nad-* construes the process or activity encoded by the component verb proceeding from above, the prefix *pod-* expresses the process/activity proceeding from below and it may also conceptualise destruction, while the prefix *na-* profiles performing an action on the surface of the object.

**Key words:** primary metaphor, EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor, image schema, spatial expression.

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### TOWARDS A PRACTICAL CLASSIFICATION OF EXONYMS

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**Abstract:** The present study examines the phenomenon of exonymy in names of countries. Eleven major types of exonyms have been identified, ranging from near-endonyms to unrelated exonyms. The classification has been tested on names of twenty countries in five languages, which have been subject to contrastive analysis. Minor phonological adaptation has been the most common onomastic mechanism among the studied terms. The research has also shown that exonymy is a natural linguistic phenomenon and with time an exonym may become an endonym and vice versa.

**Key words:** endonym, exonym, toponym, contrastive analysis, etymology.

#### 1. Introduction

In the late 1940s, the UN initiated a discussion on the standardization of geographical names, which led to the establishment of the United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names (UNGEGN) in 1972 (Kadmon 2007a: 62-63). Two key terms in the above debate are **endonym** and **exonym**. The former is defined as a "name of a geographical feature in one of the languages occurring in that area where the feature is situated," while the latter is a "name used in a specific language for a geographical feature situated outside the area where that language has official status, and differing in its form from the name used in the official language or languages of the area where the geographical feature is situated" (*Glossary*: 10). For instance, German *Deutschland* is an endonym, while its English counterpart, *Germany*, is an exonym. The above definitions are a result of an uneasy compromise, because while at first glance the notions in question appear to be reducible to "a name from within" and "a name from without," respectively (cf. Jordan 2016: 6), the matter is by no means simple.

To start with, the very line dividing an exonym from an endonym may not be easy to establish, as the phrase "differing in its form" (*Glossary*: 10) used in the official definition of exonym is not precise. Thus, some onomasticians maximize the concept of *exonym* at the expense of *endonym* (Harvalík 2004), while others go in the opposite direction, counting as endonyms names that share the written form with the in-group name (Bušs 2012). The former approach may be defended on formal linguistic

grounds, as for instance the English pronunciation of the word *France* differs significantly from its French counterpart. The latter approach, in turn, may appear more plausible from a functional point of view, since the above difference becomes insignificant when one looks at a map.

Another problem is that a two-fold distinction juxtaposes, for example, Italian *Italia* with Turkish *İtalya*, English *Italy* and Polish *Włochy*, disregarding the obvious connection between the endonym in question and the first two exonyms. Thus, a number of authors have proposed more nuanced classifications. For instance, Svensson (1977: 7) regards the phenomenon as a scale and distinguishes five degrees, restricting the term *exonym* to "synchronically unrelated" forms, e.g., Polish *Niemcy* as opposed to the German endonym *Deutschland*. In turn, Nicolaisen (1996: 55-553) discusses eight different types of exonyms occurring in bilingual Gaelic-English communities in Scotland. Finally, Raukko (2007: 23, 46-47) introduces a four-way distinction into endonym, exophone, exograph and exonym, which, following a discussion of several variants, leads him to the creation of an eleven-point scale, ranging from the "free exonym" to the endonym itself. The classification presented here may be seen as an elaboration of the above concepts. At the same time, it has been designed with a view to extend the discussion of exonymy to other categories (for example, as postulated by Koopman 2016: 258-259 and Raukko 2017: 97), in particular to ethnonyms, both standard and non-standard.

However, before we turn to the discussion of the solution proposed here, a comment concerning the perception of the endonym/exonym divide has to be made. Namely, in the 1970s and 1980s exonyms were seen in a bad light by the UNGEGN, which viewed them as revisionist or colonialist and followed a policy of discouraging their use (Woodman 2007: 7-8). Those concerns were not unfounded: it is a fact that in the past the European powers divided various territories in Africa, Asia, the Americas and Polynesia at will and imposed names on them as they saw fit, often ignoring local identities. It is also a fact that, contrary to Jordan's (2012: 21) assertion that "exonyms are *not* symbols of appropriation and do *not* express claims,"<sup>1</sup> such terms can be used instrumentally. Their misuse and abuse, however, should not be treated as an argument against them. Exonyms are a natural linguistic phenomenon and elsewhere Jordan (2016: 5) is justified in his attempts to "de-demonise" the term in question and to "take from it the odium of expressing political claims," without at the same time denying the endonym its privileged status. I hope to contribute to this endeavour by proposing a classification that can satisfy the needs of a non-specialist and at the same time be scientifically acceptable.

## 2. Material and methods

It appears that the best way to destigmatize the notion of exonym is to show where each comes from. Therefore, any viable classification of exonyms should be able to account for their occurrence, or, to put it differently, explain their origin. With that in mind, the arrangement proposed here is focused on etymology. However, the analysis has not been reduced to identifying the etymon of a particular exonym. Formal aspects, such as phonological, grammatical and lexical adaptations, have also been considered. The resulting classification proposes a twelve-point scale, where terms are arranged depending on the relative contribution of the source culture to the creation of a particular exonym and its similarity to the endonym. The classification partly overlaps with those presented by Svensson (1977), Nicolaisen (1996), and Raukko (2007), yet there are also considerable differences. One of them is that it takes the endonym, rather than the "full" exonym (cf. Raukko 2007) as its starting point. This may appear to be a minor technical issue, yet such an arrangement is more natural if we accept that the most significant question that is to be answered is: "Why does the name for country A in language B differ from the name in language A?"

The classification, described in detail in the following section, has been tested on 100 lexical items. Specifically, they included names of twenty countries from Europe, Asia, Africa and the Americas (five countries for each part of the world), which were subject to contrastive analysis in five languages spoken in Europe: English, Spanish, Polish, Hungarian and Turkish. Admittedly, the target countries and languages do not represent the whole geographical and linguistic spectrum, yet the focus on those that use the Latin Alphabet is justifiable given the fact that Romanization is one of the main goals of UNGEGN (*Goals, s.a.*). Still, the rationale behind the choice was to provide a wide range of historical and geographical backgrounds within the languages spoken in Europe. It is worth stating at this point that the main focus of the present study is a qualitative rather than quantitative analysis. To put it differently, the examples serve to illustrate different types of exonyms and while some tentative conclusions of a statistical nature can be drawn, they have to be verified on a much larger sample.

## 3. Results and discussion

The classification can be viewed from two different angles. Specifically, if we emphasize the criterion of similarity, we end up with a linear progression from level 0 to level 11, as illustrated in Fig. 1. However, it needs to be stressed that the consecutive levels should not be interpreted as stages in the development of a single item. Rather, they reflect the relative similarity (or lack of it) between particular toponyms.



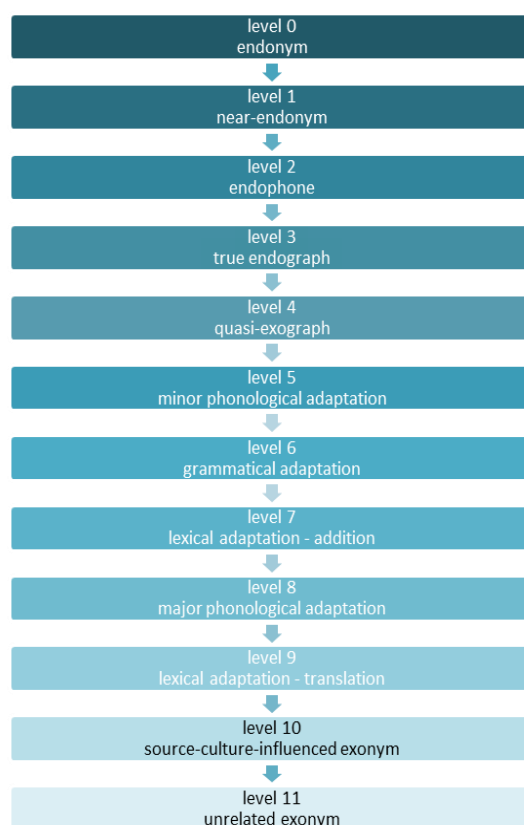


Figure 1. The proposed classification of exonyms viewed as a scale (Source: Own procession)

The other perspective concerns the mechanisms that influenced particular terms, which yields the structure shown in Fig. 2. The basic distinction is etymological; exonyms have been divided into those, which are based on a particular endonym and *true exonyms* (see Raukko 2017: 121 for a different use of this term). The former category includes two subcategories: *endo-forms*, or terms, which share their spelling and/or pronunciation with an endonym, and *exo-forms*, or terms, which have undergone phonological, grammatical or lexical adaptation noticeable both in spelling and pronunciation. Among true exonyms a distinction has been made between the terms influenced by the source culture (though not by the current endonym) and *unrelated exonyms* (cf. Nicolaisen 1996: 550), or terms which have originated outside the source culture.

Importantly, we do not claim that a single term can be subject only to one of the processes included in the classification. The arrangement of the types of exonyms on a scale does not preclude the existence of mixed cases. Still, the classificatory dilemma can be solved, if we accept a similarity-based perspective meaning that a term that displays properties characteristic of more than one level should be treated as belonging to the farthest one. To give an example, Polish *Walia* [Wales] has undergone phonological adaptation manifest in changing the initial bilabial semivowel /w/ to the voiced velar plosive /v/ (see, e.g., Rychło 2021: 213-215 for other examples), but also morphological

adaptation visible in the suffix *-ia*. The former modification suggests level 5, but the latter pushes the item in question into level 6. Such an interpretation enables an unambiguous treatment of problematic cases for classificatory purposes, at the same time allowing for a detailed analysis.

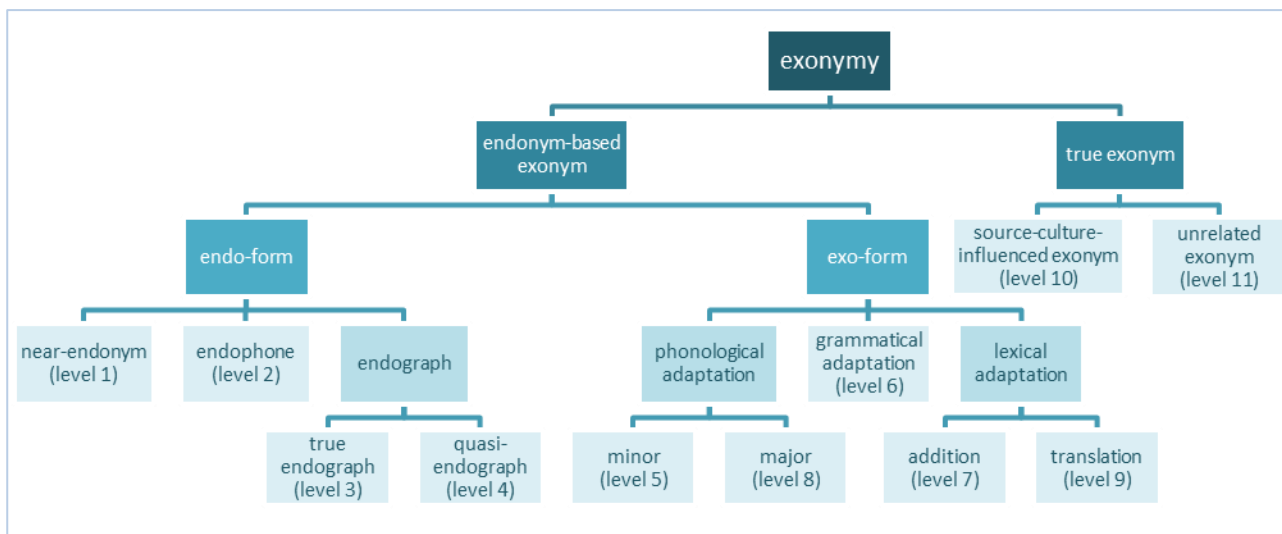


Figure 2. The proposed classification of exonyms viewed as a hierarchy (Source: Own procession)

The results of the analysis are presented in Fig. 3. As can be seen, there were far more endonym-based exonyms (76%) than true exonyms (14%), the remaining 10% being endonyms. Within the former group, 59 items were exo-forms, minor phonological adaptation being the most common level (28 items). The following sections contain a detailed analysis of each type.

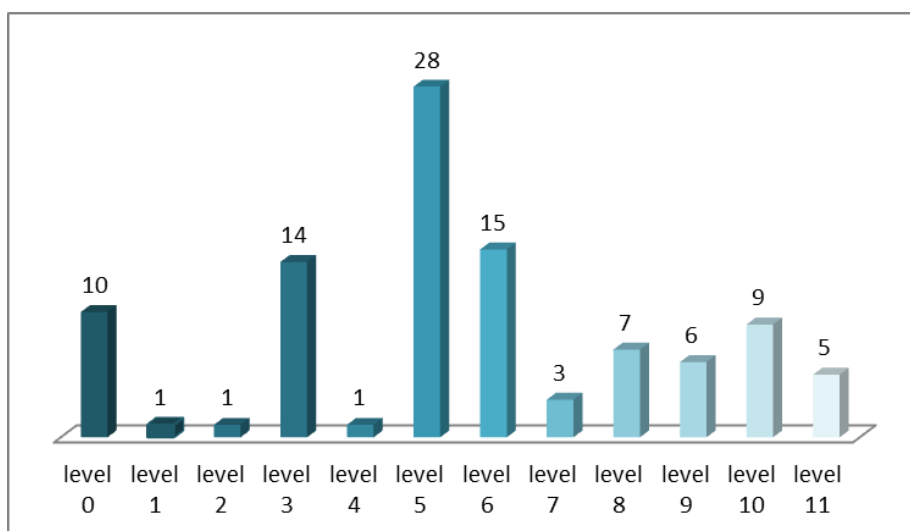


Figure 3. The numbers of occurrence of endonyms and each type of exonyms in the sample (Source: Own procession)

### 3.1 Level 0

Ten items out of the one hundred chosen for analysis were endonyms, that is, terms used by people living in the countries that those terms denote. Those were English *Wales*, *India*, *Pakistan*, *the Philippines*, *Nigeria* and *South Africa*, as well as Spanish *México*, *Argentina*, *Colombia* and *Cuba*. Most of them are names of countries with a colonial past in which English or Spanish have official status. This, in turn, automatically renders terms used in any of those languages endonyms and thus into potential reference points for other languages. This concerns countries in which one of the two languages in question is the only (de jure or de facto) official language, such as Nigeria, Cuba, Argentina and Mexico, or – as in the case of South Africa, the Philippines, Pakistan and India – one of the official languages. The case of Nigeria is probably the most striking example: while there are well over 500 native languages spoken in that country, English – while itself a minority language – is the only language recognised by the majority of the population, which explains its privileged status (Adegbija 2004: 54).

The case of *Wales* deserves closer inspection. Clearly distinct in form and origin from its Welsh co-endonym *Cymru*, the term comes from OE *Wēalas* (the plural form of the ethnonym *Wealh*) that in turn comes from PG \**Walhaz* (the *OED*). Its origins lie in the name of a Celtic tribe reconstructed as PC \**Wolko-*, which appears in Greek and Latin sources as *Οὐόλκαι* and *Volcae*, respectively (*DLG*, *DGRG*). Between the 5<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, the Celtic endonym was borrowed by Germanic tribes, who extended it to cover all Celtic tribes and with time to other subjects of the Roman Empire, including the Romans themselves (Green 2000: 160). Following the collapse of the Western Roman Empire, different variants of the term came to be used by various Germanic tribes to describe local Romano-Celtic communities. It became the source of modern endonyms *Wales* and *Wallonie*, the latter referring to the French-speaking region of Belgium, as well as *Wahle* (and its various related forms), a non-standard German term denoting the French, Walloons, Italians or the French-speaking Swiss, depending on the dialect (see Kudła 2011 for details).

A number of conclusions can be drawn from the above example. Firstly, there are no inherently endonymic or exonymic terms; their status depends on past and present geopolitical circumstances. The passage of time can turn an exonym into an endonym and vice versa. Secondly, the inclusion of the temporal dimension reveals that one and the same term may develop into an official name of a country, region, or into an unofficial name of an ethnic group or nationality. Finally, there is often a strong correlation between toponyms and anthroponyms; the OE ancestor of ModE *Wales* was originally the plural form of the ethnonym and, as we shall see below, this is not the only example of the interaction between the place-names and names of human communities.

### 3.2 Level 1

Out of the 90 remaining non-endonyms only one item could be classified as a *near-endonym*, that is, a term nearly identical in form to an endonym. The term in question is Spanish *Italia*, which is spelled and pronounced like the Italian prototype. The decision to separate it from its Italian counterpart stems from the definition of *endonym* accepted by the UNGEGN (see above). Still, the notion of a near-endonym suggests close similarity of form. In practice, it may mean that the corresponding sounds may differ slightly in their place of articulation due to differences in the phonemic inventories.

### 3.3 Level 2

Similarly to the previous level, only one instance of an *endophone*<sup>2</sup> was found in the sample, namely Turkish *İtalya*. This is only logical, given the fact that as a rule languages differ in their phonemic inventories and most attempts at modifying the spelling in order to retain the original pronunciation are bound to be partially successful at best.

### 3.4 Level 3

In contrast to the previous category, as many as fourteen items were *true endographs*<sup>3</sup>, or terms that have the same spelling as the endonym yet differ in pronunciation (see Table 1). The latter may involve differences in individual phonemes, as is the case in the Spanish and Polish terms for Nigeria, or a different stress pattern, as for instance in Polish and Turkish *Pakistan* and Spanish *Indonesia*. From a cartographer's perspective, such terms would be indistinguishable from the endonyms, yet from a linguistic point of view, the differences in pronunciation cannot be neglected.

Table 1. Endographs (level 2) in the sample

Spanish	English	Polish	Hungarian	Turkish
<i>Indonesia</i>	<i>Indonesia</i>			
<i>Nigeria</i>		<i>Nigeria</i>		
<i>India</i>			<i>India</i>	
		<i>Pakistan</i>		<i>Pakistan</i>
<i>Brasil</i>				
	<i>Argentina</i>			
	<i>Cuba</i>			
	<i>Colombia</i>			
	<i>France</i>			
			<i>Wales</i>	

### 3.5 Level 4

The category of quasi-endographs has been introduced into the classification to account for transliterated terms as well as for items, whose written form lacks diacritical marks present in the endonym. Some authors treat the former as equal to endonyms arguing that in such cases the process of rendering their written form in the target writing system is a necessity rather than a whim (Woodman 2007: 16). In fact the same could be said for the latter if the orthographic conventions of the target language do not include the diacritics in question. However, the fact remains that, strictly speaking, the written form of those terms differs from the original. The fact that only one such term was found in the sample, namely English *Mexico*, shows that the differences in script often coincide with phonological adaptation, as is the case with names for Ethiopia, or – more radically – with a neglect of the endonym, which can be seen in names for Egypt (see below).

### 3.6 Level 5

The results for level 5, which includes terms that have undergone minor phonological changes, stand in sharp contrast to the previous level. In particular, as many as 28 items could be ascribed to this category, and that was the highest score in the sample (see Table 2). It may be claimed that this is a typical (or prototypical) case from the point of view of language contact; the pronunciation of a particular foreign term is modified to fit the phonology of the target language and its spelling follows suit. The latter may involve adding diacritics, as can be seen in several examples in Hungarian, Spanish and Turkish.

The case of *Ethiopia* is particularly interesting, since not only all of the analysed exonyms, but also all of the endonyms coming from the country's five official languages are in fact loanwords from Greek *Αἰθιοπία*, which was derived from *Αἰθίοψ*, literally "burnt-face" (the *OED*). In fact, the Greek exonym was used as an endonym by local communities already in the 13<sup>th</sup> century (Zewde 2002: xxi). Until recently, the only official endonym was Amharic ኢትዮጵያ, Romanized as *Ityop'iya* (*WGN*), yet in 2020 Afan Oromo, Afar, Somali and Tigrigna joined Amharic as official languages of the country (see Emi 2020).

The reverse, that is, a case when an endonym becomes an exonym, can be observed in Spanish *Filipinas*. The Philippines were once a Spanish colony and the term was used by the settlers. Yet nowadays it is Filipino and English that enjoy the status of official languages meaning that the English term, once an exonym, has become an endonym.

Among exonyms belonging to level 5 there are also two Turkish terms, namely *Misir* [Egypt] and *Cezayir* [Algeria].<sup>4</sup> Both are based on the Arabic endonyms *مِصْر*, and *الجزائر*, transliterated into the Latin alphabet as *Miṣr* and *Al Jazā'ir*, respectively (WGN). The latter endonym contains the Arabic definite article which has been dropped in its Turkish counterpart. However, as we shall see in the following section, it has become part of the lexical item in the remaining languages analysed by us.

