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und vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft**

**Contributions to General
and Comparative Linguistics**

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Edyta Błachut · Adam Gołębiowski
Dorota Klimek-Jankowska · Krzysztof Migdański

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A cognitive and corpus-based study of the connotative potential of the adjectives *czerwony* ‘red’ and *czarny* ‘black’ in modern Polish political discourse

1. Introduction

Metaphor is traditionally considered to be merely a literary and poetic figure of speech. Nevertheless, the cognitive Conceptual Metaphor Theory assumes that metaphors are pervasive in everyday language (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:80). Lakoff and Johnson, who are cognitive scholars, explain that metaphor is a cognitive mechanism that enables the comprehension of abstract concepts in terms of more concrete ones. It organizes our ways of thinking in various domains, such as politics, war or health, therefore facilitating communication on these intricate issues. Metonymy is a cognitive mechanism which involves only one conceptual domain to evoke another conceptual entity (Kövecses & Radden 1998). Analogously, colour collocations abound with metaphorical and metonymic meanings (Philip 2006). It is evidenced in expressions such as a *red card* or the *black market*.

A great number of researchers have examined colour metaphors from various perspectives. For instance, Philip (2006) provides an account of connotative meanings of colour metaphors in English and Italian. Gierón-Czepczor (2010) discusses figurative meaning extensions of the colour *red* in Polish and English. Molnar (2013) demonstrates the parallel usage of the connotations of *red* in Croatian and English, showing an array of metaphorical and metonymic meanings. Hamilton (2014) presents an analysis of metaphorical meaning extensions of two colours, *purple* and *lavender*, in electronic corpora. In turn, Kalda and Uusküla (2019) discuss the role of context in the translation of colour metaphors with regard to English and Estonian.

This paper is a corpus-based analysis of the metaphorical and metonymic extensions of the adjectives *czerwony* ‘red’ and *czarny* ‘black’ observed in Polish political discourse. The paper aims to analyze the connotative potential of *red* and *black*. The theoretical framework of the analysis includes the discourse-historical approach as proposed and developed by Wodak (2001) and the cognitive theory of conceptual metaphor and metonymy. Discourse is understood as all texts, speeches or social comments and opinions of a political nature (Bohman 2004). Due to the limits of space, the article discusses only two colours. *Red* and *black* were chosen for their cultural saliency and prevalence in Polish. Only adjectival forms of *red* and *black* will be discussed in detail. Hopefully, it should not affect the discussion of the qualitative data. In addition to corpus data, dictionaries were consulted to establish symbolic and cultural associations of the colours under scrutiny.

2. Research material

Red and *black* colour collocations have been retrieved from the online electronic corpora MoncoPL and Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego (NKJP) ‘National Corpus of Polish’. The sample of 3000 citations in each corpus has been searched manually with the aim of finding *red* and *black* colour metaphors. It is impossible to establish the chronology of lexical units excerpted from corpora (Wierzchoń 2010). Nevertheless, it can be stated that MoncoPL is a corpus which contains citations from the following years: 2010-2019. It therefore keeps track of the most current collocations in contrast with the NKJP corpus, which includes older units from 2008-2011 (Pęzik 2019:321).

3. The adjectives *czerwony* ‘red’ and *czarny* ‘black’ from a linguo-cultural perspective

The colours *red* and *black* are deeply rooted in Polish culture and language. Investigations into the symbolism of these colours reveal a host of associations. Wierzbicka (1990) and Tokarski (2004: 90) associate the colour *red* with fire. Komorowska (2010:214) associates *red* with emotional states such as love, enthusiasm and passion. Kopaliński (1990) notices that in the Christian tradition the sacrificial blood of Jesus is attributable to the colour *red*. Correspondingly, this colour evokes associations with bloody crime, battle, war, revolt and anarchy. In ancient times, red was considered to have protective and apotropaic properties.

An array of associations emanate from the colour *black*. Semantic scholars describe *black* in terms of its hue (strength of colour) and relative darkness or lightness. Accordingly, Barcelona (2003) observes that it is the colour which lacks light. *Black* is often described as the darkest colour. Tokarski (2004) associates *black* with darkness and night. Wierzbicka (1996) paints a contrast between *black* and *white*, suggesting that *black* connotes negativity. In European culture, *black* is the colour of death and it is a symbol of mourning. Kopalinski (1990) links *black* with sin and evil. Finally, the clergy and their cassock are the most natural references for the colour *black*.

Red is loaded with symbolism. It makes *red* a semantically productive colour which emerges in many linguistic expressions (Philip 2003:25). Polish dictionary entries provide definitions of the colour *red*. “Wielki słownik języka polskiego”, “Inny słownik języka polskiego” and “Słownik języka polskiego PWN” (SJP) define *red* as the colour of blood, ripe tomatoes and wine. The dictionaries associate *red* with emotional states such as shame, resentment or physical tiredness. *Red* also arouses associations with communism and revolutionary transformations (Bańko 2000:222). Accordingly, *lewicowy* ‘the leftist’ is a secondary most natural reference for the colour *red*. *Red* also reflects socialist and communist sympathies. In that sense, *red* evokes pejorative connotations.

Black is a highly salient colour evoking a number of associations culled from the aforementioned Polish dictionaries. “Wielki słownik języka polskiego” and “Inny słownik języka polskiego” draw a parallel between *black* and coal & soot. Additionally, Polish dictionaries describe *black* with reference to dark complexions. *Black* colour also evokes Afro-American culture and Afro-American slaves. *Black* is also associated with obscurity and dimmed lights (Bańko 2000:215). As Doroszewski (1958-1969:1098-1102) explains, *black* reflects the darkness of night. “Słownik języka polskiego PWN” associates *black* with dust and dirt.

4. Collocations with the constituent *czerwony* ‘red’ in selected corpora of the Polish language

Extralinguistic factors such as historical or socio-cultural events influence lexical expressions (see: Wodak 2001 or Szersunowicz 2015). This statement finds validation in the corpus data: communist references are the most frequent figurative extension of the colour *red* (505 occurrences in MoncoPL and 103 in NKJP). It is attested in the following quotations found in the corpus: *czerwona gwiazda* ‘red star’ or *Armia Czerwona*

‘the Red Army’. These lexical expressions are remnants of communist political rule. It has to be mentioned that *red* also occupies an important position in the languages of other East Central European countries. For example, in Hungarian and Czech there are two separate terms for *red*. Hungarian uses *piros* as a basic term for *red*, but *vörös* is used as a *red* colour standing for communist references (e.g. *vöröskatona* ‘the soldier of the Red Army’). In the Czech language *červené* is a basic term for *red*, whereas *rudý* stands for *red* used with reference to communist associations (e.g. *rudá armada* ‘Red Army’) (Usküla 2011:152).

A high frequency of the proper name *Armia Czerwona* ‘the Red Army’ occurs in the Polish corpora (594 occurrences in MoncoPL and 421 in NKJP). The colour-based proper name carries both literal and metaphorical senses. Metaphorical uses outnumber non-metaphorical ones (215 metaphorical examples in MoncoPL and 67 in NKJP). Non-ideological uses of the *Red Army* show metaphorical potential. As Stanulewicz and Pawłowski (2018:261) concur, a non-ideological and negative evaluation of the *Red Army* paints a sharp contrast with the ideologised phrases such as *niezwyciężona Armia Czerwona* ‘the invincible Red Army’ or *zwycięska Armia Czerwona* ‘the victorious Red Army’. Non-ideologised *red* is employed in the following corpus citation: *mało ludzi wie o tym, że we wrześniu 1939 roku również Armia Czerwona zaatakowała nasz kraj* ‘few people know that in September 1939 the Red Army also attacked our country’. In this particular example the *Red Army* evokes atrocities perpetrated by Soviet soldiers. As we can see, the non-ideological use of *red* evokes a metaphorical cross-domain mapping between the RED ARMY and EVILNESS. This metaphorical projection indicates that Polish society had a hostile attitude towards communism.

A range of corpus examples confirm the frequent use of *red* with reference to communism and communists. For example, the metaphorical expression *Czerwona Łódź* ‘Red Łódź’ (10 occurrences in MoncoPL and 11 in NKJP) reflects the political prevalence of the communist system in this Polish city. The nominal *czerwoni* ‘the red ones’ (35 occurrences in MoncoPL and 71 in NKJP) is a metonymy for communist sympathisers: RED FOR COMMUNISTS. Here, a negative evaluation of the communists is mapped onto the colour domain. Thus, the nominal *red ones* is an invective or negative collective etiquette. In all these examples the colour *red* is mapped onto the IDEOLOGY domain (RED IS COMMUNISM). Then, the colour *red* signifies communist. An emotional load and an aggressive attitude towards communists are present in the following examples: Za-

toka Czerwonych Świń ‘the bay of red pigs’ (12 examples in MoncoPL and 7 in NKJP), *czerwone świnie* ‘the red pigs’ (100 occurrences in MoncoPL and 33 in NKJP). The phrase *the bay of red pigs* refers to a housing estate in Warsaw where communist party members, and after 1989 Polish left-wing politicians, used to live. With that in mind, one can deduce that the collocation *the red pigs* evokes metaphorical mapping between communists and the traits of pigs (Zimny & Nowak 2009:301). Therefore, the image of greedy communists is transferred into the domain of *red*.

The corpus data reveals that *red* evokes communist vestiges in democratic Poland, as evidenced in *czerwone pajaki* ‘red spiders’ (86 occurrences in MoncoPL and 5 in NKJP), *czerwona hołota* ‘red rabble’ (35 examples in MoncoPL and 40 in NKJP) and *czerwona zaraza* ‘the red plague’ (70 MoncoPL and 6 NKJP). The collocation *red spiders* is a reference to the Polish left-wing after 1989 (Szerszunowicz 2016:480). Negative features of spiders are metaphorically transferred onto left-wing politicians. Therefore, *red spiders* may be seen as a pejorative name for contemporary left-wing politicians who were former communists. The unit *red rabble* is a fragment of a Polish chant that was extremely popular in the communist period: *Raz sierpem, raz młotem czerwoną holotę* ‘Use a sickle, use a hammer, smash the red rabble’. *Red rabble* functions as a pejorative label for the communists and communist activists. Nevertheless, such a meaning of the phrase does not find validation in a Google search. In Internet lore *red rabble* has acquired a new meaning: it signifies sympathisers of the contemporary political grouping *Koalicja Obywatelska* ‘Civic Coalition’ and the civic organization *KOD* (Komitet Obrony Demokracji), ‘the Committee for the Defence of Democracy’. Therefore the collocation is used to indicate contemporary communist successors.

The lexical collocation *czerwona zaraza* ‘the red plague’ is rich in meanings and connotations. First of all, according to “Inny słownik języka polskiego”, the term *zaraza* ‘plague’ stands for an epidemic disease such as cholera, smallpox or typhus. However, the corpus data do not confirm the dictionary meaning. In corpus the noun *plague* refers to the bolshevik soldiers and the ideology of communism. It is manifested in the following citation: *Komuna to czerwona zaraza bolszewicka!* ‘communism is the red bolshevik plague’. Here, we can observe a metonymy-based metaphorical mapping between two domains of DISEASE and COMMUNISM (COMMUNISM IS DISEASE). Communism is presented as a symbol of social disorder or dysfunction. However, the above-mentioned lexical unit *red plague* also occurs in reference to the political party, as is manifested in the following corpus

statement: [...] *SLD to czerwona zaraza* ‘The Democratic Left Alliance is a red plague’. In this example *SLD* is designated as the sole follower of communist practices. It seems that the deprecative expression *red plague* ascribes the leftist political party a negative image: *SLD IS DISEASE*. Therefore, the left-wing political grouping is evoked as an object of disgust.

5. Collocations with the constituent *czarny* ‘black’ in selected corpora of the Polish language

Socio-cultural phenomena and events influence language (Szerszunowicz 2018). Polish culture is inextricably linked with the Catholic creed and the Catholic Church (Szocik & Szyja 2015). In fact, the church is entangled with the Polish state. It is worth mentioning that the Catholic church helped resist communist ideology. Since the fall of Communism the Church has played an important religious and political role in Poland. Corpus data reveals that religious connotations are the most frequent metaphorical extensions of the colour black (43 occurrences in MonCoPL and 15 in NKJP). It can be assumed, to a great extent, that the dominance of the Catholic creed in Poland motivates a number of phrasemes with the constituent *black* in corpus.

The use of *black* with reference to the Catholic church is aptly reflected in the corpus citations. The lexeme *czarni* ‘the black ones’ stands for representatives of the Catholic church (100 occurrences in NKJP). The term *the black ones* is a metonymy – the imagery of the black clothes worn by priests (the cassock) represents the whole group of clergyman in language. As Gieroń-Czepczor (2011) concludes, the salient property (i.e. clothing) has been mapped onto the whole category of the clergy. *Red* and *black* mirror political affiliations: the former lexeme connotes the ideology of communism, communist sympathisers and the Red Army. On the other hand, the *black* lexeme is a twin-form of the former language unit and it is a colour label for the clergy. The lexemes *the red ones* and *the black ones* show that Polish power groups are named after colours. Colour changes reflect the transfer of group categories. The unit *the black ones* is a pejorative verbal etiquette replacing the communist *red ones*: *Byli czerwoni, zastąpili ich czarni* ‘They were red, they were replaced by black ones’ (Zimny & Nowak 2009:61). This particular example shows that all negative connotations of the colour *red* have been transferred to a domain of *black*. Consequently, the *black ones* are considered to be bad and dangerous per se.

Another meaning of *black* within the domain of CHURCH refers to a negative perception of the Polish church and clergy. Such a deprecia-

tory view of the church finds validation in recent social research, which shows that the institution of the Catholic Church in Poland is in decline (Bill & Stanley 2020). Linguistic evidence for this may be found in the corpus citation: *Polską rządzi czarna mafia kierowana przez Episkopat* ‘Poland is ruled by a black mafia led by the Episcopate’. The collocation *czarna mafia* ‘black mafia’, is a modified version of the collocation *czerwona mafia* ‘red mafia’, i.e. highly ranked Polish communist activists that held power in the country and achieved financial success at all cost. In turn, the collocation *black mafia* is a metonymy-based metaphor revealing a mental mapping between the domain of the CATHOLIC CHURCH and an ILLEGAL ORGANISATION CLERGY IS MAFIA. Here, the church and priests are metaphorically compared to culprits: priests allegedly steal church money (ranging from church taxes to so-called envelope money).

Another use of black refers to the revelation of evidence on paedophilia in Poland’s Catholic church. The Internet collocation *mapa pedofilii w Kościele* ‘a map of paedophilia in the Church’ has been motivated by priests’ improper conduct. It refers to the National Security Threat Maps where *czarne punkty* ‘black points’ signify the places with a high risk of crime. Analogically, the *black points* on a *map of paedophilia in the Church* denote clerical sexual abuses. The graphical *map* and its *black points* symbolize the sins of the church. Priestly paedophilia evokes the domains of EVIL and DISGRACEFUL BEHAVIOUR. The expression *czarna zaraza* ‘the black plague’ reinforces a negative perception of the Church institution voiced by some Poles. This collocation is a slightly modified version of the *red plague* expression. *Black plague* is a negative label for the Catholic Church (100 occurrences in MoncoPL). The compound *plague* evokes the domain of serious ILLNESS. Therefore, the *black plague* exploits metonymic mapping BLACK FOR CHURCH, which is followed by a cross-domain mapping CHURCH IS ILLNESS. This metaphor evokes the imagery of an ill church and ill clergymen. Here, illness should be associated with unethical and shameful behaviour. Thus, church sins of sexual abuses and money theft may be metaphorically seen as symptoms of illness.

The collocations *black mafia* and *black plague* prompt a negative image of Catholic priests. The collocations seem to imply that the Church does not function properly and is in decline. It is worth adding that the ‘sinful’ priests are enlisted in *czarna księga* ‘black book’. Originally the collocation *black book* referred to the black deeds of communists or censorship. *Black mafia* and *black plague* are twin-forms of *red mafia* and *red plague*, i.e. collocations that share communist references. Nowadays, Poland is

a democratic country, so the former communist related phrases are slightly modified to fit a new reality. Consequently, the collocations under analysis show a transfer of meanings: communism ceases to be perceived as dangerous, whereas the church and priests become a new danger.

The corpus data indicates that the adjective *black* is often used with reference to protests. Expressions such as *czarna procesja* ‘a black procession’ and *czarny marsz* ‘a black march’ refer to social protests against the deaths of innocent people (SJP). The corpus also includes the presence of the unit *czarny protest* ‘a black protest’ (300 examples in MoncoPL and 5 in NKJP), which refers to social demonstrations whose participants wear black clothes and protest against some political decisions. Nevertheless, recent socio-political events leading to a ban on abortion in Poland influence new connotations of the *black protest*. Nowadays, *black protest* has acquired a more specific meaning: it is employed to talk about protests against the government’s restrictive law effectively banning abortion. At the same time *Ogólnopolski Strajk Kobiet* ‘All-Poland Women’s Strike’ organises strikes mourning the abortion law. These strikes are known under the following names: *czarny poniedziałek* ‘black Monday’, *czarny czwartek* ‘black Thursday’, *czarny marsz* ‘black march’ or *czarny spacer* ‘black walk’. All these expressions share a similar meaning, referring to social demonstrations for women’s reproductive rights.

The black clothes worn by protesters are the most perceptually salient feature of protests. Black clothing gives rise to metonymy BLACK CLOTHES FOR THE PROTESTERS. This metonymy is followed by the conceptual mapping that takes place between the domain of BLACK CLOTHES and that of PROTESTS. It results in the metaphor BLACK CLOTHES IS PROTEST. Tabakowska (2017:284) remarks that cultural associations of black with mourning and despair probably motivated the choice of clothes. Alternative interpretations of the conceptual mappings involved in the meaning of the phrase *black protest* are involved in metaphorical associations of *black* with night, darkness, menace, negativity and evilness. Logically, the adjective *black* arouses negative feelings and, as a result, the lexical unit *black protest* is considered undesirable and bad or threatening. The opposers of the *black movements* associate *black protests* with evil forces. The protesters are called *black witches*. *Black* offers another metaphorical extension. In colour psychology it is believed that *black* evokes feelings of fear. Tabakowska (2017:287) explains that the lexical expression *black protest* (or *black Monday/black Thursday*) functions as a warning for the government. The corpus examples

demonstrate that contemporary names of protests (women's *black marches* and *black protests*) derive from the old and well-worn collocations of *black march* and *black protest*. It shows that in these collocations *black* serves as a means of identifying a specific event. These collocations do not undergo any semantic changes, they have simply gained new connotations.

6. Conclusion

The study demonstrates that *red* and *black* have high frequencies in modern Polish political discourse. The colours in question exhibit a significant connotative potential. When used figuratively, *red* connotes both communist and leftist references. The analysis of contemporary discourse shows that nowadays *red* is used with reference to the political parties who are considered to have a communist past. In contrast, metaphorical uses of *black* entail devilishness and a negative representation of the Catholic Church and social dissatisfaction with the current situation.

The results that have been obtained show that *red* and *black* fit into the socio-cultural reality. This reality influences and changes the meanings of the colours under scrutiny. It can be concluded that newly coined lexical expressions using *red* and *black* show the transfer of dangers. In the communist period, Polish people were scared of the colour *red* as it evoked communists and the cruel Red Army. However, in contemporary times the dangers are different. Consequently, the lexeme *black* has developed new evaluative connotations. The dictionaries consulted in this case study do not include new connotations of *red* and *black* colour collocations. For example, only the more recent corpus of the Polish language, MoncoPL, or Google Trends register the new coinages, such as *czerwone pajaki* 'red spiders', *czerwona holota* 'the red rabble' (used as an insult towards contemporary political groupings), *czarna mafia* 'black mafia', *czarna zaraza* 'black plague', *czarna księga* 'black book' (used as a reference to paedophilia in the Church), *czarny protest* 'black protest', *czarny spacer* 'black walk', or *czarny czwartek* 'black Thursday'.

The diagram (see the attachment) provides an insight into the connotations of *red* and *black* in modern Polish. It is based on the study material retrieved from two corpora. The diagram presents all transfers of meanings and modifications of collocations.

The study shows that extralinguistic factors are of importance for the development of colour lexicon. It proves that the discourse-historical approach should be implemented in corpus and lexical research. Certain

socio-political events influence language and lexical expressions. Analogically, lexical expressions reflect the culture and politics of a given community. For example, the adjectival component *black* is used as a carrier of social attitudes and evaluations. In that sense, *black* reflects a negative perception of the institution of the Church and the Polish abortion law.

To conclude, it could be stated that *red* and *black* are important constituents of lexical expressions of political origin. Due to the constant socio-political changes occurring in a given community, the meaning and connotative potential of the Polish lexical stock should be constantly monitored. It is worth studying because such research provides an insight into correlations between language, politics and culture.

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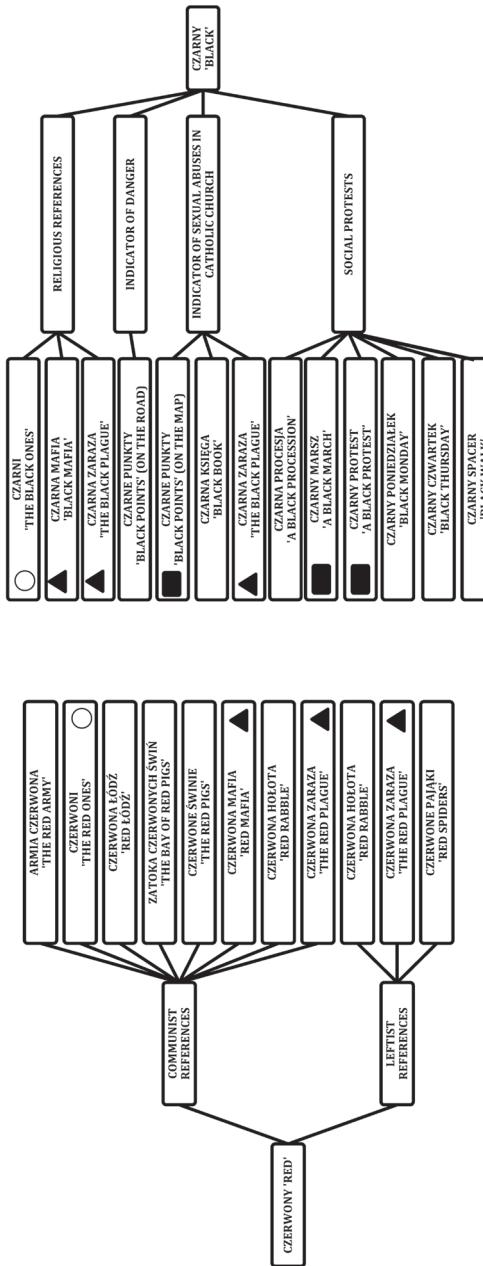
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Attachments

A diagram of the meanings and connotations of *red* and *black* colour collocations.



- - transfer of group categories
- ▲ - transfer of group meanings
- - modification of old collocations

A cognitive and corpus-based study of the connotative potential of the adjectives *czerwony* ‘red’ and *czarny* ‘black’ in modern Polish political discourse

The paper discusses metaphorical and metonymic extensions of the adjectives *czerwony* ‘red’ and *czarny* ‘black’. The connotative potential of *red* and *black* colour collocations is analyzed and discussed. *Red* and *black* collocations were excerpted from the two largest corpora, i.e. NKJP and MoncoPL. All colour citations are analysed in the framework of discourse analysis and conceptual metaphor and metonymy. The analysis indicates that extralinguistic factors (i.e. social, political and historical events) motivate the emergence of *red* and *black* colour collocations in modern Polish discourse.

Keywords: red, black, metaphor, metonymy, discourse.

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The influence of segmental errors and stress-placement errors on Polish listeners' perceived degree of foreignaccentedness in non-native speech

1. Introduction

According to Bussmann (1996:3), a **foreign accent** can be defined as “[i]diosyncratic pronunciation of a foreign language, especially due to the articulatory or phonotactic characteristics of one’s native language”. It is typical for most individuals who acquire their L2 after their early childhood and it is usually easily perceived by all native listeners (Munro et al. 2006:67-68). Foreign accent has been previously researched by scholars such as Munro (1993) and Anderson-Hsieh et al. (1992), who determined that it is characterised by deviations from native speech in terms of segmental inventory as well as suprasegmental features.

There has been a significant amount of research on the factors which influence the form and degree of the foreign accent. Various socio-psychological factors can be impactful, as the severity of the foreignaccentedness varies from individual to individual, depending on their situation. As examples of such factors, Piske et al. (2001) list the presence of formal instruction or lack thereof, the motivation to learn, the frequency of L2 use, the age of learning, i.e., how old the individual was when they began to acquire the L2. Another factor that the researchers consider highly significant is length of residence, i.e., how long (and if) the learner has lived in a country where the L2 is spoken. Bongaerts (1999) adds that intensive training focused on the perception and production of the L2 speech sounds can significantly improve one’s pronunciation of the second language.

Moreover, it is frequently assumed that individuals vary in their talent for foreign language learning. Aptitude tests such as the Modern Language Aptitude Test (MLAT, Carroll & Sapon 1959) and the Pimsleur Language

Aptitude Battery (PLAB, Pimsleur 1966) were designed to measure such abilities. In terms of accent acquisition, Hummel (2009) found oral proficiency to be linked to phonological memory and some of the measures appearing in the MLAT (Carroll & Sapon 1959). Baker-Smemoe & Haslam (2013) investigated the correlation between PLAB-measured language learning aptitude and pronunciation in a foreign language. The subjects' aptitude scores, especially for auditory aptitude, were linked with their pronunciation performance (Baker-Smemoe & Haslam 2013).