Table 2. Minor phonological adaptations (level 5) in the sample

Turkish	Hungarian	Polish	Spanish	English
<i>Etiyopya</i>	<i>Etiópia</i>	<i>Etiopia</i>	<i>Etiopía</i>	<i>Ethiopia</i>
<i>Meksika</i>	<i>Mexikó</i>	<i>Meksyk</i>		
<i>Küba</i>	<i>Kuba</i>	<i>Kuba</i>		
<i>Kolombiya</i>	<i>Kolumbia</i>	<i>Kolumbia</i>		
<i>Endonezya</i>	<i>Indonézia</i>	<i>Indonezja</i>		
<i>Arjantin</i>	<i>Argentína</i>	<i>Argentyna</i>		
<i>Nijerya</i>	<i>Nigéria</i>			
	<i>Pakisztán</i>		<i>Pakistán</i>	
<i>Cezayir</i>				
<i>Misir</i>				
				<i>Brazil</i>
			<i>Filipinas</i>	

### 3.7 Level 6

The second largest group in the sample (15 items, only slightly more than on level 2) comprises terms that have been subject to grammatical adaptation (see Table 3). This process may take the form of adding an affix or interpreting an article as an integral part of a toponym. In fact, both can be seen in the Polish, English, Spanish and Hungarian versions of the above-mentioned *Al Jazā'ir* [Algeria]. Incidentally, the suffix they contain, *-ia*, comes from Latin, which is the source of most exonyms in the sample belonging to this level.

A special case of grammatical adaptation occurs when an endonym is (or used to be) in the plural form and the grammatical number is rendered in the target language. Such is the case of Polish *Filipiny* and Turkish *Filipinler* [the Philippines], as well as Polish *Indie* [India], the latter reflecting the once common form *Indies* (the *OED*).

Table 3. Morphological adaptations (level 6) occurring in the sample

Polish	Spanish	English	Turkish	Hungarian
<i>Algieria</i>	<i>Argelia</i>	<i>Algeria</i>		<i>Algéria</i>
<i>Francja</i>	<i>Francia</i>		<i>Fransa</i>	
<i>Brazylia</i>			<i>Brezilya</i>	<i>Brazília</i>
<i>Filipiny</i>			<i>Filipinler</i>	
<i>Indie</i>				
<i>Walia</i>				
		<i>Italy</i>		

### 3.8 Level 7

This category (3 items in the sample) comprises terms that have undergone a form of lexical adaptation which involves adding an element that can be identified as a lexical item in the target language. Typically, the added element is roughly equivalent to "country" or "land." This onomastic strategy was found for instance in Hungarian *Franciaország* [France] and in Turkish *Hindistan* [India]. We may note in passing that the names for Pakistan in the sample were classified as belonging to level 2 or 5, rather than level 7, because they imitate the element *-stan* present in the endonym. On the other hand, Hungarian *Fülöp-szigetek*, literally "Philip's islands" (that is, the Philippines), is a clear example of level 7.

### 3.9 Level 8

Represented by seven examples in the sample, Level 8 covers terms which have undergone major phonological adaptations. It has been isolated as a separate category to account for cases in which the form of an exonym is markedly distinct from that of the endonym despite their etymological closeness. This may happen when a term is borrowed at an earlier stage of development of a particular language and adapted to its phonology. This often coincides with the process of a lexical transfer to other languages. Thus, the passage of time (possibly combined with the mediation of other languages) obscures the etymology of the exonym in question, which is the reason why on the scale this level is placed after grammatical adaptation and lexical addition.

There were seven of such exonyms within the sample, two names of Wales and all five names of Japan. The former, Spanish *Gales* and Turkish *Galler* are derived from French *Galles*. While its etymology is not certain, a plausible explanation holds that the term came into Old French from OE *Wēalas*, turning the initial labiovelar semivowel /w/ into the voiced velar plosive /g/ on the way (Sjörögen 1938), as in French *guerre* "war," derived from Proto-Germanic *\*werz-a-* (ED).<sup>5</sup>

As for English *Japan*, Spanish *Japón*, Polish *Japonia*, Hungarian *Japán* and Turkish *Japonya*, they are all clearly distinct in pronunciation and spelling from the endonym, 日本, Romanized as *Nippon* or *Nihon* (WGN). It is written using kanji, a script which originated in China and which is read differently in Chinese. Thus, the Chinese pronunciation of the term in question (though not the script) was borrowed by Malay in the form that could be transliterated as *Japang* or *Japun*, from whence it came in the 16<sup>th</sup> century to Portuguese and – via this language – spread to other European languages (Lach 1994: 652).

### 3.10 Level 9

Level 9, the final category comprising endonym-based exonyms, is a type of lexical adaptation which involves loan translation (cf. Nicolaisen 1996: 550), also labelled *semantic translation* (Raukko 2007: 41-42, 2017: 107-108). There were six such items in the sample and – while one should be careful when drawing general conclusions on the basis of a sample composed of 100 items – the fact that all of them concern two countries suggests that this onomastic strategy is correlated with particular toponyms rather than particular languages. The countries in question are South Africa and the Netherlands, whose endonyms (English *South Africa*, Afrikaans *Suid-Afrika* and the names of this country in nine more official languages, as well as Dutch *Nederland*) describe geographical features, in this case latitude and elevation, respectively. Examples of names for the former country include Spanish *Sudáfrica*, Turkish *Güney Afrika*, Hungarian *Dél-afrikai Köztársaság* and Polish *RPA*. The latter two examples only seemingly depart from the mechanism of loan-translation. The Hungarian name includes the term meaning "republic," reflecting the full name of the country, that is, *Republic of South Africa*, to cite just one of the endonyms. The usual Polish term differs only in being an acronym of the translation of the full name, namely *Republika Południowej Afryki*.

Translated exonyms denoting the latter country include Spanish *Países Bajos* and English *Netherlands*, the latter sharing a Germanic heritage with the endonym. As a matter of fact, the English lexicon includes two more toponyms related to the country in question. One of them is a more recent loan-translation, namely *Low Countries*, but the term is usually extended to cover the whole Benelux Union (*LX*). The other one is *Holland*, the name of one of the country's provinces that is often used as an equivalent of the official *the Netherlands*. Until recently, the former term was occasionally used by the Dutch authorities in some official settings, but in 2019 they decided to promote the use of the official name and discourage the use of *Holland* (Boffey 2019).



### 3.11 Level 10

The example described in the previous paragraph leads us to one of the categories of true exonyms, subsumed under level 10 (nine items). This group consists of terms whose formation has been influenced by the source culture, though the terms in question are not related to the endonym currently in use. The case of *Holland* is a good example; the term is based on one of the provinces of the source country, the most prominent at that, yet it does not reflect the endonym. However, while the English term does not have official status and hence has not been treated as part of the sample, there are official terms that follow this pattern, namely Polish *Holandia*, Hungarian *Hollandia* and Turkish *Hollanda*. Clearly, the exonyms in question are not arbitrary; rather, they reflect the political, cultural and economic importance of Holland in the country's history.

The latter term may be also seen as an example of a case in which a particular culture extends the name of a local group with which it has come into contact to all groups perceived as belonging to the same culture. The scenario can be illustrated with Spanish *Alemania* and Turkish *Almanya*, both of which can be traced to Alemanni, a confederation of Germanic tribes along the Upper Rhine between the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries (*CODA*).

Finally, a particular exonym may be based on an endonym used by an extinct culture. This can be seen in four out of five terms denoting Egypt in the sample. While Turkish *Misir* bears a clear resemblance to the present endonym (see above), English *Egypt*, Spanish *Egipto*, Polish *Egipt* and Hungarian *Egyiptom* are all derived from the ancient Greek name of the country, namely *Αἴγυπτος* (*Aigyptos*). The Greek term, in turn, comes from Amarna (or Late Egyptian) *Hikuptah*, one of the names of the ancient Egyptian goddess Memphis (*ED*). The latter, more commonly known name of the goddess, was also the name of the capital, which—when compared with toponyms such as *Athens* and *Thebes*—may explain the transfer of the name of a deity to that of a settlement and then to that of a state.

### 3.12 Level 11

The final level includes unrelated exonyms, or terms that bear no relation to the source culture and have either originated within the target culture or been borrowed from yet another culture. There were five items from that category in the sample, three for Italy and two for Germany. Specifically, English *Germany* comes from Latin *Germania*, a term which was used by ancient Romans, but which most probably did not serve as an endonym and instead had come from Gaulish (*ED*). It is worth adding at this point that the case of English names for Germany is particularly intricate. Before the current name became popular during the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the commonly used ME terms were *Almain* and *duche*

(with various spelling variants), the latter later narrowed down (as *Dutch*) to the inhabitants of the Netherlands (the *OED*).

A similar scenario can be observed in the two items referring to Italy, namely Polish *Włochy* and Hungarian *Olaszország*. Curiously enough, both have the same origin as the above-mentioned *Wales*, that is, Proto-Celtic \**Wolko-* (*SEJP*). However, the term was not borrowed directly from the Celts. Instead, it came into Proto-Slavic \**volxъ* from Proto-Germanic \**Walhaz* during the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, at a time when it was barely possible for a stranger to distinguish between the Romans and the Celts, the latter having largely been Romanized by that time (Gołąb 1992: 369). Consequently, the term evolved in its various forms into names for the representatives of the Roman culture that later narrowed their scope. Polish *Włochy* (originally the plural form of an ethnonym) is not an isolated example, though in most other Slavic languages (e.g. Ukrainian, Slovak and Croatian), the terms in question denote Romanians, that is, the nearest Romanized group rather than the most prominent (or the original) one. Still, the Polish interpretation of the name has been adopted by Hungarians, as *Olaszország* "Italy" is of Slavic origin.

The remaining two examples referring to Germany, Polish *Niemcy*, which may also be used as the plural form of an ethnonym, and Hungarian *Németország* are derived ultimately from Proto-Slavic \**němъ*, literally "a speech impaired person" (*SEJP*). What makes those examples distinct is that—at least from the Slavic perspective—those terms are cognates with meaningful native words. To put it differently, they were coined by the ancestors of the target language users with the use of their own lexical inventory with no regard to the source culture whatsoever. And yet, they are used nowadays as official names and as such are neutral.

#### **4. Conclusions**

The above analysis, though far from being complete, allows for the formulation of a number of conclusions, some of which have already been signalled above. Firstly, and most importantly, the notion of exonymy should be treated as a natural linguistic phenomenon that is distinct from – though not mutually exclusive with – the use of toponyms as instruments of oppression. Yet, as the examples of Wales, Nigeria and Ethiopia show, exonyms imposed by foreigners may with time turn into endonyms. Moreover, examples from level 10 and 11 demonstrate that exonymy is often a sign of ignorance rather than aggression. And, as in the previous case, the passage of time legitimizes the use of exonyms so that they continue to be employed even when a given culture has become more familiar with the culture it refers to. Needless to say, this does not preclude conscious onomastic policy, as shown in the case of *the Netherlands* vs. *Holland*.

The second conclusion, strongly related to the first one, is that the inclusion of the historical perspective (both linguistic and extra-linguistic) is indispensable for the understanding of the notion of exonymy. This concerns not only the changes in status of particular terms or their replacements, but also the interplay between various kinds of toponyms, such as names of countries, regions, cities, rivers, etc.

A different, though no less important, type of interaction is visible between toponymy and anthroponymy. As could be seen in a number of examples, the name of a country can be derived from – and sometimes is equivalent to – the name of a nation or ethnic group, and in fact a reverse transfer is also possible, as can be seen in the case of the origin of *Gipsy* (see, e.g., Kiełtyka 2020: 85-86).

As for conclusions of a quantitative nature, while definite statements should be avoided given the size of the sample, it can be clearly seen that one category, namely minor phonological adaptation (level 5) stands out. This level can possibly be seen as prototypical, followed by true endographs (level 3) and grammatical adaptation (level 6). On the other hand, near-endonyms (level 1), endophones (level 2) and quasi-endographs (level 4) appear to play a marginal role in country names, though their existence is a logical necessity.

To sum up, the above discussion will hopefully contribute to a more objective concept of exonymy. Still, a number of issues could not be addressed in detail here due to space limitations. However, they set directions for my future research. In particular, a quantitative analysis covering a wider range of target languages and items should be conducted in search of onomastic patterns. Secondly, in order to verify its validity the proposed classification should be tested on other types of toponyms, such as for instance names of regions and settlements. Last but not least, while a close interrelationship and interaction between toponyms and ethnonyms (or demonyms) has been signalled several times in the present paper, a study devoted specifically to this issue would bring a better understanding of the notion of exonymy in its various forms.

## Notes

1. Emphasis original.
2. The term *endophone* is equivalent to Raukko's (2007) *exograph*. In fact, the author mentions both of them but favours the latter. I prefer the former because it is more consistent with the category of endo-forms and with the underlying principle of the present classification, namely, the degree of similarity to an endonym (rather than differences among them).

3. Similarly to the previous category, *endograph* is equivalent to *endophone* (cf. Raukko 2007). I prefer the former for the same reasons stated in the previous footnote.
4. In Turkish <c> stands for the voiced postalveolar fricative affricate /dʒ/ (Zimmer & Orgun 1999).
5. Another example of an exonym belonging to level 8 would be Swedish *Tyskland* "Germany," whose first element – similarly its counterpart in the endonym *Deutschland* – can be traced to PG *\*theudō* "popular, national" (SAOB, ED).

### List of abbreviations

CODA – Concise Oxford Dictionary of archaeology

DGRG – Dictionary of Greek and Roman geography

DLG – Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise: Une approche linguistique du vieux-celtique continental

ED – Online Etymology Dictionary

LX – Lexico

OE – Old English

PC – Proto-Celtic

PG – Proto-Germanic

SAOB – Svenska Akademiens ordbok

SEJP – Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego

the OED – Oxford English Dictionary

WGN – UNGEGN world geographical names

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## **Résumé**

The present study focuses on the phenomenon of exonymy in names of countries. The paper begins with an overview of the endonym/exonym divide, arguing for a scalar view of the phenomenon. Drawing partly on existing taxonomies, a new classification of exonyms is proposed with the aim of providing a more accurate and unbiased description of exonymy. The resulting structure yields a twelve-point scale (with eleven types of exonyms) on which terms are arranged depending on the relative contribution of the source culture to the creation of a particular term and its formal similarity to the endonym. The basic distinction within the classification is into endonym-based exonyms and true exonyms. The former can be further divided into endo-forms, which have the same spelling and/or pronunciation as the endonym; and exo-forms, which have been subject to phonological, morphological and/or lexical adaptations. True exonyms, in turn, can be divided into source-culture-influenced exonyms and unrelated exonyms, the latter comprising terms that either have originated within the target culture or have been borrowed from yet another culture. The classification has been tested on names of twenty countries in five languages. While the focus of the analysis has been qualitative rather than quantitative, some tentative conclusions of the latter type can be drawn. In particular, minor phonological adaptation has been the most common onomastic mechanism among the analysed terms. The analysis has also demonstrated that with time an exonym may become an endonym and vice versa, which proves that, on the one hand, exonymy is a natural linguistic phenomenon and, on the other, that a historical perspective is crucial for its understanding. Still, further research is needed, focusing in particular on the inclusion of a wider range of target languages and lexical items; on other types of toponyms; and on the interrelationship between toponyms and ethnonyms.

**Key words:** endonym, exonym, toponym, contrastive analysis, etymology.

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### VOWEL NASALITY IN AKAN

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**Abstract:** This paper discusses vowel nasality in Akan, a Kwa language. Nasality in Akan is surface-contrastive in vowels and could be phonemic or phonetic. We show that nasal vowels contrast with oral counterparts, and also occur mainly after voiceless consonants in Akan. Moreover, there are disparities between the production and distribution of the oral-nasal-nasalized vowels, which are phonologically motivated. The environments of the nasalized vowels in Akan are accounted for.

**Keywords:** nasalization, oral vowels, nasal vowels, nasalized vowels, voiceless consonants.

### 1. Introduction

This paper discusses vowel nasality in Akan. The paper contributes to the typology and other phonology-related issues in Akan vowel nasalization. Nasal vowels are common among West African languages and have received detailed erudite attention concerning their suprasegmental representation, their interaction with nasal consonants, and their phonetic realization. Several scholars have given different explanations of the distribution of the phonemic nasal vowels in (West) Africa, including Schachter and Fromkin (1968: 79) on Akan; Hyman (1972) on some Kwa languages; Ruhlen (1978: 3) in languages universals; Maddieson (1984, 2007), Clements (2000), Clements and Rialland (2008), Hajek (2013) in West African languages; and Rolle (2013), nasal vowel patterns in West Africa. It can be understood as a prototypical phonological feature of Kwa languages (Clements & Rialland 2008: 8). Diachronically, several authors, including Robins (1953), Hockett (1955), Ferguson (1963), Greensberg (1966), and Ladefoged (1982), among others, have argued that nasal vowels are invariably preceded by a nasal consonant (NC). It is this nasal consonant that spreads its nasal feature to the following oral vowel for the vowel to be realized as nasalized (cf. Nasukawa 2005; Ploch 1999). Also, Hyman (1972) argues convincingly that in the Kwa languages, the original nasal consonants preceded the vowels that were eventually nasalized.



Akan is one of the Kwa group of languages, yet, it has two types of vowel nasality, namely nasal vowels, which are phonemic, and nasalized vowels, which are phonetic (cf. Adomako 2018a; Dolphyne 2006: 118; Schachter & Fromkin 1968: 78). Phonemic nasal vowels are indicated by a diacritic [~]. The nasal feature is integral in the language as it lexically contrasts meaning, as indicated in the examples [fã] "half/festival" and [fa] "to take" in Akan (cf. Dolphyne 2006: 118; Schachter & Fromkin 1968). Akan has five phonemic nasal vowels and of these, four are high vowels /ĩ/, /ĩ̃/, /ũ/, /ũ̃/, with /ã/ being the only low vowel among them. All these vowels have the inherent feature specification [+nasal]. Nasal vowels are articulatorily different from nasalized vowels. This is because while nasal vowels have the underlying feature specification [+nasal, +vocalic=( $\tilde{V}$ )], nasalized vowels have the underlying feature specification [-nasal,+vocalic] unless it is in the environment of nasal consonants [CnV=Cn $\tilde{V}$ ] (cf. Capo 1981; Clements 2000; Clements & Rialland 2008; Hyman 1972, 1982; Ruhlen 1978; Schachter & Fromkin 1968; Williamson 1973).

This means that nasalized vowels result from an assimilatory process and their environments are phonologically predictable (Durvasula 2009; Hyman 1972; Rolle 2013; Schachter & Fromkin 1968). Cross-linguistically, most of the studies on vowel nasalization have centred on nasalized vowels, where an oral segment undergoes nasalization due to its proximity to a nasal segment (cf. Clements 2000; Clements & Rialland 2008; Hajek 2013; Hyman 1972; Maddieson 1984, 2007; Rolle 2013; Ruhlen 1978; Schachter & Fromkin 1968; Williamson 1973).

Hitherto, a study on vowel nasality in Akan has received very little or no erudite attention in the existing literature. From an acoustic perspective, Manyah (2011) compares inherent nasal vowels with oral counterparts and demonstrates how inherent nasal vowels contrast with their oral counterparts in short and long vowels in Twi. In their lexical distributions, Dolphyne (2006: 98) provides examples of words with nasal vowels in Akan and shows how they contrast in meaning with their oral counterparts. Again, in their systematic occurrence, Schachter and Fromkin (1968) discuss two cases where [-nasal] vowels are made [+nasal] through the operation of some phonological rules (p-rules). None of these studies has discussed the typology and phonological occurrences of vowel nasalization in Akan. The differences and why nasal vowels occur after voiceless consonants, why nasal vowels contrast with oral vowels, and why nasal vowels are contrastive but nasalized vowels are not in Akan have all not yet been studied. Since vowel nasality remains less studied in the existing literature on Akan, this study is a contribution to research on oral-nasal and nasalized vowels in Akan.

The data discussed in this paper were drawn from both primary and secondary sources. The primary source was elicited from six adult native speakers of Akan, two from each dialect, i.e. Fante (Fa), Asante (As), and Akuapem (Ak). The secondary source, on the other hand, was a collection of data from articles and books, which we have duly referenced. The data gathered were categorized, transcribed, and English glosses provided. In addition to these, the authors' intuitive knowledge as native speakers was also drawn on for the data collection, organization, and analysis.

The remainder of the paper is organized as follows: Section 2 discusses vowels; oral and nasal vowels in Akan and phonological issues. Section 3 discusses the distribution of phonemic nasal vowels and the phonological motivation of why nasal vowels contrast with oral vowels in Akan. Section 4 focuses on nasalized [phonetic] vowels and their systematic predictable environments, and why they are not contrastive in Akan phonology. Section 5 concludes the discussions in the present paper.

## **2. Vowels in Akan**

Before we proceed to discuss vowel nasality, it is imperative that we briefly talk about Akan vowels in general. Akan vowels are usually divided into two groups based on the property of orality; i.e. oral and nasal vowels.