Despite the significance of the socio-psychological factors described above, various researchers claim that they are not as influential as transfer from one's L1. There are various approaches based on L1 transfer in L2 (cf. Weinreich 1953, Lado 1957, Oller & Ziahosseiny 1970, Wardhaugh 1970, Eckman 1977, 1991, Flege 1987, 1995, Major 1987, 2001, Best 1995, Kuhl & Iverson 1995, Best & Tyler 2007, Escudero 2007). There are minor differences between them. For instance, they have varying views on how transfer may be influenced by other factors such as markedness and universals.

The importance of transfer is supported by Bley-Vroman's (1989, 1990) Fundamental Difference Hypothesis, which claims that individuals learning a foreign language have no access to Universal Grammar (UG), making transfer possibly the most influential factor (Major 2008). What is more, Kellerman (1995, as cited in Major 2008) claims that there do not have to be correspondences between the structures of the L1 and the L2 for transfer to operate. According to his Transfer to Nowhere Principle, "there can be transfer which is not licensed by similarity to the L2 and the way the L2 works may very largely go unheeded" (Kellerman 1995:137, as cited in Major 2008:66).

Despite the variability between them, the accounts based on transfer generally agree that when learning the pronunciation in an L2, the individual uses the sound system of their native language as a basis rather than establishing a new, separate sound system for the foreign language. Thus, when hearing a new L2 segment, the learner is most likely to perceive it and consequently produce it as an instance of a similar segment present in their L1 sound inventory.

Therefore, according to the models based on L1 transfer, segments that are absent from one's native language are likely to be the ones to contain pronunciation errors. Similarly, the constraints which are at work in one's L1 may be applied to L2, which is also likely to cause deviations from

native production. Following the same logic, individuals tend to apply native stress assignment rules to utterances they produce in the foreign language (Magen 1998, Major 2001, Missaglia 1999). Additionally, based on the same claims, one could expect that native speakers listening to such speech would easily perceive the errors resulting in the production of incorrect segments present in their sound inventory.

The research reviewed thus far has attempted to explain which factors influence foreign accent production having such a foundation facilitated the design of appropriate stimuli to be employed in this study. It was necessary for the creation of sentences to be read aloud and recorded by learners that would generate a foreign accent which was easily perceivable by the native speaker listeners. As this study focuses on the influence of particular types of pronunciation errors on how foreign accents are perceived, the remainder of this section reviews relevant literature on the issue.

Processing foreignaccented speech appears to differ from the processing of unaccented speech. Firstly, several studies confirm that accented speech is processed slower (Flocchia et al. 2006, Munro & Derwing 1995, Clarke & Garret 2004). Additionally, even though some non-native speakers who produce accented speech can be rated as high as native speakers on intelligibility (Bent & Bradlow 2003), in the majority of the cases, foreignaccented speech seems to influence the accuracy of the processing (Gass & Varonis 1984, Mason 1946, Labov & Ash 1997). Some studies even suggest that different strategies may be employed when processing foreignaccented and native speech. Bürki-Cohen et al. (2001) suggest that listeners heavily rely on lexical information and the frequency of vocabulary items when processing speech produced by non-native speakers (NNS). The researchers claim that this information is not as significant for speech produced by native speakers (NS) (Bürki-Cohen et al. 2001).

The perceived degree of foreignaccentedness may depend on the listener's subjectivity. According to Rubin (1992) and Jannedy & Weirich (2014), merely an expectation of a foreign accent, which may arise e.g., from the speaker's appearance or name, can influence the perception of a speech sample. Moreover, Lindemann (2002, 2010) and Anderson-Hsieh & Koehler (1988) found that listeners' attitudes can impact accent judgements. Factors such as opinions regarding the country of the speaker's origin (Beinhoff 2013) or the perceived pleasantness of how the speech sounds (Radomski & Szpyra-Kozłowska 2014) also appear to be of importance.

However, apart from the subjective judgements, what significantly influences foreignaccent perception are pronunciation differences, which are the main focus of this paper. Scovel (1995) claims that listeners base their perception on the pronunciation of vowels and consonants as well as suprasegmental information.

There have been several studies focusing on the impact of vowel quality on perceived foreignaccentedness. While some researchers (e.g., Magen 1998, who studied Spanish accented English) found the factor to be of little importance, while others found it to be significant (e.g., Munro 1993 for Arabic accented English). Some claim that vowel pronunciation errors are more influential than consonantal deviations (e.g., Rekart 1985 for Spanish accented English, Ingram & Pittam 1987 for Vietnamese accented English). Conversely, researchers such as Magen (1998) found consonant mispronunciation to have a much greater impact.

There are several studies according to which even minor differences in the pronunciation of consonants, such as Voice Onset Time (VOT), are significant for the listeners' perception (see Riney & Takagi 1999 for Japanese accented English). However, many researchers decide to research segmental errors as a whole group of deviations (see Kashiwagi & Snyder 2010 for Japanese accented English, Trofimovich & Isaacs 2012 for French accented English). The same approach will be applied in this study.

Errors in stress assignment also influence the perception of foreignaccented speech. Field (2005) showed that speech with this type of deviation from the native norm is less comprehensible for the listeners. It appears that incorrectly stressed words may make lexical retrieval much more difficult (Knaus et al. 2007).

Some of the previous studies have aimed to establish which factor has the most influence on the participants' (foreignaccentedness) assessments of the foreign accent. Several researchers claim errors related to prosody are more influential than segmental features. Such a pattern was observed by Anderson-Hsieh et al. (1992), who compared segmental, prosodic, and syllable structure errors. The researchers treated different types of prosodic errors as one group. Johansson (1987) compared segmental and intonation-related errors and observed the latter to be of more importance.

Conversely, when Jilka (2000, who studied English accented German) compared the same types of errors, she found segmental deviations to be

more influential. While the studies described above juxtaposed segmental and suprasegmental errors, none of them focused specifically on the difference between segmental errors and stress-assignment errors.

The discrepancies in the results obtained in the research described above are at least partly justified by the different origins of both the speakers and the listeners participating in the studies. Anderson-Hsieh et al. (1992) point out the significance of that factor. The match or mismatch in the phonology and phonotactics of the L1-L2 pair is of great importance. That is why the researchers decided to study different types of errors (e.g. focusing on vowels, consonants or stress assignment). To the best of my knowledge, most studies on the perception of a foreign accent are strongly biased toward the English language. In other words, they most often investigate errors produced by different L1 speakers pronouncing L2 English.

The variability in native speaker perception depending on their L1 is especially notable when it comes to stress perception. Namely, speakers of some languages experience stress “deafness”, which is a “difficulty with the perception of stress at a phonological level” (Peperkamp et al. 2010:423). In other words, speakers of languages characterised by highly predictable lexical stress have a strong tendency not to perceive lexical stress misplacement. The research conducted on the issue suggests that it depends on the number of exceptions to the stress rules of a given language (cf. Dupoux et al. 1997, Dupoux et al. 2001, Peperkamp et al. 2010, Domahs et al. 2012).

The study presented in this paper focuses on Polish listeners. They are an understudied group in terms of foreign accent perception. To the best of my knowledge, the only study related to the issue was conducted by Radomski & Szpyra Kozłowska (2014). However, the aim of their study was not to determine which factors cause non-native speech to be perceived as foreign accented. Instead, they investigated the influence of the speaker’s origins on how Polish listeners assess the accent and personality traits of the speaker. In other words, the authors focused on the listeners’ attitudes rather than phonological and phonetic factors of the speech to which they were listening.

Additionally, native speakers of Polish constitute an interesting listener group as the lexical stress rule in that language does not have many exceptions. Consequently, according to Peperkamp et al. (2010), Polish listeners tend to show at least a weak stress “deafness”. It is referred to

as “weak” as they perform somewhat better than speakers of languages such as French, which do not have exceptions from the stress rule at all (Peperkamp et al. 2010).

2. Characteristics of researched languages

The three speaker groups were chosen based on the characteristics of the languages. Spanish has a sound inventory that is quite different from Polish, compared to the other two languages. Russian, in turn, has the most differing stress pattern (free stress). This section provides some more details about the pronunciation in all four languages.

In Polish, there are six monophthongs ([i], [ɪ], [u], [ɛ], [ɔ], and [a]) and two nasal diphthongs ([ɛ̄w̄] and [ɔ̄w̄]) (Krifka et al. 2014). The language has a rich consonant system (see Table 1). Additionally, consonant clustering is very common (Jassem 2003). Consonant clusters occurring word-initially are not simplified, even during fast-paced speech (Jassem 2003). As far as lexical stress placement is concerned, it most often falls on the penultimate syllable, with some rare exceptions where it falls on the antepenultimate syllable (Newlin-Łukowicz 2012).

Russian, similarly to Polish, has a rich consonant system (Jones & Ward 2010). However, Russian consonant clusters cannot contain more than four consonants (Chew 2003), and when they are comprised of three or more sounds, they are reduced through deletion (Yanushevskaya & Bunčić, 2015). Russian does not contain any of the sibilants [ç], [z], [tç], [dç] or nasal vowels (Jones & Ward 2010). Nonetheless, it does contain palatalised counterparts of consonants such as [s] and [z]. There was a possibility that Polish speakers could perceive the palatalised consonants as foreign-sounding instances of the Polish [ç] and [z], respectively. Czech does not contain any of the Polish sounds which are problematic for speakers of Russian, or the vowel [i] (Krifka et al. 2014). Finally, the sounds [i], [ɛ], [z], [v], [ts], and [dç] do not occur in the Spanish language (Martínez-Celdrán et al. 2003), which would make it the most different from Polish out of the three. The author hypothesised that a greater variety in the mispronounced sounds would lead the listeners to perceive the stimuli as the most strongly foreign-accented.

In the Russian language, the stress is free; i.e., it can be assigned to any syllable of a word (Yanushevskaya & Bunčić 2015), which would make it the most different from Polish out of the three languages. The author hy-

pothesised that this would lead the listeners to perceive Russian-produced stress placement errors as the most heavily foreign-accented. In Czech, lexical stress is fixed and falls on the word-initial syllable (Dvořák 2008). In Spanish, while most words are stressed on the penultimate syllable, lexical stress can fall on any of the last three syllables of a word. However, even though lexical items ending in -n or -s tend to be stressed on the penultimate syllable, up to 95% of Spanish words “could be described by the following generalizations. If the final syllable is closed, stress is final. If it is open, stress is penultimate” (Kijak 2009:54).

Based on the sound systems of the languages, the author’s predictions were as follows:

- (1) The L1 of the speakers and the type of errors (segmental vs stress-placement) combined will influence the perceived foreignaccentedness.
- (2) For segmental errors, Spanish speakers’ speech samples will generate the highest foreignaccentedness ratings.
- (3) For stress-placement errors, Russian speakers’ speech samples will generate the highest foreignaccentedness ratings.
- (4) Generally, segmental errors will generate higher ratings than stress-placement errors.

3. Method

The experiment presented in this paper was conducted in the years 2020–2021. It was carried out entirely online¹ employing the research platform FindingFive. The platform was used during the main part of the experiment as well as the pre-tests and stimuli collection.

Materials

The stimuli consisted of sixty passages, each two to three sentences long (16 words on average). Each stimulus was a separate text unrelated content-wise to the other stimuli. Each passage was designed to contain two lexical items challenging for Polish learners belonging to three L1 groups: speakers of Spanish, Czech, and Russian. The critical words were never

¹ Conducting the experiment in person was impossible, as the regulations introduced in relation to the COVID-19 pandemic were being enforced at the time of data collection.

located at the very beginning or the end of the stimulus. There were twenty passages prepared for each group of learners. Ten of them were meant to generate mispronunciation of segments, i.e., **segmental errors**, the remaining ten were intended to generate **stress-assignment errors**.

In order to design stimuli that would generate the desired errors, Russian, Czech, and Spanish were compared to the Polish language. Each passage intended to generate segmental errors contained two segments absent from the learner's native sound system. For Russian those sounds included, e.g., [ɛ], [z], [tɛ], or [dʒ]; for Czech, e.g., [i], [ɛ], [z], [tɛ], or [dʒ]; and for Spanish, e.g., [i], [ɛ], [z], [v], [ts], or [dʒ]. Each passage intended to generate stress-placement errors contained two lexical items, which, if the learners applied their L1 stress-assignment rules, would result in the stress being placed on a syllable different from that stressed by native speakers of Polish, who stress most words on the penultimate syllable. For the Czech language, that included words with more than two syllables, as in Czech, it is the first syllable that is stressed. Therefore, the items intended to trigger stress-placement errors in speakers of Czech origin were at least four syllables long. In Spanish, the syllable bearing the stress tends to be the penultimate syllable if the lexical item ends in an open syllable and the word-final syllable if it is a closed syllable. Thus, each passage recorded by a Spanish learner of Polish contained two lexical items ending in a closed syllable. Finally, as Russian has a free stress pattern, in order to generate stress-placement errors, each passage contained two Russian-Polish cognates. The cognates were selected so that the stress would be put on a different syllable in both languages. A complete list of the stimuli can be found in the appendix.

The passages were read out loud and recorded by five speakers from each L1 group. All of them had an intermediate level of proficiency in the Polish language. The level was self-assessed and confirmed by the author's subjective judgement. Every speaker was living in Poland at the time when they recorded their speech. However, none of them grew up as bilingual speakers, meaning that they could be considered representative of most Polish learners with the same national origins. All of the learners were male and of a similar age (between thirty and forty years old) to avoid the influence of the timbre of the voice on the listeners' perception. Initially, the gender of the speakers was intended to be counterbalanced; however, finding enough suitable female speakers was not possible because of the time constraints.

The learners were instructed to read the passages as fluently as possible. They had the possibility of re-recording each passage in order to obtain high-quality data containing no stuttering or background noises. However, it was made clear that the Polish learners should not correct pronunciation errors that did not disrupt the fluency of their speech. The speakers used their own equipment (microphones and computers) to record the speech samples, as the research was carried out entirely online. The speakers were provided with a link to an online form with detailed instructions on how they should record themselves. The audio files were then saved as the participants' answers and became immediately available for the author to download. Despite the procedure being unsupervised in real time, carefully prepared stimuli allowed for the collection of high-quality recordings containing the desired pronunciation errors.

After obtaining the recordings, I chose those produced by three native speakers of each language based on the quality and the similarity of the voices. Not all items recorded by every chosen speaker were delivered exactly in the way it was intended; therefore, additional sessions were scheduled for the speakers so that they could record some of the stimuli again. That was repeated until the stimuli contained the predicted errors and no additional errors that could impact the study results. For some stimuli, the speakers were instructed on which items should be mispronounced. That may have made the recordings somewhat unnatural, but the author felt that such a measure was necessary to control the stimuli and obtain reliable results.

As my judgements regarding the degree of foreignaccentedness might have been subjective, pre-tests were conducted to confirm the comparability of the recordings. Each pre-test concerned speakers of only one of the three L1 groups. The structure was the same, with the pre-tests differing only in the native language of the Polish learners. The respondents listened to the recordings of the learners and provided judgements regarding their foreignaccentedness. The rating was done by employing a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 – ‘no foreign accent’ to 5 – ‘strong foreign accent.’ Additionally, to confirm that all of the speech samples were comprehensible, the respondents were instructed to transcribe the passages they heard.

Ten listeners participated in each of the pre-tests. None of them took part in more than one pre-test or in a pre-test as well as the main part of the experiment in order to avoid the influence of stimuli familiarity. Based on the results of the pre-tests, recordings provided by one of the speak-

ers from each L1 group were excluded. The recordings provided by the speakers of Russian chosen for the main part of the experiment obtained average ratings of 2.6 (speaker 1) and 3.1 (speaker 2), the speakers of Czech obtained average ratings of 2.9 (speaker 1) and 3 (speaker 2), and the speakers of Spanish, 3.2 (speaker 1) and 2.8 (speaker 2). The speakers who obtained average ratings of 4.4 (Russian), 3.3 (Czech), and 4.7 (Spanish) were excluded. This was done to obtain a group of speakers with possibly the most similar level of Polish proficiency. The excluded Czech speaker obtained a rating similar to the speakers selected for the main part of the experiment. However, his inclusion would have resulted in an uneven number of speakers per L1 group. Thus, the recordings provided by that learner were not employed in the experiment.

From the materials provided by each learner who was selected to be in the main part of the experiment, five segmental error recordings and five stress-placement error recordings were selected. Thus, each speaker provided ten recordings, making it twenty recordings per L1 group and sixty recordings in total. There were six conditions: the Spanish-speakers produced stress-assignment errors (SPANISH_STRESS), the Spanish-speakers produced segmental errors (SPANISH_SEGMENTAL), the Czech-speakers produced stress-assignment errors (CZECH_STRESS), the Czech-speakers produced segmental errors (CZECH_SEGMENTAL), the Russian-speakers produced stress-assignment errors (RUSSIAN_STRESS), and the Russian-speakers produced segmental errors (RUSSIAN_SEGMENTAL). As the experiment was conducted entirely online, ensuring an appropriate environment for the participants was very challenging. Therefore, a decision was made not to include a control condition, which would have added more items to the already lengthy stimuli list.

Participants

Fifty native Polish listeners took part in the experiments. All of them had been university students or were studying at university when they participated in the study, and they were all twenty to forty years old. Additionally, none of them spoke any of the speakers' native languages, nor did they use the English language in their daily lives. That requirement was introduced to avoid the influence of foreign language systems. Since stress can be a contrastive feature in English, very frequent use of that language could influence the listeners' expected stress-deafness, i.e., it could improve their ability to perceive stress-placement errors.

Procedure

All of the recordings were presented to all of the participants. Similarly to the recording procedure, the experiment was carried out on the FindingFive platform, and the participants used their own computers to listen to the speech recordings and provide their judgements on foreignaccentedness. In addition, they were instructed to use earphones and access the FindingFive website using the Google Chrome browser, which is the most compatible with the platform.

After hearing each recording, an instruction was displayed, asking the respondent to rate the strength of the foreign accent on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 – no foreign accent, to 5 – strong foreign accent. The rating was provided by clicking on the chosen number. After that, the following recording was played automatically. The order of the stimuli was randomised and different for every participant. Every respondent was free to take a break whenever they pleased. However, leaving the website was not possible without stopping the experiment, which would prevent the participant from accessing it again. After rating every ten passages, a simple yes-no question regarding the content of the sentence was displayed. The participants answered by clicking on the button with the correct answer. Including the questions in the experiment was intended to encourage the respondents to pay attention to the stimuli. The main part of the experiment was preceded by a training session consisting of ten passages which were excluded after the pre-test. The task in the training session was identical to that in the main part of the experiment. Completing the experiment required approximately twenty minutes.

3. Results

A vast majority (86%) of the participants provided only correct answers for all six of the yes/no comprehension questions. That means that out of fifty respondents, only seven provided any incorrect answers. Additionally, two of those seven participants answered incorrectly twice, and the remaining five answered incorrectly only once. Thus, it has been assumed that all of the participants actively listened to the stimuli. Therefore, all of the answers were considered representative of perceived foreignaccentedness.

I conducted a repeated-measures analysis of variance with the within-subjects factors LANGUAGE (three levels: Spanish, Czech, Russian) and ERROR

TYPE (two levels: stress-assignment errors, segmental errors). That resulted in 6 conditions: Spanish-speakers produced stress-assignment errors (SPANISH_STRESS), Spanish-speakers produced segmental errors (SPANISH_SEGMENTAL), Czech-speakers produced stress-assignment errors (CZECH_STRESS), Czech-speakers produced segmental errors (CZECH_SEGMENTAL), Russian-speakers produced stress-assignment errors (RUSSIAN_STRESS), Russian-speakers produced segmental errors (RUSSIAN_SEGMENTAL). There were no outliers, as assessed by the lack of studentised residuals for values larger than ± 3 .

Fig. 1 presents the mean ratings of the participants for all of the conditions. The Shapiro-Wilk test confirmed a normal distribution of the data. Additionally, Mauchly's test of sphericity showed that the assumption of sphericity was met for the two-way interaction ($\chi^2(2) = 2.41$, $p = .3$ ($p > .05$)).

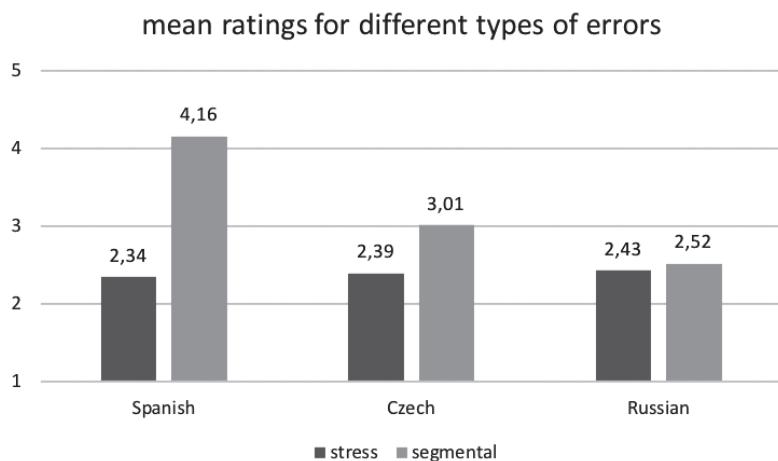


Figure 1: Mean ratings provided by the participants for all types of errors appearing in the experiment.

There was a statistically significant two-way interaction between LANGUAGE and ERROR TYPE, $F(2, 98) = 199.4$, $p < .001$ (see Fig. 2). Therefore, simple effects of language among the stress errors and among the segmental errors were run.

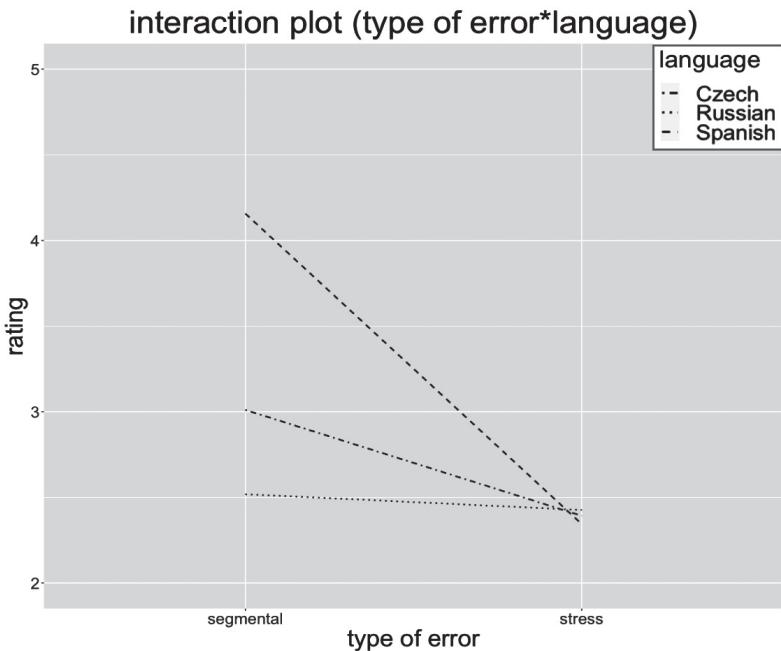


Figure 2: Interaction plot for the type of error*language.

The change in the perceived foreignaccentedness was not significant for stress errors. However, it was statistically significant for the SEGMENTAL error conditions $F(1.539, 75.392) = 194.61, p < .001$. Thus, post hoc analyses with a Bonferroni adjustment were run. They revealed that there was a significant increase in foreignaccentedness from 2.52 ± 0.56 for Russian to 3.01 ± 0.45 for Czech (an increase of 0.49 (95% CI, 0.33 to 0.66), $p < .001$). Furthermore, there was a 1.15 difference between Czech and Spanish, which obtained a mean rating of 4.16 ± 0.5 (95%, CI, 0.96 to 1.34). The difference was statistically significant ($p < .001$). The difference between Russian and Spanish segmental errors amounted to 1.64 ((95% CI, 1.37 to 1.9), $p < .001$).

For all three languages, the ratings obtained for the recordings characterised by segmental errors had higher foreignaccentedness ratings than those with stress-placement errors.

For Spanish and Czech, these differences were statistically significant. For Spanish, the difference amounted to 2.34 ± 0.49 for stress and to 4.16 ± 0.5

for segmental errors (an increase of 1.81 (95% CI, 1.68 to 1.94), $F(1, 49) = 757.97$, $p < .001$). For Czech, stress errors produced mean ratings of 2.39 ± 0.41 , while segmental errors, 3.01 ± 0.45 (an increase of 0.62 (95% CI, 0.49 to 0.74), $F(1, 49) = 96.73$, $p < .001$). For Russian, the difference was not significant. The mean ratings obtained were 2.43 ± 0.51 for stress and 2.52 ± 0.56 for segmental errors (an increase of 0.09 (95% CI, 0 to 0.19), $F(1, 49) = 3.67$, $p = .061$ ($p > .05$).

4. Discussion

The results that were obtained confirmed all of the predictions except for prediction (3).

The L1 of the speakers and the type of errors (segmental vs stress-placement) combined influenced perceived foreignaccentedness. There was a statistically significant effect of interaction; thus, the study shows that the two factors combined impact Polish native speakers' perception.