### *2.1 Oral vowels in Akan*

We have earlier indicated that Akan has five phonemic nasal vowels /ĩ/, /ĩ̃/, /ã/, /ũ/, /õ/ and ten phonetic oral vowels /i/, /ɪ/, /e/, /ɛ/, /u/, /ʊ/, /o/, /ɔ/, /æ/, /a/ (cf. Abakah 2003, 2013; Adomako 2008; Clements 1984, 1985; Dolphyne 2006; Eshun 1993; Manyah 2011; Schachter & Fromkin 1968; Stewart 1967). Nine out of the ten phonetic oral vowels are phonemic, only [æ] is realized at the phonetic level (cf. Abakah 2005; Adomako 2008, 2018a; Casali 2012; Clements 1981, 1984, 1985; Dolphyne 2006; Schachter & Fromkin 1968; Stewart 1967, 1983). It is the allophonic variant of the unadvanced low vowel /a/ as its environment is phonologically predictable (Adomako 2008: 10). In the production of the oral vowels, the velum is raised to block the nasal cavity, thereby leaving the oral cavity open for the air from the lungs to escape through (Cohn 1990; Katamba 1989; Ladefoged 1982; Yule 2010).

In terms of their distribution, six vowels [e, ɛ, æ, a, ɔ, o] can occur word-initially in Asante and Akuapem dialects, whereas eight vowels [i, ɪ, e, ɛ, æ, a, ɔ, o] occur in the same place in the Fante dialect. All the ten phonetic oral vowels occur word-medially and finally, except [æ], which does not occur at the word-

final position in Asante and Akuapem dialects (cf. Abakah 2004, 2013; Berry 1957; Clement 1983; Dolphyne 2006; Eshun 1993; Schachter & Fromkin 1968). It occurs word-finally in some of the subdialects of Fante, particularly Gomoa, Ajumako, Ekumfi, and Bɔ̀rbɔ̀r Mfantse, which Abakah (1978) classifies as Boka Mfantse.

Aside from their groupings based on their orality, the ten phonetic vowels can be grouped based on the feature [±ATR] (Abakah 2004; Adomako 2015; Berry 1957; Clements 1981, 1984; Dolphyne 2006; Stewart 1967). The following are the [+ATR] vowels [i, u, e, o, æ] and the [-ATR] vowels [ɪ, ʊ, ɛ, ɔ, a]. Moreover, Abakah (2004) and Dolphyne (2006: 18) have also classified the phonetic vowels based on the feature [round] in relation to the lip posture. The [+round] vowels include [u, o, ɔ, ʊ] and the [-round] vowels are [i, ɪ, e, ɛ, a, æ]. The [±round] feature is more predominant in the Fante dialect than it is in the Asante and Akuapem dialects of Akan (Abakah 2004; Dolphyne 2006). These classifications of vowels in Akan constrain the distribution of the vowels so that vowels in words or across words must have identical feature values (Berry 1957; Dolphyne 2006; Schachter & Fromkin 1968; Stewart 1967).

## 2.2 Nasal vowels in Akan

Ferguson (1963) argues that no language has NVs unless it also has one or more Primary Nasal Consonants (PNC). According to Ruhlen:

*"...the mere physical presence of nasality is not in itself sufficient to define what has traditionally been called nasal vowels (NV's).... Thus, ... the nasalization of a NV must be in some sense inherent (intrinsic, phonemic, underlying, non-contingent, etc.) in the vowel, and not phonetically conditioned. The term NV has consequently been reserved for vowels that (I) show marked nasalization and (II) contrast phonetically with the corresponding oral vowel" (1978: 3).*

In this paper, we show that the term NV has consequently been reserved for vowels that contrast *phonemically* with the corresponding oral vowel in Akan, and argue that there exists both inherent and phonetic nasalization of vowels in Akan as has been claimed by Dolphyne (2006: 3), Manyah (2011), Rolle (2013) among others. In other words, nasal vowels are the cognitive property of the vowel sound in Akan (following Ploch 1999). Barbosa and Albano (2004) use the term "nasalized" vowels to describe such vowels. However, we follow the conventions in Stevens (1998) and refer to these vowels as "nasal" vowels, as they are arguably phonemically distinct from their oral counterparts. Following Cohn (1990), we employ the term (phonetically) nasalized to refer to oral vowels that undergo nasalization due to their proximity to a nasal segment, usually consonant.

In Akan, phonemic nasal vowels contrast with their oral counterparts thus resulting in contrast in meaning. These contrastive nasal vowels constitute individual phonemes, unlike their phonetic nasal counterparts. This distinction is made because the substitution of such nasal vowels with their oral counterparts in a given context, results in contrasts in meaning in Akan (cf. Dolphyne 2006; Hyman 1972; Pulleyblank 1989; Schachter & Fromkin 1968).

We have explained in 2.1 that Akan has five phonemic nasal vowels, which are [ĩ, ɨ̃, ã, ũ, õ]. The number of oral vowels in Akan is more than that of the nasal vowels as in a similar perceptually motivated approach by Hawkins and Stevens (1985). According to Hawkins and Stevens, "In a substantial minority of languages that contrast nasal and non-nasal vowels, there is a reduced number of nasal vowels ... Most commonly it is the mid vowels that are missing in these imbalanced systems..." (ibid., 1574).

Ruhlen (1978) defines a phonemic nasal vowel as a vowel that is phonetically nasalized, and where the feature [+nasal] is not predictable in terms of phonetic structure. In Akan, the phonemic nasal vowel is not phonetically nasalized but rather the nasal feature is intrinsic. Thus, a phonemic nasal vowel in Akan can be defined as a vowel that has the feature [+nasal] as an inherent property and that cannot be predictable in terms of phonetic structure. During the production of phonemic nasal vowels, the air comes out through both the mouth and the nose (Dolphyne 2006: 3).

In Akan, mid-vowels do not occur as nasal vowels as reported by Hyman (1972) in most of the Kwa languages. Articulatorily, oral and nasal vowels are specified only in the position of the velum as has been explained already. Table 1 below demonstrates the feature matrix specification of oral and nasal vowels in Akan.

Table 1: Feature matrix specification of oral and nasal vowels in Akan

	/i/	/ɪ/	/u/	/ʊ/	/e/	/ɛ/	/o/	/ɔ/	/æ/	/a/	/ĩ/	/ɨ̃/	/ũ/	/õ/	/ã/
High	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
Low	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+
Back	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-
Nasal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
ATR	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-

It is observable from Table 1 that all the phonemic nasal vowels in Akan are peripheral, i.e., [+high] and [+low] vowels. Among these nasal vowels, only two /ũ/ and /õ/ are [+back], and two vowels, namely /ĩ/ and /ɨ̃/ are specified for [+ATR]. We have established from the previous discussion that the contrast

between the nasal vowels and their oral counterparts lies in the [nasal] feature. Consequently, the following minimal pairs demonstrate the contrastiveness of nasality in Akan.

(1) **Minimal pairs of oral and nasal vowels in Akan**

(i) fã	'half/festival'
fa	'to take'
(ii) fĩ	'dirty'
fi	'come from/go out'
(iii) sũ	'to cry'
su	'character/form'
(iv) sõ	'be big/to reach'
sɔ	'to carry/on top of'
(v) sĩ	'a tooth'
si	'to tell/sharpen'
(vi) sã	'to finish/to be on'
sa	'war/to heal or cure'

Both vowels and consonants in each pair of words are identical in all respects except in only one feature. The feature that contrasts the paired words is the [nasal] feature. This implies that nasality is phonemic in Akan as has been elucidated above. We, therefore, posit here that Akan has both oral and nasal vowels as explained in Schachter and Fromkin (1968), Hyman (1972), Dolphyne (2006), and Manyah (2011).

*2.2.1 Why nasal vowels contrast with oral vowels in Akan: A phonological explanation*

We have demonstrated from example (1i-vi) that nasal vowels contrast with oral vowels in Akan and their contrast is in the feature [nasal]. This section attempts to answer the question of why [phonemic] nasal vowels contrast with oral vowels in Akan. From a phonological perspective, we attempt to answer this question based on the position of the velum during the articulation of the nasal-oral vowels (Cohn 1993; Ohala 1990) and employ the Feature Geometry (FG) theory to support the fact that each feature is privative (Pulleyblank 1988).

Some previous studies of nasalization have compared phonemic nasal and oral vowel pairs assuming that the only physical difference between the two is the position of the velum; that is, while a nasal vowel is produced by opening the velopharyngeal port, maintaining the oropharyngeal configuration is associated with the oral vowel (Berger 2007; Cohn 1990; Nasukawa 2005; Pruthi 2007). However, articulatory phoneticians suggest that the position of the tongue, lips, and pharynx, as well as the velum, may differ between oral and nasal vowel congeners.

The production of vowels involves the airflow escaping through the mouth unobstructed. This shows that in the production of vowels, the air comes out through the mouth. This is because the velum is raised to block the airflow through the nasal cavity and leaves the oral cavity open, hence airflow passing through the mouth (Cohn 1990; Dolphyne 2006: 6; Katamba 1989: 8-9). This process results in the production of oral vowels. However, in the production of inherent nasal vowels, on the other hand, the air escapes through both the mouth and the nose (Dolphyne 2006: 6). This can be attributed to the fact that vowels have oral freedom and the inherent [nasal] feature also contributes to nasal functioning. Here, nasality is seen as an innate entity that is a bearer of phonological contrast in Akan (Cohn 1990: 10; Dolphyne 2006: 98).

It is obvious that the same velum, which is raised to block the nasal cavity for the production of oral vowels, is partially lowered for the airflow to escape through both the mouth and the nose for the production of nasal vowels. Thus, the passage of air through the nasal cavity or the nasal cavity causes the difference between the oral-nasal vowels because they all agree in orality (Cohn 1990; Eshun 1993; Hyman 1972; Katamba 1989). The Feature Geometry (FG) schema in Figure 1 is employed to illustrate this contrast and show the independence of each phoneme in the pairs.

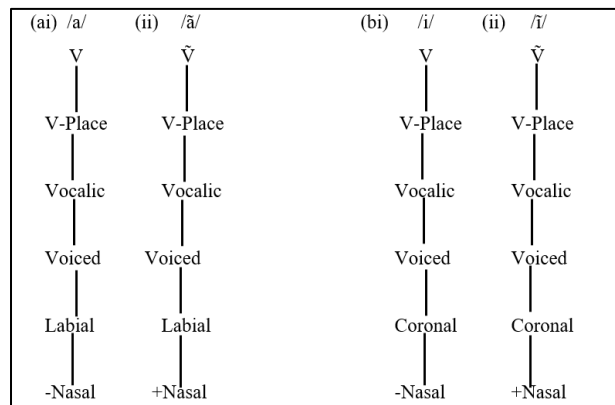


Figure 1. Feature Geometry showing the privative nature of phonemic nasal and oral vowels

(Source: Own processing)

It is evident from Figure 1 that at the place node, both oral and nasal vowels show the same feature representations. That is, they have the same place and manner of articulation. Their contrast is only in the feature based on the position of the velum, i.e. whereas (i) is [-nasal], (ii) is [+nasal]. This shows that each vowel quality is privative as a phoneme.

### 3. Distribution of phonemic nasal vowels in Akan

This section provides data to account for the distribution of contrastive nasal vowels in Akan. Contrastive nasal vowels occur mainly in open words, i.e. at the word-final position after voiceless consonants in Akan. They do not occur at the word-initial or medial position as demonstrated in Table 2 below.

Table 2. Distributions of contrastive nasal vowels

Positions	/ĩ/	/ĩ̃/	/ũ/	/ũ̃/	/ã/
Word-initial	-	-	-	-	-
Word-medial	-	-	-	-	-
Word-final	+	+	+	+	+

The distribution of contrastive nasal vowels is presented in the minimal pairs in example 2 below.

#### (2) Distribution of contrastive nasal vowels at the word-final position in Akan

Nasal-oral contrast	Gloss
(i) hũ	'fear/to see'
hu	'to blow/to fan'
(ii) ɱfã	'guinea worm'
ɱfa	'don't take it'
(iii) sã	'to finish'
sa	'to dance/to scoop'
(iv) tẽĩ	'to squeeze'
tei	'to hate'
(v) tẽĩ	'to live long/last'
tɛɪ	'to fry/roast'

(vi) æfũ	'hunchback'
æfu	'it has become bushy'

When the examples in (2i-vi) are closely examined, it can be seen that all the nasal vowels come after a voiceless fricative (2i-v) or voiceless affricate (2vi). The nasal vowels do not occur after a voiced consonant. This could be due to the articulatory complexity inherent in nasal vowels. Now, for emphasis, the question again is why nasal vowels occur after a voiceless consonant but not after voiced consonants in Akan? Before we attempt to answer this question, we first have to explain what constitutes voiced and voiceless consonants.

### 3.1 Voiced and voiceless consonants in Akan

In the production of voiced consonants, the air from the lungs, which is used to produce the speech sounds, passes through the trachea (windpipe) and reaches the larynx. When the airflow gets to the larynx, it passes through the glottis. The glottis is the opening in the larynx. The glottis can take different shapes during speech production. The various shapes of the glottis are highly essential in the production of speech sounds (Cohn 1993; Ohala & Ohala 1993; Piggott 1992, 2003; Schourup 1972; Walker & Pullum 1999).

When producing these voiced sounds, the vocal cords are brought together or extremely close together to impede the airflow from the lungs. When the glottis is closed, air moves through it with some amount of force, and this causes the vocal cords (folds) to vibrate (cf. Crystal 2008; Gussenhoven & Jacobs 1998; Hayes 2009: 6; Katamba 1989: 2-3; Yule 2010: 9). Sounds that are produced with a closed glottis are known as voiced sounds. Some of the examples of voiced consonants in Akan include, /b/, /d/, /g/, /m/, /n/, /ŋ/, /ŋj/, /w/, /r/, /l/, /j/, /dz/, /dzɔ/. Following these explanations, we can conclude that nasal vowels have two blockage conditions, *the blockage responsible for voicing* and the other *responsible for nasality*. It can be deduced from the explanations given so far that voiced sounds involve blockage of either the glottis for the air passage to blow the vocal folds apart as it forces its way through or the raising of the velum to block the nasal cavity or the velum being lowered to block the oral cavity.

The direct opposite of the closed glottis is the open state of the glottis. When the vocal folds are wide apart, the space between them becomes wide and allows air from the lungs to pass through the glottis freely. Because the vocal folds are apart or open, airflow through the glottis escapes unimpeded (Hayes



2009; Katamba 1989), and thus this state of the glottis does not result in the vibration of the vocal folds. Some of the voiceless consonants in Akan include /f/, /p/, /k/, /s/, /t/, /h/, /ɛ/, /tɛ/, /ɛɣ/, /ts/ (Abakah 2012; Dolphyne 2006; Kenstowicz 1994; Kiparsky 1985; Schachter & Fromkin 1968). These voiceless consonants are grouped into three main categories based on their manner of articulation. They are voiceless plosives /p/, /k/, /t/, voiceless fricatives /f/, /s/, /h/, /ɛ/, and voiceless affricates /tɛ/, /ɛɣ/, /ts/. All these consonant sounds occur at the word-initial and medial positions only in Akan (Dolphyne 2006: 31-48). In our previous discussions, we have demonstrated that contrastive nasal vowels co-occur with only voiceless consonants in Akan. The following minimal pairs emphasize the claim that contrastive nasal vowels occur after voiceless consonants in Akan.

(3) Minimal pairs	Gloss
(i) tĩĩ	'straight/nothing'
tiĩ	'heard'
(ii) kã	'say/fracture'
ka	'to bite'
(iii) pã	'waist'
pa	'to strike/good'
(iv) kõ	'to fight/truant'
ku	'one'
(v) hõ	'side'
hu	(As/Ak) 'to smoke'

It can be observed from example (3i-v) that all the syllable-initial consonants of the given minimal pair words are voiceless obstruents. The same processes occur after voiceless affricates /ts/, /tɛ/, /ɛɣ/ too. The examples below demonstrate nasal vowels occurring after voiceless affricate consonants in Akan.

(4) Minimal pairs	Gloss
(i) tɛĩ	'to squeeze'
tɛi	'to hate'
(ii) tɛĩ	'to live long/last'
tɛi	'to fry/roast'
(iii) ɛɣĩ	'idiophonic way of saying something'
ɛɣi	'to whip/flog/cane'
(iv) tsĩ (Fa)	'to scratch/pinch'

It is evident from the illustrations in (4) that contrastive nasal vowels can occur with all the voiceless obstruents in Akan. The examples presented so far indicate that contrastive nasal vowels are systematically preceded by voiceless consonants in Akan and never after voiced consonants. Now let us return to the question of why nasal vowels occur after only voiceless consonants in Akan. The following section seeks to answer this question.

### *3.2 The voiceless consonants and nasal vowels co-occurrence*

By referring to two phenomena, namely the nature of the articulations of nasal vowels versus voiced and voiceless consonants and the structure of Akan syllables, we provide some explanations for the question of the exclusive co-occurrence of nasal vowels with voiceless consonants in Akan.

#### *3.2.1 Articulation of nasal vowels, voiced and voiceless consonants*

The study has shown how nasal vowels, voiced, and voiceless consonants are articulated in speech production. As has already been explained, but for the sake of emphasis, during the articulation of the nasal vowels, the velum is lowered to block the oral cavity, thereby leaving the nasal cavity open for the air from the lungs to escape through. Moreover, in the production of voiceless consonants, the vocal folds are wide apart, thereby allowing the air from the lungs to pass through the glottis unimpeded (Cohn 1990; Hayes 2009; Katamba 1989). However, in the production of the voiced consonants, the vocal folds are brought together or extremely close together to block the airflow from the lungs. Since the vocal folds are close together, the air from the lungs uses some amount of force to force its way through the glottis, and this causes the vocal folds to vibrate (Crystal 2008; Dolphyne 2006; Hayes 2009; Huffman 1989; Katamba 1989).

The difference is so lucid. The production of a nasal vowel involves the opening of the nasal cavity for the air from the lungs to pass through while the production of voiceless consonants involves the opening of the vocal folds for the air from the lungs to escape unimpeded. However, in the production of the voiced consonants, on the other hand, the vocal cords are extremely close together, hence, the air from the lungs finds it difficult to escape through the glottis. These articulatory differences explain why nasal vowels occur mainly after voiceless consonants. This is because as the airflow escapes through the nasal cavity for the production of nasal vowels, the airflow for voiceless consonants escapes through the oral

cavity. It is therefore obvious that for articulatory ease, the impeded airflow for nasal vowels due to voicing receives support from the voicelessness of the consonants to pull the blocking vocal folds in nasal vowels apart to facilitate the airflow (Harris 1996, 2006; Katamba 1989; Maddieson & Ladefoged 1993; Russel 1995). The free airstream pressure in the voiceless consonant compensates for the mass obstruction in the nasal vowel in stringing the two together.

The nasal vowels have a dual blockage in their production; one in the velum for nasality and the other in the glottis for voicing. Hence, the need for support from the accompanying voiceless consonant to gradually release the constriction to enhance airflow for articulatory ease. Acoustic plausibility is in the probability that a similar double blockage for the neighbouring consonant presents a difficulty in unleashing the airstream for Akan syllable production. This is against the backdrop that languages aspire to maximize segment articulation and utter enough within a limited time frame (Kiparsky 1985; Lombardi 1994; Steriade 1995). Therefore, in the quest to attain articulatory maximization and the avoidance of complexity, the nasal vowel selects a voiceless consonant in Akan as seen in example (5) below.

(5) Voiceless consonant + nasal vowels

	<b>Root words</b>	<b>Gloss</b>	<b>Ill-forms</b>
(i)	hũ	'fear/to see'	
(ii)	kã	'say/fracture'	*gã
(iii)	sã	'to finish'	
(iv)	fã	'half'	
(v)	tĩ	'to pinch'	*dĩ
(vi)	teĩ	'to squeeze'	*dzĩ
(vii)	tsĩ (Fa)	'to scratch/pinch'	*dzĩ (Fa)

From the examples in (5), it can be observed that for all the word-initial voiceless consonants that have voiced counterparts in Akan, their voiced counterparts do not co-occur with nasal vowels. Their co-occurrence results in ill-formedness, as seen in the examples in the right column.

3.2.2 *The role of Akan syllable structure*

The constraint in nasal vowels that restricts its co-occurrence with only voiceless consonants finds its root in the phonotactics and syllable structure of Akan. In terms of phonotactics, a CC sequence within

a root is a violation of Akan phonology, but a CV is permissible (Abakah 2005; Adomako 2018b; Dolphyne 2006; Schachter & Fromkin 1968). In CV syllables, the voicing status of the C does not matter; it can either be voiced or voiceless. The V, redundantly stated, is inherently voiced. Thus, a nasal vowel stringing together with a voiceless C still retains the Akan phonotactics of segment clustering. The voicelessness of the C is not a violation of the Akan CV sequence constraints since it still falls within the CV cluster as shown below.

(6) <b>Minimal pairs</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
(i) fõ	'bad comment/something bad'
fo	'advise/exhortation'
(ii) fõ.õ	'quiet/quietly'
fo.o	'plenty/adjectival way of saying something'
(iii) fũ.ã	'to draw near/cover/hold'
fu.a	'to plant/cloud/one'

With regard to the permissibility of the nasal vowel and the voiceless consonant in Akan phonotactics, the Akan CV syllable ordinarily has a vowel that has the highest sonority. However, nasality in the vowel in addition to its sonorous vocality compounds the sonority in the syllable to compensate for the less sonorous voiceless consonant (Halle & Stevens 2013; Park 2020: 234-235; Rice 1993). This is fitting for Akan as an open syllable language (Abakah 2005; Adomako 2015; Marfo & Yankson 2008). The compound sonority in the V from nasality and vocality renders such a CV syllable a heavy syllable in weight. Albeit, the dual sonority invested solely in the vowel is likely offset by the less sonorous voiceless consonant for a balance, however, its sonority weight is maintained in the same syllable.

Comparatively, a non-nasal V in a CV syllable structure where the C is voiced yet less sonorous is impermissible to the single sonority in the oral vowel. The sole sonority stems from the vocalic feature in the oral vowel, but the voiced consonant occurring at the onset has no sonority. In a nutshell, the double sonority in the nasal vowel both from nasality and from vocality is sufficient to feed the less sonorous voiceless consonant. The value addition of sonority from nasality in the vowel draws the voiceless consonant along for pairing as we have demonstrated in our various examples thus far.

### 3.2.3 Exceptions

We have explained that phonemic nasal vowels do not co-occur with voiced consonants in Akan. However, there are very few instances where nasal vowels seem to occur after voiced consonants as shown in (7).

(7) Minimal pairs	Gloss
(i) <b>bãã</b>	'personal/ name of a town'
<b>baa</b>	'he came...(with object)'
(ii) <b>ɔdãã</b>	'a town in Eastern Region'.
<b>ɔdaa</b>	'he slept/left over'

The initial consonants of the examples in (7) are /b/ and /d/. These consonants are all voiced plosives, yet a nasal vowel occurs after them. These words do not, however, invalidate the explanations made about the distributional restriction of nasal vowels occurring after the voiceless consonants and not voiced consonants. We are not certain whether the nasality is actually inherent or it was acquired from the environment in the intermediate level of representation since there is the possibility that these names in (7) hitherto had nasal consonants in underlying forms but lost the nasals in their phonetic forms. A similar example can be drawn from the Akan personal name *abaka* [abakã], which is derived from *ɔba* 'child' and *kan* [kã] 'first'. In fact, [abakã] is the name given to a first child among the Fante of Akan. [ã] in [abakã] is derived through the acquisition of the [nasal] feature, which precedes the dropping of the final nasal consonant. Perhaps akin to the circumstance surrounding the acquisition of the nasality property in [abakã], the etymology of the names in (7) might show that the co-occurrence of nasal vowel with the voiced obstruents is only a phonetic phenomenon, which does not find its root in the underlying representation (henceforth UR).

## 4. Nasalized vowels in Akan

We have explained that Akan, a Kwa group of languages, has oral, nasal, and nasalized vowels in its vocalic phonology. Nasalized vowels are inherently oral vowels (Anderson 1972, 1976; Clements & Rialland 2008; Hyman 1972; Maddieson 2007; Ruhlen 1978). They occur as contextual variants of oral vowels when adjacent to a nasal consonant (phonetic [Cn<sup>̃</sup>]). Schachter and Fromkin (1968) and Dolphyne (2006) view this phenomenon as an assimilatory process. It is one of the consonant-vowel (C-

V) harmony processes, where the consonant is specified for [+nasal]. The nasal consonant spreads its [+nasal] feature to the adjacent oral vowel to become nasalized (Cn $\tilde{V}$ ) as schematized below in Figure 2.

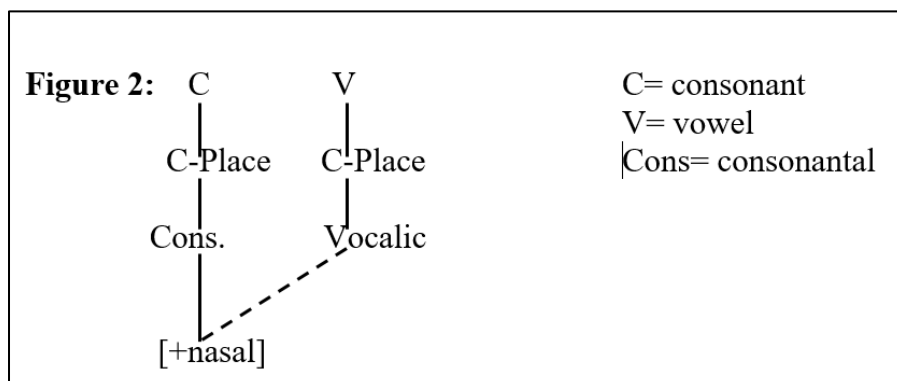


Figure 2. C→V spreading (Source: Own processing)

It can be stated with certainty from Figure 2 that the oral vowel is nasalized under the influence of the surrounding nasal consonant in Akan. Nasalized vowels are allophonic variants of their counterpart oral vowels (cf. Schachter & Fromkin 1968: 79). We, therefore, formulate this nasalization in the following linear rule:  $V \rightarrow [+nasal] / [+nasal] \_\_\_$ , which states that an oral vowel is realised as nasalized after a nasal consonant within the same syllable. It is worth pointing out that the same rule applies when the target vowel occurs before the trigger nasal consonant. The following examples demonstrate the nasalization of oral vowels in the environment of a nasal consonant.

(8)	<b>UR</b>	<b>Nasalised V</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
(i)	/ma/	mã	'to give'
(ii)	/nu/	nũ	'to pluck/to stir'
(iii)	/mia/	mĩã	'to press'
(iv)	/nana/	nãnã	'a chief'
(v)	/ɲami/	ɲãmĩ	'God'
(vi)	/ænimia/	ænimĩã(As/Ak)	'endeavour/effort'

These examples provide evidence that oral vowels become nasalized in the environment of a nasal consonant in Akan. Moreover, when a nasal consonant follows a non-high oral vowel or a non-high oral vowel precedes the nasal consonant, nasalization occurs only in Fante, but not in Asante and Akuapem (cf. Dolphyne 2006: 141) as demonstrated below.

(9)	UR	Fante	Asante	Akuapem	Gloss
(i)	/fɛmɔ/	f <sup>h</sup> ɛm	fɛm	fɛm	'to borrow'
(ii)	/pɔmpɔ/	p <sup>w</sup> ɔ̃mp <sup>w</sup> ɔ	p <sup>w</sup> ɔmp <sup>w</sup> ɔ	p <sup>w</sup> ɔmp <sup>w</sup> ɔ	'a boil'
(iii)	/akamɔ/	akãm	akam	akam	'tribal mark'

Nasalization of non-high vowels, especially mid vowels, occurs mostly in the Fante dialect rather than in the Asante and Akuapem dialects. Nasalized vowels contrast with oral vowels in the environment of non-nasal voiced consonants as demonstrated in the following minimal pairs.

(10)	UR	Minimal pairs	Gloss
(i)	/ɔ-+N-+di/	onni	'he doesn't eat'
	/ni/-/nĩ/	onnĩ	'he doesn't have'
(ii)	/ɔ-+N-+ba/	ɔmma	'he doesn't come'
	/ma/-/mã/	ɔmmã	'he doesn't give'
(iii)	/ɔ-+N-+ɖza/	oɲɲa	'he doesn't leave behind'
	/ɲã/	oɲɲã	'he doesn't obtain it' (Dolphyne 2006: 99)

The nasalized non-nasal voiced consonants involve reciprocal spreading. The syllable initial non-nasal voiced consonant regressively assimilates the feature of the unspecified nasal archiphoneme. On the other hand, the unspecified assimilated nasal consonant spreads progressively to assimilate the adjacent non-nasal voiced consonant. This is an assimilatory process that involves both the leftward and rightward spreading of features (see Odoom & Adomako 2021 for more details on bidirectionality of feature spreading in Akan). Since the underlying consonant is not nasal, the following oral vowel is not nasalized at the phonetic level, and this contrasts with those that have nasal consonants in the UR (Schachter & Fromkin 1968: 80).

#### 4.1 Directionalities of phonetic nasal (nasalized) vowels in Akan

Phonetic nasal vowels are realized in two different directions in Akan. The trigger, which is the nasal consonant, can spread rightward and leftward to assimilate the following target oral vowel. When the

trigger, the nasal consonant spreads rightward, we have termed it "progressive vowel nasalization" as demonstrated below.

(11) UR	C→V [+nasal] spreading	Gloss
(i) /εmʊ/	εmõ (As/Ak)/ımõ (Fa)	'rice'
(ii) /ɔnʊ/	ɔnõ	'he/she'
(iii) /nua/	n <sup>h</sup> ĩã	'sibling'
(iv) /maami/	mããmĩ	'a mother'
(v) /mæko/	mãẽko(As/Ak)/mõko (Fa)	'pepper'

It can be seen from example (11) that the nasal consonant in each word spreads its [nasal] feature progressively to nasalize the following oral vowel for it to be phonetically realized as a [+nasal] vowel. This spreading directionality is very common in the Akan vowel nasalization processes.

Regressive directionality is another process where the triggering nasal consonant spreads to nasalize the preceding oral vowels in Akan. Here, the nasal consonant, which spreads the [nasal] feature, follows the targeted oral vowel. This is exemplified in Figure 3 below.

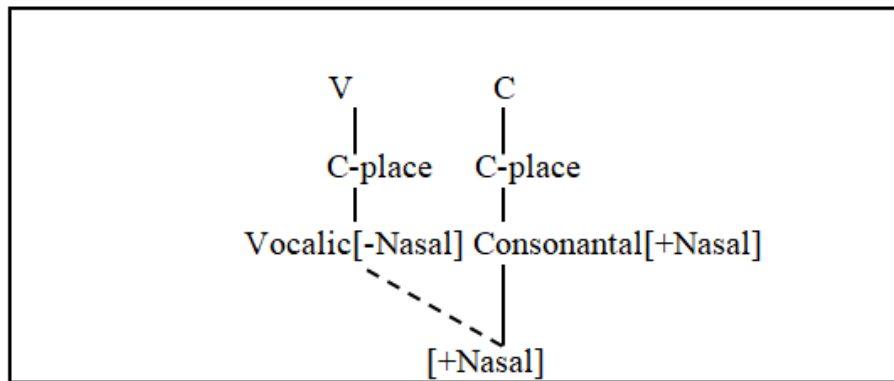


Figure 3. Schema showing regressive vowel nasalization in Akan (Source: Own processing)

It is evident from the above illustration that a nasal consonant that follows an oral vowel spreads leftward to nasalize the adjacent oral vowel. This directionality of spreading is shown in the following examples.

(12) UR	V←C [+nasal] spreading	Gloss
(i) /esumu/	esũm	'darkness'



(ii) /ɔkɔmɔ/	ɔkɔ̃m	'hunger'
(iii) /asɛmɔ/	asɛ̃m	'issue'
(iv) /bɛnɪ/	b'ɛ̃n (Fa)/bɛ̃ŋ(Ak)/bɛ̃ĩ(As)	'to be near'
(v) /apamɔ/	apãm	'covenant'

It can be observed in example (12) that all the underlying word-final high vowels are deleted at the phonetic level. These realizations confirm the statement by Abakah that "There is no morpheme in Akan that is consonant-final at the systematic phonemic level and, for this reason, any analysis that posits an underlying consonant as a morpheme-final consonant starts on a faulty note" (2005: 7).

The nasal consonant, which is the trigger at the rightward position of the target vowel, spreads the [nasal] feature regressively to assimilate the adjacent oral vowel to be realized as a nasal vowel. This nasal vowel, as discussed above, is phonetic and not phonemic (Clements & Rialland 2008: 8; Durvasula 2009; Rolle 2013: 228; Schachter & Fromkin 1968: 87).

#### 4.2 Systematic predictable environments of phonetic nasal (nasalized) vowels in Akan

Schachter and Fromkin (1968: 79) state that the morpheme structure condition (MSC) specifying the shape of the Akan syllable requires that two successive vowels in a syllable agree in nasality, tenseness, and tone. At the phonetic level, however, the requirement of nasality agreement between successive vowels extends beyond the syllable. Whenever it happens that at some point in a derivation, two successive vowels within a word show different specifications for the feature [nasal], the [-nasal] vowel is made [+nasal] by the application of the P-rule. This rule applies regardless of the order in which the [-nasal] vowel and the [+nasal] vowel occur.

One of these systematic environments where this rule applies is when an inherently [-nasal] vowel is realized as [+nasal] in the Asante dialect. In Akan, when the alveolar nasal consonant [n] occurs at the systematic word-final position, it is realized differently in all the three major dialects of Akan (cf. Abakah 2005). It is realized as alveolar nasal [n] in Fante, velar nasal [ŋ] in Akuapem, and nasalized [phonetic] vowels [ĩ, ã, õ, ò̃] in Asante. The shape and the form of the nasalized vowel depend on the vowel in the root word as shown in Figure 4 below. The rule for nasalizing an oral vowel adjacent to a nasalized vowel can be stated in Figure 4 as follows:

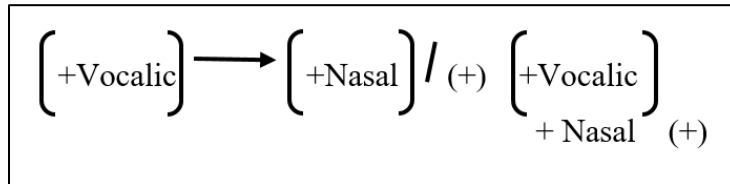


Figure 4. Rule 1 for vowel nasalization (Source: Own processing)

(13)	UR	Fante	Akuapem	Asante	Gloss
(i)	/ɔtani/	ɔtãn	ɔtãŋ	ɔtãĩ	'hatred'
(ii)	/bani/	bãn	bãŋ	bãĩ	'fence'
(iii)	/tɛno/	t <sup>w</sup> õn	t <sup>w</sup> õŋ	t <sup>w</sup> õũ	'to sell'
(iv)	/edini/	d <sup>z</sup> ĩn	ed <sup>ʃ</sup> ĩŋ	ed <sup>ʃ</sup> ĩĩ	'name'
(v)	/punu/	p <sup>w</sup> ũn	p <sup>w</sup> ũŋ	p <sup>w</sup> ũũ	'to smoke'

This is one of the predictable environments where an underlying [-nasal] vowel can become [+nasal] at the P-level in Akan. In the Asante variant, the alveolar nasal [n] feeds and bleeds its [+nasal] feature on the adjacent high vowel to become phonetically nasalized.

Another systematic environment where this P-rule applies is when the inherently [-nasal] past-aspect suffix morpheme occurs after a verb root that ends with a [+nasal] vowel. The phonemic nasal vowel spreads progressively to nasalize the [-nasal] past-aspect suffix morpheme. The [-nasal] past-aspect suffix morphemes in Akan are {-i} and {-ɪ}. The rule for nasalizing a vowel adjacent to a nasal vowel may be stated in Figure 5 as follows:

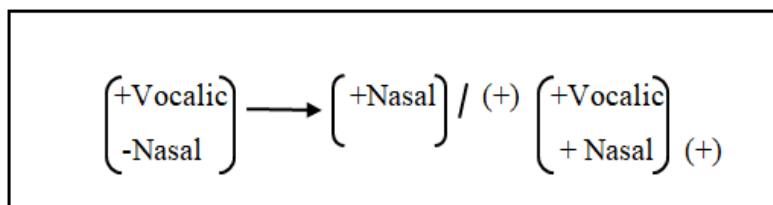


Figure 5. Rule 2 for vowel nasalization (Source: Own processing)

Let us consider the examples in (14) below for an illustration to facilitate better understanding.

(14)	Nasal Vowel	Gloss	Past-Suffix	Nasalized	Gloss
(i)	osũ	's/he cries'	-i	sũĩ	's/he cried'

(ii) otɛĩ'	s/he squeezes'	-i	otɛĩĩ	's/he squeezed'
(iii) otõ	's/he bakes'	-I	otõĩ	's/he baked'
(iv) ɔkã	's/he says'	-I	ɔkãĩ	's/he said'
(v) sã	'to finish'	-I	sãĩ	'finished'

We observe that the non-nasal vowel has been phonetically nasalized due to the influence of an adjacent phonemic nasal vowel.

#### 4.3 Why are nasal vowels contrastive but nasalized vowels are not in Akan?

We will address this phonological question from two different perspectives; (i) production or articulation of nasal-nasalized vowels and (ii) distribution of nasal-nasalized vowels.

##### 4.3.1 Production or articulation perspective

The production of inherent nasal vowels and nasalized vowels is the same as discussed in 2.2.1. The airflow escapes through both the oral and nasal cavities (see Dolphyne 2006: 6). However, while nasal vowels are phonemic and phonetically intrinsic, nasalized vowels are products of assimilatory processes because they involve spreading. It is local and reciprocal (Katamba 1989; Schachter & Fromkin 1968; Yule 2010). Nasalized vowels depend on nasal consonants. Now, we can explicate that because nasalized vowels depend on a nasal consonant for their realization, nasal vowels are independent, inherent, intrinsic, and phonemic. Thus, the difference between the two is phonological, not phonetic (cf. Crystal 2008; Hayes 2009; Katamba 1989: 214; Yule 2010).

##### 4.3.2 Distribution perspective

In their distribution, we have extensively illustrated that nasalized vowels occur in the environment of [+nasal] consonants or vowels. The nasal consonant or vowel spreads its nasal feature onto the adjacent oral vowel to become nasalized [CnV→CnṼ]. Thus, non-nasal consonants do not cause oral vowels to become nasalized. This shows that nasalized vowels occur only in the environment of the [+nasal] segment (cf. Gussenhoven & Jacobs 1998; Hyman 1972; Schachter & Fromkin 1968; Stewart 1967). However, for the distribution of nasal vowels, we have discussed that they have phonetically intrinsic nasal features and do not need any nasal influence to cause them to become nasalized. They are phonemic. In other words, nasal vowels are phonetically independent. Accordingly, they occur mainly after voiceless consonants, and not after a voiced nasal consonant in Akan (cf. Dolphyne 2006; Hyman

1972; Manyah 2011; Schachter & Fromkin 1968). This causes nasal vowels to become contrastive to nasalized vowels.

## **5. Conclusion**

In this paper, we have tried to address some phonological issues concerning oral-nasal and nasalized vowels in Akan. The paper has demonstrated that nasal vowels occur after voiceless consonants but not voiced consonants in Akan. The paper, through phonological approaches, found some phonological reason(s) that account for why nasal vowels occur only after voiceless consonants in Akan. Through careful analysis, we have shown that nasal vowels contrast with oral vowels in Akan. Moreover, the paper continued to show that nasal vowels are contrastive but nasalized vowels are not, except when comparing them with nasalized non-nasal voiced consonants. Moreover, we concluded that the difference between the phonemic nasal vowels and nasalized vowels is mainly phonological and not phonetic. Thus, the paper contributed to the study of the typology of vowel nasality and its related phenomena in Akan.

## **Abbreviations**

Ak – Akuapem

As – Asante

ATR – advanced tongue root

C – consonant

CC – consonant cluster

Cons – consonantal

CV – consonant-vowel

Fa – Fante

FG – Feature geometry

MSC – morpheme structure condition

NC – nasal consonant

NV – nasal vowel

PNC – primary nasal consonants

UR – underlying representation

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**Résumé**

This paper discusses vowel nasality in Akan, a Niger-Congo (Kwa) language. Nasality in Akan is surface-contrastive in vowels, but not in consonants. Vowel nasality could be inherent (phonemic), or phonetic in Akan. There are five phonemic nasal vowels in the Akan vocalic inventory, namely /ĩ/, /ĩ/, /ũ/, /ũ/, /ã/. The data for the present study were gathered from both primary and secondary sources in addition to the authors' native speakers' intuition. From language-internal evidence, we show that these nasal (phonemic) vowels contrast with their oral counterparts. With regard to their distribution, we further show that the nasal vowels occur mainly after voiceless consonants, including voiceless fricative, voiceless stops, and voiceless affricates, and not after voiced consonants in Akan. Moreover, as nasal vowels are contrastive, nasalized (phonetic) vowels are not, except when comparing them with nasalized non-nasal voiced consonants, and we provide phonological explanations for this exception. We postulate that even in the so-called exceptional cases where the supposed nasal vowels co-occur with voiced consonants in the surface representation, those vowels might have undergone nasalization in the intermediary level of representation. This nasalization precedes the eventual deletion of the trigger nasal

consonant in the underlying representation. Furthermore, the paper highlights some systematic predictable environments for nasalized vowels and draws some phonological dissimilarities between why nasal vowels are contrastive but nasalized vowels are not in Akan. Finally, the paper attempts to contribute to the typology of vowel nasality. The generative phonological theory of Feature Geometry is employed for the formalization of the discussions in the present paper.