For segmental errors, Spanish speakers' speech samples generated the highest foreign-accentedness ratings. The recordings provided by native speakers of Spanish received higher foreignaccentedness ratings than those by Czech speakers, followed by those recorded by Russian speakers. It is likely that this is caused by the relative similarity of Polish and Russian sound systems and more significant differences between Polish and Czech or Spanish sound systems.

For stress-placement errors, Russian speakers' speech samples did not generate the highest foreignaccentedness ratings. Prediction (3) was not confirmed. The L1 differences had no statistically significant influence on foreignaccentedness ratings. Thus, the similarity of the stress-placement rules in the languages did not influence the ratings. This finding is in line with the results obtained by Domahs et al. (2012) and, as such, it is likely to be the consequence of Polish speakers' stress deafness.

Generally, segmental errors generated higher ratings than stress-placement errors. There was a statistically significant difference between the ratings of segmental vs stress-placement errors produced by native speakers of Spanish and Czech. While the difference between the judgements of different error types in Russian was not statistically significant, it can be observed that the ratings for the stress-placement errors obtained somewhat lower scores (mean 2.43) than segmental errors (mean 2.52). That is most likely the consequence of Russian speakers' errors receiving

generally low judgements. Thus, the difference that emerged was not statistically significant. However, regardless of that, it still fits the expected patterns of the stress-placement errors receiving lower ratings. Therefore, it can be assumed that overall segmental errors do generate higher ratings of foreign accentedness than stress-placement errors. That would be in line with the stress deafness observed in the native speakers of Polish.

5. Summary and conclusions

In conclusion, it appears that the type of errors produced by non-native Polish speakers as well as their native languages influence the degree of foreign accentedness perceived by the speakers. Segmental errors appear to be of higher significance, which, in parallel with Domahs et al. (2012), is attributed to Polish speakers' stress deafness. It is probably for that same reason that the stress-placement errors are perceived as similar (and obtained relatively low ratings) regardless of the speaker's origin.

Furthermore, segmental errors produced by the speakers of Spanish are perceived as the most foreign-sounding of the segmental errors in the speech of the native speakers in the groups researched in this experiment. The perceived foreign accentedness of the errors produced by Spanish learners was then followed by those produced by Czech and Russian speakers. Those differences are assumed to arise based on the degree to which the sound systems of those languages differ from the Polish sound system. That is, Russian appears to be the most similar to Polish of the three languages. Thus, the errors produced by Russians appear least significant to Polish listeners. Czech is less similar; thus, Czech speakers' errors are perceived as more significant. Finally, the sound system of the Spanish language is pretty dissimilar to the Polish system. Thus, Polish listeners perceive errors produced by the speakers of Spanish as the most significant.

The findings of this study could be expanded in future research. It would contribute to obtaining a more comprehensive picture of how different deviations from native speech influence Polish listeners' perception. Moreover, it would confirm the results obtained here by overcoming some of the limitations of this study. For instance, intonation errors were not accounted for in this study because of time limitations. Considering them in future research would confirm that the results obtained are not impacted by the speaker's intonation, which could have influenced the listeners in this experiment.

Moreover, in this study, the speakers' level of proficiency in Polish was based on self-assessment and the author's subjective perception. This limitation was addressed by employing pre-tests, which helped obtain a more objective picture of the speakers' level. Future research could use a standardised measure such as the European Frame of Reference. Finally, this experiment was conducted entirely online, which made it significantly more challenging to ensure appropriate conditions for the participants. The list of stimuli was also quite long, making it impossible to include a control condition containing no pronunciation errors. Perhaps, if future research on the topic can be conducted in person, expanding the list of stimuli could be possible.

Future studies on Polish listeners' perception of non-native speech could also consider speaker groups, prosody errors, and measures different to those investigated in the study presented here. As far as stress-deafness in Polish speakers is concerned, a similar study employing ERP measures could shed light on how much the conscious perception of stress-placement errors in non-native speech differs from the processes on the neurological level. It is highly likely that online perception would be observed as suggested by the findings obtained by Domahs et al. (2012). Their study showed that despite the lack of conscious differentiation between differently stressed lexical items, a P300-like effect was triggered in Polish speakers by stress changes. The authors of the study interpreted the results as suggesting that there is no conscious perception of stress-placement errors, but that the errors are still perceived on the neurological level.

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The influence of segmental errors and stress-placement errors on Polish listeners' perceived degree of foreignaccentedness in non-native speech

Polish listeners' perception of different types of errors in non-native speech was studied with a focus on segmental and stress-placement errors. The stimuli consisted of the speech produced by Polish learners of Russian, Czech, and Spanish origins. The results which were obtained suggest that segmental errors (i.e., errors related to the pronunciation of segments) influence the foreignaccentedness perceived by Polish listeners significantly more than stress-placement errors. That is probably due to stress-deafness experienced by native speakers of Polish. While stress-placement errors resulted in relatively low scores in terms of foreignaccentedness, the ratings for segmental errors depended on the L1 group of the speakers. Segmental errors produced by speakers of Spanish were rated as the most foreign-sounding, followed by Czech and Russian. One possible explanation is that it was caused by the sound systems of Russian, Czech, and Polish being pretty similar, while the Spanish sound system is somewhat different.

Keywords: foreign accent perception, stress-deafness, non-native speech.

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Einige Bemerkungen zum partitiven Genitiv im heutigen Polnisch und zu seinen deutschsprachigen Äquivalenten¹

1. Einleitung

Der vorliegende Beitrag fokussiert auf den adverbalen partitiven Genitiv² (genetivus partitivus/partitivi, dopełniacz częstkowy, dopełniacz partytywny) (vgl. z.B. EJO 1999:194; EJP 1999:78), eines der syntaktischen Charakteristika des Polnischen³, welches gelegentlich – wie in den unten

¹ Der Autor bedankt sich bei einem anonymen Gutachter für anregende Hinweise, die bei der Arbeit an der vorliegenden Endfassung mit berücksichtigt wurden. Sie enthält „implizite“ Antworten des Verfassers auf die meisten kritischen Anmerkungen bezüglich des im Beitrag dargestellten Forschungsstandes in der polnischen Linguistik und der verwendeten Fachliteratur.

² Mit der Attribuierung „adverbial“ will ich hier auf den bedeutsamen Unterschied zwischen dem Polnischen und dem Deutschen aufmerksam machen, denn mit dem hier interessierenden Terminus wird in der traditionellen germanistischen Sprachwissenschaft dem Vorbild der lateinischen Grammatik folgend ausschließlich eine der neun Arten von Genitivattributen verwendet, die die Teil-Ganzes-Beziehung (z.B. *die Hälfte meines Vermögens*) bezeichnet (vgl. z.B. Duden 1995:641-649; Bußmann 1990:273). In der polnischen Grammatikschreibung werden in derselben adnominalen Funktion gewöhnlich sechs Arten von Attributen diskutiert (vgl. EJO 1999:194-195).

³ Die Struktur ist auch in einigen weiteren Slavia bekannt, wovon die Belege z.B. aus dem Tschechischen (*dej mi chleba* ‘gib mir Brotes’ – *dej mi chléb* ‘gib mir Brot’), Slowenischen (*vzemi kruha* ‘Brotes nehmen’ – *vzemi kruh* ‘Brot nehmen’) sowie aus dem Russischen (*наливь воды* ‘Wassers eingleßen’ – *наливь воду* ‘Wasser eingleßen’) zeugen mögen (vgl. EJO 1999:194). Der partitive Genitiv wird im heutigen Tschechisch immer seltener und durch den Akkusativ ersetzt. Zu verzeichnen ist der fortschreitende Schwund des Genitivs zugunsten des Akkusativs auch im Russischen bei ziemlich starker regional-dialektaler Differenzierung und in anderen slavischen Sprachen mit Ausnahme des Bulgarischen und des

stehenden Sätzen (1) - (12) gezeigt⁴ – mit den Verben mit der obligatorischen Akkusativrekktion verwendet wird:

- (1) [On] *kupil chleb / chleba* (EJO 1999:194)
‘Er kaufte Brot / ***Brotes.**’
- (2) *Marysia wzięła ze stołu chleb / chleba.* (Saloni/Świdziński 1998:161)
‘Maria hat Brot / ***Brotes** vom Tisch genommen.’
- (3) *(On) zjadł ser / sera.*
‘Er hat Käse / ***Käses** gegessen.’
- (4) *(On) przyniesie mąkę / mąki.*
‘Er bringt Mehl / ***Mehls.**’
- (5) *(On/Ona) zrobi herbatę / herbaty.*
‘Er/Sie wird Tee / ***Tees** machen.’
- (6) *Daj mi wodę / wody!*
‘Gib mir Wasser / ***Wassers!**’
- (7) *Upiecz makowiec / makowca!*
‘Back(e) einen Mohnkuchen / ***eines Mohnkuchens!**’
- (8) *Przywiozłem suszone śliwki / suszonych śliwek.*
‘Ich habe getrocknete / ***getrockneter** Pflaumen (her)gebracht.’
- (9) *Wlałaś wodę / wody do wazonu?*
‘Hast du Wasser / ***Wassers** in die Vase (ein)gegossen?’
- (10) *Kupiłeś wino / wina?*
‘Hast du Wein / ***Weines** gekauft?’
- (11) *Zawsze wsypuję świeże zioła / świeżych ziół.*
‘Immer schütte/gebe ich frische / ***frischer** Kräuter hinzu.’

Mazedonischen, in denen die kasusmarkierte Deklination praktisch nur auf den Nominativ und Akkusativ (Kasussynkretismus) sowie den Vokativ reduziert ist (vgl. z.B. Piechnik 2006:125; Dalewska-Greń 2002:271-272).

⁴ In den meisten polnischsprachigen Beispielen sind die genitivischen Nomina mit Fettdruck gekennzeichnet. Sind sie im Deutschen wörtlich wiedergegeben, erscheinen die Genitivformen der entsprechenden Ausdrücke ebenfalls fett gedruckt und sind als unkorrekt (*) markiert.

- (12) *Czasami pożyczca mu pieniędze / pieniędzy na słodycze.*
 ‘Ab und zu leiht/gibt er/sie ihm Geld / *Geldes / Gelder für Süßigkeiten.’

Diese besondere Akkusativ/Genitiv-Alternierung wird in der traditionellen polnischen Grammatikschreibung⁵, in einigen kontrastiven Darstellungen zu Deutsch-Polnisch (vgl. DPG 2018:77-78; ferner auch Bartnicka et al. 2004:532-533) sowie in einigen neueren Arbeiten aus dem Bereich der Sprachsystematik (z.B. Abraham 2018:72-74) ziemlich allgemein dargestellt und in etwa so erklärt, wie das auch beim adnominalen partitiven Genitiv der Fall ist: die Akkusativergänzung kann man durch den Genitiv ersetzen, wenn „die [in der Ergänzung, I.G.] benannte Größe einen Teil einer Menge oder eines größeren Gegenstandes ausmacht“ (DPG 2018:77-78; vgl. dazu auch: EJP 1999:77; NSPP 1999:1621; Bartnicka/Satkiewicz 1990:172; Bartnicka et al. 2004:532; <https://sjp.pwn/poradnia/haslo/dopelniacz-czastkowy;13558.html>; letzter Zugriff: 23.07.2021). Manche Linguisten (vgl. z.B. Saloni/Świdziński 1998:162) verweisen zusätzlich auf die semantische Charakteristik des Verbs im Prädikat; die Neigung zum Kasuswechsel wird nach dieser Auffassung stärker, wenn die partitive Interpretation des Genitivs durch die Verbsemantik begründet oder wahrscheinlich(er) wird.

Aus der traditionellen Erklärung könnte geschlussfolgert werden, dass (i) die partitive Qualität des Genitivs gegenüber dem valenzgeforderten Akkusativ manifest ist, so dass diese (ii) im Akt der Kommunikation z.B. Jakobson’scher Prägung (vgl. z.B. Pelz 2013:27-33) unmissverständlich kodiert und dekodiert wird/werden kann. Solche pauschalen Deskriptionen reichen für die Analyse der obigen Beispiele (1) – (12) sowie aller nach demselben Muster gebildeten Strukturen bei Weitem nicht aus, ihre Richtigkeit kann man heutzutage bei etwas genauerer Betrachtung teilweise sogar in Frage stellen⁶ und ihre fremdsprachendidaktische Eignung ist

⁵ Es muss allerdings vorausgeschickt werden, dass viele, nicht nur populäre Grammatiken und grammatische Darstellungen des Polnischen diese Struktur aus unbekannten Gründen überhaupt nicht thematisieren (vgl. z.B.: Dubisz 1999:283-286; Jaworski 1986:157-158; Jodłowski 1976:98-101; Podracki 1997:78-82; Polański/Nowak 2010:7-10; Strużyński 1998:310-312).

⁶ Dies resultiert aus einer von mir 2019 durchgeföhrten kurzen Befragung erwachsener Personen polnischer Muttersprache, darunter Germanistikstudenten (insgesamt 29 Personen), in der sie unter anderem auch folgende Satzpaare (bearbeitet nach Bartnicka/Satkiewicz 1990:172) beurteilten: (a) *On przymiesie mąki*^{GEN.SING.FEM.} – *On przeniesie mąkę*^{AKK.SING.FEM.}. (b) *Wypila herbaty*^{GEN.SING.FEM.} – *Wypila herbatę*^{AKK.SING.FEM.}. (c) *Kup chleba*^{GEN.SING.MASK.-!} – *Kup chleb*^{AKK.SING.MASK.-!} Die fett gedruckten

ohne vertiefte sprachkontrastive Aufbereitung gering. Notwendig scheint deswegen eine erneute Auseinandersetzung mit diversen theoretischen Aspekten des polnischen partitiven Genitivs sowie eine breit angelegte Untersuchung quantitativ und qualitativ repräsentativen sprachlichen Datenmaterials. Meine Intention geht dahin, (i) die meines Erachtens wichtigsten von diesen Aspekten genauer zu besprechen, (ii) auf gewisse Schwachstellen in den bisherigen linguistischen Interpretationen hinzuweisen und (iii) somit zu einer detaillierten Erfassung der interessierenden Struktur im deutsch-polnischen Kontext beizutragen.

2. Partitiver Genitiv und Sprachnorm

Im Falle des verbalen partitiven Genitivs bedingen Form und Funktion einander besonders stark, wobei dem oben in (ii) erwähnten funktional-kommunikativen Aspekt meines Erachtens größere Relevanz zukommt. Um ihn zu beschreiben, sind breit angelegte korpusbasierte Analysen erforderlich, die in der polnischen Linguistik der letzten zwanzig Jahre vergeblich zu suchen sind.⁷ Diese Lücke in der Untersuchung liegt womöglich in dem dominant sprechsprachlichen Charakter dieser Form des Genitivs⁸ begründet – Phänomene des mündlichen Subcodes, die sich im

genitivischen Formen wurden von allen Befragten als stilistisch markiert (ungepflepter umgangssprachlicher Substandard) bezeichnet. Sieben Personen hielten sie für nicht korrekt und begründeten das durch die Ambiguität von (a) *maki* und (b) *herbaty* (Formidentität der beiden Stoffbezeichnungen im Genitiv Singular und Nominativ/Akkusativ Plural). Die funktionale Opposition „partitiver Genitiv – nicht-partitiver Akkusativ“ blieb völlig unerkannt. Wegen ihres Umfangs sowie der Teilnehmerzahl erfüllt diese Sprecherbefragung nicht die Kriterien einer repräsentativen und maßgebenden sprachwissenschaftlichen Untersuchung, sie hat aber einen hohen Informationswert, weil sie allem Anschein nach potentiell wichtige Veränderungen im Usus signalisiert.

⁷ In der auch hier zitierten einschlägigen polnischen Literatur lassen sich keine genaueren Darstellungen finden, es werden dieselben Beispiele angeführt. Als maßgebend gilt nach wie vor die Darstellung der Valenzeigenschaften polnischer Verballexeme von Buttler (1976) anhand eines umfangreichen Korpus diverser, ausschließlich schriftlicher Textsorten (schöngestigte und (sprach)wissenschaftliche Literatur, Presse) des ausgehenden 19. und der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts. Die Analyse ist zwar korpusbasiert, aber nicht im Sinne der heutigen Korpuslinguistik; es fehlen z.B. statistische Angaben.

⁸ Dies scheinen leider nur spärliche Untersuchungen zur Dialektologie des Polnischen zu bestätigen, die auf ein höheres Vorkommen der Struktur in den Mundarten im Vergleich mit der Allgemeinsprache hinweisen. Von den in <https://dialek>

spontanen Sprachgebrauch am häufigsten manifestieren, sind im Vergleich zu fixierten Strukturen technisch viel schwieriger erfassbar, deren Analysen, auch EDV-gestützt, verlaufen umständlicher und werden deswegen seltener vorgenommen. Korpuslinguistische Untersuchungen des adverbialen partitiven Genitivs im heutigen Polnisch bereiten noch mehr Schwierigkeiten⁹ und können in der vorliegenden Analyse nicht genutzt werden. Immer wenn wir mit der gesprochenen (Umgangs-)Sprache konfrontiert sind, kommen wir um die ewige Frage der sprachlichen Norm, wie sie bereits Coseriu (1970:50-59) definierte, nicht herum. Das Sprachverhalten der Polen von heute, gekennzeichnet durch zahlreiche, bezüglich ihrer (grammatischen) Korrektheit uneinheitlich zu beurteilende morphologische, syntaktische wie auch stilistische Variationen, zwingt die Linguisten dazu, zwischen der Gebrauchsnorm und der so genannten Musternorm zu differenzieren. Mit dem zweiten Terminus meinen sie allerdings mehr als nur Norm im Sinne des präskriptiven Sprachnormierens. Die Musternorm umfasst also alle grammatisch und semantisch regelkonform gebildeten Elemente und Strukturen, die von der Mehrheit der ausgebildeten polnischen Muttersprachler unter Beachtung der sprachlichen Tradition und im Einklang mit den beobachtbaren Entwicklungstendenzen akzeptiert werden.

tologia.uw.edu.pl/index.php?/1=leksykon&lid=553; letzter Zugriff: 23.07.2021) angeführten Beispielen des genitivischen Partitivs, die ich hier in wörtlicher Übersetzung angebe, lassen sich nach meinem Sprachempfinden nur (a) und (b) als eindeutig dialektal und zugleich ziemlich stark archaisierend klassifizieren, während (c) und (d) der Umgangssprache ohne jegliche regionale oder mundartliche Markierung angehören: (a) *zwiedzi chociaż światu* ‘er/sie wird zumindest ***der Welt** besichtigen’, (b) *tam krzesłów jest* ‘dort gibt es ***der Stühle**’, (c) *daj ognia* ‘gib mir ***Feuers**’, (d) *zostaw węgla* ‘lass (hier) ***der Kohle**’. Es muss aber betont werden, dass sich die Partitivität nicht nur durch den Akkusativ/Genitiv-Wechsel wie in (a), (c) und (d) vollzieht, sondern dass der Genitiv in derselben Funktion auch mit dem Nominativ ein Oppositionspaar bildet wie in (b).

⁹ Es kann u.a. auf folgende Umstände hingewiesen werden: (i) es stehen heutzutage keine computerlesbaren Korpora mit spontanen sprechsprachlichen Primärdaten zur Verfügung, aus denen sich auch der situative Kontext rekonstruieren ließe, (ii) die meisten in meinem Beitrag und in den grammatischen Darstellungen befindlichen partitiven Konstruktionen (z.B.: *kupić / zjeść chleba, wypić herbaty / wina*) sind im Subkorpus der gesprochenen Texte in Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego (NKJP; Nationalkorporus der polnischen Sprache; <http://www.nkjp.uni.lodz.pl/spoken.jsp>; letzter Zugriff: 23.07.2021) überhaupt nicht belegt, (iii) unter den Belegen mit denselben Stoffbezeichnungen im schriftlichen Subkorpus ist der Negationsgenitiv entweder die einzige oder die statistisch dominierende Struktur mit Objektstatus.

tiert und bewusst gebraucht werden (NSPP 1999:1702, 1667-1669, vgl. weiter auch: Przybyska 2003:93-96, 100-106). Was den partitiven Genitiv anbelangt, gilt es folgendes festzuhalten. (i) Anhand der polnischen grammatischen Darstellungen lassen sich wegen der nicht befriedigenden Beschreibung keine verbindlichen präskriptiven Normen formulieren; in Anlehnung an die neueste sprachkontrastive Arbeit von Kątny (2019:185) können wir sagen, dass der Gebrauch des Genitivs nicht zwingend ist. Es handelt sich um eine Option „heute tendenziell mit stilistischer Färbung“ (Bartnicka et al. 2004:532).¹⁰ (ii) Da keine nennenswerten quantitativ repräsentativen Untersuchungen zum aktuellen Usus vorliegen, sind auch Aussagen über deskriptive Normen wesentlich erschwert. (iii) Folglich muss sich jeder Forscher bei der Analyse und Interpretation von Verwendungsbeispielen oft nach eigenem muttersprachlichen Empfinden richten.

3. Verbbedeutung und Verbalaspekt

Der Gebrauch des partitiven Genitivs anstelle des Akkusativs kommt nur bei ziemlich wenigen Verben mit dieser Rektion¹¹ in Frage. In semantischer Perspektive handelt es sich um Verben, die besonders häufig in der alltäglichen (mündlichen) Kommunikation gebraucht werden und zu den sog. Konsumptiva (z.B. *jeść, pić*) und Possessiva (z.B. *dać, dostarczyć*,

¹⁰ Die Frage, welche stilistischen Tendenzen gemeint sind, bleibt unbeantwortet.

¹¹ In der folgenden, in Anlehnung an Tytula/Losiak (2008:52) vorbereiteten Liste wurden die gebräuchlichsten Akkusativverben im heutigen Polnisch berücksichtigt. Stehen zwei Verben nebeneinander, handelt es sich um ein verbales Aspektpaar, wobei das erste dem imperfektiven Aspekt angehört, während das zweite entweder die Perfektivität bzw. die Aoristizität repräsentiert: *brać/wziąć* [‘nehmen’], *czuć/poczuć* [‘fühlen’], *czytać/przeczytać* [‘lesen’], *dawać/dać* [‘geben’], *dostawać/dostać* [‘bekommen’, ‘erhalten’], *jeść/zjeść* [‘essen’], *kochać* [‘lieben’], *kraść/u kraść* [‘stehlen’], *kończyć/skończyć* [‘enden’], ‘Schluss machen’], *kupować/kupić* [‘kaufen’], *lubić* [‘mögen’], ‘gern haben’], *mieć* [‘haben’], *oceniać/ocenić* [‘bewerten’], ‘beurteilen’], *oglądać/oglądać* [‘sehen’], ‘betrachten’], ‘sich anschauen’], *opowiadać/opowiedzieć* [‘erzählen’], *pić/wypić* [‘trinken’], *pisać/napisać* [‘schreiben’], *placić/zapłacić* [‘zahlen’], *poznać/poznawać* [‘kennenlernen’], *przymawiać/przyjąć* [‘erhalten’], *przynosić* [‘bringen’], *przywozić* [‘herbringen’], *robić/zrobić* [‘machen’], ‘tun’], *rozumieć/zrozumieć* [‘begreifen’], ‘verstehen’], *spotykać/spotkać* [‘treffen’], *sprzedawać/sprzedadać* [‘verkaufen’], *widzieć/zobaczyć* [‘sehen’], *wybierać/wybrać* [‘wählen’], *załatwiać/załatwić* [‘erledigen’], *zamykać/zamknąć* [‘schließen’], *znać* [‘kennen’], *znajdować/znać* [‘finden’]. Den Akkusativ fordern außerdem Verben mit den Präfixen *ob-*, *prze-* und *wy-*, z.B.: *obchodzić* (*zakaz*) [‘umgehen’], *przejedźdać* (*most*) [‘überfahren’], *wynosić* (*zabawki*) [‘(hin)austragen’, ‘forttragen’].

kupić, przynieść, przywieźć, sprzedać, ukraść gehören (vgl. z.B. Kątny 2019:184), vgl. Beispiele (1) - (4), (6), (8) und (10).

Wierzbicka (1967:2238) hat wahrscheinlich als erste in der polnischen Linguistik nachdrücklich auch darauf hingewiesen, dass der partitive Genitiv nur bei den Verben des perfektiven Aspektes [weiter auch ^{PF}] zulässig ist, niemals aber mit den imperfektiven Verben [weiter auch ^{IPF}], was sie mit Sätzen (13) und (14) belegte:

- (13) **On jadł w tym momencie trochę kaszy* (*He was then eating some porridge).
- (14) **On pił w tym momencie szklankę wody (trochę wody)* (*He was then drinking a glass of water (some water)).

In demselben Sinne argumentieren auch Kątny (2019:184-185; vgl. Beispiele (15)a., b., (16)a., b.):

- (15) a. **On pil kawy i jadł (trochę) chleba.*
b. **Er trank Kaffee-GEN.SG und aß (etwas) Brot-GEN.SG;*
- (16) a. *Piotr kupił^{PF} / *kupował^{IPF} gruszek.*
b. *Peter kaufte / *kaufte Birnen-GEN.PL.*

sowie die Autoren der DPG (2018:78): „Der partitive Genitiv kommt nur bei perfektiven, aber nie bei imperfektiven Verben vor. Man kann also *kupić jabłka* oder *kupić jablek* ‘Äpfel kaufen’ sagen, aber immer nur *kupować jabłka*; ebenso ist *zjeść sera* oder *zjeść ser* ‘Käse essen’ korrekt, aber nur *jeść ser*.“

Die Unzulässigkeit der Verbindung von imperfektiven Verben mit dem partitiven Genitiv bestätigt meines Erachtens eigentlich nur das Beispiel (16)a. **kupował^{IPF} gruszek*, und zwar unabhängig vom Tempus und Modus:

- (16) c. *Piotr o^{PF} / *kupuje^{IPF} gruszek.* ‘Peter kauft Birnen’,
- (16) d. *Piotr kupi^{PF} / *będzie kupował^{IPF} gruszek.* ‘Peter wird Birnen kaufen’,
- (16) e. *Piotr kupiłby^{PF} / *kupowałby^{IPF} gruszek.* ‘Peter würde / hätte Birnen kaufen / gekauft’,
- (16) f. *Kup / Kupcie^{PF} / *Kupuj / *Kupujcie^{IPF} gruszek!* ‘Kauf(e) / Kauft Birnen!‘.

In (15)a. dagegen ist nur die Verbindung **pil kawy* ‘trank Kaffee’ im ersten Teilsatz nicht zulässig, während der zweite Teilsatz *jadł (trochę) chleba* ‘aß (etwas) Brot’ mit dem als fakultativ gekennzeichneten unbestimmten

Pronomen *trocę* korrekt ist. Dieses Pronomen, das hier m.E. als Partitiv-Quantor¹² eine sichtbar geringe Menge des jeweiligen Produktes bezeichnet, und zwar unabhängig davon, ob sie dessen Gewicht, Größe, Form oder Stückzahl betrifft, spielt hier eine Schlüsselrolle, was auch der Pronominalisierungstest in (17)b.¹³ bestätigt:

- (17) a. *On jadł trocję chleba / mięsa / makaronu / ciasta / tortu / pizzy / śliwek / ciastek.*

‘Er aß etwas ***Brote** / ***Fleisches** / Nudeln / ***Kuchens** / Torte / Pizza / Zwetschgen / Kekse.’

- (17) b. *On jadł go^{MASK.NEUT.SING} / je^{FEM.SING} / ich^{PL} trocję.*

‘Er aß etwas davon / von ihm/ihr/ihnen.’

Aus demselben Grund ist die Konstruktion in (13) *trocę kaszy* ‘etwas Grütze’ ebenfalls als korrekt zu beurteilen. Daraus ist zu schließen, dass die verbale Imperfektivität beim Vorhandensein einer beliebigen Mengenangabe irrelevant ist, denn alle Quantoren – unabhängig von ihrer kategorialen Füllung¹⁴ – verlangen im Polnischen den Genitiv.

Nicht anders verhält es sich in (14) mit der Phrase *szklankę wody* ‘ein Glas *Wassers’ – die genitivische Form des Nomens ‘Wasser’ in der partitiven Bedeutung ist grammatisch die einzige richtige, denn der Genitiv wird nicht adverbial, sondern attributiv verwendet. Deswegen können wir Beispiel (14) und alle nach diesem Muster gebildeten Sätze außer Acht lassen; sie helfen bei der Deskription der hier interessierenden Struktur kaum.

¹² Die Definition des Terminus finden wir bei Kątny (2019:186).

¹³ Das Indefinitum *trocę* sowie alle weiteren indefiniten Pronomina und Zahlwörter als Mengenangaben erscheinen im Polnischen in Verbindung mit den substantivischen Pronomina meistens nachgestellt.

¹⁴ Neben den indefiniten Pronomina und Zahlwörtern wie z.B. *trocę, nieco, mało, niewiele, wiele, dużo*, gehören hierzu polnischsprachige Entsprechungen genau derselben substantivischen Mengenangaben, die in der deutschen Grammatikbeschreibung auch als quantifizierte Nomina bezeichnet werden. In Anlehnung an Löbel (1986:12-15) erwähnt Kątny (2019:182) vier große Gruppen solcher Quantoren, und zwar: (i) Standardmaße: z.B. *Elle* (Stoff), *Hektar*, *Kilo*, *Pfund*, *Klaster* (Holz), *Maß* (Bier), *Unze* (Gold), (ii) unbestimmte Mengenangaben: z.B. *Dosis* (Medizin), *Prise* (Salz), *Schluck* (Tee), *Schuss* (Weinbrand), (iii) Behälternomina: *Fass*, *Glas*, *Flasche*, *Kiste*, *Korb*, *Sack*, (iv) Numerativa: *Blatt*, *Bogen* (Papier), *Brocken*, *Bündel*, *Haufen*, *Knäuel* (Wolle), *Laib*, *Riegel*, *Tafel* (Schokolade), *Scheibe* (Wurst), *Schnitte*, *Zehe* (Knoblauch).

Gewisse Probleme bezüglich der Akzeptabilität bereitet in (14) und (15) die Verbindung des Imperfektivums *pić* ‘trinken’ mit dem partitiven Genitiv. Wenn das Produkt / die Substanz ohne jegliche Mengenangabe steht wie *on pil kawy* ‘er trank *Kaffees’ in (15), ist die Konstruktion bei minimalem Kontext (= das zweiseitige Vollverb im Prädikat nur mit seinen beiden obligatorischen Ergänzungen) in jeder Zeitstufe und in jedem Modus regelkonform unzulässig:

- (15) a. **On pil / pije / będzie pil wody / kawy / herbaty / soku / wódki.*
‘*Er trank / trinkt / wird Wassers / Kaffees / Tees / Saftes / Wodkas
trinken.’,
- (15) b. **On pilby wody / kawy / herbaty / soku / wódki.*
‘*Er hätte / würde Wassers / Kaffees / Tees / Saftes / Wodkas
getrunken / trinken.’,
- (15) c. **Pij wody / kawy / herbaty / soku / wódki!*
‘*Trink(e) Wassers / Kaffees / Tees / Saftes / Wodkas!’.

Wird ein Quantor (und eine Angabe, zumeist eine temporale ^{TEMP}) hinzugefügt, was sich auf die imperfektive Qualität des Verbs nicht auswirkt, gilt die Regel nicht mehr:

- (15) d. *On pil^{IMP} trochę/nieco/dużo wody / kawy / herbaty / soku / mleka / wódki.*
‘*Er trank etwas/ein wenig/viel Wassers / Kaffees / Tees / Saftes / Milch / Wodkas.’,
- (15) e. *W czasie choroby^{TEMP} on pil dużo wody / kawy / herbaty / soku / mleka.*
‘*Während seiner Krankheit trank er viel Wassers / Kaffees / Tees / Saftes / Milch.’,
- (15) f. *W czasie choroby^{TEMP} pij dużo wody / kawy / herbaty / soku / mleka!*
‘*Trink während der Krankheit viel Wassers / Kaffees / Tees / Saftes / Milch!’,
- (15) g. *Zawsze gdy był chory^{TEMP}, pil dużo wody / kawy / herbaty / soku / mleka.*
‘*Immer wenn er krank war, trank er viel Wassers / Kaffees / Tees / Saftes.’,
- (15) h. *Zawsze gdy jesteś chory^{TEMP}, pij dużo wody / kawy / herbaty / soku / mleka.*
‘*Immer wenn du krank bist, trink viel Wassers / Kaffees / Tees / Saftes / Milch!’.

Die bereits erwähnte Akzeptabilitätsfrage betrifft Konstruktionen wie (14)a., wo die beschriebene Handlung im Unterschied zu (15)e. – (15)h. von sehr kurzer Dauer ist:

- (14) a. *?Gdy weszła do pokoju^{TEMP}, on pil właśnie trochę wody.*
 ‘Als sie das Zimmer betrat, trank er soeben etwas Wasser.’

Es fragt sich nur, ob Aussagen über die Menge in solch einem situativen Kontext möglich sind und ob sie somit den Gebrauch des Quantors zulassen. Aber grammatisch, stilistisch oder kommunikativ-pragmatisch ist an dem Satz nichts auszusetzen.

Der Geltungsbereich der behandelten Regel ist in der einschlägigen Literatur zweifelsohne viel zu weit aufgefasst; für sprachkontrastive Studien ist die Regel nicht präzise genug – ebenso ist sie für den Bereich der Fremdsprachendidaktik und der Übersetzungspraxis potentiell irreführend. Wie ich hier zu zeigen suchte, handelt es sich um eine schwache Regel, die nur für genitivische Nominalphrasen ohne Mengenangabe gilt.

Aus dem Obigen darf wiederum nicht geschlussfolgert werden, dass perfektive Formen derselben Konsumptiva und Possessiva anstelle des valenzgefährdeten Akkusativs den partitiven Genitiv einer Stoffbezeichnung ohne Quantor uneingeschränkt zulassen, was Beispiele in (16) suggerieren mögen. Die folgenden Konstruktionen in (18) scheinen das Gegenteil zu beweisen – die Akzeptabilität schwankt je nach Verbbedeutung, Stoffbezeichnung und nach der Art der hier nicht expliziten Mengenangabe:

- (18) *Kupilem^{PF} wodę/?wody, piwo/*piwa, herbatę/*herbaty, kawę/*kawy, sok/*soku, jogurt/*jogurtu.*
 ‘Ich habe Wasser/?Wassers, Bier/*Bieres, Tee/*Tees, Kaffee/*Kaffees, Saft/*Saftes, Joghurt/*Joghurts gekauft.’

Bei dem perfektiven Possessivum *kupić* in (18) scheint nur die Verbindung mit der genitivischen Stoffbezeichnung *wody* ‘Wassers’ zulässig zu sein, denn diese kommt in der Allgemeinsprache in diversen Kontexten häufig vor – die Struktur ist weit verbreitet und ihre partitive Qualität dürfte auch ohne entsprechenden Quantor (im Sinne von *trochę* ‘etwas, ein wenig’ bzw. *dużo* ‘viel’) erkennbar sein. Ferner liegt dies womöglich auch darin begründet, dass sich dieses Massennomen mit unterschiedlichen quantifizierten Nomina kombinieren lässt – die genitivische Form dürfte also auditiv häufiger registriert und gebraucht werden, ohne dass dabei Partitivität bewusst kodiert wird. Hingegen werden beim Einkauf der weiter unten erwähnten Stoffe und Produkte nur ganz wenige entsprechende Behälternomina mit

vorangestellten Numeralia oder Standardmaße genannt. Als Akkusativergänzungen ohne Quantor können sie dieselbe, dem Genitiv gleiche partitive Bedeutung tragen, die situationsadäquat identifiziert werden kann:

kupić piwo – 1) = ein Fass/eine Flasche/Dose Bier; 2) = ein Liter usw. Bier; 3) = (unbestimmte Menge von) Bier als Produkt, Lebensmittel;

kupić herbatę / kawę – 1) eine Packung/ein Päckchen Tee/Kaffee im Handel; 2) Tee/Kaffee als Genuss-/Lebensmittel; 3) eine Tasse/ein Glas Tee/Kaffee in der Gastronomie;

kupić sok – 1) = ein Glas/eine Flasche Saft; 2) = ein Liter usw. Saft; 3) = (unbestimmte Menge von) Saft als Produkt/Lebensmittel;

Mangels aktueller quantitativer Untersuchungen zum Sprachgebrauch können diesbezüglich nur Mutmaßungen angestellt werden. Als sicher gilt, dass die akkusativische Form – im Unterschied zum Genitiv – mit keinerlei stilistischer Markierung oder mit Akzeptabilitätsschwankungen einhergeht.

Das Konsumptivum *wypić* in (19) ‘austrinken, restlos, bis zum letzten Tropfen trinken’ als perfektive Variante von *pić* schließt den Gebrauch des partitiven Genitivs ohne Quantor semantisch und logisch aus:

- (19) *Wypilem^{PF} wodę/*wody, piwo/*piwa, herbatę/*herbaty, kawę/*kawy, sok/*soku, jogurt/*jogurtu, mleko/*mleka.*
 ‘Ich habe (das) Wasser / *Wassers, (das) Bier / *Bier(e)s, (den) Tee / *Tees, (den) Kaffee / *Kaffes, (den) Saft / *Saftes, (den) Joghurt / *Joghurts, (die) Milch / Milch ausgetrunken.’

Die partitive Lesart überzeugt erst in der Verbindung des Genitivs mit dem Perfektivum *napić się* in (20), das im Deutschen kein äquivalentes Verballexem besitzt und dessen Bedeutung sich in etwa nur mit dem Ausdruck ‘eine unbestimmte Menge einer Flüssigkeit trinken, zu sich nehmen’ paraphrasieren lässt:

- (20) *Napilem się^{PF} wody, piwa, herbaty, kawy, soku, jogurtu, mleka.*
 ‘Ich habe etwas Wasser / Bier / Tee / Kaffee / Saft / Joghurt / Milch getrunken.’

Der Akkusativ darf hier nicht zugewiesen werden, weil die Genitivrektion wie bei vielen verbalen *na*-Präfigierungen obligatorisch ist¹⁵, und die Par-

¹⁵ Zu erwähnen sind hier folgende Verben, die im heutigen Polnisch den Genitiv fordern (vgl. Tytuła/Losiak 2008:25). Wie in Anm. 11 sind auch in dieser Zu-

titivität braucht nicht lexikalisch explizit gemacht zu werden – sie ist der Verbbedeutung immanent.

Die Regel muss also auch bezüglich des Gebrauchs des partitiven Genitivs mit den Perfektiva präzisiert werden – andernfalls ist sie (auch sprachdidaktisch) unbrauchbar. Möglich wird das aufgrund einer gründlichen Analyse von verbalen Aspektpaaren (wie *kupować^{IPF}* – *kupić^{PF}*) bzw. Gruppen von aspektuell gekennzeichneten synonymen Verben wie *pić^{IPF}* – *wypić^{PF}*, *napić się^{PF}*. Dass die Kategorie des Aspekts allein zur Klärung des partitiven Genitivs bei den Perfektiva mit regelmäßiger Akkusativ-Genitiv-Opposition nicht ausreicht, konstatieren auch Saloni/Świdziński (1998:162).

4. Vermeintlicher partitiver Genitiv und ähnliche Strukturen

Der Vergleich von (19) und (20) legt die Vermutung nahe, dass es sich bei (18) um eine Form des im gesprochenen Polnisch häufigen Rektionsfehlers handelt – der Genitiv verdrängt oft den Akkusativ. Diese starke Ten-

sammenstellung dieselben verbalen Aspektpaare (Imperfektivität vs. Perfektivität/Aoristizität) mit berücksichtigt: *bać się* ['sich fürchten', 'Angst haben'], *brakować/braknąć* ['fehlen', 'mangeln'], *chcieć* ['wollen', 'Lust haben'; 'wünschen'], *dokonywać/dokonać* ['vollbringen', 'zustande bringen'], *dotyczyć* ['betreffen', 'anbelangen'], *dotykać/dotknąć* ['berühren'], *doznawać/doznać* ['erleiden', 'erfahren', 'empfinden'], *lękąć się* ['sich fürchten', 'sich scheuen'], *obawiać się* ['sich fürchten'], *oczekiwać* ['erwarten'], *odmawiać/odmówić* ['verweigern', 'abschlagen', 'ablehnen'], *pilnować* ['überwachen', 'achtgeben'], *potrzebować* ['brauchen', 'bedürfen'], *pragnąć* ['begehrn'], *próbować/spróbować* ['probieren', 'kosten'], *słuchać* ['hören'], *spodziewać się* ['erwarten', 'erhoffen'], *szukać/poszukać* ['suchen'], *uczyć się/nauczyć się* ['lernen'], *udzielać/udzielić* ['erteilen', 'gewähren', 'zukommen lassen'], *używać/użyć* ['anwenden', 'benutzen'], 'Gebrauch machen'], *wymagać* ['erfordern', 'verlangen'], *wstydzić się* ['sich schämen'], *wystarczać/wystarczyć* ['ausreichen', 'genügen'], *zabraniać/zabronić* ['untersagen'], *zakazywać/zakazać* ['verbieten'], *zapominać/zapomnieć* ['vergessen'], *zazdrościć* ['beneiden', 'missgönnen'], *żałować* ['bereuen', 'bedauern'], *życzyć* ['wünschen']. Die Genitivrektion kennzeichnet außerdem zahlreiche verbale Derivate mit den Präfixen *do-* sowie *na-*, wodurch die Verballexeme die zusätzlichen semantischen Komponenten erhalten 'etwas hinzufügen', 'um etwas ergänzen', 'ein Ziel erreichen', 'ausreichende Menge von etwas sammeln', z.B.: *dokupić* ['hinzukaufen'], *dolać* ['zugießen'], *dosypać* ['(hin)zuschütten', 'vollschrütteln'], *doczekać się* ['warten', 'erleben'], *naczytać się* ['sich satt/müde lesen'], *nagadać* ['viel reden', 'jdm die Ohren vollreden'], *naopowiadać* ['allerlei erzählen', 'zusammenerzählen'], *naznosić* ['viele Gegenstände zusammentragen'].

denz betrifft in erster Linie die unbelebten Maskulina, deren singularische Deklinationsformen im Nominativ und Akkusativ identisch sind und im Genitiv Singular das Flexionssuffix *-a* bekommen, z.B.:

- (21) *Jadłem^{IPF} / Zjadłem^{PF} kotlet^{AKK}/kotleta^{GEN}, sznycel^{AKK}/schnycela^{GEN}, cukierek^{AKK}/cukierka^{GEN}, pomidor^{AKK}/pomidora^{GEN}, ogórek^{AKK}/ogórka^{GEN}, bakłażan^{AKK}/bakłażana^{GEN}, banan^{AKK}/banana^{GEN}, ananas^{AKK}/ananas^{GEN}.*
 ‘Ich habe das/ein Schnitzel, die/eine Praline, die/eine Tomate, die/eine Gurke, die/eine Aubergine, die/eine Banane, die/eine Ananas gegessen.’
- (22) *Pilem^{IPF} / Wypilem^{PF} drink^{AKK}/drinka^{GEN}, szampan^{AKK}/szampana^{GEN}, scotch (skocz)^{AKK}/scotcha (skocza)^{GEN}, shake^{AKK}/shake'a^{GEN}, burbon^{AKK}/burbona?^{GEN}.*
 ‘Ich habe einen/den Drink, (einen/den) Champagner/Sekt, einen/den Scotch, einen/den Shake, einen/den Bourbon (zu Ende^{PF}) getrunken.’
- (23) *Palilem^{IPF} / Wypalilem^{PF} papieros^{AKK}/papierosa^{GEN}, skręp^{AKK}/skręta^{GEN}, joint^{AKK}/jointa^{GEN}.*
 ‘Ich habe eine/die Zigarette, einen/den Joint (zu Ende^{PF}) geraucht.’

Obwohl hier imperfektive und perfektive Konsumptiva vorliegen, sind beide Kasusformen zulässig – die genitivische wird in der AlltagsSprache sogar bevorzugt, während der Akkusativ als abweichend empfunden wird. Dies resultiert aus der Unsicherheit der Sprecher bezüglich des Kasusgebrauchs¹⁶ – der Genitiv wird gewählt, um die Kasusambiguität zwischen dem Nominativ und dem Akkusativ zu vermeiden bzw. um deutlich zu machen, dass es sich nicht um die nominativische Form handelt. Als funktionale Opposition „nicht-partitiver Akkusativ – partitiver Genitiv“ werden solche Strukturen in der einschlägigen Literatur nicht diskutiert, auch dann nicht, wenn diese nach Zuweisung des Quantors *trochę, (co) nieco, odrobinę* ‘etwas, ein wenig, ein bisschen’ in (21) und (22) offensichtlich ist.¹⁷

¹⁶ Davon zeugen seit Jahren zahlreiche Anfragen an die Sprachberatungsabteilungen der wissenschaftlichen Verlage (vgl. z.B.: poradnia językowa PWN, <http://sjp.pwn.pl/poradnia>; letzter Zugriff: 23.07.2021) und der philologischen Universitätsfakultäten (vgl. z.B.: www.fil.ug.edu.pl/wydzial_filologiczny/instytutu/instytut_filologii_polskiej/porady_językowe/pozostale_uzgodnienia_skladniowe; letzter Zugriff: 23.07.2021) sowie an öffentliche und private Internetforen (vgl. z.B.: www.jezykowedyematy.pl/2012/08/pije-kawe-ale-szukam-kawy-dlaczego-rozne-przypadki/; letzter Zugriff: 23.07.2021).

¹⁷ Wegen ihrer Zählbarkeit dürfen die Individualnomina in (23) nur mit Numeralia direkt verbunden sein.

Genau denselben Mechanismus beobachten wir bei den Konstruktionen mit den unbelebten Maskulina zur Bezeichnung neuester technologischer Errungenschaften (zumeist Anglizismen), in denen der partitive Genitiv semantisch ausgeschlossen ist.¹⁸ Obwohl die Akkusativ(Nominativ)-Genitiv-Opposition in den obigen Beispielen (21) – (23) nicht funktional bedingt ist und gegen die Normen des Sprachsystems verstößt, ist die Neigung zu einer besonderen Kasusmarkierung so stark, dass sich alle obigen Verbindungen (nahezu als normgerecht) in der Schriftlichkeit etabliert haben.¹⁹

Trotz fehlender quantitativer Untersuchungen können wir nicht ausschließen, dass der Genitiv in (21) – (23) nicht intendiert in der partitiven Funktion verwendet wird, sondern dass er hier lediglich die Tendenz zur normwidrigen, oft aus defizitärer sprachlicher Kompetenz resultierenden Ausweitung exemplifiziert. (i) Zum einen dürfte sie durch die Omnipräsenz dieses Kasus im heutigen Polnisch begünstigt werden – selbst in der Schriftlichkeit weist der Genitiv die höchste Frequenz von allen Kasus auf (vgl. z.B. Nagórko 1998:98).²⁰ Mit hohem Vorkommen geht gewöhnlich eine höhere Automatisierung bestimmter Formen einher, auch der fehlerhaften. (ii) Zum anderen ist diese Tendenz nicht zuletzt auf die sprachsystematische Charakteristik des

¹⁸ In den normativen Bearbeitungen gelten die in der Oralität üblichen genitivischen Formen weiterhin als unzulässig: *prowadzić vloga, bloga* ('das/den vlog, Weblog/Blog führen'); *pisać/wysyłać/dostać/odpowiadać na SMSa, maila* ('die/das SMS, E-Mail schreiben, schicken, erhalten, beantworten'); *kupić smartfona, laptopa, e-booka* ('das Smartphon(e), den/das Laptop, das E-Book kaufen'); *zainstalować windowsa, antywirusa* ('das Windows, die Antivirensoftware installieren') (vgl. das Große Online-Wörterbuch der polnischen Sprache <https://wsjp.pl>; letzter Zugriff: 23.07.2021).

¹⁹ Die kontroversen sprechsprachlichen Entwicklungstendenzen betreffen auch den normwidrigen Gebrauch von akkusativischen Formen anstelle des valenzgeforderten Genitivs, z.B. *chcieć czego^{GEN}/co^{AKK}* 'wollen/wünschen etw.', *używać czego^{GEN}/co^{AKK}* 'etw. gebrauchen/benutzen/anwenden/verwenden', *dotykać czego^{GEN}/co^{AKK}* 'etw. anfassen/berühren', *dostarczać czego^{GEN}/co^{AKK}* 'etw. liefern', *przestrzegać czego^{GEN}/co^{AKK}* 'etw. beachten/befolgen/wahren' (vgl. z.B. Nagórko 1998:99).

²⁰ Der Grund hierfür liegt in der besonders hohen Frequenz der Genitivattribute. Die Forscherin weist jedoch auch auf eine entgegengesetzte Tendenz in den Sprachgewohnheiten der Polen von heute hin – die normgerechten valenzgeforderten Genitivstrukturen, darunter auch die mit der partitiven Qualität bei den *do-* und *na-*präfigierten Verben, würden verstärkt durch den Akkusativ verdrängt (Nagórko 1998:276).

Genitivs, seine im Vergleich zu allen weiteren Kasus große syntaktische und semantische Multifunktionalität zurückzuführen, die sich weiterhin einer befriedigenden linguistischen Erfassung entzieht (vgl. z.B. Heinz 1988:283; 287-288). Seine Deklination zeigt im Polnischen sein Janusgesicht. Formidentitäten zwischen Genitiv und Akkusativ im Singular der meisten belebten Maskulina bekunden starke Affinität der beiden Kasus (vgl. Tytuła/Łosiak 2008:52); Formidentitäten zwischen Akkusativ und Nominativ bei den unbelebten scheinen diese in Frage zu stellen, wobei es auch diesbezüglich zahlreiche Ausnahmen gibt. Schwankungen in der Genitiv-Deklination und Unsicherheit bei der Wahl entsprechender Suffixe haben ihre Wurzeln auch in der Homonymie im weiteren Sinne dieses Begriffs. Bedeutungsunterschiede zwischen den homophonen und homographen Maskulina werden im Genitiv Singular (manchmal im Plural) durch unterschiedliche Endungen ausgedrückt, z.B.:

- *przypadka* ‘des Kasus’, *przypadku*¹⁾‘des Zufalls; ²⁾des Falls’;
- *bala* ‘der Bohle’ – *bali* ‘der Bohlen’, *balu* ‘des Balls (Tanzveranstaltung)’ – *balów* ‘der Bälle’;
- *zamka*¹⁾‘des Schlosses (an der Tür); ²⁾des Schnappverschlusses; ³⁾des Reißverschlusses’; *zamku* ‘des Schlossgebäudes’;
- *mula* ‘des Maultiers’, *mułu* ‘des Schlamms’;
- *modela* ‘des (männlichen) Models’, *modelu* ‘des Modells, Musters’.