**Keywords:** nasalization, oral vowels, nasal vowels, nasalized vowels, voiceless consonants.

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## LEGE ARTIS

Language yesterday, today, tomorrow

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### YELLOW IN POLISH AND RUSSIAN: ASSOCIATIONS, PROTOTYPICAL REFERENCES, AND VALUATION\*

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**Abstract:** In this paper, we analyze associations with yellow provided by 50 Polish and 50 Russian speakers. Our survey study demonstrates that the dominant associations include the sun and related phenomena. These associations point to the sun as the prototypical reference of the Polish and Russian words for yellow. Despite the negative symbolism of yellow, which is reflected in fixed expressions found in both languages, it is evaluated positively by a majority of the respondents.

**Key words:** associations, colour vocabulary, yellow, Polish, Russian, prototypical references, valuation.

### 1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to present partial results of a survey study of colour associations provided by Polish and Russian speakers.<sup>1</sup> In the present study, we concentrate on the associations with yellow.

We pose the following research questions:

- What are the prototypical references of the words for yellow in view of the provided associations?
- What motivates associations with yellow? Is it culture (colour symbolism), language (fixed expressions) or nature observations?
- How do the associations relate to dictionary definitions of the words for yellow?

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– How is yellow evaluated?

Before we concentrate on Polish and Russian words for yellow, we should point out that investigating colour vocabulary requires an interdisciplinary approach. As Panasenko and Korcová (2011: 124) remark – analyzing colours from various perspectives – they are around us and influence our lives. Even if researchers decide to investigate colour lexicons only from the linguistic point of view, it will soon appear that they will need to attend to other disciplines, including psychology, anthropology, philosophy as well as literary and cultural studies. For instance, as Panasenko observes in her analysis of colour terms used in sudden (flash) fiction,<sup>2</sup>

*"If we treat colours in a different way, we will see that their functions go far beyond specific colour naming. They may be considered as signals, symbols, codes, have figurative meaning, and serve as means of creating specific images or atmosphere, especially when it concerns literary texts" (2019: 131).*

Analyzing colour terms from the semantic perspective, the researchers take into consideration denotation and connotation, associations, synonymy, polysemy, semantic fields, prototypes, and imagery as well as metaphor, metonymy, and symbolism. In this study, we are particularly interested in figurative language, prototypes (prototypical references), and associations (see, e.g., Stanulewicz 2009: 20-29).

Colour terms are frequently used figuratively, i.e., in metaphorical and metonymic expressions. Following Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Kövecses (2002: 4) claims that metaphor is "understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain". According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), metaphor should be treated not only as a figure of speech employed in poetry because metaphorical expressions are also used in "ordinary" spoken and written texts, including, among others, everyday conversations, advertisements, and political speeches. Furthermore, Lakoff and Johnson (ibid., 6) state that "metaphor is not just a matter of language", and "human thought processes are largely metaphorical". The English phrases *white magic* and *black magic* as well as their Polish equivalents, *biała magia* and *czarna magia*, may serve as examples of metaphorical expressions in which 'white' stands for 'good and harmless', whereas 'black' means 'evil and harmful'. Undoubtedly, such expressions reflect colour symbolism. The other phenomenon, metonymy, is defined as a "figure of speech in which the name of an attribute of an entity is used in place of the entity itself" (Crystal [1992] 1994: 250). Colour terms are used in expressions referring to emotions or illnesses, e.g., words for red meaning 'angry' or words for yellow meaning 'sick'. In this case, the type of metonymy is SYMPTOM FOR EMOTION / ILLNESS.

Numerous scholars investigate associations with colours (see, among others, Dmitrieva, *s.a.*; Gatkowska 2020; Gierczyńska-Kolas 2016; Gonigroszek 2013; Mozolewska 2010; Pietrzyk 2008; Stanulewicz et al. 2014; Teodorowicz-Hellman 1998). Leech (1974: 26) and Tokarski (2006: 209-210), as well as many other linguists, claim that associations and connotations<sup>3</sup> ought to be treated as part of the meaning of a lexical item. Colour associations, most notably the universal and concrete ones (i.e., natural objects and phenomena), indicate prototypes (which are called models, prototypical references or reference points as well) of the word that names this colour (see, among others, Komorowska 2010a; 2017; Stanulewicz 2009; Tokarski [1995] 2004; Waszakowa 2000; Wierzbicka 1996). As Wierzbicka notes,

*"Colour vision cannot be put into words. None the less, it can be talked about, because we can link our visual categories with certain easily accessible models. I suggest that these models include fire, the sun, vegetation, and the sky (as well as day and night), and that these models constitute basic points of reference in human "colour talk" (1996: 332).*

Continuing the line of argument, Wierzbicka gives examples from English, Russian, and Welsh:

*"Since raw sense data can be conceptualized in different ways, different languages embody different colour concepts, and for example, blue does not mean the same as goluboy, and green does not mean the same as gwyrdd. But the foci of these different semantic categories may be relatively stable across languages and cultures, not simply because our neural responses are the same but because we share our fundamental conceptual models, which we base on our common human experience." (ibid., 332-333).*

As can be easily observed, according to Wierzbicka (ibid.) – and numerous other scholars – there are certain objects and phenomena that serve as universal prototypical references of the words for colours: day and night (white and black respectively), fire (red), the sun (yellow) and vegetation (green). As regards the names of mixed colours, such as grey, orange, and pink, scholars refer to other colours to explain their meanings, e.g., *grey* = black + white, *orange* = red and yellow, *pink* = red + white (ibid., 326). Such colour terms are claimed not to have stable prototypes (see, among others, Waszakowa 2000: 24), although this may be debatable when we consider words for the colour orange (e.g., in Polish and English) and their obvious prototype – the fruit called *orange* (Komorowska & Станулевич 2020a; Stanulewicz 2009: 307, 310-315).

Among other aspects, researchers investigate the distinction between basic and non-basic colour terms (Berlin & Kay 1969; Kay et al. 1997; Rosch 1972), fuzzy boundaries between colours (for a discussion, see, e.g., Lakoff 1987: 26-30), universal and language-specific features of colour lexicons (e.g., Stanulewicz 2010), the radial or hierarchical structure of the lexical field of colour (based on

Lakoff 1987), equivalence and translating colour terms (e.g., Obrączka 2011; Stanulewicz & Gierczyńska-Kolas 2021), etc.

The Polish and Russian names of yellow – *żółty* and *желтый* [*zheltyj*] respectively – belong to the group of basic colour terms – as understood by Berlin and Kay (1969). These terms include words for eleven colours: white, black, red, green, yellow, blue, brown, purple, pink, orange, and grey. In Polish, there are eleven basic colour terms (see, e.g., Komorowska & Stanulewicz 2018; Stanulewicz 2009; Tokarski [1995] 2004; Waszakowa 2000), whereas Russian speakers use twelve basic terms, with two psychologically salient words for blue, *синий* [*sinij*] 'dark blue', and *голубой* [*goluboj*] 'light blue' (see, among others, Komorowska 2010a; 2017; Komorowska & Stanulewicz 2018; Morgan & Corbett 1989; Paramei 2005; Wierzbicka 1996). The Polish and Russian basic colour terms are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Polish and Russian basic colour terms (Sources: Komorowska & Stanulewicz 2018; Morgan & Corbett 1989; Paramei 2005; Stanulewicz 2009; Tokarski 2004 [1995]; Waszakowa 2000)

Colour category	Polish	Russian
WHITE	<i>biały</i>	<i>белый</i> [ <i>belyj</i> ]
BLACK	<i>czarny</i>	<i>черный</i> [ <i>chernyj</i> ]
RED	<i>czzerwony</i>	<i>красный</i> [ <i>krasnyj</i> ]
GREEN	<i>zielony</i>	<i>зеленый</i> [ <i>zelenyj</i> ]
YELLOW	<i>żółty</i>	<i>желтый</i> [ <i>zheltyj</i> ]
BLUE	<i>niebieski</i>	<i>голубой</i> [ <i>goluboj</i> ] <i>синий</i> [ <i>sinij</i> ]
BROWN	<i>brązowy</i>	<i>коричневый</i> [ <i>korichnevyj</i> ]
PURPLE	<i>fioletowy</i>	<i>фиолетовый</i> [ <i>fioletowyj</i> ]
PINK	<i>różowy</i>	<i>розовый</i> [ <i>rozovyj</i> ]
ORANGE	<i>pomarańczowy</i>	<i>оранжевый</i> [ <i>oranzhevyj</i> ]
GREY	<i>szary</i>	<i>серый</i> [ <i>seryj</i> ]

As regards the Polish and Russian words for yellow, it is worth recalling that researchers have approached these words from different perspectives. The meanings, uses, and prototypical references of Polish *żółty* and other words for yellow have been analyzed, among others, by Ampel-Rudolf (1994: 70-80); Komorowska (2010b); Tokarski ([1995] 2004: 93-113); Waszakowa (2003a); Zaręba (1954: 32-35). Russian *желтый* and its uses as well as prototypes have been investigated by Kustova and Rachilina (2003), Slezkina (Слезкина 2005), and many others. Comparative studies of words for yellow – their meanings, uses, etc. – have been carried out as well, including Polish-Russian: Chudyk (2011); Komorowska (2010a: 131-145; 2017: 127-138); Komorowska and Stanulewicz (2018: 92-96); Polish-Russian-Czech-Ukrainian: Bjelajeva (2003); Polish-Russian-Czech-Ukrainian-Swedish: Waszakowa (2003b); and Polish-English: Uberman (2011). The present study is an addition to all these studies, catering for the need to test the previous findings and hypotheses.

## 2. Definitions of the Polish and Russian words for yellow

The adjectives *żółty* and *желтый* are cognates, originating from the Proto-Indo-European root \**ghel-* 'shine'. Explaining what the words for yellow mean, both Polish and Russian dictionaries refer most frequently to the colour of natural objects. Let us first present the selected definitions of *żółty* and *желтый* (see Table 2):

Table 2. Selected dictionary definitions of *żółty* and *желтый* (Source: Own processing)

<i>żółty</i>	<i>желтый</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– "mający barwę owocu cytryny, jaskrów, żółtka itp." [having the colour of the lemon fruit, buttercups, egg yolk, etc.] (Słownik języka polskiego PWN. Available at: <a href="https://sjp.pwn.pl/sjp/zolty;2548314.html">https://sjp.pwn.pl/sjp/zolty;2548314.html</a>)</li> <li>– "coś, co jest żółte, ma kolor cytryny lub żółtka jajek" [something that is yellow has the colour of a lemon or egg yolk] (Inny słownik języka polskiego 2000, vol. 2: 1416)</li> <li>– "jasny, ciepły kolor zbliżony do barwy żółtka, cytryny, jaskrów; w widmie słonecznym znajduje się między pomarańczowym a zielonym: <i>żółty jak cytryna</i>" [light, warm colour similar to the colour of egg yolk, the lemon, buttercups; in the visible spectrum it is located between orange and green: <i>as yellow as a lemon</i>] (Słownik współczesnego języka polskiego 1996: 1390)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– "Цвета песка, золота." [Of the colour of sand, of gold.] (Ожегов 1978: 176)</li> <li>– "Цвета яичного желтка. Желтые листья (осенние)." [Of the colour of egg yolk. Yellow leaves (autumn [leaves]).] (Ожегов &amp; Шведова [1992] 1995. Available at: <a href="https://ozhegov.slovaronline.com/8125-ZHELTYIY">https://ozhegov.slovaronline.com/8125-ZHELTYIY</a>)</li> <li>– "Имеющий окраску одного из основных цветов спектра – среднего между оранжевым и зелёным; цвета яичного желтка, золота." [Having the colour of one of the basic colours of the spectrum – between orange and green; of the colour of egg yolk, of gold.]</li> <li>– (Большой толковый словарь русского языка [1998] 2014. Available at: <a href="http://www.gramota.ru/slovari/dic/?word=%D0%B6%D0%B5%D0%BB%D1%82%D1%8B%D0%B9&amp;all=x">http://www.gramota.ru/slovari/dic/?word=%D0%B6%D0%B5%D0%BB%D1%82%D1%8B%D0%B9&amp;all=x</a>)</li> </ul>

As can be seen, egg yolk happens to be the most popular reference point of the words for yellow provided by the selected Polish and Russian dictionaries. Moreover, the lexicographers provide the information about the position of yellow in the visible spectrum – between orange and green. Furthermore, the dictionaries refer to plants – Polish *żółty* is the colour of buttercups and lemons, whereas in one of the Russian dictionaries yellow autumn leaves are mentioned. Additionally, *желтый* is associated with the colour of gold.

Let us now present Wierzbicka's explication of *yellow*:

"X is yellow. =  
when one sees things like X one can think of the sun  
at some times people can see many things  
when one sees things like X one can think of this"  
(1996: 317)

Tokarski ([1995] 2004: 96-99, 106-110) entirely agrees with Wierzbicka about the sun being the reference point of the words for yellow, adding, however, another prototype, namely yellow autumn leaves.

### 3. Symbolism of yellow and its reflection in language

Taking into consideration symbolism, yellow is an ambivalent colour. According to Kopaliński ([1990] 2007: 512-513), this colour – because of its associations with light – symbolizes eternity, the gates of heaven, holiness and the divine power as well as intellect, knowledge, and spiritual maturity. Being the colour of gold, it is associated with wealth. Other positive connections include joy, goodness, and happiness, to name just a few. Perceived negatively, yellow serves as a symbol of arrogance, pursuit of scandal, hypocrisy, meanness, hostility, instability, cowardice, jealousy, disease, melancholy, and infidelity – suffice it to recall paintings depicting Judas dressed in yellow.

Both in Polish and Russian, the basic colour terms referring to yellow – *żółty* and *желтый* – are found to occur in expressions reflecting the negative symbolism of this colour (see, among others, Komorowska 2010a: 131-145; 2017: 132-139; Tokarski [1995] 2004: 110-113), e.g., see Table 3.

Table 3. Selected expressions with *żółty* and *желтый* reflecting the negative symbolism of yellow  
(Source: Own processing)

Polish	Russian
– <i>żółty ze złości / wściekłości / zazdrości</i> 'yellow with anger / fury / envy'	– <i>желтый от злости / ревности</i> 'yellow with anger / envy'
– <i>żółta twarz / skóra</i> 'yellow face / skin' reflecting an illness or old age	– <i>желтый дом</i> 'psychiatric hospital, lunatic asylum', lit. yellow house, synonym of the present day expression <i>дом сумасшедших</i>
– <i>żółta flaga</i> 'yellow flag' on a ship as a signal of an infectious disease or quarantine	– <i>желтый билет</i> 'permission to work as a prostitute' up to 1917, lit. yellow ticket
– <i>mieć żółte papiery</i> 'to be insane', lit. to have yellow papers	– <i>желтая пресса</i> 'yellow press'

The expressions listed above illustrate the use of words for yellow connoting diseases (including mental illnesses), ageing, and negative emotions as well as prostitution and the gutter press. Furthermore, nouns related to the adjectives *żółty* and *желтый*, *żółć* and *желчь* respectively, meaning 'bile',<sup>4</sup> figuratively refer to negative emotions, such as anger, fury, and irritation. Also, the words for jaundice, *żółtaczka* and *желтуха*, are related to the words for yellow.



In both languages, there are expressions, including collocations, containing *zólty* and *желтый*, which have positive or neutral connotations; however, in positively charged expressions another word for yellow, meaning 'golden', is usually employed: *złoty* (and its derivative *złocisty*) in Polish and *золотой* [*zolotoj*] in Russian (see also Komorowska 2010a: 131-145; 2017: 132-139; Tokarski [1995] 2004: 99-106), e.g., see Table 4.

Table 4. Selected expressions with *złoty* and *золотой* (Source: Own processing)

Polish	Russian
– <i>złote słońce</i> 'golden sun'	– <i>золотое солнце</i> 'golden sun'
– <i>złote promienie słońca</i> 'golden rays of the sun'	– <i>золотые солнечные лучи</i> 'golden rays of the sun'
– <i>złoty blask słońca</i> 'golden shine of the sun'	– <i>золотой солнечный блеск</i> 'golden shine of the sun'
– <i>złote lany zbóż</i> 'golden fields of grain'	– <i>золотые хлеба</i> 'golden grain'
– <i>złota jesień</i> 'golden autumn', warm early autumn	– <i>Отговорила роща золотая</i> 'The Golden Grove' (title of a poem by Sergei Yesenin)

Polish *złoty* and Russian *золотой* are cognates, coming from the Proto-Indo-European root *\*ghel-* 'shine' as well.

#### 4. Associations with yellow: Previous studies

Previous studies allow us to distinguish several sets of associations with yellow elicited from speakers of different languages: the sun and light, autumn leaves, sand, yellow flowers as well as lemons and grain (see Table 5).

Table 5. Associations with yellow: Previous studies (Source: Own processing)

Study	Language(s)	Dominant association(s)	Other relatively frequent associations
Russian dictionary of associations (Русский ассоциативный словарь. Available at: <a href="http://www.thesaurus.ru/dict/">http://www.thesaurus.ru/dict/</a> )	Russian	leaves light and sun	lemon chick
Teodorowicz-Hellman (1998)	Polish	sun	leaves
Stanulewicz (2009)	Polish	sun	yellow flowers sand
Stanulewicz and Berger (2018)	various languages	sun	gold grain

It needs to be stressed that in the three previous studies presented in Table 5, the associations with the sun turned out to be much more frequent than the other ones. For instance, in the study by Stanulewicz (2009: 295-296), 400 respondents inhabiting four regions of Poland provided 591 associations with yellow, including the sun (and related phenomena) – 297 occurrences (50.25 %),

yellow flowers – 51 occurrences (8.63 %), and sand – 25 occurrences (4.32 %).

## 5. Results of the survey

In this section, we analyze partial results of the survey study whose aim was to investigate colour associations delivered by Polish and Russian speakers. We concentrate only on the associations with yellow. The results of the survey conducted with the Polish-speaking participants come from Stanulewicz et al. (2014).

### 5.1 The questionnaire and participants

We asked 50 native speakers of Polish (living in Poland) and 50 native speakers of Russian (living in Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and Moldova, some of them – mainly university students and teachers – temporarily staying in Poland) to provide positive, neutral, and negative associations with colours (see the appendix containing the questionnaire in two language versions). The numbers of female and male participants were equal in each group. We did not set any limit on the number of associations and instructed the respondents to leave the space blank if they had no associations with a particular colour.

### 5.2 Concrete associations – prototypical references

The Polish speakers provided more associations with yellow than the Russian-speaking respondents: 134 and 94, respectively (see Table 6).

Table 6. Associations with yellow provided by the Polish and Russian speaking respondents: Statistical data  
(Sources: Own processing; Stanulewicz et al. 2014: 265)

Respondents	Total number of provided associations with yellow	Number of associations with yellow per 1 respondent
Polish speakers	134	2.68
Russian speakers	94	1.88

The Polish and Russian speaking respondents – like the participants in the earlier studies presented above – associated yellow predominantly with the sun (see Tables 7 and 8). Apart from the sun, the speakers of both languages mentioned yellow flowers, mainly daffodils and sunflowers. It is clear that what motivates the most frequent associations with yellow is observations of natural objects and phenomena.

Table 7. Associations with yellow given by the Polish-speaking respondents (Source: Stanulewicz et al. 2014: 268)

Associations	Number of associations	Percentage
sun, light, warmth	46	34.33
daffodils and other yellow flowers	18	13.43
other associations	70	52.23
Total	134	100.00

Table 8. Associations with yellow given by the Russian-speaking respondents (Source: Own processing)

Associations	Number of associations	Percentage
sun, light, warmth	35	37.23
daffodils and other yellow flowers	8	8.51
other associations	51	54.26
Total	94	100.00

If we compare the associations given by the respondents with the prototypical references provided in the dictionaries, we note that the latter fail to mention the sun. This is quite surprising because references to natural objects and phenomena (including astronomical) are found in definitions of other colour terms, e.g., the sky in the definitions of the words for blue. We could only speculate that in the eyes of the lexicographers, the sun and light are perhaps less tangible, less concrete phenomena than the sky or that in the case of the sun, we should talk about the intensity of light instead of the colour tone.

Interestingly enough, the references given by the dictionaries presented above – egg yolk, autumn leaves, lemons, and sand – were rarely provided by the respondents in both groups. The results of the survey confirm the claim made by Wierzbicka (1996) and other scholars that it is the sun which should be considered the prototypical reference of the Polish and Russian words for yellow. Our study indicates that other, less stable prototypes (or candidates for prototypes) are flowers with yellow petals, such as daffodils and sunflowers, but rather not buttercups, which were not mentioned by the respondents.