Diese Flexionsformen werden in der Alltagssprache oft verwechselt (vgl. z.B. NSPP 1999:1644; weiter auch: Nagórko 1998:133)²¹⁾.

Nicht anders verhält es sich mit den partiell synonymen Verben, die den Akkusativ, gelegentlich auch einen anderen Kasus, z.B. den Instrumentalis(^{= INST}), fordern, und nicht zuletzt mit den verbalen Aspektpaaren. Ihre

²¹⁾ Die Verwechslungsgefahr bei den homonymen Verben, „bei denen die Verwendung der Akkusativ- oder der Genitivergänzung mit einem Bedeutungsunterschied verbunden ist, z.B. *naby(wa)ć*_{<akk>} ‘erwerben, kaufen’ und *naby(wa)ć*_{<gen>} ‘erwerben, sammeln’“ (DPG 2018:78; vgl. Belege (a) und (b) unten), scheint hingegen eher gering zu sein, weil dieses Verbpaar als (i) stilistisch gehoben bzw. als fachsprachlich markiert einzustufen ist, (ii) die geschriebene Fachkommunikation kennzeichnet und (iii) folglich in der gesprochenen Allgemeinsprache selten begegnet: (a) *Przedębiorca nabył dwa budynki*^{AKK.PL} *w centrum miasta*. ‘Der Unternehmer hat zwei Gebäude im Stadtzentrum erworben.’; (b) *Dzięki tej pracy nabył praktycznego doświadczenia*^{GEN.NEUT.SING}. ‘Dank dieser Arbeit hat er praktische Erfahrung erworben.’.

große phonische Ähnlichkeit, manchmal sehr geringe Bedeutungsunterschiede zwischen den einzelnen Verben dürften vor allem in der gesprochenen Allgemeinsprache ebenfalls zu Verwechslungen (Übergeneralisierungen) führen und die entsprechenden Strukturen fehleranfällig machen. In fast allen folgenden Verbindungen des Verbs *jeść* ‘essen’ und seiner zahlreichen Derivate kann der Genitiv sprechsprachlich alternativ zum regelkonformen Rektionskasus (Akkusativ) auftreten, ohne dass man ihn als partitiv interpretieren kann,²² z.B.:

- (24) *jeść^{IPF} kartofle^{AKK.PL}/*kartofli^{GEN.PL}*
- (24) a. *zjadac^{IPF} kartofle^{AKK.PL}/*kartofli^{GEN.PL}* ‘Kartoffeln aufessen’,
- (24) b. *zjeść^{IPF} kartofle^{AKK.PL}/*kartofli^{GEN.PL}* ‘Kartoffeln verspeisen’,
- (24) c. *dojadac^{IPF} / dojeść^{IPF} kartofle^{AKK.PL}/*kartofli^{GEN.PL}* ‘Kartoffeln aufessen, ohne etwas davon zurückzulassen’,
- (24) d. *najadać się^{IPF} kartoflami^{INST.PL}/*kartofli^{GEN.PL}* ‘(sehr) viel Kartoffeln (bis zur Sättigung) essen’,
- (24) e. *najeść się^{IPF} kartoflami^{INST.PL}/*kartofli^{GEN.PL}* ‘(sehr) viel Kartoffeln (bis zur Sättigung) essen’,
- (24) f. *najeść się^{IPF} chlebem^{INST.MASK.SING}/chleba^{MASK.GEN.SING}* (sehr) viel Brot (bis zur Sättigung) essen’,
- (24) g. *najeść się^{IPF} strachu^{GEN.MASK.SING}* ‘Angst haben/bekommen’,
- (24) h. *objadać się^{IPF} wiśniami^{INST.PL}/*wiśni^{GEN.PL}* ‘sehr viel Kirschen essen’,
- (24) i. *objeść się^{IPF} wiśniami^{INST.PL}/wiśni^{GEN.PL}* ‘Kirschen bis zur Übersättigung essen; sich vollessen’.

Die Zulässigkeit des Genitivgebrauchs – bei den Aspektpaaren besonders auffallend – schwankt beträchtlich und lässt sich mit Hilfe des bereits geschilderten sehr spärlichen Regelwerks zu dessen partitiver Lesart nur eingeschränkt begründen. Dass alle obigen Genitivstrukturen, auch die in übertragener Bedeutung wie (24)g., mit dem Quantor *trocę* ‘etwas’ in jeder Hinsicht völlig korrekt sind, ist offensichtlich. Genitivische Formen sind markiert, sie stechen hervor – kommen sie oft vor, prägen sie sich schnell ein, werden einfach automatisiert und können infolge der Über-

²² Die durch Fragezeichen im oberen Index gekennzeichneten Verbindungen gelten in den normativen Bearbeitungen (vgl. z.B. NSPP 1999) als selten aber zulässig.

generalisierung normwidrig eingesetzt werden. Partitivität wird in viele genitivische Strukturen lediglich aufgrund der Formgleichheit hineininterpretiert – der vermeintliche partitive Genitiv entpuppt sich als eine Über-generalisierung. Der oft zitierte Satz

- (25) a. *Proszę nalać mi herbaty*^{GEN.FEM.SING} ‘Schenken Sie mir bitte *Tees ein’
wird von Bańko als partitive Opposition zu

(25) b. *Proszę nalać mi herbatę*^{AKK.FEM.SING} ‘Schenken Sie mir bitte Tee ein’
dargestellt mit der Begründung, beim Genitiv handle es sich um eine unbestimmte Menge im Sinne von „etwas“ bzw. derjenige, der den Tee einschenkt, möge die Menge nach freiem Ermessen selbst bestimmen. Mit der akkusativen Form soll der Sprecher angeblich zu verstehen geben, dass er sich den ganzen Tee, eine vielleicht früher aus unbekannten oder unklaren Ursachen abgemessene Menge von Tee wünscht (<https://sjp.pwn.pl/poradnia/haslo/dopelniacz-czastkowy;13558.html>; letzter Zugriff: 23.07.2021). Die Interpretation überzeugt nicht, insbesondere die des Akkusativs. Beide Formen meinen dasselbe, und die genitivische Variante des Nomens klingt natürlich, weil sie wegen der Verwendung diverser Mengenangaben (also in partitiver Funktion) unvergleichbar häufiger vorkommt als der Akkusativ. Formgleichheit darf nicht automatisch als Gleichheit der Funktion interpretiert werden. Außerdem wirkt der Genitiv in Verbindung mit einigen Akkusativverben bedeutungsdifferenzierend. Referiert das Nomen *herbata* ‘Tee’ auf handelsüblich verpackte Ware, dekliniert es regelkonform, wohingegen *Tee* als Aufguss in beiden Kasus erscheinen kann:

- (26) a. *Przynieś herbatę*^{AKK.SING}! ‘Hol einen/den Tee’ [eine/die/mehrere Packung/-en Tee, eine/die/mehrere Flasche/-n Teegetränk],
(26) b. *Przynieś herbatę*^{GEN.SING} / *herbatę*^{AKK.SING}! ‘Hol einen/den Tee’
[Aufguss in Gläsern, Tassen usw.].

Wie aus den Beispielen ersichtlich, sind Mengenangaben und Informationen über Gattung, Qualität, Art des Produktes usw. völlig irrelevant. Flexionsformen werden genauso wie bei den homonymen unbelebten Maskulina genutzt, um semantische und nicht funktionale Oppositionen zum Ausdruck zu bringen (vgl. z.B. Nagórko 1998:133). Dass allerdings die genitivische Form in (26)b. im Vergleich zum Akkusativ den Einfluss des weniger gepflegten umgangssprachlichen Stils verspüren lässt, leuchtet wohl jedem polnischen Muttersprachler ein. Darin manifestiert

sich die besondere und so schwer erfassbare Potenz des Genitivs, seine Multifunktionalität.

Das Polnische verfügt außerdem über Verben, z.B. *spytać* also die perfektive Variante von *pytać* ‘fragen’, „bei denen Akkusativ- und Genitivvergänzung frei und ohne Bedeutungsunterschied austauschbar sind [...]: *Spytał siostrę^[AKK.FEM.SING]* / *siostry^[GEN.FEM.SING]*, *co tu robi*. ‘er fragte seine Schwester, was sie hier mache’“ (DPG 2018:78). Die genitivische Form der meisten Feminina in dieser Funktion (z.B. *matki* ‘Mutter’, *ciotki* ‘Tante’, *babki/babci* ‘Großmutter/Oma’, *koleżanki* ‘Kollegin’, *sąsiadki* ‘Nachbarin’), auch der femininen Geburts- und Familiennamen (z.B. *Kowalskiej* ‘Fräulein/Frau Kowalska’, *Nowakówny/Nowakowej* ‘Fräulein/Frau Nowak’) sowie zahlreicher Vornamen (z.B. *Iwony* ‘Yvonne’, *Beaty* ‘Beate’) werden vor allem in der Umgangssprache registriert und stellen quantitativ gar keine Randerscheinung dar. Auch diese Struktur exemplifiziert die Omnipräsenz des Genitivs in der gesprochenen (Alltags-)Sprache dar und dürfte die Verwechslung beider Kasus wahrscheinlich machen.

Vielen Aspekten des partitiven Genitivs, insbesondere geht es um dessen Präsenz und Vorkommensfrequenz im heutigen Polnisch sowie um dessen Kompatibilität mit den Imperfektiva, gilt es wiederholt linguistisch auf den Grund zu gehen, um dessen bisherige nicht befriedigende Beschreibung zu ergänzen und vor allem zu präzisieren, denn Allgemeinheit der Deskription kann man als schwerwiegender Vorwurf auffassen. Aus der obigen Schilderung geht außerdem hervor, dass die Rolle des Tempusgebrauchs (die meisten Belege sind in den linguistischen Darstellungen entweder temporal unbestimmt oder in der Vergangenheitsform ausgedrückt) und die des Modus (Imperativ) in die (korpusbasierten) Analysen mit einbezogen und detailliert erforscht werden sollen. Eine aktuelle und präzise Darstellung des Problems hat einen nicht zu überschätzenden Gebrauchswert für die Sprachkontrastivik, für die Übersetzung und nicht zuletzt für die Fremdsprachendidaktik. Wenn die Struktur tatsächlich häufig begegnet und kommunikativ relevant ist, soll sie dementsprechend in Hinweisen für die Übersetzung sowie in Lehr- und Lernmaterialien präsent sein.

5. Ausgewählte Wiedergabemöglichkeiten im Deutschen

Es fragt sich zuallererst, ob und wie man die partitive Qualität des polnischen Genitivs – falls sie tatsächlich intendiert ist – im Deutschen wiedergeben kann, wenn er mittels Nominalphrasen ohne Quantoren im wei-

ten Sinne dieses Begriffs ausgedrückt ist.²³ In der einschlägigen Literatur finden wir nichts Verbindliches.²⁴ Als Hauptfunktion dieser spezifischen Form des Genitivs in funktionaler Opposition zum Akkusativ gilt Partitivität und/oder unbestimmte Quantität (EJO 1999:194), Indefinitheit (z.B. Kątny 2019:185) quantitative Indeterminiertheit (Gladrow 1979:162). Sie wird nur auf zweierlei Weise realisiert: (i) lexikalisch zumeist mit dem Indefinitum *etwas* oder (ii) attributiv mit der Präposition *von* + DAT_[+def] in der Bedeutung ‘ein unbestimmter Teil/eine unbestimmte Menge vom Ganzen’ (z.B.: *vom Kaffee trinken*, *vom Käse / von der Torte essen*), wobei diese Variante – da stilistisch unschön – seltener und vor allem in linguistischen Darstellungen als quasi-metasprachlicher Ausdruck vorkommt. Beide Varianten sind nicht zufriedenstellend.

Der Nullartikel kann die partitive Qualität des Genitivs übernehmen, wenn dieser Kasus als Objekt von einigen polnischen Perfektiva mit dem Präfix *na-* gefordert wird. Solche Verben drücken eine in Einzelakte gegliederte Handlung aus, deren Ergebnis eine unbestimmte große Quantität ist (vgl. Beispiele (27) – (30) zit. nach Kątny 2019:186):

- (27) *nadyktować^{PF}* (*wiele*) *listów^{GEN.PL}* ‘viele Briefe diktieren’,
- (28) *nalowić^{PF}* (*wiele*) *ryb^{GEN.PL}* ‘viele Fische fangen’,
- (29) *nakraść^{PF}* (*mnóstwo*) *pieniądzy^{GEN.PL}* ‘viel/eine Menge Geld stehlen’,
- (30) *naprzywozić^{PF}* (*wiele*) *zboża^{GEN.SING}* ‘viel Getreide heranfahren’.

Die Mengenangaben (z.B. *viel(e)*, *eine Menge*) sind im Polnischen zwar fakultativ, im Deutschen aber heben sie das Ergebnis der Handlung hervor, drücken die Bedeutungsschattierungen etwas besser aus und helfen diese Perfektiva von ihren imperfectiven Pendants zu unterscheiden, die – das

²³ In Anlehnung an Krifka (1989:228-231) bezeichnet Kątny solche Nomina als nicht-spezifische (kumulative, atelische) Massennomina. Dank einer zugewiesenenzählbaren Messeinheit, einem Quantor (gemeint sind hier: der bestimmte Artikel, Numeralia, quantifizierendes Nomen) werden solche Nomina spezifisch quantifiziert (gequantelt, telisch) und können als Individualnomina aufgefasst werden (Kątny 2019:183).

²⁴ Die partitive Qualität des Genitivs wird in der „Grammatik des Polnischen“ von Bartnicka et al. (2004:533) konsequent mit dem Nullartikel signalisiert, z.B.: *Zjadłem rybę. – Zjadłem ryby.* ‘Ich habe den Fisch gegessen. – Ich habe Fisch gegessen.’, *Wypiłem herbatę – Wypiłem herbaty.* ‘Ich habe den Tee getrunken. – Ich habe Tee getrunken.’, *Daj mi masło! – Daj mi masła!* ‘Gib mir die Butter! – Gib mir Butter!’. Es gilt also das Muster AKK_[+def] – GEN_[Ø].

Verb *naprzywozić* ausgenommen – den Genitiv nur mit einem Partitiv-Quantor zulassen:

- (31) *dyktować^{IPF} listy^{AKK.PL} / *listów^{GEN.PL} / wiele listów^{GEN.PL}*
‘viele Briefe diktieren’,
- (32) *łowić^{IPF} ryby^{AKK.PL} / *ryb^{GEN.PL} / wiele ryb^{GEN.PL}* ‘viele Fische fangen’,
- (33) *kraść^{IPF} pieniędze^{AKK.PL} / *pieniędzy^{GEN.PL} / mnóstwo pienędzi^{GEN.PL}*
‘eine Menge Geld stehlen’,
- (34) *przywozić^{IPF} zboże^{AKK.SING} / ?zboża^{GEN.SING} / wiele zboża^{GEN.SING}*
‘viel Getreide heranfahren’.

Wie aber aus den obigen Beispielen (27) – (30) und (31) – (34) ersichtlich, lassen sich die polnischen Konstellationen *na*-Verb^{PF} + (Quantor +) NOM^{GEN} und Verb^{IPF} + Quantor + NOM^{GEN} im Deutschen nicht voneinander unterscheiden.

Auf ähnliche Probleme stoßen wir bei den weiteren perfektiven Akkusativverben. Zahlreiche Linguisten vertreten den Standpunkt, dass dieser Aspekt im Deutschen mit dem bestimmten Artikel signalisiert werden darf (vgl. Beispiele (35) – (39) in Kątny 2019:185):

- (35) *Wein trinken (pic^{IPF} wino),*
- (36) *den Wein trinken, ein Glas Wein trinken (wypić^{IPF} wino, kieliszek wina),*
- (37) *täglich ein Glas Wein trinken (wypijać^{IPF} codziennie kieliszek wina),*
- (38) *Brot essen (jeść^{IPF} chleb),*
- (39) *das Brot essen (zjeść^{IPF} chleb).*

Die der Verbindung Verb^{PF} + AKK_[+def.] zugeschriebene determinierende Funktion ist hier plausibel, aber es lassen sich krassé Gegenbeispiele²⁵ auch aus dem Polnisch-Deutschen anführen; in (40) – (41) sind nämlich alle deutschsprachigen Äquivalente der obigen Faustregel zuwider zulässig und entsprechen semantisch ihren polnischsprachigen Vorlagen:

- (40) *Kupiles^{PF} / Przyniosłeś^{PF} sok / wino / mleko / śmietanę / kaszę / cukier / jabłka / śliwki / banany?*
‘Hast du Saft / Wein / Milch / Sahne / Grütze / Zucker / Äpfel / Zwetschgen / Bananen gekauft / gebracht?’

²⁵ Dass diese Interpretation nicht ausnahmslos ist, beweist u.a. Gladrow (1979:156-157).

- (41) *Przywieźli^{PF} węgiel / piasek / benzynę / paliwo / olej / drewno.*
 ‘Sie haben Kohle / Sand / Benzin / Brennstoff / Öl / Holz gebracht.’
- (42) *Ugotowałam^{PF} ryż / kartofle / zupę / kaszkę / pudding.*
 ‘Ich habe Reis / Kartoffeln / Suppe / Brei / Pudding gekocht.’

Die kumulative Charakteristik der akkusativen Nomina (nicht-spezifisch, indefinit) schließt die perfekte Interpretation des Verbs nicht aus. Alles scheint also dafür zu sprechen, dass die determinierende Funktion der Verbindung Verb^{PF} + AKK_[+def.] wie in (36) und (39) durch andere Merkmale determiniert ist – höchstwahrscheinlich durch die Verbsemantik.

Aufgrund der perfektiven Qualität der Verben in (43) – (45) kann der Akkusativ in allen Sätzen durch den partitiven Genitiv ersetzt werden; da er hier ebenfalls als nicht-spezifisch/indefinit charakterisiert wird, muss er im Deutschen genauso wiedergegeben werden, also durch die Nominalphrasen mit dem Merkmal AKK_[-def]:

- (43) *Kupiles^{PF} / Przyniosłeś^{PF} soku / wina / mleka / śmietany / kaszy / cukru / jablek / śliwek / bananów?*
 ‘Hast du Saft / Wein / Milch / Sahne / Grütze / Zucker / Äpfel / Zwetschgen / Bananen gekauft / gebracht/geholt?’
- (44) *Przywieźli^{PF} węgla / piasku / benzyny / paliwa / oleju / drewna.*
 ‘Sie haben Kohle / Sand / Benzin / Brennstoff / Öl / Holz gebracht.’
- (45) *Ugotowałam^{PF} ryżu / kartofli / zupy / kaszki / puddingu.*
 ‘Ich habe Reis / Kartoffeln / Suppe / Brei / Pudding gekocht.’

Der Ambiguität dürfte im Deutschen nur lexikalisch, durch entsprechende Indefinitpronomina und Quantoren, entgegengewirkt werden, wobei sie erst aufgrund einer präzisen Analyse der Verbbedeutung und des Kontextes gewählt werden können.

In (43') können fast alle polnischen Nomina mit beiden gebraucht und entsprechend im Deutschen wiedergegeben werden:

- (43') *Kupiles^{PF} / Przyniosłeś^{PF} ‘Hast du ...*
- jakiegoś / trochę soku? ‘(irgend)welchen / etwas Saft gekauft / gebracht/geholt?’
 - jakiegoś / trochę wina? ‘(irgend)welchen / etwas Wein gekauft / gebracht/geholt?’
 - trochę mleka? ‘etwas Milch gekauft / gebracht/geholt?’
 - trochę śmietany? ‘etwas Sahne gekauft / gebracht/geholt?’

- *jakiejś / trochę kaszy?* ‘(irgend)welche / etwas Grütze gekauft / gebracht/geholt?’
- *trochę cukru?* ‘etwas Zucker gekauft / gebracht/geholt?’
- *jakichś / trochę jablek?* ‘(irgend)welche / etwas Äpfel gekauft / gebracht/geholt?’
- *trochę śliwek?* ‘etwas Zwetschgen gekauft / gebracht/geholt?’
- *trochę bananów?* ‘etwas Bananen gekauft / gebracht/geholt?’

Der Gebrauch des Indefinitums ist meiner Ansicht nach umgangssprachlich markiert, aber das Pronomen spiegelt die Sprecherintention im Frage-modus wohl am besten wider.

In (44') scheint nur der Partitiv-Quantor *trochę* ‘etwas’ zulässig zu sein, denn das Verb fokussiert im Polnischen auf die Menge des Objektes, wobei der Quantor in der Bedeutung *mało, niewiele* ‘wenig’ gebraucht wird. Die Variante mit dem Indefinitum *jakisi* ‘(irgend)welch’, das vielmehr auf die Qualität, Art, Beschaffenheit u.Ä. des Produktes fokussiert, klingt stilistisch sehr ungepflegt und wird deswegen auch in der gesprochenen Allgemeinsprache gemieden – das Objekt steht dann im Akkusativ. Dies muss in die Richtung interpretiert werden, dass das Indefinitum die Rektion beeinflusst:

- (44') *Przywieźli^{PF}* ‘Sie haben ... gebracht.’
- *trochę węgla* ‘etwas Kohle’; **jakiegoś węgla^{GEN}/jakiś węgiel^{AKK}* ‘(irgend) welche Kohle’,
 - *trochę piasku* ‘etwas Sand’; **jakiegoś piasku^{GEN}/jakiś piasek^{AKK}* ‘(irgend) welchen Sand’,
 - *trochę benzyny* ‘etwas Benzin’; **jakiejś benzyny^{GEN}/jakąś benzynę^{AKK}* ‘(irgend)welches Benzin’,
 - *trochę paliwa* ‘etwas Brennstoff’; **jakiegoś paliwa^{GEN}/jakieś paliwo^{AKK}* ‘(irgend)welchen Brennstoff’,
 - *trochę oleju* ‘etwas Öl’; **jakiegoś oleju^{GEN}/jakiś olej^{AKK}* ‘(irgend)welches Öl’,
 - *trochę drewna* ‘etwas Holz’; **jakiegoś drewna^{GEN}/jakieś drewno^{AKK}* ‘(irgend)welches Holz’.

In (45') kann den Lebensmittelbezeichnungen nur der Partitiv-Quantor *trochę* ‘etwas’ höchstwahrscheinlich auch in der Bedeutung ‘wenig’, ‘nicht viel’ zugewiesen werden, obwohl es sich wie in (44') um Massennomina handelt:

- (45') *Ugotowałam^{PF}* *trochę ryżu / trochę kartofli / trochę zupy / trochę kaszki / trochę pudingu.*
 ‘Ich habe etwas Reis / etwas Kartoffeln / etwas Suppe / etwas Brei / etwas Pudding gekocht.’

Aus der obigen Analyse ergibt sich, dass die Wiedergabemöglichkeiten des polnischen partitiven Genitivs ohne zugewiesenen Quantor im Deutschen ziemlich eingeschränkt sind. Herbeigeführt ist das durch: (i) die obligatorische aspektuale Markierung aller polnischen Verballexeme, die sich mittels der Aktionsarten im deutschen Verbalsystem nur bedingt ausdrücken lassen²⁶, (ii) eine große semantische Nuancierung zahlreicher verbaler Derivate mit schwankender Kasusrektion, die selten ihre deutschsprachigen Pendants haben, (iii) unscharfe Interpretation der einzelnen Verbindungen der Akkusativverben mit diversen Massen- und Individualnomina – ihre Bedeutung scheint die Interpretation des partitiven Genitivs im Sinne „Teil - Ganzes vs. Indefinitheit/Unbestimmtheit“ zu determinieren.

6. Zusammenfassung

Den Anlass zum Verfassen des Beitrags gab mir die nicht immer befriedigende, zumeist allgemeine Beschreibung des partitiven Genitivs in manchen Veröffentlichungen zum Sprachvergleich Deutsch-Polnisch, die unter Linguisten, Sprachdidaktikern und Übersetzern als maßgebend und richtungsweisend gelten. Im Fokus stand der adverbial gebrauchte partitive Genitiv, weil er im Gegensatz zu dessen adnominalen Variante wegen seiner Funktion (Opposition zum valenzgeforderten nicht-partitiven Akkusativ) nicht nur den Ausländern, sondern auch den polnischen Muttersprachlern Schwierigkeiten bereiten kann und potenziell fehleranfällig ist. Mehrere, nicht nur indoeuropäische Sprachen umfassende Darstellungen sind per se ziemlich allgemein oder fokussieren zumeist auf ausgewählte Aspekte jedes zu untersuchenden Phänomens und sind folglich auf viel zu hoher Abstraktionsstufe angesiedelt, als dass man sie praktisch im weiten Sinne dieses Wortes umsetzen könnte. Wie ich zu zeigen suchte, ist der Stand der Forschung auf der polnischen Seite, wie man ihn den Grammatiken und sprachnormativen Veröffentlichungen entnehmen kann, ebenfalls nicht befriedigend. Seit Jahren werden dieselben Belege und dieselben oft nicht mehr zeitgemäßen Argumente angeführt, das spärliche Regelwerk (vor allem bezüglich des Verbalspektes) ist meines Erachtens nicht präzise genug und einige wichtige Bereiche der Struktur (z.B. Tempus und Modus) werden überhaupt nicht

²⁶ Es sei hier hingewiesen auf die neueren Darstellungen der Aspekt-Aktionsart-Problematik im deutsch-polnischen Sprachvergleich von Kątny (2004) und Schwenk (2007) und (2009), die zu einer wünschenswerten detaillierten Erforschung dieses Aspektes des partitiven Genitivs beitragen können.

thematisiert, obwohl sie bei der Deskription helfen dürften. Schließlich fehlen klare Hinweise zur Grammatikalität und Akzeptabilität sowie zur stilistischen Charakteristik des partitiven Genitivs, was im Falle eines primär sprechsprachlichen Phänomens von besonderer Relevanz ist. Selbst die Bezeichnung „partitiv“ trifft nur auf einen Teil der präsentierten Beispiele zu – es handelt sich oft weniger um die Quantität der genitivisch realisierten Massen- und Individualnomina (traditionelle, sprachhistorische Auslegung des Genitivs), als vielmehr um deren nicht näher bestimmte, indefinite Qualität. Die Interpretation ergibt sich aus dem Zusammenspiel der semantischen und aspektualen Charakteristik der Verballexeme und der Nominalphrasen. Davon hängt größtenteils die Entscheidung ab, ob der partitive Genitiv sprachkontrastiv überhaupt behandelt und in welchem Maße er aufbereitet werden soll.

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Some Reflections on Partitive Genitive in Contemporary Polish and its Equivalents in German

The topic of this paper is so-called Partitive Genitive (PG) as a verbal compliment, which is one oft the most characteristic syntactic constructions of the Polish language and of the others Slavic languages. PG is typical of spoken language and compatibel only with restricted class of perfective verbs. Different frames and a short characteristic of the subject

in the Polish linguistic literature were presented. Reflections in the main part of the article are limited to a selected morphological, syntactic and semantic phenomenon of PG with perfective and imperfective verbs. The possible equivalents of Polish PG in German were also presented.

Keywords: category of grammatical case, partitive genitive, accusative, syntax, Polish-German contrastive studies.

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Grammatical aspect in Polish and the perception of event duration

1. Introduction

The study described in this paper is a contribution to a line of research on aspect, and more specifically, on the influence of grammatical aspect on the perception of event duration. In previous studies on this issue (Flecken & Gerwien 2013; Flecken, Stutterheim & Carroll 2014) the influence of aspect on the interpretation of the length of events in German, Modern Arabic, and Dutch was described. In the Dutch experiment (Flecken & Gerwien, 2013), the effect of grammatical aspect marking on highly familiar, everyday events was tested. The authors observed that the progressive aspect extends duration estimations for inherently short events such as, for example, *to close the door*. On the other hand, it shortens the perceived duration of inherently medium and long events such as, for example, *to read a book*. The goal of this paper is to conduct a similar experiment to the one reported by Flecken & Gerwien (2013) but with the focus on the impact of perfective and imperfective operators on the perception of event duration in Polish. The results of the experiment will be discussed in the light of contemporary aspect theories (Klein 1994/1995; Ramchand 2008; Reichenbach 1947; Smith 1991; de Swart 1998).

The paper is organised as follows. Section 2 differentiates between lexical and grammatical aspect and introduces the basic template of temporal interpretation proposed by de Swart (1998). Section 3 presents Polish perfective and imperfective aspects. Section 4 introduces the time-relational approach to the semantics of perfective and imperfective aspect, which serves as a background for the discussion in Section 5. Section 5 presents two competing views on aspect on which the predictions for the reported experiment were based. Section 6 presents the inspiration for the study. Section 7 reports the experiment. The paper closes with a discussion of the findings in Section 8.

2. Lexical and grammatical aspect

In order to talk about the semantics of perfective and imperfective aspect, it is important to distinguish between lexical aspect and grammatical aspect. In this study, we adopt the view that lexical aspect corresponds to an ontology of eventuality descriptions (Vendler's 1957 states, activities, achievements, and accomplishments) and grammatical aspect is characterised in terms of operators (perfective, imperfective, progressive) acting on eventuality descriptions (e.g., Bach 1986; Dowty 1986; Moens 1987; de Swart 1998). Using this point of view, a formal semantic representation of the relation between lexical and grammatical aspect can be seen in de Swart (1998:348): [Tense [Aspect* [eventuality description]]]. In this description Tense scopes over grammatical Aspect, which scopes over lexical eventuality description. The Kleene star * leaves a possibility for more aspectual operators in the formula. A Tense operator relates the temporal trace of an eventuality to the speech time (Comrie 1985). Furthermore, in this model, the aspectual operators (perfective, imperfective, progressive) act as eventuality description modifiers. Perfective and imperfective aspectual operators are morphologically expressed in Slavic languages, including Polish, the language which was tested in the reported study. Before the actual study is presented, some facts about the perfective-imperfective opposition in Polish will be presented in the next sections.

3. Grammatical aspect in the Polish language

In Polish, nearly all verbs (including infinitives) can be used as either perfective or imperfective, as shown in (1) and (2):

- (1) *Tomek* *jadł*.
 Tomek.NOM ate.IPFV
 ‘Tomek ate.’

- (2) *Tomek* *zjadł* *trzy* *jabłka*.
 Tomek.NOM ate.PFV three.ACC apples.GEN
 ‘Tomek ate three apples.’

What is more, in Polish most of the verbs can occur both in a perfective and an imperfective form. Most Polish perfective verbs are usually marked morphologically, either by means of a prefix or a suffix (Bogusławski 1963; Nagórko 1998; Willim 2006; Wróbel 1999, 2001); see (3a,b):

- (3) a. *lizac^d* – *polizac^p* ‘to lick’
 b. *dotykać^d* – *dotknąć^p* ‘to touch’

Furthermore, there are two classes of imperfectives: primary imperfectives (PIs), which are unprefixed verbs (as in (5a)), and secondary imperfectives (SIs), which are usually signalled by the *-ywa-* suffix, as well as its allo-morphs or stem alternations, as in (4b), (5b):

- (4) a. *rozwiązać^p* ‘to solve’
 b. *rozwiązywać^d* ‘to solve (imperfective)’
- (5) a. *spać^d* ‘to sleep’
 b. *sypiać^d* ‘to sleep (imperfective)’

According to Willim (2006:202), “[...] the perfective is mainly associated with reference to a single, well-delimited event occurring on a specific occasion”.

3.1. The meaning of imperfective aspect in Polish

In Polish, there are several available readings for the imperfective: progressive, iterative, and habitual, among others. (Klimek-Jankowska et al. 2018). The two most canonical meanings of the imperfective are the progressive one and the plural event reading, commonly described as iterative. The following description is based on Wierzbicka (1967), Comrie (1976), Filip (1999), Smith (1997), Willim (2006), and Borik (2006).

The progressive reading of an imperfective is available in Polish when the event is interpreted as unfolding over time (episodic context), as in *Tomek kosił trawę, kiedy ktoś go zawałał*¹. *Przerwał na chwilę, rozejrzał się i nadal kosił*¹. ‘Tomek mowed.IPFV (was mowing) the grass when someone called him. He stopped mowing for a moment, looked around and kept on mowing’. In this case, the eventuality described by the imperfective verb *kosił* ‘mow.IPFV.PST.3SG’ does not include the endpoint of the situation and is compatible with the continuation *i nadal kosił* ‘and he kept on mowing’. According to Willim (2006:200–201), this reading does not include the initial and the final boundary of the event in the reference time,¹ so the imperfective verb refers to an incomplete event in the given interval.

¹ However, it is important to mention, that there are some accounts stating that reference time is included in event time, for example Kratzer (1998:107).

The second most common and cross-linguistically licensed reading of the imperfective is the iterative one. In Polish, the iterative meaning describes a series of delimited events over a period of time on a single occasion (Klimek-Jankowska et al. 2018:305), as in the example: *Marysia drapala się po nosie przez trzy minuty* ‘Marysia scratched.(was scratching) her nose for three minutes’, or on several occasions, as in *Marcin golił się wieczorami, żeby dłużej sypiać rankami* ‘Marcin shaved in the evenings, so that he could sleep longer in the mornings’. The second example is also referred to as habitual (describing repetitive events that stretch over a longer period of time). In principle, habitual reading can be perceived as a special case of the iterative, although the semantic difference between them is clearly distinguishable.

Another reading of the imperfective is the planned futurate² reading, under which imperfective in Polish is used to talk about events that are about to happen, but have not started yet. However, there are some restrictions on that, such as in the case of predictions, offers, and warnings. An example might be *Za minutę wchodzę do domu* ‘I am entering the house in a minute’ (see Błaszcak & Klimek-Jankowska 2013 for further discussion).

There is also a factual imperfective reading, which is used to talk about culminated events in special contexts, when the culmination is a matter of factivity or so called telic presupposition (Grønn 2004; Smith 1991; Willim 2006:201-202; Klimek-Jankowska 2020). In such contexts, the culmination is not asserted by the verb itself, but by the participants’ accommodation at the time of a completed utterance (the mental imagery of the situation). A good example might be *Kto malował te obrazy?* ‘Who painted these pictures?’ It shows that the event denoted by the verb is part of old information in discourse, while some other information is still under discussion.

4. Perfective and imperfective aspectual operators – a time-relational approach

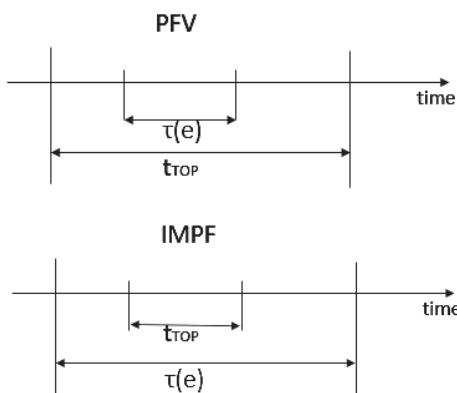
In Klein’s (1994) time-relational treatment of aspect, grammatical aspectual operators act on predicates of events and create a relation between the topic time and the runtime of an event. Klein’s (1994) aspect allows “topic times” of aspectual operators to be treated as temporal constraints on event realisation. Klein (1994) treats viewpoint aspect as relating the runtime of

² For crosslinguistic discussion, please see Dowty (1979) and Copley (2002, 2014).

an event to the “topic time”, focusing on this part of the event which is asserted to be true in a given utterance. Tense operators then relate topic times to evaluation time (usually speech time). In languages which mark the distinction between perfective and imperfective aspect, these two aspectual operators operate on the underlying eventuality descriptions. Perfective aspect encodes the inclusion of the runtime of an event in the topic time entailing the realisation of the entire event. By contrast, imperfective aspects encode proper inclusion of the topic time in the runtime of an event entailing the realisation of only this proper part of the event which overlaps with the topic time.

$$\text{Perfective} := \lambda P \lambda t_{\text{TOP}} \exists e [P(e) \wedge \tau(e) \leq_T t_{\text{TOP}}]$$

$$\text{Imperfective} := \lambda P \lambda t_{\text{TOP}} \exists e [P(e) \wedge t_{\text{TOP}} <_T \tau(e)]$$



The topic time is the only the part of the event carved out by overlap with t_{TOP} that is asserted to have been realized.

Aspect is a relation between intervals (topic time, assertion time, reference time) that privileges some portion of $\tau(e)$. It is then this interval that participates in the relationship with the speech time. There are a number of alternative approaches to the semantics of perfective aspect. According to Willim (2006), all perfectives in Polish have individuation boundaries and are used to refer to a single, well-delimited event occurring on a specific occasion. Similarly, Filip (2017) claims that the perfective aspectual operator is a maximising operator MAX_E . MAX_E applies to an eventuality description, and according to Filip (2017:182) “[...] singles out the largest unique event stage in a poset (partially ordered set) of eventuality stages in

the denotation of P which leads to the most informative proposition among the relevant alternatives". What is more, this function creates a set of singular maximal events (MAX_E) that is relative to P and the context. In that case, the role of perfective aspect in semantics is specific, as it individuates an eventuality. A slightly different view is proposed by Laskowski (1984:164), who claims that the prevailing function of perfective aspect is to focus on the transition between an action described by the verbal predicate and a result state. Laskowski's (1984) approach is similar to the view proposed by Ramchand (2008), who claims that a perfective introduces a definite reference time³ (a specific moment within the temporal trace of the event). When the event consists of a process subevent and a result subevent, the reference time must be situated at the single unique transition point between the two subevents (the definite time point).

5. The controversy over the presence of tacit aspectual operators in English

A relevant question which arises is whether the English past tense spells out the same relation at the level of Aspect Phrase as the perfective aspect in Slavic languages in the case of telic predicates. In a similar manner, it is controversial whether the English progressive spells out the same relation at the level of Aspect Phrase as the Slavic imperfective. The English past progressive is used to translate the ongoing reading of the Slavic imperfective past. Similarly, the simple past of telic predicates is often used to translate the Slavic past perfective. For this reason, many scholars believe that verbs not overtly marked for grammatical aspect in these languages are assigned tacit aspectual operators depending on the telicity of the corresponding event predicates. In other words, in some approaches atelic predicates encode imperfectivity and telic predicates encode perfectivity (see, e.g., Ehrich 1992; Eisenberg 1986; Engel 1988; Leiss 1992; Wurmbbrand 2014; Martin 2019; Martin & Gyarmathy 2019). In other words, the English simple past is most commonly analysed as a kind of perfective, which presents the event as a completed whole and the progressive is often treated as being equivalent to the imperfective. For example, Mucha (2015) uses a *covert perfective aspect* as a tool to make an event temporally bounded by including event time (ET) in the reference time (RT). It has been argued that this occurs cross-linguistically, and to give an example, Mucha states that this operator exists in the Medumba language.

³ This notion was first introduced by Reichenbach (1947).

A similar point was made by Arregui (2007) and Wurmbrand (2014), who proposed on the basis of Bennett & Partee (2004) that a covert perfective operator exists in English, as some sentences obtain perfective interpretations even though there are no overt morphological aspect markers. This view is not uncontroversial because the English progressive does not have a plural event (habitual reading) and this reading is licensed by the imperfective aspect in Slavic languages (see the Polish example in (6)).

- (6) Peter is drinking cappuccino. (only single ongoing)
 Piotr pije cappuccino. (ongoing/habitual)
 Peter drink.IPFV.PRS cappuccino
 ‘Peter is drinking/drinks cappuccino.’

In fact it has been demonstrated in a number of psycholinguistic studies that the imperfective is underspecified for number (see Klimek-Jankowska & Błaszczałk to appear and Klimek-Jankowska, Czypionka & Błaszczałk ms). The underspecified nature of imperfective aspect was additionally supported by the results of a recent ERP experiment (see Klimek-Jankowska & Błaszczałk 2020). Moreover, the progressive in English is incompatible with states, whereas the imperfective in Polish can be used with states, as shown in (7).

- (7) #Peter is liking cappuccino.
 Piotr lubi cappuccino.
 Peter likes.IPFV.PRS cappuccino
 ‘Peter likes cappuccino.’

Concerning the perfective aspect in Polish and simple past telic sentences in English, it appears to be the case that the inferred result state can be easily cancelled and reinterpreted only in English (but not in Polish), as shown in (8):

- (8) *The clock ticked once/for an hour.*
 Zegar tyknął raz/*przez godzinę.
 clock tick.PFV.PST once/for an hour
 ‘The clock ticked once/for an hour.’

The coercion potential of simple past sentences in English makes it very likely that in the simple past in English no aspectual operators act on

the underlying eventuality descriptions when the aspectual meaning is computed. This view is proposed, for example, by de Swart (1998), who treats the English simple past as aspectually underspecified, as it allows the lexically encoded eventuality description to shine through without imposing any (grammatically) aspectual constraints on it. A similar view is proposed by Bohnemeyer & Swift (2003), who claim that in languages in which verbs are not overtly marked for grammatical aspect, aspectual interpretation is computed based on the telicity value of their event predicates. Telicity is often characterised in terms of a “set terminal point” (Vendler 1957); some final part of events that must be realised for a telic predicate to apply to them. Events that instantiate atelic predicates lack such a set terminal point. This aspectual underspecification approach to the simple past in English will be referred to in this study as the NULL-OPERATOR VIEW. In fact, there are some recent experimental studies which suggest that the English past does not entail event completion to the same extent as the standard perfective does (Jeschull 2007; Arunachalam & Kothari 2011; Minor, Mitrofanova, Vos & Ramchand 2020). For example, in Minor, Mitrofanova, Vos & Ramchand’s (2020) eyetracking study they analysed the proportion of looks to pictures representing ongoing and completed events. Participants listened to simple past tense and past progressive sentences in English and to perfective and imperfective sentences in Russian. In English in the progressive condition, the proportion of looks to the target picture was significantly above chance in the time window from 450 to 3000 ms after the verb onset. The analysis of the simple past condition did not reveal any significant clusters of above-chance looks to the target picture. By contrast, in Russian the proportion of looks to the target pictures in the imperfective and perfective conditions was significantly above chance. Minor, Mitrofanova, Vos & Ramchand (2020) conclude that the imperfective forms and the progressive forms draw attention to the in-progress representation of the event. With respect to perfective forms, perfective accomplishment verbs in Russian strongly highlight the result state of the event. However, in the English simple past condition simple past forms did not make the result state of the event salient (it was left underspecified). What is crucial is that in their experiment they contextually prompted the single ongoing reading of the imperfective.⁴

⁴ They did so by using pictures with two conditions; one of them showed the ongoing state of an event, whereas the other one showed the same type of event but it was completed.

To sum up, there are two views on the computation of aspectual meaning in aspectually rich and aspectually poor languages. According to the first view, irrespective of whether the perfective vs. imperfective opposition is morphologically realised in a given language, the aspectual operators are present in the temporal system at the level of grammatical aspect. In the second view, aspectual operators are only present in the temporal structure when a given language explicitly morphologically realises them. These two views will be relevant in the formulation of predictions in the study reported here.

6. The inspiration for the experiment – Flecken and Gerwien (2013)

The study that was an inspiration for my research is described in the article titled “Grammatical Aspect influences Event Duration Estimations: Evidence from Dutch”. The authors are Monique Flecken from Radboud University Nijmegen, Donders Institute for Brain, Cognition, and Behaviour in The Netherlands, and Johannes Gerwien from the Institute for German as a Foreign Language Philology at Ruprecht-Karls-University of Heidelberg in Germany. The study was published in “Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Cognitive Science Society” (Vol. 35, No. 35) in 2013. The purpose of the study was “[...] to find out how the grammatical aspect interacts with the ‘natural’ or inherent duration of events, as judged by speakers on bare verb phrases describing actions and events” (Flecken & Gerwien 2013:2311). They conducted two experiments consecutively, a pre-test and the proper experiment.

For the purpose of the pre-test, thirty doctoral and post-doctoral students at the Radboud University of Nijmegen were asked to evaluate all kinds of everyday events. All of the participants were native speakers of Dutch, and their age range was 19-35. Additionally, they were balanced for gender. Their task was to rate bare VPs on five-point scales for the familiarity of the event, for the imageability of the event, and for the inherent duration of the event. The materials that were used by the researchers consisted of 150 different infinitive phrases which referred to everyday actions and events, for example: *to open a can, to peel an apple*. In the experiment, the researchers divided the participants into three groups consisting of ten people each. Each of the groups was asked to solve a different online questionnaire in randomised order. The first group was asked to rate actions for familiarity. They had to answer the question: *How familiar are you with this type of action?* (with ‘1’ on the scale being ‘highly unfamiliar’

and ‘5’ being ‘highly familiar’). The second group was asked to rate the imageability of the phrases (‘1’ being ‘not imaginable at all’ and ‘5’ being ‘highly imaginable’). Finally, the third group was asked to rate the inherent duration of events, as compared to a ‘standardised event’ being *to boil the pasta* (which was specified in the experiment as 7-8 minutes long). On the scale, ‘1’ meant ‘much shorter than boiling pasta’, and ‘5’ meant ‘much longer than boiling pasta’. The researchers aimed to obtain a list of highly familiar, imaginable events with homogenous estimations of event duration.

The results were as follows: the questionnaires resulted in the selection of 78 different events. Flecken & Gerwien (2013) discarded 72 items from the study. The reason for such a strict selection was that the materials received low scores on the familiarity or imageability ratings, or in the case of the duration ratings, they showed a high degree of heterogeneity. Furthermore, the remaining materials were divided into three equal groups: 26 items per group. The division was based on the inherent duration score. Items rated on average between 1-2 (range of rating: 1-1.67) were characterised as ‘short’ (an example: *to turn a key*). Events were characterised as ‘medium’ when the rating ranged between 1.67-4.11 (an example: *to polish a shoe*). Finally, ‘long’ events scored from 4.11-5 (an example: *to wash a car*). The abovementioned items were taken as experimental stimuli, as divided into three groups.

In the proper experiment, Flecken & Gerwien (2013) asked 27 students of Radboud University to estimate the duration of the events as described in whole sentences, marked either with or without the progressive aspect. The participants’ age range was 18-32, and there were 16 females and 11 males. Additionally, they did not have an advanced level of proficiency in a second/third foreign language. If a given participant had spent over three months in a foreign language country, they were excluded. All of the above information was established in an online questionnaire.

The stimuli that were used in the experiment consisted of 78 different events, as chosen in the pre-test stage. Each of the items was used in a progressive and a nonprogressive sentence and was paired with another item that matched the inherent duration of the event (for example, long-long, medium-medium, short-short pairs). The researchers made sure that the paired items were not related semantically or thematically. The pairs were presented in the same aspect, and there were always the same agents: *Jan* and *Paul*.

Before the participants could begin the experiment, they were additionally asked to carry out the same familiarity questionnaire with the set of all the experimental items. The procedure went as follows: participants were shown two sentences on the screen that were in the same inherent duration group, and both of them were in the same aspectual category. Additionally, both of them were of approximately the same length. The participants were asked to assess the duration of both events by dragging the slider left (*short*) or right (*long*). An example of a pair of experimental sentences is shown in Figure 1:

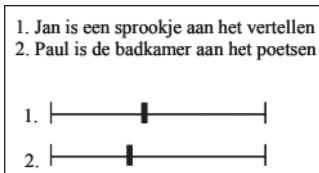


Figure 1: Computer screen with slider dragged slightly to the right (progressive aspect condition, ‘long’ events: ‘John is telling a fairytale’, ‘Paul is cleaning the bathroom’) (Flecken & Gerwien, 2013:2312).

Additionally, to ensure that the participants were aware of the sentence structure, the researchers programmed questions regarding the content of the sentences to appear randomly. Half of the questions were correct. Each event pair was shown twice, once in each aspect condition. They were pseudo-randomised. Moreover, to make sure that the duration was assessed correctly, the participants were asked to rate bare VPs on paper (estimate their duration in minutes) right after they finished the sociolinguistic questionnaire at the beginning.

The results of their experiments were as follows:

1. Firstly, they checked the familiarity questionnaires filled out by the participants before the proper experiment. All 78 phrases were rated as (4) and (5), which replicated the pre-test results.
2. Secondly, they calculated the average event duration estimations that were written down after the sociolinguistic questionnaire. The absolute estimations further supported the division into three categories based on the pre-tests.
3. Finally, the results of the proper experiments were assessed. The researchers found “[...] a significant interaction between aspect marking and inherent duration of events, suggesting that aspect

affects the perceived duration of events described in sentences in a specific way." (Flecken & Gerwien 2013:2314). Moreover, they found that in Dutch short events are estimated as *longer* when described in the progressive form (*aan het*), while medium and long events were estimated to be *shorter* in the progressive form when compared with the same events in the nonprogressive form.

The authors further explain these results by the time relational analysis of aspect as described by Klein (1994). What they say is that the progressive marks the TT that is placed in TSit, whereas nonprogressive verb forms are nonspecific. The progressive makes the perception be explicitly about the event in progress, as it is happening. According to this, short events have inherently short TSit, which can be seen as a change of state; however, when described using the progressive, the focus is on the transition from one part of the state to the other (as in *open a bottle*). According to Flecken & Gerwien (2013:2314), this may result in perceiving the event as prolonged in the mental model. On the other hand, for medium and long events, the TSit is longer, and when described using the progressive, the attention is focused on the time interval inside TSit, thus shortening the event in the mental model. On top of that, the background knowledge and experiences of certain participants play an important role in their perception.

Taking inspiration from the abovementioned study, I decided to investigate the influence of the Polish aspect on event duration estimations. The main reason for doing so was that such a study had not been done before, and it might provide further insights into the psycholinguistic role of aspect in Polish.

7. The study

7.1. Research question

The purpose of the study was to investigate the impact of grammatical aspect (perfective and imperfective) in Polish on the perception of event duration. As stated in the introduction, the experiment reported here was largely inspired by the study by Flecken & Gerwien (2013) on Dutch, which is similar to English in its use of the progressive tense (using morphological marking in its constructions).⁵

⁵ However, their equivalence is not full in meaning. For further discussion, please see Boogaart (1999:205–214).