### 5.3 Valuation

Despite the fact that numerous Polish and Russian fixed expressions containing the basic colour words for yellow are charged negatively, the speakers of both languages placed the majority of their associations – almost 60 per cent – in the "positive" category (see Tables 9 and 10). As could be expected, the sun and yellow flowers were predominantly evaluated positively.

Table 9. Positive, neutral, and negative associations with yellow provided by the Polish-speaking respondents: Statistical data (Source: Stanulewicz et al. 2014: 265)

Associations	Number of associations	Number of associations per participant	Percentage
positive	78	1.56	58.21
neutral	29	0.58	21.64
negative	27	0.54	20.15
Total	134	2.68	100.00

Table 10. Positive, neutral, and negative associations with yellow provided by the Russian-speaking respondents: Statistical data (Source: Own processing)

Associations	Number of associations	Number of associations per participant	Percentage
positive	55	1.10	58.51
neutral	22	0.44	23.40
negative	17	0.34	18.09
Total	94	1.88	100.00

As the data in Table 11 demonstrate, the differences between the Polish and Russian speaking participants in the distribution of the associations are subtle, ranging from 0.30 to 2.06 percentage points.

Table 11. Differences in the distribution of associations: A comparison (Source: Own processing)

Associations	Polish speakers (%)	Russian speakers (%)	Difference
positive	58.21	58.51	0.30
neutral	21.64	23.40	1.76
negative	20.15	18.09	2.06

One more discrepancy draws our attention. An examination of colour preferences, in which 200 Polish speakers participated, showed that only three of them (1.5 %) declared that yellow was their favourite colour (Stanulewicz 2009: 264-265). The relatively big number of the positive associations and the relatively small number of the negative ones fail to correlate with the finding that yellow does not belong to the preferred colours.

## 6. Conclusions

The results of our study demonstrate that Polish and Russian speakers perceive yellow in a similar way. Firstly, the associations point to the sun as the prototypical reference of the Polish and Russian words for this colour. Strangely enough, the selected authoritative dictionaries offer other explanations of the meanings of *żółty* and *желтый*, ignoring reference to the sun. Secondly, almost 60 % of associations provided by the respondents in both groups were positive despite the negative symbolism of yellow reflected in the fixed expressions. The overall positive valuation of yellow

apparently resulted from the positive valuation of the most frequent association, the sun. The associations with the sun, warmth, and light – linked with gold – presumably suppressed thoughts about a cooler shade of yellow, which is considered less pleasant, as well as about the negative symbolism and fixed expressions with negative connotations. Curiously, associating yellow with the sun (and light), the respondents unconsciously referred to the meaning of the Proto-Indo-European root *\*ghel-* 'shine'. Recapitulating, we have found no differences in the associations most frequently provided by the speakers of the two languages and the resulting prototypical reference of the words for yellow. The contrasts we have observed include the differences between the associations and the reference points in the dictionary definitions and the discrepancy between the negative symbolism of yellow reflected in Polish and Russian fixed expressions and a positive valuation of this colour by the respondents. As regards the prospects for further research, apart from continuing the survey (also taking into consideration speakers of other languages), we plan to concentrate on collocations with *żółty* and *желтый*, investigating their uses in the texts of the National Corpus of Polish (Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego, available at: <http://nkjp.pl/>) and the Russian National Corpus (Национальный корпус русского языка [Natsionalnyj korpus russkogo yazyka], available at: <https://ruscorpora.ru/new/>). A sentiment analysis will allow us to answer the question, which connotations of the words for yellow – positive, negative or neutral – happen to be the most frequent ones in the texts found in the corpora.

## Notes

1. So far, we have published the results of the survey study concerning the associations Polish and Russian speakers provided with the following colours: red (Коморовска & Станулевич 2020b), orange (Коморовска & Станулевич 2020a), and pink (Stanulewicz et al. 2021). We have also presented the results for purple at a conference (Stanulewicz & Komorowska 2020).
2. Numerous researchers analyze the use of colour terms in literature, see, e.g., Kaptur (2017), Obrączka (2011), Panasenko (2020), Tokarski ([1995] 2004).
3. Crystal ([1992] 1994: 329) provides the following definition of *connotation*: "The personal or emotional associations which are suggested by words, and which thus form part of their meaning for individual speakers".
4. The Polish word *żółć* is also a colour noun referring to the colour yellow. Its Russian equivalent is *желть*.

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## Résumé

In this paper, we analyze associations with yellow provided by 50 Polish and 50 Russian speakers. The research questions we ask concern (1) the prototypical references of the words for yellow in view of the provided associations, (2) motivation of the associations, and (3) valuation of this colour by the speakers of both languages. Our survey study demonstrates that the dominant associations include the sun and related phenomena, such as light. This points to the sun as a prototypical reference of Polish and Russian words for yellow, *żółty* and *желтый* respectively. The study also indicates that other, less stable prototypes (or candidates for prototypes) are yellow flowers, such as daffodils and sunflowers. The most frequent associations are then motivated by observations of nature. Curiously enough, the analyzed definitions of the words for yellow, coming from authoritative Polish and Russian dictionaries, ignore the sun, offering other explanations of the meanings of *żółty* and *желтый*: references to egg yolk, gold, and buttercups. In both languages, the negative symbolism of yellow is reflected in fixed expressions containing the words for yellow, which connote diseases (including mental illnesses), ageing, and negative emotions as well as prostitution and the gutter press. Despite these negative connotations, yellow is evaluated positively by the respondents, which may be attributed to the positive valuation of the most frequent association, the sun. Associating yellow with the sun, the respondents unconsciously refer to the meaning of the Proto-Indo-European root *\*ghel-* 'shine', from which *żółty* and *желтый* originate.

**Key words:** associations, colour vocabulary, yellow, golden, Polish, Russian, fixed expressions, colour symbolism, prototypical reference, valuation.

## Appendix

### POZYTYWNE, NEUTRALNE I NEGATYWNE SKOJARZENIA Z BARWAMI

Data ..... Płeć ..... Wiek .....

Wykształcenie ..... Zawód / specjalność .....

Miejsce pochodzenia ..... Miejsce zamieszkania .....

Z czym pozytywnym, neutralnym i negatywnym kojarzą się Państwu następujące kolory? Mogą Państwo podać jedno lub więcej skojarzeń, albo zostawić puste miejsce, jeżeli nic się Państwu nie kojarzy z daną barwą.

Kolor	Skojarzenia		
	pozytywne	neutralne	negatywne
BIAŁY			
CZARNY			
CZERWONY			
ZIELONY			
ŻÓŁTY			
NIEBIESKI			
BŁĘKITNY			
BRAŹOWY			
FIOLETOWY			
RÓŻOWY			
POMARAŃCZOWY			
SZARY			

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Дата ..... Возраст ..... Пол .....  
Образование ..... Специальность/профессия .....  
Место происхождения ..... Место жительства .....  
Ваш родной язык .....

Пожалуйста, напишите свои позитивные, нейтральные и негативные ассоциации, связанные с предложенными цветами. Если нет ассоциаций с каким-либо цветом, поставьте прочерк.

Цвет	Ассоциации		
	позитивные	нейтральные	негативные
БЕЛЫЙ			
ЧЕРНЫЙ			
КРАСНЫЙ			
ЗЕЛЕНый			
ЖЕЛТЫЙ			
СИНИЙ			
ГОЛУБОЙ			
КОРИЧНЕВЫЙ			
ФИОЛЕТОВЫЙ			
РОЗОВЫЙ			
ОРАНЖЕВЫЙ			
СЕРЫЙ			

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**LEGE ARTIS**

Language yesterday, today, tomorrow

Vol. VII. No 2 2022 Special issue

**LINGUISTIC CONTRASTS OUT OF CONSCIOUS CONTROL\****Konrad Szcześniak**Palacký University, Olomouc, Czech Republic**University of Silesia, Sosnowiec, Poland*

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**Abstract:** This paper looks at how learners discover semantic and pragmatic contrasts between newly learned language forms. Following the *Principle of Contrast*, the discovery of contrasts is assumed to be a prerequisite to learning both single words and formulaic expressions. Are lexical items recorded as memory traces with or without conscious effort in the sense of the *Noticing Hypothesis*? The main claim is that the amount of detail to be extracted from input exceeds the capacity of conscious awareness. Instead, people rely on the mechanism of repetition detection, without conscious control.

**Key words:** formulaic expressions, *Principle of Contrast*, memory traces, *Noticing Hypothesis*, repetition detection.

**1. Introduction**

A long-standing question in Second Language Acquisition (SLA) studies has been how people commit new language forms to memory. More specifically, how are memory traces formed? How are contrasts between close synonyms discovered? An influential take on these questions was championed by Schmidt (1990; 1994; 1995) in his *Noticing Hypothesis*. He proposed that close attention is the key here: it is only by paying conscious attention that one can master new words, expressions, and constructions. Under the strong form of the Noticing Hypothesis, people can be predicted to fail to internalize what they do not pay attention to (Logan et al. 1996). Put another way, according to Schmidt, so-called incidental learning (also known as peripheral or subliminal learning) is not a realistic phenomenon. The possibility of learning without conscious awareness has been pondered on for a long time, but according to Baars (2002: 50), no robust evidence is available to support the idea that such learning is even possible. If this view is correct, then the secret of successful learners may consist in the mindful ability to pay rapt attention, or what Schmidt (1990: 132) called "focal awareness" of elements of input. In other words, in order to learn a new language form, it is

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not enough to understand its meaning or get the gist of what that meaning contributes to. Rather, the learner must focus specifically on the usage of the new word or expression.

Schmidt's conjecture seems compelling enough, especially in light of insights from research in cognitive neuroscience. For example, it has been known that information processed consciously is more likely to be retained in memory thanks to one important benefit of consciousness, namely the possibility to prolong the time of activation of the neurons involved in the processing of that information. As Dehaene puts it, "Subliminal information is evanescent, but conscious information is stable – we can hang on to it for as long as we wish" (2014: 89). To be sure, conscious attention (or Schmidt's "noticing mode") is certainly conducive to learning. However, the really interesting question is whether memories can be recorded in the subliminal mode, without conscious control. The hypothesis being proposed here is that the demands of learning new language forms exceed the capacity of conscious focus. Upon encountering a new word or expression, the learner is faced with too many potentially relevant features of usage to attend to consciously.

## **2. Material and methods**

This contribution discusses perception of language forms that language learners extract from their input, understood in this article as both written and spoken language that learners are exposed to. No distinction is made between first and second language learners here. The main assumption is that a person's knowledge of language is a product of observed usage. That is, entries in the mental lexicon are shaped by what people encounter in their daily linguistic interactions, in line with cognitive linguistic usage-based models of language learning (e.g., Bybee 2010; Langacker 1987; Tomasello 2003). Usage-based theories assume that the task of laying down traces in memory relies on important skills and abilities such as pattern-finding and intention-reading. These are domain-general in the sense of being present in other cognitive tasks such as sorting the surrounding environment into mental categories. Importantly, when it comes to discovering the structure of language, the information that will ultimately be encoded in the mind emerges solely from the input.

No linguistic information is assumed to be innately pre-established. All knowledge of language is derived from experiences with usage, which language learners perceive, process, and categorize into grammatical constructions, defined as pairings of form and meaning and/or pragmatic functions (see Goldberg 1995). Grammatical constructions include elements of varying degrees of size and schematicity, ranging from single morphemes (*smile*, *-ing*), through words (*smiling*), phrases (*so far so good*), to more general patterns (like the passive construction). In line with most cognitive linguistic accounts (see Fried 2013), I treat grammatical constructions as the main unit of linguistic



knowledge. That is, knowledge of language can be thought of as being a list of all grammatical constructions that belong to that language. In what follows, I will discuss how language users learn grammatical constructions, especially phrase-sized constructions, i.e., formulaic expressions.

The main emphasis is on highlighting the richness of information that language users face. This is especially evident when learners process formulaic language, consisting of tens of thousands of fixed expressions of varying lengths. Formulaic language has recently been argued to represent a major component of linguistic proficiency (e.g., Taylor 2012; Wood 2015). Thus, it is an essential element of linguistic knowledge to be acquired, and I will attempt to demonstrate that it is also a particularly challenging learning problem because many fixed expressions are not inherently salient. This means that a learner exposed to many examples such as *one of the most* cannot rely on conscious awareness in the sense of The Noticing Hypothesis. The discussion is based on examples of phrases in English, and equivalents in Czech, Slovak, and Polish. The challenges for the language user are illustrated by means of corpus data drawn from *The Corpus of Contemporary American English* (Davies 2008), henceforth abbreviated as COCA.

### **3. Results and discussion**

#### *3.1 Discovering contrasts*

The main problem with the Noticing Hypothesis is that "words don't come easy". Vocabulary learning may bring to mind uncomplicated images of words written down to be remembered, but there is a lot more to learn than just single word forms. First, rather obviously, even a single item conceals a wealth of information going far beyond what can be attended to consciously. When a person comes across a word, each such encounter comes with detailed characteristics that are potentially available to be recorded in memory:

*[E]ach linguistic encounter lays down a trace in memory. The trace pertains not only to the linguistic signal as such, but also to the context in which it is encountered. The context may include the characteristics of the speaker (her accent and voice quality, for example), and features of the situation in which the utterance is encountered, as well as the presumed semantic intent of the speaker. The mental corpus is therefore vastly more rich in detail than any available text collection, in that each element is indexed for its contextual features (Taylor 2012: 3).*

All this detail surrounding a linguistic signal (whether it is a word, expression, or pattern) must be perceived and registered because it is this detail that defines the linguistic signal, setting it apart from its synonyms. This much follows from the *Principle of Contrast* (Clark 1987), under which a word has to differ in some way from other words to be allowed into the lexicon. Further, contrast is a major mechanism behind lexical acquisition: Children "assume words contrast in meaning" (ibid., 10). Children use their assumption of contrast as a tool guiding them in constructing their mental definition

of a newly learned form. For example, upon encountering the noun *pooch*, they do not conclude that it means the same as *dog*. Rather, they expect the two words to differ, and they discover the correct contrast in terms of formality, which can be inferred from details like the tone of voice and the like. The problem is that the child does not know which perceived details are important distinctive features and which are incidental (and irrelevant) peculiarities. These can only be discovered by encountering the form in question a number of times and finding that some features recur (e.g., Goldberg 2019). This suggests that the learner must register the accompanying information so it can be consulted upon the next encounter.

Of course, there is no way of knowing how much information about the usage of a word is transferred to long-term memory. It is perfectly possible for some or most details to go unnoticed and lost in transfer. However, as we will see shortly, there is good reason to believe that a lot more information gets recorded than was previously assumed. Following Taylor's hypothesis above, I assume that learners do register large amounts of information surrounding word use. Most of that information must be committed to memory *under* the threshold of conscious awareness, simply because one cannot pay focused attention to multiple stimuli at the same time. A listener cannot focus on the speaker's positive or negative tone (e.g., Bigunova 2019), volume, grammatical tense, accompanying words (collocates) or other potential details, all monitored consciously at the same time. Yet these aspects must be tracked so that those that recur can be identified, making it possible to discover contrasts. Note that even if a person consciously realizes that something about a use is a recurrent feature, this is discovered after first having recorded traces of that feature unconsciously.

In fact, upon closer reflection, many contrasts found in language are unconscious. For example, when asked to explain the difference between *land* and *ground* (Croft & Cruse 2004: 18), many speakers find they are unable to point it out. However, when asked which of the two means 'soil as opposed to sea or water', they correctly choose *land* (and they identify *ground* as meaning 'soil as opposed to the air'). In other words, speakers have the correct knowledge and understanding of the contrast, even if it has until now been unconscious.

How is such a contrast discovered? The meaning of *land* 'soil in the context of the sea' becomes evident through its frequent occurrence near the word *sea* or *water*:

- (1) a. *The sea is devouring the land.*
- b. *Some may have come by sea, others by land.*
- c. *They're the fastest of all penguins in water, but on land, life takes on a slower pace.*

- d. ...leading them through the Red sea as on dry land.
- e. ...some sea creatures developed into land animals.
- f. ...no land in sight, just water. (COCA)

It is difficult to estimate how many such uses are needed for a person to discover the contrast between *land* and *ground*. What seems obvious enough is that the discovery process involves amassing a mental corpus of collocations like *on dry land*, *land in sight*, *by land*, etc. and remembering that they were encountered in marine contexts<sup>1</sup>.

### 3.2 The inconspicuous nature of formulaicity

This brings us to the second problem with the Noticing Hypothesis. Apart from individual words, learners have to learn considerable numbers of fixed phrases like *on dry land*, and these are very unlikely to be noticed consciously. This is because the lexicon includes enormous numbers of fixed expressions like *more or less*, *sooner or later*, *on the one hand*, *better late than never* (and other examples of phrases, sayings, proverbs, idioms, etc.), and what is particularly challenging about fixed phrases is that most of them look too ordinary to attract conscious attention. Consider the case of *black and white*. At first glance, it does not strike us as particularly idiomatic or worth memorizing because everything about its form and meaning seems predictable and unsurprising. This, however, is only an illusion. First, the form is fixed and has to be learned as such. Speakers of English are quite particular about the exact arrangement of the words and find its grammatical variants (like *?white and black* or *?black-white*) rather unnatural. The same is true of the Slovak *černo-biely* (which is preferable to *?bielo-černý* or *?biely-a-černý*), the Czech *černo-bílý* (as opposed to *?bílo-černý* or *?bílý-a-černý*), or the Polish *czarno-biały* (not *?biało-czarny* or *?biały-i-czarny*). Second, the meaning of this expression goes beyond a description of colors. The main sense of *black-and-white* is 'unrealistically binary or clear-cut in attempted distinctions'. This meaning has to be learned, as it is not something that can straightforwardly be "figured out" through logical thinking, without exposure to actual usage. Third, the black-white order is not universal. As one anonymous Reviewer pointed out, the arbitrariness of the color order becomes evident if we consider the Italian *bianconeri* ('white-black'), the nickname of the football club Juventus. All these are unpredictable facts, impossible to arrive at through instinct; each expression listed here has to be learned individually through experience with observed language use.

What implications does formulaic language have for language knowledge? A solid command of a language involves knowing great numbers of phrases like the ones mentioned above. How are they learned? It is rather beyond belief that all of them (or even most of them) could be mastered by means

of conscious attention. The reason people are unlikely to focus on new fixed expressions is that they are not as conspicuous as individual words. When a person comes across a new word, its novelty alone makes it salient enough to mobilize conscious focus. (In such cases, the strong form of the Noticing Hypothesis may indeed be accurate). However, the likelihood of conscious learning decreases dramatically in the case of formulaic expressions. Unlike individual words, fixed expressions do not stand out by virtue of their novelty. When faced with a piece of text, a person does not know ahead of time which expressions are fixed (to be learned) and which ones are one-off combinations (to be ignored). The only way to find out is to store each encountered sequence provisionally and hold it in memory for some time until it is encountered again. There is empirical evidence (discussed shortly below) that this is precisely what happens. However, for this mode of memory retention to be feasible, it has to be subliminal, in operation "in the background," while the person's conscious attention is focused on content. While it is of course possible for a person to shift focus to a fixed expression's form occasionally, doing so more frequently would overtax his or her attentional resources. It is certainly not the case that a person reading a book could pay attention to the spelling of all newly encountered lexical sequences. This would require focusing on form practically non-stop, as any new sequence – conspicuous or not – could be a potential candidate for a fixed expression to learn. This would overtax conscious system resources; at least some of the information must be processed outside awareness. Indeed, Schmidt himself recognized the need for unconscious processing in the first language (L1). This can be inferred from his observation that adult L2 learners "seem to have lost the still mysterious ability of children to acquire the grammatical forms of language while apparently not paying attention to them" (Schmidt 1983: 172). As it happens, there is mounting evidence that this ability is still present in adults, as confirmed by recent L2 acquisition research (e.g., Suzuki & DeKeyser 2017; Toomer & Elgort 2019).

To get an idea of the degree of the inconspicuousness of fixed expressions, let us reflect on how long formulaic language remained invisible to linguists themselves. For decades, it was downplayed, apparently not an especially frequent or significant presence in language use. While the formulaic nature of language was pointed out by some authors in the second half of the twentieth century (e.g., Becker 1975; Mel'čuk 1988; Pawley & Syder 1983), these were minority views, which did not find anywhere near the empirical vindication that came in the last two decades. The prevailing opinion was that formulaic language represented, just like all idiosyncratic matter in language, a thing of periphery, of negligible relevance to language competence: "It is evident that rote recall is a factor of minute importance in ordinary use of language" (Chomsky 1964: 78). This shows just how unassuming formulaic language tends to be. It is perfectly possible for a language user to draw on a store of fixed expressions, all the while being rather unaware of doing so. As Pawley and Syder

observed, "[m]emorised clauses and clause sequences form a high proportion of the fluent stretches of speech heard in everyday conversation" (1983: 208), but these formulaic expressions are prone to hide in plain sight, apparently invisible to the very speakers using them. Note that although a speaker may both use and encounter a fixed expression multiple times, he or she fails to notice its formulaic nature. One can therefore make a case that a learner faced with a new fixed expression for the first time is even less likely to notice it for what it is. It is safe to assume that most regular-looking expressions will not attract the attention of most language learners. Items like *make reference*, *black and white*, *more or less*, *one of the most* [ADJ], and countless other such lexical combinations are hardly noteworthy material that would prompt a learner to write anything down. If that is the case, they cannot be learned through paying conscious attention to them. Rather, when they are encountered, they are registered and filed away behind the veil of conscious attention. Then, those that are reencountered can be flagged as likely formulaic expressions, and therefore good candidates to be kept.

To discover contrasts between words, a language user must build a database of extant expressions in which these words appear. These fixed phrases serve as models of use and reflections of their meanings, in line with Firth's aphoristic observation "You shall know a word by the company it keeps" (1957: 11). However, the challenge involves more than just amassing great numbers of formulaic expressions encountered in the input. In constructing the definition of a word's meaning, a language user expects to detect contrasts with close synonyms, but unfortunately, not all fixed expressions serve to reveal these contrasts. The word *land* can be found in various other uses, which are not directly relevant to the contrast between *land* and *ground*. For example, in (2a) *land* appears next to both *water* and *air*, which does not help separate the two contexts (relative to sea vs. relative to air). In (2b-c), the uses are in the "real estate" sense of *land*, and therefore of little relevance to the contrast with *ground*.

- (2) a. ...*threats to New York State's water, air, land, and people.*  
b. ...*he will have to sell some of his land.*  
c. ...*farmed a piece of land.* (COCA)

Apart from these, there are dozens of collocations like the ones listed in (3). In this selection, some examples (*land bridge* and *Land Down Under*) actualize the 'sea' semantic feature, but in all other examples the *ground-land* distinction is neutralized.

(3) *acre of land, cultivated land, fertile land, forested land, Holy Land, landline phone, land bridge, Land Down Under, land of plenty, patch of land, plot of land.* (examples attested in COCA)

To isolate any distinctive features from a mental sample of encountered uses and recurring phrases, a person faces a long list of candidate features (e.g., formality, connotations, generality, different physical properties of the referent, etc.) which can be present across the registered cases. It is implausible that a person could scan such characteristics consciously the way a language researcher or lexicographer does. Rather, what happens is that key characteristics are detected subliminally when they reappear. While a person's attention is directed at the informational content conveyed in the input, repetition detection mechanisms running in the unconscious background are busy tracking multiple coexisting features and detecting those that recur across different situations (Ruz et al. 2005). Given the number and diversity of possible candidate features, there is no way a person can hold them all in conscious awareness.

The above account rests on the assumption that language users store all encounters of expressions; single encounters too are registered, and their memory traces are not (at least immediately) lost. This point is addressed next.

### *3.3 Memory traces updated through experience with input*

Learning new vocabulary items is widely believed to involve multiple exposures to a language form (e.g. Nation 2001: 51; Schmitt 2010:20). The required frequency is estimated to range from a couple to over a dozen encounters (e.g., González-Fernández & Schmitt 2017: 288). However, the importance of frequency conceals an internal paradox, responsible for a common mistake in reasoning. Namely, it is easy to conclude that if more encounters are necessary, then memory must not retain pieces of information encountered only once. It is tempting to assume that traces of single encounters are quickly erased from memory. However, as Bybee (2010) and Goldberg (2019) point out, erasing such traces would make it impossible to keep count of subsequent exposures. Without some record of the first experience, each subsequent encounter would appear to be the first one. In fact, children have been demonstrated to retain new words on the basis of a single exposure, a phenomenon referred to as fast mapping (Carey 2010; Carey & Bartlett 1978). Specifically, children remember something about the meaning of a new word encountered only once, even when tested a week later. As far as we know, the trace of the first encounter is never really erased, and it must remain present in memory in some form. This was first observed by Ebbinghaus (1913) in his pioneering studies of learning and forgetting, which he conducted by experimenting on himself as he

memorized sequences of syllables. He noticed that although he seemed to have forgotten a given sequence, the next time he attempted to learn it, it took him less time to learn, and its memory lasted longer. This suggests that the first experience with a piece of information leaves a trace. That trace, however faint or feeble, persists even when a person is under the impression of having forgotten the corresponding information that the trace subserves.

Following its formation, a memory trace is subject to procedures that will either weaken it (by pruning the connections between participating neurons) or consolidate it (by strengthening the connections within it). Although eliminating neuronal connections may seem to defeat the purpose of creating a memory trace, such pruning is a necessary mechanism in the service of automaticity and efficiency. Synaptic pruning targets unnecessary "noisy" connections whose activation would interfere with the activation of relevant connections (e.g., McMurray et al. 2017: 134). While research focusing on the exact mechanisms of consolidation is still ongoing (e.g., Szcześniak, forthcoming), memory retention is known to be selective in the sense that persistence is conferred on those "promising" neural pathways that seem to exhibit signs of future utility. What makes a pathway look promising? One possibility is that the likelihood of future utility increases with the integration of a new trace with existing lexical knowledge when a language form is found to be consistent with a pattern. That is, it is found to exhibit features that were also present on many previous occasions. For example, the word *land* is observed to appear in uses of the *sea-land* perspective, a significant recurrence which justifies the consolidation of the underlying memory trace and of the contrast with the noun *ground*.

The mode of operation of memory discussed here is in line with the idea that language forms are retained in memory through incidental learning. Indeed, the possibility of learning lexical sequences without conscious report has been investigated and confirmed experimentally. In a widely-quoted study, Gurevich et al. (2010) show that people have the potential for verbatim recall of specific expressions encountered in the input even when they do not seem to have paid attention to form. In this study, after listening to a story, the subjects were given a surprise quiz about the expressions they just heard and were found to display above-chance recall of their exact wording. These and similar findings by others (Bordag et al. 2021; Sampaio & Konopka 2012) suggest that some retention of language uses without conscious awareness is possible.

A trace formed after the first encounter is not likely to be a permanent addition to long-term memory. Such a trace is held in temporary memory, in what has been termed (among other labels) *rehearsal buffer* (Atkinson & Shiffrin 1968) or *echoic memory* (Huron & Parncutt 1993). The term *echoic memory* refers to the retention of sounds, whose mental "echo" can still be heard for at least several

seconds after they were received. Whatever the exact duration of temporary storage, learning relies on keeping a lexical item in memory long enough to re-encounter it before its memory trace decays. Thus, the sooner an item is reencountered and the more frequently that happens, the stronger its trace in memory becomes, which is an example of what is referred to as frequency effects (e.g., Lieven 2010: 2549). This mechanism is especially critical in learning lexical sequences, which are not inherently salient enough to attract attention. Their main chance of being recorded in memory is through being registered as a repeating combination of words.

That this is what actually happens can be confirmed by appeal to a familiar nonlinguistic experience. After listening to a music album several times, people often find that they know more about it than the melodies or the lyrics. All the people I have questioned recognize the following as their personal experience. When listening to the album a third or fourth time, they are able to anticipate what song will play next, after the previous one ends. It is certainly not the case that listeners make a meticulous effort to learn the two-second transitions between songs. After all, few pay mindful attention to the silences between tracks. And yet upon the last sounds of one track, listeners find that the beginning of the next song is already playing in their mind, before they even hear the actual sounds. Let us refer to this as the *neighboring songs effect*, a manifestation of a mechanism that is hypothesized to be at work in language learning.<sup>2</sup> Namely, just like the ending and the beginning of two neighboring songs, a collocation too is a combination of neighboring words, whose frequent recurrence makes it worth remembering them.

### 3.4 Contrasts of diverse kinds

The above discussion has highlighted the importance of detecting recurring elements in the input for retaining their memory traces. Recurring elements are significant because it is on their basis that contrasts are established. What the above examples could only outline is the fact that almost any aspect of use could turn out to be a recurring feature responsible for an important contrast. Upon encountering a language form, a language user has no way of knowing which aspects to pay attention to. The only solution is to register as many details as possible (though, of course, there is a limit on the number of details a person can perceive, consciously or subliminally). For example, is a newly encountered lexical combination a formulaic expression? Its formal aspect may turn out to be significant if it is encountered again. If it is, a formal contrast is established between the expression and other similar sequences. But what if a frequently encountered expression is occasionally found to be worded slightly differently? For example, in Slovak the expression *better late than never* has a number of variants. Apart from *lepšie neskôr ako nikdy*, it can also be found as *radšej neskôr/neskoro ako nikdy*. Does the formal contrast matter (should the alternative form be registered as a separate



expression or should it be considered a free variation)? That obviously depends on whether or not the formal contrast correlates with a contrast in usage. As it turns out, there are no significant usage differences that would justify treating these variants as separate lexical items. But this only puts the question one step back: How are contrasts in usage discovered? The problem is that the number of possible parameters to keep track of exceeds the powers of conscious awareness. Some contrasts may lie in formality, the speaker's attitude (approving, critical, etc.), the kinds of contexts in which an expression tends to appear, and many other dimensions. And of course, such contrasts do not become evident until a number of attestations have been observed, making it possible to triangulate on the relevant features of usage. A single attestation may not reveal which observed features are relevant; much less is it sufficient to discover all the informational detail contained even in an ordinary-looking lexical item such as *know* or *knowledge* (see Uberman 2019). If the Noticing Hypothesis were correct in its claim that one can only learn something by paying close attention to it, many critical features would escape notice. Discovering contrasts would then be a very difficult and protracted process.

#### **4. Conclusions**

This contribution has focused on the role of attention in learning new language forms and consolidating previously encountered forms. Noticing is conducive to better memory retention, and so are other forms of conscious attention found in tasks such as finding L1 equivalents. However, the main claim of this contribution is that conscious "focal awareness" of new language forms is not an absolute pre-requisite. Although we can posit the correlation "the more attention can be mobilized, the greater the chances of successful learning", ample evidence suggests that people can and often do retain elements of input without apparently attending to their spelling or pronunciation.

What makes conscious noticing particularly implausible is the importance of contrast in language. Because contrast is the *raison d'être* of each language form, mastering each new language form is contingent on discovering how it contrasts with other language forms. I have argued that a lexical contrast does not typically reveal itself through a single attestation. Only after a number of encounters can a pattern be detected. This entails two serious challenges for the Noticing Hypothesis. First, a sample of recurring uses must be collected. This means people retain most encountered phrases, whether they pay attention to their form or not. Retaining long successions of phrases is something unlikely to be accomplished through conscious focus – most lexical sequences are recorded subliminally. Second, once a given language form has been attested in a number of uses, these must then be searched for features they have in common. Here the challenge for the Noticing Hypothesis is even more serious than in the case of extracting lexical sequences from the input and committing them to memory. Given that any aspect of a lexical use may be significant (while other aspects may

turn out to be random noise), the task involves comparing multiple stored instances. It is unlikely that a language user could consciously browse her mental record of all the experiences with a language form. One cannot perform a retrospective review of stored attestations in search of recurring features that are responsible for contrasts between language forms. Discovering contrasts involves a lot more processing than conscious awareness can handle. The staggering amounts of information extracted from the input surrounding even a single language form cannot but mobilize multiple mental procedures and most of them represent unconscious processing.

## Notes

1. I do not attempt to discuss the discovery process in much detail here. It is likely to involve multiple mechanisms going beyond a simple comparison of contexts. Entries in the mental lexicon are developed through the discovery of patterns such as those visible in metonymic or metaphoric extensions pointed out by Kiełtyka (2019). He shows that animal-specific lexical items such as *watchdog* or *songbird* have motivated meanings, a fact no doubt exploited by learners.

2. This phenomenon has, to the best of my knowledge, not been researched, but it has been noted by music fans, as in one reddit.com discussion thread titled "You know you've listened to an album too much when your brain plays the intro to the next song before it actually starts playing."

## Abbreviations

COCA – *The corpus of contemporary American English*.

L1 – first language

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## Resumé

The present paper focuses on the conditions under which new language forms are learned. The main question being asked is whether lexical items can be recorded in memory incidentally, without conscious awareness. In keeping with cognitive linguistic usage-based models of language learning, it is assumed that the acquisition of language relies heavily on the input, the elements of which must be memorized. What is meant by elements of input are any language forms found in input to which learners are exposed. These forms are not only words, but also formulaic expressions. The latter pose

a particular learning challenge as they tend to be not as inherently salient as individual lexical items. Building lexical entries in the mental lexicon is argued to be contingent on unconscious perception sensitive to usage features which are responsible for establishing contrasts between newly learned words and their synonyms which are already known to the learner, in accordance with the Principle of Contrast (Clark 1987). Among the procedures known to run outside conscious awareness is the ability of learners to register recurring elements or what is referred to as repetition detection. In the context of language acquisition and processing, this ability is closely associated with what cognitive authors call sensitivity to frequency effects. For example, the frequency of an expression increases its entrenchment, which translates into benefits in the form of higher processing speeds. These would not be possible without repetition detection which makes it possible to keep track of linguistic encounters. The need for unconscious detection is all the more evident, given that frequency effects occur at all levels of language processing. Apart from sensitivity to recurring word combinations, a learner must also register recurring aspects of meaning, features of context, the speaker's tone and other elements underlying key contrasts between newly learned language forms. All these make the idea of conscious attention as a prerequisite of successful learning rather implausible. Thus, processing formulaic language with all the semantic and pragmatic contrasts that it entails is a challenge to the Noticing Hypothesis (Schmidt 1990; 1994; 1995)

**Key words:** formulaic expressions, Principle of Contrast, memory traces, Noticing Hypothesis, repetition detection.

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## LEGE ARTIS

Language yesterday, today, tomorrow

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### COMMUNICATIVE SILENCE IN POLITICAL DISCOURSE: A CASE STUDY ON AMERICAN AND UKRAINIAN PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHES

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**Abstract.** The study assumes that political communication techniques and strategies are manifested at a presidential debate. Its format plays one of the key roles in choosing the tactic of the speech presentation, namely the use of silence. Thus, the paper focuses on the communicative aspect of silence manifested in interpersonal relationships and political communication. Extra-long juncture pauses serve as a conflict or confrontation trigger, sparking offensive responses by the opponent.

**Key words:** political debate, silence effect, conflict trigger, pause, speech.

*Listen to silence. It has so much to say.*  
Rumi

#### 1. Introduction

Politics has always been one of the most controversial spheres of human existence. Ronald Reagan once mentioned, "it has been said that politics is the second oldest profession. I have learned that it bears a striking resemblance to the first" (Hanska 2012: 122). It has always evoked interest among scholars who have actively carried out research analyzing political debates (Auer 1962; Hart & Jarvis 1997; Hellweg et al. 1992; McKinney & Carlin 2004; Pfau 1984), the image and charisma of a politician expressed in media (Martynyuk & Meleshchenko 2019; Petlyuchenko & Chernyakova 2019; Stashko et. al. 2020), rhetoric and politics (Glenn 2004; Gronbeck 2004), and prosodic organization of political speeches (Polieieva & Vasik 2020). The analysis of the recorded speech plays a central role in discourse studies and remains open to investigation for the reason that silence and the profound effect it exerts on the interlocutor has always captured the attention of linguists (Анохіна 2008; Jensen 1976; Jones 2011; Tissi 2000; Wainberg 2017). The innovative aspect of this

study stems from the hypothesis that the silence effect can be regarded as a conflict or confrontation trigger (Panasenko et al. 2018). In this context, the ultimate aim of the paper is to analyze the pauses in the political speeches and prove their conflicting cross-cultural potential.

The paper is organized in the following way: the Introduction gives an overview of the related articles, sets the aim of this research article, shedding light on its novel nature and describing its structure. Section 2 presents the background of the silence effect, signifies the role of pauses in political speech, and briefly discusses the state-of-the-art in political campaign debates. Next, the choice of material, as well as methods, are described in Section 3. Ultimately, Section 4 contains the results of our phonetic experiment with the following discussion. The research is concluded in Section 5.

## **2. Theoretical background**

### *2.1 Televised political campaign debates*

The earliest comprehensive and critical debate analysis goes back to the 1960 Kennedy-Nixon debates (Auer 1962). Since then, interest in debate theory among scholars has awakened (maybe grown or awakened) (Hart & Jarvis 1997; Hellweg et al. 1992) and significantly rekindled over the last decade (Kaid et al. 2000; McKinney & Carlin 2004; McKinney & Warner 2013), increasing various approaches to argumentation and debate theory. Primarily, one needs to clarify what a political debate is from the functional point of view. Having analyzed the existing definitions suggested by Auer (1962), McKinney and Carlin (2004), and following Chaffe's (1978) top three motivations that viewers cite for watching debates, one can assume that a political debate is campaign communication in the form of a dialogue composed of a series of arguments that enables the viewers to learn about candidates' issue positions, compare their personalities, and acquire information to make their voting decision.

#### *2.1.1 Debate formats*

To answer the question of whether debate format matters to the public, one needs to resort to debate scholars McKinney and Carlin claiming that "the central issue every four years surrounding our presidential debates seems to be *what type* of debates we will have rather than *if* debates will take place at all" (2004: 220). This statement proves a pivotal role of a debate format.

Nevertheless, the design and practice of presidential debates have been altered to a great extent since the 1960s.

McKinney and Carlin (2004: 205-228) suggest the following classification of debates:



- a) debates with a panel of journalists *vs* debates with a single moderator;
- b) Town Hall debates *vs* policy expert debates;
- c) debates that facilitate candidates' clash *vs* debates without candidates' clash;
- d) the more formal podium debate *vs* the more conversational chat debate;
- e) presidential debate *vs* non-presidential (vice-presidential) debate;
- f) primary *vs* final debates;
- g) domestic *vs* international debates.

Several studies on presidential debate format reveal that the format itself produces different effects on communication outcomes (Gronbeck 2004; Pfau 1984). Similarly, it influences candidates' speaking styles and language choices (Hart & Jarvis 1997) and the debate content (Kaid et al. 2000).

### *2.1.2 Debate content*

Debate dialogue is a predominant form of campaign communication. Hence, it possesses its specific features. Generalizations of the scientific literature on this issue (McKinney & Carlin 2004; Pfau 1984) have led us to two related domains: the presence of verbal and visual/nonverbal content.

The analysis of verbal content encompasses campaign issues of debate discussions, candidates' arguments, their development, candidates' interaction patterns, clash and attack strategies, forms and functions of their responses, and the overall language style (McKinney & Carlin 2004).

Alternatively, the visual message is paramount since voters encounter these authoritative communication events first and foremost as a televised experience. Moreover, we cannot agree with the pettiness of the visual part of the message that was once claimed by Hellweg et al., mentioning that "the visual component of television communication dwarfs the verbal dimension" (1992: 73). The analysis of the visual content comprises the examination of camera presentation: screen composition, more advantageous camera angles, split screens, different screen graphics, shot switching, even/uneven camera treatment for the candidates, close-up shots, quick shot-cutting, the rapidity of shot switching, candidates' nonverbal behaviours in debate (smiling shots, eye contact, etc.), and the comparison of both contents (McKinney & Carlin 2004: 218-219).

Yet one more component – the auditory one – is worth investigating. Intonation, which includes the melody of the voice, its loudness, and the speech tempo, is a powerful identity marker. Intonation has several functions (attitudinal, grammatical, focusing, discourse [cohesive], psychological), the indexical one comes to the fore in this context. Wells states that:

"Just as with other pronunciation features, intonation may act as a marker of personal or social identity. What makes mothers sound like mothers, lovers sound like lovers, lawyers sound like lawyers, clergymen sound like clergymen, newsreaders sound like newsreaders, officials sound like officials? Partly, their characteristic intonation" (2006: 11).

The potential for the strategic use of different prosodic means cannot be underestimated. Therefore, analysis of presidential debates in terms of their auditory content appears to be on the rise.

### 2.1.3 Debate effects

Empirical debate research has flourished over the past six decades. One of the critical issues contemporary linguists address is the functional capacity of debates or their influence on the audience.

Debates are considered to be beneficial under four conditions: (1) when at least one of the candidates is relatively unknown, (2) when voters have not still made their decision, (3) when the race appears close, and (4) when party allegiances are incapacitated (McKinney & Carlin 2004: 210).

In general, all debate effects can be classified into four categories: behavioural, cognitive, candidate image evaluation, and latent effects.

*Behavioural effect:* debates help the viewers who have not made up their minds to form their voting preference or change candidate selection;

*Cognitive effect:* debates are considered to facilitate viewers' acquisition of issue knowledge;

*Candidate image evaluation effect:* debates may influence viewers' perception of a candidate's character or image traits;

*Latent effect:* debates may activate citizens' various civic and democratic tendencies, promoting civic engagement and strengthening the electoral process (ibid., 212-213).