7.2. Material

Three pre-tests testing familiarity, imageability and event duration were conducted to select proper material for the experiment. The pre-test contained 150 English transitive verbs chosen by three fluent speakers of English.⁶ The pre-tests were conducted in English, as verbs in Polish are marked for grammatical aspect in all forms (as opposed to e.g. English or Dutch), which could influence the interpretation of the duration pre-test. Imageability and familiarity pre-tests were conducted in English as well, to keep the pre-test material homogenous. The most frequent objects of these verbs were chosen from the COCA (Corpus of Contemporary American English). Altogether 48 participants, native speakers of Polish with an advanced knowledge of English (level B2), age range 18-30, took part in the pre-tests. Based on the mean scores, the pre-tests resulted in the selection of 72 verb phrases divided into three groups according to their inherent event duration (24 items in each category). The categories were as follows: short (examples: *smell a rose, flip a pancake, drink water*), medium (examples: *pick flowers, sew on a button, pluck eyebrows*) and long (examples: *grade an exam, bake a cheesecake, watch a movie*). All of the verb phrases that were selected can be found in Appendix A. The English verbs were translated into Polish and then the best objects were chosen with the help of the PELCRA search engine (Pęzik 2012) for the National Corpus of Polish (NKJP) (Przepiórkowski et al. 2012), the balanced version. All of the verbs were then used in both perfective and imperfective versions, which doubled the amount of material, resulting in 144 items. After that, sentences in the past tense (as opposed to the present tense in Flecken & Gerwien⁷) were constructed with the chosen events. Additionally, to have balanced material, there was an equal number of perfectives and imperfectives in each ‘event duration’ category. Half of the imperfectives were primary imperfectives (PI) and the other half consisted of secondary imperfectives (SI). The relevant factors and their levels were as follows:

⁶ The stimuli were not taken from Flecken & Gerwien (2013) for two reasons. First of all, the original stimuli were not accessible. The second reason is that the study conducted for the needs of this article was not identical to the one by Flecken & Gerwien (2013), but rather inspired by it. However, in the foreseeable future, an identical replication of the source study should be considered to check the phenomenon more thoroughly.

⁷ In Polish, some of the forms in the perfective present tense would imply the future, not the moment of speaking. To avoid possible confusion, the past tense was chosen (as it licenses perfective forms).

-
1. ‘Inherent’ duration of the event – short/medium/long
 2. Perfectivity of the verb – perfective/imperfective

Moreover, there were comprehension questions that appeared after every third sentence in order to ensure that the participants were attentive. In these questions the participants had to answer whether or not the object of the sentence was the same in one of the three sentences before (the objects were semantically similar). There was an equal number of questions in each category, with an equal number of yes/no answers, resulting in 48 additional items (see Appendix B for a complete list of experimental sentences with their coding, as well as the filler questions).

7.3. Participants

50 participants (25 males and 25 females) took part in the experiment. They were divided into two groups who saw the experimental items presented in reverse orders. All of them were native speakers of Polish and were in the age range of 18-40 (mean age 24.42). Additionally, all of them were either students or university graduates. The experiment was held online and it was anonymous.

7.4. Procedure

The experiment was conducted online on the FindingFive platform (a non-profit website that allows for conducting behavioural studies online).

The participants were advised to sit in front of their own personal computer or a laptop. They were then asked to rate the duration of the event shown in a sentence on the screen as compared to the reference action of boiling an egg hard (which takes approximately five minutes). The rating was done on the scale from 1 (much shorter) to 7 (much longer).⁸ The mid value 4 was described as corresponding to the reference action of boiling an egg hard. The experiment began with a training session consisting of twelve sentences to rate and four questions to answer. The training stimuli were structurally similar to the experiment stimuli (they were taken from the rejected material); however, none of the training stimuli were repeated

⁸ Unfortunately, due to technological reasons (platform limitation) it was not possible to use a slider, which could be perceived by participants as more continuous in the judging task. Additionally, due to that reason the items were shown one by one, not in pairs, so that participants would not overthink their choices.

in the experiment proper in order to not falsify the results. All of the items (sentences) were randomised and grouped into triplets, with a follow-up question related to one of the three sentences. Every participant saw every item. Additionally, half of the participants saw the experimental sentences in descending order Z-A, while the other half saw the experimental sentences in ascending order A-Z.

None of the subjects reported any difficulty following the instructions. After the training session, the experiment proper began. The participants had to rate all 144 items and answer 48 filler questions. It took them approximately 15-20 minutes to do so.

7.5. Predictions

Taking the view that English simple past clauses of telic predicates include the PERF operator and that the Polish imperfective is equivalent to the English progressive, we should expect the same pattern of results as that reported by Flecken & Gerwien (2013) for Dutch. Alternatively, taking the view that there is no PERF operator in simple past clauses in English and the past tense allows the underlying eventuality description to shine through while the perfective in Polish imposes individuation boundaries on the relevant portion of an event, which is most frequently the transition between the process subevent and the result subevent, perfective eventualities in Polish should be perceived as shorter than imperfective events which view the event from the inside without imposing any boundaries on its runtime (excluding the result state from view). In other words, the grammaticalised form in Polish draws specific attention to the transition point, whereas in languages like Dutch and English ‘perfective’ forms activate the representation of the whole event without focusing specifically on the transition point. It might be worth mentioning that in Polish, the interpretation of aspect is not changed by the complement of the verb (whereas in English it is – as in example ‘build a house’ vs ‘build houses’).⁹

7.6. Results

The statistical analysis was run with R 3.6.1 software (R Core Team 2019). The differences between the event duration in the experimental conditions

⁹ For further discussion, see Mlynarczyk (2004).

were analysed by means of the Generalised Linear Mixed-Effect Model approach¹⁰ with the use of *lmer* function from the *lme4* package (Bates et al. 2015). The goal was to create a model that would explain all of the estimations made by the subjects, which resulted in the effect of different variables. The fixed effects were as follows: INHERENT DURATION ('duration') (long, medium, short), ASPECT ('perf_imperf') (perfective and imperfective), and THE TYPE OF IMPERFECTIVE ('si_pi') (secondary imperfective and primary imperfective). Additionally, random effects were taken into account to fully control possible influences of design: PARTICIPANT ('participant_id') and THE PRESENTED STIMULI ('stimuli_presented'). Descriptive statistics for the raw data from the experiment can be seen in Table 1:

Table 1: Descriptive statistics for the raw data¹¹

perf_imperf	duration	N	response_value	sd	se	ci
imperf	long	1200	5.706667	1.3560314	0.03914526	0.07680082
imperf	medium	1200	3.723333	1.4492087	0.04183505	0.08207805
imperf	short	1200	2.079167	1.3003750	0.03753859	0.07364863
perf	long	1200	5.120833	1.9164098	0.05532199	0.10853866
perf	medium	1200	3.104167	1.4634779	0.04224697	0.08288620
perf	short	1200	1.434167	0.8049053	0.02323561	0.04558699

The most optimal random effect structure formula¹² was *e3*, which was as follows (9):

(9) *e3<-lmer(response_value~1+(1|participant_id)+(1|stimuli_presented)+(0+perf_imperf|stimuli_presented)+(1+duration|perf_imperf),data=Data, REML = FALSE, control = lmerControl(optimizer = "Nelder_Mead", optCtrl=list(method='optim')))*

¹⁰ Unfortunately, due to the pandemic COVID-19 situation, the study had to be conducted online. The platform that seemed to be most fit to this task was Finding-Five. Unfortunately, there was no possibility of using a slider at the time of the creation of the experiment. Although the response was measured using a scale with fixed values for ratings, the data in this experiment was treated as interval one. Understandably, the measurability of such a phenomenon (the perception of the duration) cannot be exactly pinpointed to a specific number, hence the ratings are to be understood as an interval between 0-1 (etc.)

¹¹ In Table 1 'sd' stands for standard deviation, 'se' stands for standard error, and 'ci' stands for confidence interval.

¹² The effect structure formula has been chosen according to the maximal approach. The participant is nested, and aspect and item elements are crossed. The formula accounts for the design of the study and the stimuli itself, as both aspects and three durations are the conditions, which reflects the structure of the experiment.

In order to observe possible differences between the imperfective and perfective aspect in event duration categories, a model comparison following from the maximal approach was created. At each step, the baseline model in (9) was updated by adding simple main effects of aspect and duration and the interaction effect between them (*duration:perf_imperf*). The final model retained only the main effects of aspect and duration; however, the interaction effect was statistically insignificant. The formula for the model that was used was as follows (10):

(10) `m3.3 < lmer(response_value ~ duration + perf_imperf + duration:perf_imperf + (1|participant_id) + (1|stimuli_presented) + (0 + perf_imperf | stimuli_presented) + (1 + duration | perf_imperf), data = Data, REML = FALSE, control = lmerControl(optimizer = "Nelder_Mead", optCtrl = list(method = 'optim')))`

The results of the statistical analysis can be seen in Table 2:

Table 2: The main model fixed effects results¹³

Fixed effects:

	Estimate	Std. Error	df	t value	Pr(> t)
(Intercept)	5.70667	0.12215	99.73066	46.719	< 2e-16
durationmedium	-1.98333	0.15579	71.91286	-12.731	< 2e-16
durationshort	-3.62750	0.15579	71.91318	-23.285	< 2e-16
perf_imperfperf	-0.58583	0.15822	143.53877	-3.703	0.000303
durationmedium:perf_imperfperf	-0.03333	0.22375	143.53811	-0.149	0.881782
durationshort:perf_imperfperf	-0.05917	0.22375	143.53932	-0.264	0.791826

There was a significant effect of ASPECT and EVENT DURATION: the *imperfective* events were perceived as being longer than the *perfective* ones in all of the duration categories (on average by 0.58 point). *Long* is longer than *medium* on average by 1.98 points, *long* is longer than *short* on average by 3.62 points. Additionally, pairwise comparison on all levels of the aspectual category was conducted. The results can be seen in Table 3:

¹³ The effect of ASPECT (perf vs. imperf) in Table 2 is actually a simple effect, due to it being dummy coded on the long duration level, I would like to thank the reviewer for pointing that out and for their insightful comments. In order to see the effect of the aspect category on all of the duration levels, pairwise comparison was conducted (see Table 3).

Table 3: Pairwise comparison – aspects and durations

contrasts	estimate	SE	df	z.ratio	p.value
imperf, long - perf, long	0.586	0.158	Inf	3.703	0.0029
imperf, medium - perf, medium	0.619	0.158	Inf	3.913	0.0013
imperf, short - perf, short	0.645	0.158	Inf	4.077	0.0007
imperf, long - imperf, medium	1.983	0.156	Inf	12.731	<.0001
imperf, long - perf, medium	2.603	0.158	Inf	16.449	<.0001
imperf, long - imperf, short	3.627	0.156	Inf	23.285	<.0001
imperf, long - perf, short	4.272	0.158	Inf	27.004	<.0001
perf, long - imperf, medium	1.397	0.158	Inf	8.833	<.0001
perf, long - perf, medium	2.017	0.161	Inf	12.557	<.0001
perf, long - imperf, short	3.042	0.158	Inf	19.225	<.0001
perf, long - perf, short	3.687	0.161	Inf	22.955	<.0001
imperf, medium - imperf, short	1.644	0.156	Inf	10.554	<.0001
imperf, medium - perf, short	2.289	0.158	Inf	14.469	<.0001
perf, medium - imperf, short	1.025	0.158	Inf	6.479	<.0001
perf, medium - perf, short	1.670	0.161	Inf	10.398	<.0001

As can be seen, Table 3 shows all of the comparisons of the experimental stimuli. All of the results indicate high statistical significance of the differences between perfective and imperfective categories. The most important ones are as follows; *imperflong* vs *perflong* (0.586 of a difference), *imperfmedium* vs *perfmedium* (0.619 of a difference), and *imperfshort* vs *perfshort* (0.645 of a difference). Additionally, in Table 4, a simplified, average difference between aspectual categories can be found.

Table 4: Simplified pairwise comparison – aspects

contrasts	contrast	estimate	SE	df	z.ratio	p.value
	imperf - perf	0.617	0.0913	Inf	6.751	<.0001

Table 4 shows the average contrast between the aspectual categories. On average, the difference between *perfective* and *imperfective* was 0.61 point, meaning that *imperfective* is longer than *perfective*.

7. Discussion

Flecken & Gerwien (2013) show that grammatical aspect plays an important role in how people mentally represent the duration of everyday, highly familiar events in Dutch. Dutch morphologically only realises the progressive aspect and in that sense, structurally, it is similar to English. In the study reported here, we investigated whether the same effect of grammatical aspect can be observed in Polish, which is a language with a

morphologically realised perfective vs. imperfective distinction. In Dutch, short events are estimated as longer when described in the progressive form (*aan het*), whereas medium and long events were estimated to be shorter in the progressive form when compared with the same events used in the nonprogressive form. Two competing approaches to aspectuality were confronted in the predictions formulated for the study reported above. Taking the view that English simple past clauses of telic predicates include the PERF operator and that the Polish imperfective is equivalent to the English progressive, so focusing on the whole event without a specific focus, we should expect the same pattern of results as those reported by Flecken & Gerwien (2013). More specifically, it should be the case that long and medium events should be perceived as shorter and short events should be perceived as longer when used in imperfective aspect as compared to the perfective form. Alternatively, taking the view that there is no PERF operator in simple past clauses in English and the past tense allows the underlying eventuality description to shine through while the perfective in Polish imposes individuation boundaries on the relevant portion of an event, which is most frequently the transition between the process subevent and the result subevent, focusing on the transition point, perfective eventualities in Polish should be perceived as shorter than imperfective events which view the event from the inside without imposing any boundaries on its runtime. The results of the experiment reported here lead to some preliminary conclusions that seem to be compatible with this alternative view, suggesting that there are cross-linguistic differences in the interpretation of event duration depending on whether a given language has a clear grammatical aspect (a morphological distinction between imperfective and perfective aspect) or whether such distinctions are less articulated. Even though those results introduce some conclusions, it might be required firstly to replicate Gerwien and Flecken's (2013) study, ideally using the same stimuli and design but in Polish, and secondly, to create a follow-up study on the basis of Vos & Ramchand (2020) in order to check the similarities and differences between Polish and English. Nevertheless, the results provide guidelines for some future studies in order to understand the connection between grammatical aspect and the perception of time.

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Grammatical aspect in Polish and the perception of event duration

Earlier research showed that the progressive aspect in Dutch extends duration estimations for short events and shortens the perception of inherently medium and long events. In the study reported here, we conducted an experiment examining whether the same effect can be observed in Polish, a language with a morphologically realised perfective vs. imperfective distinction. We confronted two views on grammatical aspect. The first one postulates that English simple past tense verbs of telic predicates introduce a silent PERF operator and that the Polish imperfective is equivalent to the English progressive. According to the second view, there is no PERF operator in simple past clauses in Dutch (and by analogy also in English), while perfective eventualities in Polish should be perceived as shorter than imperfective events which view the event from

the inside without imposing any boundaries on its runtime. The results of this study show that the second view is more plausible, suggesting that languages vary in the interpretation of event duration depending on whether they have a clear grammatical aspect or whether such distinctions are less articulated.

Keywords: Polish grammatical aspect, event duration, semantics.

Appendix

List of the experimental material; verbs in English (as used in the pre-test), and translated versions (as used in the proper Experiment, counterbalanced by the type of imperfectives – half of them were SIs, the other were PIs).

Pretest verbs: short	Imperfective PL	Perfective PL
lick a lollipop	lizał lizaka	polizał lizaka
drink water	pił wodę	wypił wodę
taste food	próbował jedzenia	spróbował jedzenia
weigh potatoes	ważył ziemniaki	zważył ziemniaki
tie hands	wiązał ręce	związał ręce
knock at the door	pukał do drzwi	zapukał do drzwi
hide one's face	chował twarz	schował twarz
offer help	oferował pomoc	zaoferował pomoc
touch the ground	dotykała ziemi	dotknęła ziemi
kick a stone	kopała kamień	kopnęła kamień
close a book	zamykała książkę	zamknęła książkę
smell a rose	wąchał różę	powąchał różę
spill coffee	rozlewała kawę	rozlała kawę
lift a finger	podnosiła palec	podniosła palec
insert a usb-stick	wsadzała pendrive	wsadziła pendrive
enter a room	wchodziła do pokoju	weszła do pokoju
catch a ball	łapał piłkę	złapał piłkę
flip a pancake	obracała naleśnika	obróciła naleśnika
grab a phone	brał telefon	zabrał telefon

tick a checkbox	zaznaczała okienko	zaznaczyła okienko
open the door	otwierała drzwi	otworzyła drzwi
hit a ball	uderzała piłkę	uderzyła piłkę
push a button	wcisnęła guzik	wcisnęła guzik
blink eyes	mrugała oczyma	zamrugał oczyma

Pretest verbs: medium	Imperfective PL	Perfective PL
choose books	wybierała książki	wybrała książki
fill a hole	wypełniała dziurę	wypełniła dziurę
pluck eyebrows	regulował brwi	wyregulował brwi
squeeze juice	wyciskała sok	wycisnęła sok
carry water	nosiła wodę	niosła wodę
transfer data	transferował dane	przetransferował dane
browse a website	przeglądała stronę	przejrzała stronę
iron a shirt	prasował koszulę	wyprasował koszulę
sing a song	śpiewał piosenkę	zaśpiewał piosenkę
sew on a button	przyszywała guzik	przyszyla guzik
park a car	parkowała samochód	zaparkował samochód
drill a hole	wiercił dziurę	wywiercił dziurę
make the bed	ścieślił łóżko	pościelił łóżko
shuffle documents	sortował dokumenty	posortował dokumenty
water plants	podlewała kwiaty	podłała kwiaty
send an email	wysyłała maila	wysłała maila
block way	blokował drogę	zablokował drogę
copy files	kopiował pliki	skopiował pliki
change clothes	zmieniała ubrania	zmieniła ubrania
brush hair	czesął włosy	uczesał włosy
pick flowers	zrywała kwiaty	zerwała kwiaty
chop a carrot	kroił marchewkę	pokroił marchewkę
damage a car	uszkadzała samochód	uszkodziła samochód
bring food	przynosiła jedzenie	przyniosła jedzenie

Pre-test verbs: long	Imperfective PL	Perfective PL
watch a movie	ogądała film	obejrzała film
climb a mountain	wspinała się na górę	wspięła się na górę
lose weight	tracił kilogramy	stracił kilogramy
spend Christmas	spędzała święta	spędziła święta
raise money	zbierała pieniądze	zebrała pieniądze
clean the house	czyścił dom	wyczyścił dom
paint a fence	malował płot	pomalował płot
save money	zbierał pieniądze	uzbierał pieniądze
record a movie	kręcił film	nakręcił film
defend a thesis	bronił pracę	obronił pracę
bake a cheesecake	piekł sernik	upiekł sernik
plaster a wall	gipsował ścianę	zagipsował ścianę
visit a museum	szedł do muzeum	poszedł do muzeum
print a book	drukował książkę	wydrukował książkę
discuss issues	omawiała sprawy	omówiła sprawy
read a book	czytał książkę	przeczytał książkę
mow the lawn	kosił trawę	skosił trawę
prepare dinner	przygotowywała obiad	przygotowała obiad
vacuum the house	odkurzała dom	odkurzyła dom
solve a test	rozwiązywała test	rozwiązała test
proofread an article	sprawdzała artykuł	sprawdziła artykuł
win a game	wygrywała grę	wygrała grę
stack wood	układała drewno	ułożyła drewno
grade an exam	oceniała egzamin	oceniła egzamin

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Pilotstudie zu prosodischen Strategien in frei gesprochenen Konferenzvorträgen deutscher Linguisten

1. Einleitung

Im vorliegenden Beitrag werden Teilergebnisse einer empirischen Pilotstudie zu prosodischen Strategien in frei gesprochenen Konferenzvorträgen deutscher Linguisten vorgestellt. Die Studie hat zum Ziel, Kookkurrenzen der prosodischen und pragmatischen Phänomene im wissenschaftlichen Diskurs näher zu betrachten und erste Beobachtungen zum Sprechverhalten von Wissenschaftlern im Bereich der Prosodie zu dokumentieren und zur Diskussion zu stellen. In die Überlegungen zur prosodischen Gestaltung einer wissenschaftlichen Rede werden drei wichtige akustisch-auditive Parameter einbezogen: die Grundfrequenz bzw. Tonhöhe, die Intensität bzw. Lautstärke und die Dauer bzw. Länge sowie die damit zusammenhängenden Phänomene Sprechgeschwindigkeit und Pausensetzung. Die Analyse erfolgt im Rahmen der interaktionalen Prosodieforschung, in der Prosodie als ein wichtiges Kontextualisierungsmittel betrachtet wird (Imo/Lanwer 2019:192).¹ Es wird versucht, einige ausgewählte prosodische Strategien in Bezug auf ihre kommunikativ-pragmatischen Funktionen kontextabhängig zu beschreiben und zu klassifizieren. Damit soll exemplarisch untersucht werden, welchen Beitrag die prosodischen Mittel zur Vortragsgestaltung leisten. Den Untersuchungsgegenstand bilden drei Expertenvorträge, die im Rahmen des GeWiss-Projekts² auf internationalen

¹ Die Kontextualisierungstheorie geht auf Gumperz (1982) zurück.

² GeWiss – Gesprochene Wissenschaftssprache kontrastiv ist ein Projekt zur Erforschung der deutschen gesprochenen Wissenschaftssprache im Kontrast zum Polnischen und Englischen, in dessen Rahmen zwischen 2009 und 2013 ein Vergleichskorpus aufgebaut wurde. Die Autorin des vorliegenden Beitrags war Mitglied der polnischen Projektgruppe unter der Leitung von Prof. Dr. habil. Lesław Cirkó. Zugang zum GeWiss-Korpus unter <https://gewiss.uni-leipzig.de>.

Konferenzen in Deutschland aufgenommen und nach den Konventionen des Minimaltranskripts von GAT 2³ von Muttersprachlern des Deutschen transkribiert wurden.⁴ Für den Zweck dieser Studie wurden die Transkriptionen zusätzlich um prosodische Information (Basistranskript) erweitert.⁵ Die Grundlage der Untersuchung ist die von der Autorin durchgeführte auditive Analyse, bei der der eigene Höreindruck im Mittelpunkt steht. Um den Wahrnehmungsprozess zu objektivieren, wurden ergänzend mesphonetische Analysen in Praat⁶ erstellt, die bestimmte Phänomene durch graphisches Material exemplarisch illustrieren sollen.

2. Zur Prosodie

In der Fachliteratur zur Prosodie wird darauf hingewiesen, dass a) die Prosodie aus einem Zusammenspiel mehrerer Parameter besteht, b) dass die wichtigsten prosodischen Eigenschaften: Grundfrequenz/Tonhöhe, Intensität/Lautstärke und Dauer/Länge sind und c) dass die Hauptfunktionen von Prosodie Phrasierung und Hervorhebung sind.⁷ Zudem wird betont, dass die Prosodie stark kontextabhängig ist und/oder grundsätzlich den Charakter eines Kontextualisierungshinweises hat (vgl. Selting 1995:1, Pétursson/Neppert 2002:151, Gilles 2005:21, Selting et al. 2009:370, Grassegger 2010:63, Hirschfeld/Stock 2011:39-41, Schwitalla 2012:56, Ágel/Kehrein 2013:108, Hirschfeld/Stock 2013:38-41, Schwitalla 2018:88, Imo/Lanwer 2019:192 und 2020:14). Unter Kontextualisierungshinweisen versteht man „indexikalische Praktiken, die situationssensitiv auf bestimmte pragmatische bzw. interaktionale Kontexte verweisen und entsprechende Bedeutungen (z. B. bewertende oder emotionale Einstellung, Relevanz, Kohärenz) signalisieren. Sie sind daher weder formal noch funktional kontextfrei generisch beschreibbar“ (Barth-Weingarten/Couper-Kuhlen/Deppermann 2020:38). Zu den wichtigsten Zielen der Prosodieforschung gehören die Segmentierung prosodischer Einheiten, deren Formbeschreibung sowie die genaue Eruierung der Funktionen prosodischer Einheiten und das Verhältnis von Prosodie

³ Vgl. dazu <http://www.gespraechsforschung-ozs.de/heft2009/px-gat2.pdf>.

⁴ Auf der Stufe des Minimaltranskripts wurden in den GeWiss-Transkripten keine Änderungen vorgenommen.

⁵ Die Liste der in den Transkriptionen verwendeten GAT 2-Konventionen für das Minimal- und Basistranskript befindet sich im Anhang.

⁶ Vgl. <http://www.fon.hum.uva.nl/praat/>.