### 2.2 Silence as a form of communication

We can notice the heterogeneous character of studies on silence by examining the phenomenon's key definitions and classifications as provided in the scientific literature (Анохіна 2008; Jensen 1976; Jones 2011; Tissi 2000; Wainberg 2017). Given this, silence has been studied in different domains: *philosophical, psychological, artistic, and linguistic*. The interest of *modern linguistics* is predominantly focused on the study of communicative silence as part of nonverbal communication, which is often closely related to verbal.

Anthropological literature offers varied examples that silence is socially constructed. That is, certain human groups are noisy and emotional. Others, on the contrary, are discreet and modest (Clair 2003;

Jones 2011). Moreover, silence is culturally determined. In Japan, it is accepted behaviour and has even been institutionalized, compared with most Western societies where it is to be avoided. Supporting this statement, Trudgill mentions:

*"There are even 'rules' about silence. It has been said that, in a conversation between two English speakers who are not close friends, a silence of longer than four seconds is not allowed (which means that people become embarrassed if nothing is said after that time – they feel obliged to say something, even if it is only a remark about the weather.)"* (2000: 244).

Correspondingly, Americans are reported to be uncomfortable with long periods of silence, which are regarded as dead time or the moment of awkwardness on radio and television (Clair 2003: 2).

There are different approaches to silence classification. Based on the functions silence performs and the register it is used in, Anokhina (Анохіна 2008) singled out such types of silence as tactical, status, religious, ritual, mystical, esoteric, national, and psychological. According to Wainberg (2017), there are 15 types of silence: obsequious, traumatic, sacred, taboo, coerced, phobic, historical, introspective, tactical, polite, therapeutic, rhetorical, prosodic, complicit, and political silence.

### *2.3 The notion of pause in political discourse*

Traditionally, a pause has been regarded as a complete stop of phonation, i.e., a break in speaking, a brief silence in the acoustic signal (Goldman-Eisler 1958; Polieieva & Vasik 2020; Zellner 1994: 43). Since pauses are more easily perceived if they last around 200-250 ms, this duration is regarded as the standard auditory threshold for the perception of a pause (Zellner 1994: 44). However, contemporary linguists have further significantly extended the essence of pausation in spontaneous speech. Cenkova (1989), e.g., introduced a new definition of a pause. Therefore, it is not an interruption in the flow of speech but a significant variation in intonation and rhythm or even the juxtaposition of two semantically independent items. Given this, the existing taxonomy of pauses can be quite heterogeneous. From a descriptive point of view, two classifications of pauses are accepted (Zellner 1994: 42). The first one is a physical and linguistic categorization, and the second one is a psychological and psycholinguistic classification. In this study, the categorization suggested by Magno Caldognetto et al. (1982) and later elaborated by Tissi (2000) is taken as a starting point. Studying typology, distribution, and duration of pauses in spontaneous speech, they concluded that pauses fall into two categories: the first one includes proper pauses (initial, juncture, and clause-internal pauses), whereas the second one embraces filled pauses, parenthetical remarks, repetitions, corrections, and false starts. In terms of the length, pauses are divided into brief (< 200 ms), short (220-500 ms), average (520-800 ms), long (820-1200 ms), and extra-long (> 1200 ms) (Забужанська

2016: 71). The current study does not include the analysis of physiologically inevitable pauses, i.e., those that generally occur during the inspiration phase of respiration and focuses primarily on those which are the external reflection of some of the cognitive processes involved in speech production (Goldman-Eisler 1958; Zellner 1994).

Numerous works on the importance of prosodic means in different types of discourse (Забужанська 2016; Polieieva & Vasik 2020) have generally strengthened the opinion that pauses are used as a powerful rhetoric strategy. They "amplify emotional impact of the utterance on the audience by acting as certain regulators between the addresser and the addressee" (Polieieva & Vasik 2020: 295). In this context, the research conducted by Petlyuchenko and Chernyakova (2019) revealed that pauses along with the set of kinetic-mimic means are involved in the expressive highlighting of the essential segments. Consequently, skillfully structured political speeches and adequate social behaviour contribute to creating the president's image (Stashko et al. 2020).

### **3. Material and methods**

The three-step coherent methodology offered a tool to conduct this phonetic research. The aforementioned three successive stages included selecting the material, acoustic analysis, and the linguistic interpretation of the obtained results. Considering that the speeches in two languages (English and Ukrainian) were under analysis and to provide accurate resulting material, we focused more on acoustic analysis. This strategy is reinforced by Abassi, who claims that "acoustic research of speech provides a scientific method for conducting an objective analysis of speech sounds by measuring the physical properties and their acoustic realizations" (2018: 50). Thus, such computer programs as Praat (Boersma & Weenink 2021) and Speech analyzer (2022) were used to conduct the research, Praat being the most famous program used by phoneticians. It allows exercising multi-level markup of speech, including the construction of oscillograms and intonograms.

The material under investigation consisted of speeches by American and Ukrainian presidents during presidential debates. The corpus consisted of 2 debates produced by American presidents Joe Biden and Donald Trump and Ukrainian presidents Volodymyr Zelenskyy and Petro Poroshenko. The total duration of the analyzed speeches is 3 hours 1 minute 43 seconds (Biden and Trump debate – 1 hour 32 minutes 10 seconds and Poroshenko and Zelenskyy debate – 1 hour 29 minutes 33 seconds). The communicative situation in which each political speech occurred was defined according to Hymes' model or SPEAKING Grid (1962):

**Setting/Scene:** time, place, physical circumstances;

**Participants:** speakers and hearers of different identities or categories;

- Ends:** goals and purposes of a communicative event;
- Act sequence:** format and order of parts of the communicative event;
- Key:** tone, manner, or spirit of a communicative act;
- Instrumentalities:** forms and styles of speech;
- Norms:** social rules or norms governing the event;
- Genre:** the kind or type of communicative event.

The constructed model helps to understand the society and culture of an ethnic group through the communication process. Its justification as related to the debates in question can be found in Table 1 below.

Table 1. The justification of the material within Hymes' SPEAKING Grid (1962)

№	SPEAKING Model	Details of the findings	
		American debate	Ukrainian debate
1	Setting/Scene	Live broadcast; Belmont University Hall	Live broadcast; The National Sports Complex Olimpiyskiy – the main sports and cultural arena of Ukraine
2	Participants	Presidential candidates (male, American), live studio audience who promised to remain silent and not to interrupt	Presidential candidates (male, Ukrainian), politicians, activists, spectators and viewers, direct interaction with the audience
3	Ends	The overall purpose of the studied debates was to bring about behavioural and candidate image evaluation effect	
4	Act sequence	Alternating rebuttals and a questioning period follow the constructive speeches at the beginning	
5	Key	Sarcastic tones; formal, contentious manner	
6	Instrumentalities	A totally oral channel, a formal register	
7	Norms	General rules of the debate (Musgrave 1957)	
8	Genre	debate	

The program also postulated the determination of the pause ratio, which is generally calculated by the following formula

$$K_p = \frac{t\Sigma_1}{t\Sigma_2},$$

where  $K_p$  – is the pause ratio,

$t\Sigma_1$  – is the total length of the speech including pauses,

$t\Sigma_2$  – is the total length of the speech excluding pauses.

The number of pauses was calculated by hand, while their length – with the help of the Praat program by analyzing the oscillograms and measuring the physical property of pauses.

It is generally accepted that the pause ratio is equal to one when speaking without pauses, while an increase in the number of pauses leads to an increase in the pause ratio (Забужанська 2016: 71).

#### 4. Results and discussion

Let us carry out a more detailed inspection of the pause ratio of the given speeches. Biden and Trump's (Final 2020 presidential debate..., *s.a.*) final domestic presidential debate was conducted formally with a single moderator facilitating the candidates' clash.

The debate opened with a provocative question concerning the fight against the coronavirus pandemic – the topic the American public cares most about. It is common knowledge that the pandemic influenced all spheres of people's lives (Matvienko et al. 2021) and is daily reported in media (Panasenکو et al. 2020). Accordingly, the candidates could answer the question of how they would lead the country during the next COVID-19 spikes within 2 minutes uninterrupted.

Donald Trump was the first to answer the question. His oration is overloaded with pauses, in particular filled ones (*Ah, eh*). The pause ratio of his speech is 1.1. Moreover, not wishing to pause Trump resorts to such disfluencies as his interruptions (repetitions, corrections, and false starts). That can be seen in the following examples (1-3):

- (1) *We are fighting it. We are fighting it hard.*
- (2) *We have a problem. There is a worldwide problem. A worldwide problem.*
- (3) *We are rounding the turn. We are rounding the corner.*

Conversely, according to the abovementioned formula, Biden's pause ratio is 1.5, which means that pauses occupy 30% of the total duration of his speech. The analysis of oscillograms elucidates that the speaker frequently makes extra-long pauses (lasting more than 1200 ms), especially after mentioning the numbers related to the COVID-19 pandemic. It is exemplified by the following statements (4-7) (/ – a short pause; /// – an extra-long pause):

- (4) *220,000 Americans dead ///.*
- (5) *And what we have is / thousands of deaths a day ///.*
- (6) *70,000 new cases per day ///.*
- (7) *The expectations are we are going to have another 200,000 Americans dead ///.*

With the help of these pauses, Biden intends, first and foremost, to reach the viewers' minds in terms of the threat COVID-19 imposes on the population. The detailed analysis reveals that the speaker is not afraid of loitering away his time when answering the moderator's first question. One can assume that, in general, reasonable arguments with long juncture pauses serve to create an image of a confident politician.

The empirical data also provides evidence that Biden often refers to both emotional pauses and pauses in selecting text blocks. He uses them so skillfully that these pauses become a trigger to irritate the opponent. After almost every one of these pauses, Trump commences interrupting his opponent. In this case, he looks unprofessional because of not following the established order of debate. The following example (8) demonstrates that Biden pauses at every word, which annoys the current president.

(8) *He / has / no / plan / for healthcare.*

The tactics of using pauses to highlight text blocks helps J. Biden appeal to the voters:

(9) *The American people should speak. You should go out and vote. You are in voting now. Vote and let your senators know how strongly you feel.*

However, Trump interrupts again, as if he feels the need to fill every pause in his opponent's speech. At the end of this passage, Biden decides to ridicule Trump's intemperance and makes a sarcastic remark:

(10) *That was a really productive segment, weren't it? Keep yapping, man.*

Analysing the debates materials between Trump and Biden, one can see that Trump's speech is not full of pauses in contrast to his opponent's oration. Most of Trump's pauses are emotional. Therefore, this politician deliberately avoids a hesitant pause to look confident and strong. He often praises himself, and this is where the emotional type of pause comes in handy:

(11) *Dr. Fauci said: President Trump / saved / thousands of lives. Many of you, a Democrat governor, said: President Trump did a phenomenal job!*

This trick does not go unnoticed: Biden bursts out laughing in response to express his disapproval and contempt for Trump. For his part, Trump shows his contempt for Biden through harsh criticism of his education, the quality of which he questions. Trump claims that Biden graduated from college with "the lowest or almost lowest score of all". Again, he uses an emotional pause to ridicule Biden's mental abilities:

*(12) Did you use the word smart !?... uhh... So you said you went to Delaware State, but you forgot the name of your college. You didn't go to Delaware state. You graduated either the lowest or almost the lowest in your class. Don't ever use the word "smart" with me.*

As regards the Ukrainian presidency, presented by Poroshenko and Zelenskyy in this paper, one cannot but mention their famous debates at the Olympic Stadium in Kyiv, Ukraine, in April 2019 (Головні дебати країни..., *s.a.*). The debate was final with two moderators and had the same structure as the aforementioned debate between the American politicians. Zelenskyy was the first to conduct a five-minute speech uninterrupted. The analysis of the pausal organization of his speech reveals that the politician is a skilled orator since he uses different types of pauses. Moreover, the pause ratio is 1.8, which means silent pauses occupy 49% of his speech. The speaker provides some arguments for the audience and gives the audience the time to digest the information. Therefore, his pauses are extra-long ranging from two to five seconds. The following examples demonstrate the use of emphatic intra-syntagm pauses (13) and juncture pauses (14):

*(13) Ukr. – "Чи міг би я колись уявити, що я /// простий хлопець /// з Кривого рогу /// буду боротися /// за крісло президента /// проти людини, /// яку ми впевнено /// і беззаперечно /// обрали президентом в 2014 році ///." [Eng. – "Could I ever imagine that I, /// a simple guy /// from Kryvyi Rih ///, will fight /// for the presidency /// against a man /// whom we have confidently /// and unquestionably /// elected president in 2014 ///."];*

*(14) Ukr. – "Я сам був за пана Порошенка. /// Але я помилився. /// Ми помилилися ///." [Eng. – "I myself was for Mr. Poroshenko. /// But I was wrong. /// We were wrong ///."].*

As to Poroshenko's five-minute uninterrupted speech, it has a completely different pausal organization. Though he is regarded as a trained and even skilled orator, who is aware of the importance of making pauses and the effect the silence can produce on the voters, the reaction of the audience prevents him from making use of silence as a form of communication. At the beginning, the pause ratio of his speech is 1.5, which means that pauses occupy 30% of his speech. However, he fails to make completely silent pauses as whenever he is silent, the audience is not. Consequently, the



voters fill this silence with the exclamation "Ганьба!" ("Shame on you!"). That forces the politician to accelerate his tempo. As a result, the pause ratio in the middle and at the end of the speech equals 1.

The results obtained also testify to the fact that long pauses bring about some offensive remarks by Petro Poroshenko (15-21) and Volodymyr Zelenskyu (22-26):

(15) Ukr. – "Ви не кіт в мішку, /// Ви – мішок! /// А в Вашому мішку чорти і коти, включаючи олігархів, колишніх регіоналів і всього того, що загрожує моїй державі. І ми вас не допустимо до влади, пане Володимире." [Eng. – "You are not a pig in a poke ///, you are a poke!" /// And in your poke there are devils and cats, including oligarchs, former regionals, and everything that threatens my state. And we will not allow you to power, Mr. Volodymyr."];

(16) Ukr. – "Ви /// назвали Україну повією!" [Eng. – "You /// called Ukraine a prostitute."];

(17) Ukr. – "Ви /// – яскрава обгортка, яка покриває тих, хто втік з нашої країни." [Eng. – "You are /// a bright wrapper that covers those who fled our country."];

(18) Ukr. – "Пане Зеленський. Ви, талановитий актор, зробили гарну продюсерську компанію й зробили різнобарвні цікаві продукти. Сьогодні ми почали важливу дискусію. Але, крім абсолютно голосливних звинувачень, ми від пана Володимира не почули нічого. Ні щодо стратегії, ні щодо напрямків та кроків. Ні щодо рішучих позицій, як ми маємо захистити державу. /// Ви поки що живете минулим, /// Ви поки що готові поширювати лише неправду." [Eng. – "Mr. Zelenskyu. You, as a talented actor, have made a good production company and made a variety of interesting products. Today we have started an important discussion. But, apart from completely unsubstantiated accusations, we did not hear anything from Mr. Volodymyr. Neither in terms of strategy, nor in terms of directions and steps. Not about decisive positions on how we should protect the state. /// You are still living in the past, /// you are still ready to spread only lies."];

(19) Ukr. – "Наша спільна позиція: /// ми маємо захистити державу від Вас. Ви не Голобородько. Ви сюди приїхали не на тролейбусі й навіть не на велосипеді. Ви /// – головний провідник олігархів. І точно – одного олігарха-втікача." [Eng. – "Our common position: /// we must protect the state from you. You are not Holoborodko. You didn't come here by trolleybus or even by bicycle. You are /// the main leader of the oligarchs. And for sure – one fugitive oligarch."];

(20) Ukr. – "Не може війну з російським агресором вести актор. Талановита людина, але /// без будь-якого досвіду." [Eng. – "The actor cannot wage war with the Russian aggressor. A talented man, but /// without any experience."];

(21) Ukr. – "Якщо ми не маємо відповіді на це питання, /// то це слабкий глава держави,

який не може утримати удари Путіна. Я вірю, що пан Володимир (Зеленський) не має наміру затягнути Україну назад в Російську імперію. Але Путін має цю мрію. Тому ми маємо прибрати всі ризики з українського майбутнього." [Eng. – "If we do not have an answer to this question, /// it is a weak head of state who cannot withstand Putin's blows. I believe that Mr. Volodymyr (Zelensky) does not intend to drag Ukraine back into the Russian Empire. But Putin has this. That's why we have to remove all risks from Ukraine's future."];

(22) Ukr. – "Ви брешете!" [Eng. – "You are lying!";

(23) Ukr. – "Ось такий Ви головнокомандуючий!" [Eng. – "This is how you are the commander in chief!";

(24) Ukr. – "Краще бути котом в мішку, /// ніж вовком в овечій шкурі." [Eng. – "It is better to be a pig in the poke /// rather than a wolf in sheep's clothing.";

(25) Ukr. – "Ви не пророк!" [Eng. – "You are not a prophet!";

(26) Ukr. – "У Вашому оточенні були хабарники. Але це все неважливо. Я зараз кажу вам як просто людина: Ви й ці люди забрали найголовніше в нас – п'ять років." [Eng. – "There were bribe-takers around you. But it doesn't matter. I am telling you now as a simple person: You and these people have taken away the most important thing from us – five years.";

The overall analysis of the Ukrainian presidential debate (= political discourse) demonstrates that the candidates in question exchanged mutual accusations, jokes, and rhetorical questions during their debate at the stadium in Kyiv. However, Ukrainian voters did not hear from both candidates about the strategic development of Ukraine for the next five years, which each of them proposed. The pause frequency, duration, and localizations are abnormal. It can be explained by the excessive emotionality of Ukrainians. The temporal segmentation is not equivalent to the syntactic structure of utterances. Regarding the American presidential debate, it is less emotional, though emotional pauses are present in the candidates' oration. However, the data from a comparative study supports the hypothesis that on the micro level (in this context, the level of language) the silence effect, manifested by the extensive use of pauses of different types and length, has a high conflicting capacity regardless of the different cultural background.

## 5. Conclusions

By political communication, we understand a broad field concerned with the spreading and exchange of information and its influences on politics, policymakers, the news media, and citizens. It encompasses political campaigns, media debates, social media posts, or formal speeches. Political communication techniques and strategies allow policy advocates, campaign executives, elected

officials, and other political professionals to create, shape, and distribute messages that can influence the political process.

The analysis of televised political campaign debates required covering such important research vectors as debate formats, debate content, and debate effect. On the whole, we argue that debate format plays one of the key roles in choosing the tactic of the speech presentation, particularly the use of silence. The rhetorical potential of silence cannot be underestimated either on the macro- or on the micro-level.

The research enables us to state that deliberate linguistic mutism can create an image of a confident politician. Although final debates are crucial since, as a rule, the opponents can dot the i's and cross the t's, the time, allocated to both speakers, should not be wasted; pauses can be leveraged for political gain or to accomplish decisive political goals. The idea, that along with arguments pauses facilitate candidates' clash, is proven by numerous foregoing examples. The findings of this paper serve to support the plausible hypothesis that extra-long pauses, in particular juncture ones, serve as a conflict or confrontation trigger and therefore give rise to offensive responses by the opponent.

The prospects of further research in this sphere may be associated with an in-depth analysis of recorded speech (namely, how various prosodic features – tempo and intensity – are used as powerful manipulation tools) to get meaningful information while creating a speaker's psycho-social profile regardless of their individual physiological constraints.

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## Résumé

Silence has always been used as an effective political rhetorical strategy. The debates of political figures are known to have a pragmatic focus on public opinion. The relevance of the research is due to the need for a systemic study of the effect of silence, given its socio-cultural and individual characteristics. Moreover, the paper focuses on the communicative aspect of silence manifested in interpersonal relationships and political communication. This problem is addressed by making use of methods of computerized language processing and a digitalized corpus of televised broadcasting programmes, including the recent speeches of American and Ukrainian presidents (both winners and losers of political rallies). The research presents a systematic three-step phonetic experiment aimed at analyzing pauses, which can be leveraged by speakers for political gain or to accomplish decisive political goals. The analysis of American and Ukrainian presidential debate speeches representing different cultures in terms of politics sheds light onto universal and specific features of the political discourse of the studied languages. The findings of this research paper reveal that deliberate linguistic mutism can create an image of a confident politician. However, the findings also imply that extra-long pauses, in particular juncture ones, serve as a conflict or confrontation trigger and, consequently, give rise to offensive responses by the opponent. Alternatively, they may serve to reconcile contentious debate. Being a non-verbal semiotic phenomenon, silence explicates human behaviour, filling the speech with certain emotional connotations. Consequently, not only the speaker's individual characteristics but also cross-cultural differences are mirrored in the use of pauses, creating a silence effect.

**Key words:** political debate, silence effect, conflict trigger, pause, speech.

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