⁷ Vgl. das GToBI-Modell zur deutschen Intonation unter <http://www.gtobi.uni-koeln.de/index.html>. Siehe dazu auch Grice/Baumann (2002) sowie Grice/Baumann (2016).

zu anderen sprachlichen Signalisierungssystemen (vgl. Kehrein 2002:6). Selting (1995:229) weist nach, dass prosodische Parameter interaktiv relevant sind und wichtige strukturelle Aufgaben bei der Organisation der konversationellen Interaktion erfüllen. Die Prosodie trägt zur Strukturierung von Äußerungen in dem Sinne bei, dass sie den eigenen Beitrag gemäß seiner Informationsstruktur in sinnvolle Sprecheinheiten gliedert und dem Hörer signalisiert, dass der Beitrag noch nicht zu Ende ist. Darüber hinaus dient die Prosodie zur Hervorhebung kommunikativ und pragmatisch relevanter Einheiten (vgl. dazu Selting 1993:105-106, Schönherr 1997:13, Günther 1999:22ff., Auer/Selting 2001:1123, Gilles 2001:41, Kranich 2003:14, Fiehler/Barden/Elstermann/Kraft 2004:346-349, Duden 2009:1194-1195, Lemke 2012:125-127, Pistor 2017:73, Imo/Lanwer 2019:196). In einer offiziellen Vortragssituation, in der die vorgetragenen Texte medial mündlich, aber konzeptionell schriftlich sind und die Rollenverteilung der Gesprächsteilnehmer (Sprecher-Hörer-Verhältnis) sowie der thematische und zeitliche Rahmen festgelegt sind, üben die prosodischen Merkmale nicht nur eine segmentierende und kommunikative, sondern auch eine stilistisch-rhetorische Funktion aus: erstens, weil die kontrastierenden Parameter die Äußerungen in syntaktische und/oder kommunikativ-funktionale Einheiten unterteilen, zweitens, weil sie den informativen Wert von Äußerungen durch Hervorhebung bzw. Herabsetzung modifizieren, drittens, weil sie die aktuelle Sprechereinstellung zur Vortragssituation (zum Inhalt, zum Publikum und zu den Begleitumständen) erkennen lassen. In diesem Zusammenhang sind die prosodischen Parameter als interaktive Gestaltungsmittel anzusehen, die sprach-, textsorten- und sprecherspezifische Besonderheiten darstellen können.

3. Zur Vortragssituation

Die Kommunikationssituation bildet neben der Textfunktion und dem Textinhalt den Rahmen für Textsorten (vgl. Brinker/Cölßen/Pappert 2014:136-137). Sie wird dabei entscheidend durch das Medium bestimmt (ibid. 141). Die Konferenzvorträge sind von anderen Textsorten durch zwei Kriterien abzugrenzen: Medium „mündlich-monologisch realisierter Text“ und Ort/Ereignis, „an/bei dem dieser Text vorgetragen wird“ (Techtmeier 2008:504). Formal betrachtet sind Konferenzvorträge als Mischformen zwischen Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit aufzufassen und somit zu den „mündlich realisierten schriftkonstituierten Textsorten“ zu zählen (Gutenberg 2000:575). Funktional und inhaltlich betrachtet sind sie Informationstexte, die in einer konkreten Sprechsituation, die die miteinander kommunizierenden Menschen, den Kommunikationsgegenstand, den

Kommunikationsinhalt, die Modalitäten, Anlass und Ziel sowie Zeit und Raum umfasst, produziert werden.⁸ Zu den wichtigsten Unterscheidungsmerkmalen der informierenden Rede von den übrigen (überzeugenden, überredenden und würdigenden) Arten der Rede zählt Meyer (2013:122) die Vermittlung von Informationen/Mitdenken, den primär kognitiven Charakter, die Auswahl und Anordnung von Informationen und Zusammenhängen im Sinne der Hörer und des Themas, einen klar gegliederten, logischen und nachvollziehbaren Denkstil, einen relativ sachlichen, neutralen, evtl. fachsprachlichen Sprachstil und einen in der Verwendung prosodischer Mittel eher sparsamen, aber variablen Sprechstil. Aus der prosodischen Analyse der Konferenzvorträge ergibt sich, dass die Vortragenden ähnliche Strategien anwenden, um den Redefluss kommunikativ-funktional zu strukturieren und pragmatisch-semantisch zu modifizieren, wenn auch in unterschiedlichem Grad. Die Tatsache, dass die Vortragenden professionelle Linguisten sind, die ihre Vorträge frei sprechen und im Laufe der Tagung in verschiedenen kommunikativen Rollen auftreten: als Vortragende, Zuhörer und/oder Diskutanten, bewirkt, dass sie bestimmte intertextuelle, metakommunikative, situative und unter Umständen auch persönliche Bezüge herstellen, die sich in der prosodischen Struktur widerspiegeln (können).⁹ Da die prosodische Beschreibung durch die gegebene Sprechsituation und die individuellen Merkmale der Sprecher determiniert ist, werden die dem GeWiss-Korpus entnommenen Metadaten zur Herkunft und zu den Sprechern unten kurz skizziert:

- Genre: Expertenvorträge;
- Vortragende: zwei Linguistinnen im Alter von 34 und 37 Jahren und ein Linguist im Alter von 57 Jahren;
- Sprache: Deutsch (L1);
- Grad der Mündlichkeit: frei gesprochen;
- Dauer: jeweils ca. 25-30 Minuten¹⁰;
- Ort: Universitätshörsaal;
- Anzahl der Teilnehmer: 1 Vortragende(r), 1 Moderator und 11 bis ca. 40 Zuhörer;
- Beziehung der Sprecher zueinander und zum Publikum: fremdes Fachpublikum, einige Anwesenden sind jedoch bekannt.

⁸ Mehr zum Verständnis der Sprechsituation siehe Neuber (2013:1).

⁹ Es ist dabei anzunehmen, dass die Sprechweise professioneller Linguisten ein Indikator für die sprachliche und sprecherische Kompetenz ist.

¹⁰ Aus methodischen Gründen wird in die Analyse der eigentliche Vortragsteil ohne anschließende Diskussion einbezogen.

4. Prosodische Strategien in der Vortragssituation

Wie erwähnt, zeigt die phonetische Analyse einige auffällige Gemeinsamkeiten in der prosodischen Gestaltung der wissenschaftlichen Rede, auf die im Folgenden näher eingegangen wird. Die behandelten Strategien sind sowohl auditiv als auch akustisch relativ leicht zu erkennen, weil sie durch markante phonetische Veränderungen gegenüber den benachbarten Segmenten gekennzeichnet sind. Der Variabilität der prosodischen Merkmale liegt häufig ein phonetischer Kontrast zugrunde, der auf die extremen Wechsel in Grundfrequenz und/oder Intensität beruht. Dies ermöglichte die Einteilung der Strategien in fünf Hauptkategorien:

1. Signalisierung von Unabgeschlossenheit,
2. Signalisierung von Abgeschlossenheit,
3. Signalisierung von Relevanz,
4. Signalisierung von Irrelevanz,
5. Signalisierung eines höflichen Hörerbezugs.

Die einzelnen Strategien werden im Weiteren spezifiziert und anhand ausgewählter Belege exemplarisch und graphisch dargestellt.¹¹ Zur besseren Veranschaulichung werden die charakteristischen Merkmale in den Transkripten jeweils fett markiert.

4.1. Signalisierung von Unabgeschlossenheit

Die Segmentierung der Rede in semantisch-pragmatische Einheiten erfolgt durch die Intonationsphrase. Eine entscheidende Rolle spielt dabei die Tonhöhe, die häufig mit anderen Parametern (Länge, Pausen etc.) einhergeht.¹² Peters (2014:58) deutet darauf hin, dass der hohe finale Grenzton „konversationelle Unabgeschlossenheit“ und der tiefe finale Grenzton „potenzielle Abgeschlossenheit“ signalisieren kann, wobei die potentielle konversationelle Abgeschlossenheit die Fortsetzung des Redebeitrags nicht ausschließt. Diese Strategie, die für dialogische Formen und die daraus resultierende Organisation von Sprecherwechseln verständlich ist, scheint auch auf die monologischen zuzutreffen. Obwohl die prosodische Strukturierung von Äußerungen nicht immer mit der syntaktischen im Einklang steht, ermöglichen es die prosodischen Merkmale die textuelle

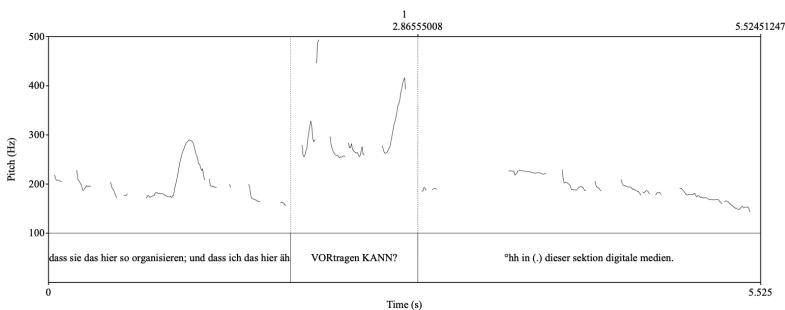
¹¹ In Praat ist die messphonetische Analyse der Audio-Dateien mit einer Dauer von maximal 10 Sekunden möglich. Aus diesem Grund stellen die integrierten Praat-Graphiken nur ausgewählte Phänomene dar.

¹² Vgl. dazu Rogozińska (2020).

Makrostruktur der Redebeiträge aufzubauen und deutlich zu machen. In den Belegen 1–3 (s.u.) wird die kontinuierliche Fortsetzung der Aussage mittels einer steigenden (Notation mit Komma) bzw. hoch steigenden (Fragezeichen) oder auch mittels einer gleichbleibenden (langer Gedankenstrich) Tonhöhe angedeutet, die in der Regel durch Verzögerungssignale (Dehnungen, leere und gefüllte Pausen) begleitet ist. Die Tonhöhenbewegungen werden dabei sowohl am Ende als auch innerhalb der sprachsprachlichen Einheiten erkannt: Die ersten grenzen gleichwertige und ungleichwertige syntaktische Einheiten intonatorisch voneinander ab; die zweiten lenken die Aufmerksamkeit der Zuhörerschaft auf den nachfolgenden Äußerungsteil.

Beleg 1

vielen äh **dank?** für die einföhrung; und auch °hh ja der dank an die **sektionsleitende:n-** (.) dass sie das hier so organisieren; und dass ich das hier äh VORtragen **KANN?** °hh in (.) dieser sektion digitale medien.
[EV DE 004]

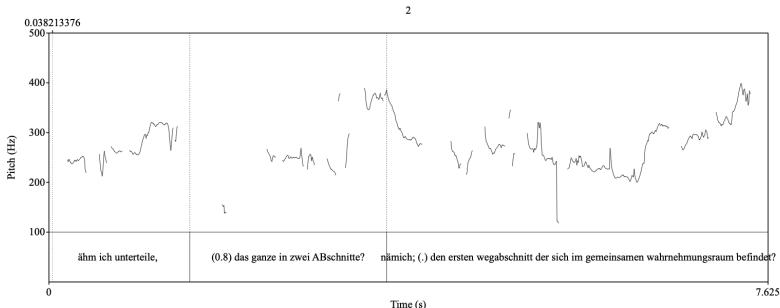


Graphik 1: Grundfrequenzveränderung von *dass sie das hier so organisieren; und dass ich das hier äh VORtragen KANN? hh in (.) dieser sektion digitale medien.*

Beleg 2

ich unterteile, (0.8) das ganze in zwei **Abschnitte**? nämlich; (.) den ersten wegabschnitt der sich im gemeinsamen wahrnehmungsraum **befindet**? (0.3) °h ähm (.) dieser äh wahrnehmungsraum ist der äh (.) elementarste (.) **verweisraum**? (0.4) der raum der sinnlichen wahrnehmung nach ehlich neunznerzweinunZIG °hh der, ich zitiere im falle einer einfachen sprachlichen **handlung**? (.) mit **kopräsenz**? von sprecher und hörer bei-

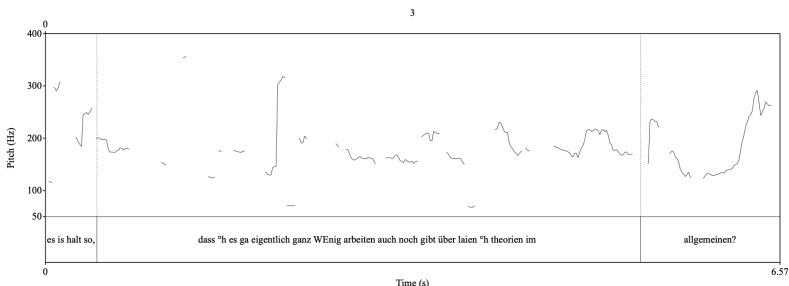
*den (.) gemeinsam ist? °h (.) hier findet sich also eine direkte **interaktion**; (.) zwischen sprachlichen und wahrnehmenden (.) tätigkeiten; (0.8) [EV_DE_092]*



Graphik 2¹³: Grundfrequenzveränderung von *ähm ich unterteile, (0.8) das ganze in zwei Abschnitte? nämlich; (.) den ersten wegabschnitt der sich im gemeinsamen wahrnehmungsraum befindet?*

Beleg 3

es is halt so, dass °h es ga eigentlich ganz wenig arbeiten auch noch gibt über laien °h theorien im allgemeinen? °h also jetzt NICHT sprachbezogen, °h die jetzt NICHT äh äh °h äh dogmatisch (.) äh (.) aus gerichtet sind. [EV_DE_093]



Graphik 3: Grundfrequenzveränderung von *es is halt so, dass °h es ga eigentlich ganz wenig arbeiten auch noch gibt über laien °h theorien im allgemeinen?*

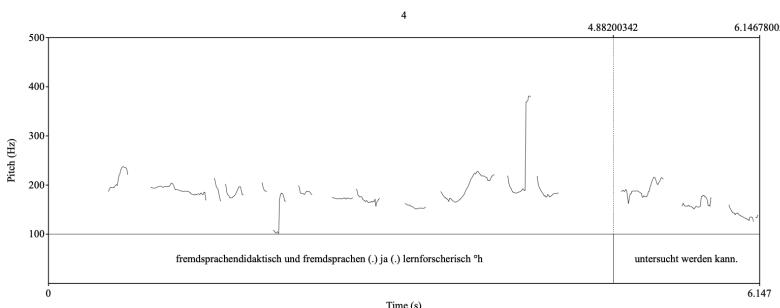
¹³ Die in den Graphiken 2, 4, 6 und 9 sichtbaren vertikalen Auslenkungen, die durch bestimmte Konsonanten, den Glottisverschlusslaut bzw. Hintergrundgeräusche verursacht werden, gehören nicht zur F0-Kontur und sind nicht Bestandteil der Analyse.

4.2. Signalisierung von Abgeschlossenheit

Gegenüber der Unabgeschlossenheit, die hauptsächlich durch die (hoch) steigende, evtl. durch die gleichbleibende Tonhöhe, markiert wird, signalisiert die fallende Tonhöhe eine partielle und die tief fallende Tonhöhe eine finale Abgeschlossenheit einer sprechsprachlichen (syntaktischen und/oder kommunikativ-funktionalen) Einheit. Im Beleg 4 dient die fallende Tonhöhe (Semikolon) zur Abgrenzung der einzelnen Bestandteile in einer zusammengesetzten Aussage zur Vortragsgliederung. Die Aufzählung der jeweiligen Punkte des Referats wird hier syntaktisch durch die gleichrangigen Hauptsätze, lexikalisch durch die Temporaladverbien (*zunächst, dann, da*) und intonatorisch durch die fallende Intonationskontur signalisiert.

Beleg 4

zunächst, °h möcht ich ihnen mein (.) erkenntnisinteresse vorstellen; die forschungsfragen formulieren– (0.3) einige theoretische: (.) ((schmatzt)) hintergründe: (.) aufzeigen; öhm (0.2) die dem gesamten (0.5) ((schmatzt)) (.) projekt zu oder der gesamten untersuchung zugrunde liegen– °hh (0.8) die_s das korpus vorstellen; un dann– (0.2) zwei: (.) textbeispiele oder zwei beispiele– (0.4) darstellen; und da auch recht in die tiefe gehen in die tiefe der datenanalyse– °h um ihnen zu zeigen, ähm °hh wie; (0.6) ein (0.4) projekt ein podcastprojekt mit_m schwerpunkt neue aber auch alte medien– °hh fremdsprachendidaktisch und fremdsprachen (.) ja (.) lernforscherisch °h untersucht werden kann. (.) [EV_DE_004]

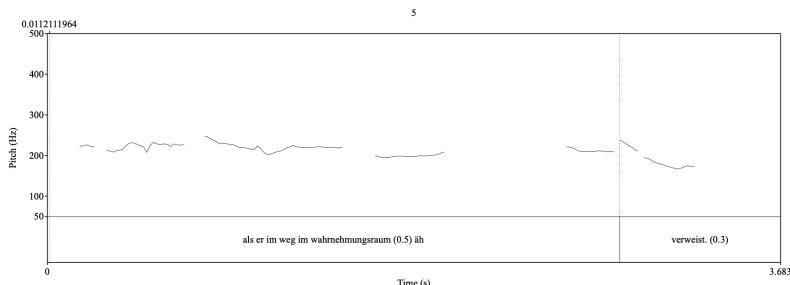


Graphik 4: Grundfrequenzveränderung von *fremdsprachendidaktisch und fremdsprachen (.) ja (.) lernforscherisch °h untersucht werden kann.*

Die Äußerungsteile, die syntaktisch und/oder semantisch als abgeschlossen fungieren, werden in der Regel mit einer tief fallenden Tonhöhe (Punkt) und einer leeren Pause signalisiert, vgl. Belege 5 und 6.

Beleg 5

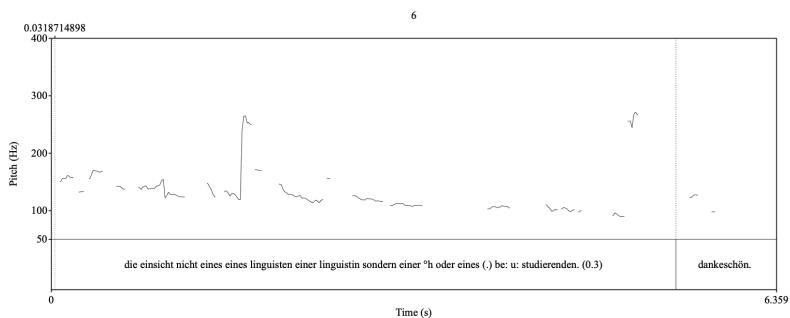
victor verwendet (.) demgegenüber keine *nomina appellativa*; oder nur ausnahmsweise sondern vor allem *nomina propria*, (.) am meisenberg zum Beispiel, (.) °h es findet sich nur ein einziger (.) lokaldeiktischer Verweis mittels da? (1.3) äh un (.) die zeigegestik findet sich nur einmal nämlich am anfang- (0.3) als er im weg im wahrnehmungsraum (0.5) äh **verweist.** (0.3) [EV_DE_092]



Graphik 5: Grundfrequenzveränderung von *als er im weg im wahrnehmungsraum (0.5) äh verweist.*

Beleg 6

diese frage stell ich ihnen °h in <<lachend> den raum> und sie sozusagen die °h die einsicht nicht eines eines linguisten einer linguistin sondern einer °h oder eines (.) be: u: **studierenden.** (0.3) dankeschön.



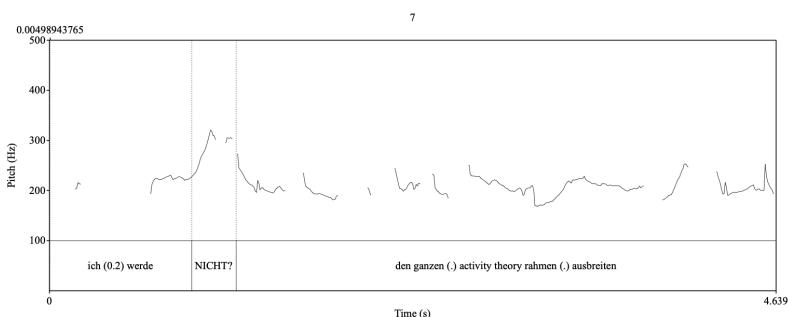
Graphik 6: Grundfrequenzveränderung von *die einsicht nicht eines eines linguisten einer linguistin sondern einer °h oder eines (.) be: u: studierenden. (0.3) dankeschön.*

4.3. Signalisierung von Relevanz

Die Relevanz eines sprechsprachlichen Elements wird in Form eines Fokusakzents signalisiert, d.h. des semantisch-pragmatisch wichtigsten Tonhöhenakzents, bei dem sich akzentuierte Silben durch den Tonhöhenverlauf (gegebenenfalls auch durch Lautstärke und Dauer) von den sie umgebenden Silben abheben (vgl. Pétursson/Neppert 2002:155, Selting et al. 2009:370-371, Peters 2014:7, Dahmen/Weth 2018:58). Two-rek (2012:224) unterscheidet zwischen zwei Typen von Fokusakzenten: Die starken dienen dazu, „das bestimmte Element des gesamten Ausdrucks von den sonstigen wegen seines informativen Werts auszusondern und es hervorzuheben“; die schwachen markieren ein Element des Ausdrucks zusätzlich intonatorisch, „ohne dabei seinen semantisch-pragmatischen Charakter besonders hervorzuheben“. In den Belegen 7–9 zeichnen sich die starken Fokusakzente (Großbuchstaben) durch die (hoch) steigenden bzw. hoch steigend-tief fallenden Tonhöhenbewegungen aus und sind von besonderer Bedeutung für die Informationsstruktur der gesamten Aussage.

Beleg 7

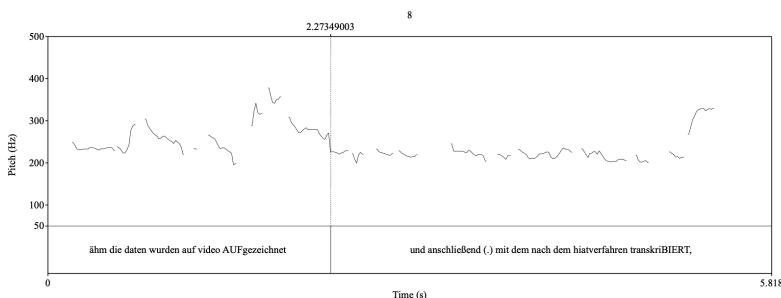
ich (0.2) werde NICHT? den ganzen (.) activity theory rahmen (.) ausbreiten der is zu groß und ich ähm (0.3) denke dass es auch gestern schon zum teil getan wurde °h und auch in verschiedenen anderen sektionen getan wurde °h ich picke mir hier °h die theorie der sprachlichen tätigkeit heraus, aus dem großen angebot- °h denn sie verdeutlicht (.) sehr (.) SCHÖN (0.4) öhm 0.3) dass (.) das lernen einer ZWEIten sprache oder einer (.) FREMDen sprache- °h dann doch noch ein spe (.) zieller lernprozess is im (.) vergleich zu anderen °hh äh (.) allgemeineren lernprozessen, (0.3) [EV_DE_004]



Graphik 7: Grundfrequenzveränderung von *ich (0.2) werde NICHT? den ganzen (.) activity theory rahmen (.) ausbreiten*

Beleg 8

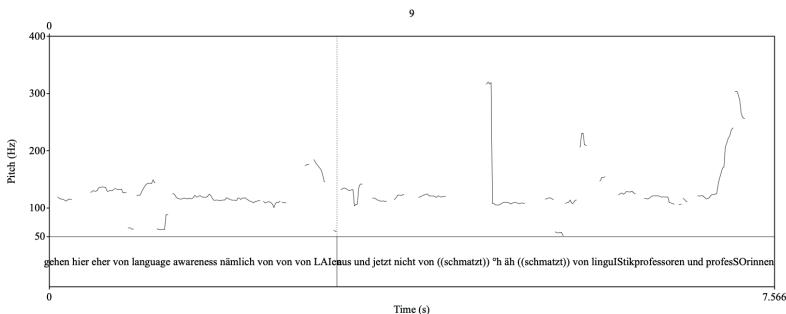
die **DAten** (.) auf die wir uns stützen (.) sind hundertfünfundsechzig schulwegbeschreibungen von erst und zweitklässlern, °h das altersspektrum (.) beträgt sechs komma eins jahre bis neun komma drei, (.) wobei das (.) kind mit im alter von neun komma drei °h jahren (.) eigentlich n ausreißer is also es geht eher so bis (0.7) acht komma drei jahre würde ich mal sagen; (.) °hh (0.4) ähm (.) die **DAten** wurden erhe hoben an fünf schulen im ((stadtname)) stadtgebiet in ganz unterschiedlichen sozialen ähm (0.7) sozial strukturierten gebieten? °hh (0.3) ähm ((schmatzt)) und die w kinder wurden im anschluss an eine (0.4) partnerarbeit wo sie sich **GEgenseitig** wege beschreiben sollten gebeten—°h uns zu sagen wie sie im anschluss (.) nach dem unterricht nach hause geben (.) gehen? °h das heißt die frage lautete wie gehst du nachher? (.) wenn die schule aus ist nach hause? °hh kannst du mir den weg so beschreiben— (.) dass ich ihn auch finden könnte; (0.3) °hh ähm die daten wurden auf video **AUFgezeichnet** und anschließend (.) mit dem nach dem hiatverfahren **transkribIERT**, (0.5) mit dem (.) programm (.) exmaralda. (2.2) [EV_DE_092]



Graphik 8: Grundfrequenzveränderung von ähm die daten wurden auf video **AUFgezeichnet** und anschließend (.) mit dem nach dem hiatverfahren **transkribIERT**,

Beleg 9

alle leute die sich mit fo mit language awareness beschäftigt haben (xxx) fremdsprachenunterricht oder °h eben auch im bereich manmal der der soziolinguistik in äh so minderheiten °h sprachsituation und so weiter °h äh gehen hier eher von language awareness nämlich von von von **LAIen** aus und jetzt nicht von ((schmatzt)) °h äh ((schmatzt)) von **linguISTikprofessoren** und **profesSOrinnen** [EV_DE_093]



Graphik 9: Grundfrequenzveränderung von *gehen hier eher von language awareness nämlich von von LAIen aus und jetzt nicht von ((schmatzt)) °h äh ((schmatzt)) von linguiStikprofessoren und profesSOrinnen*

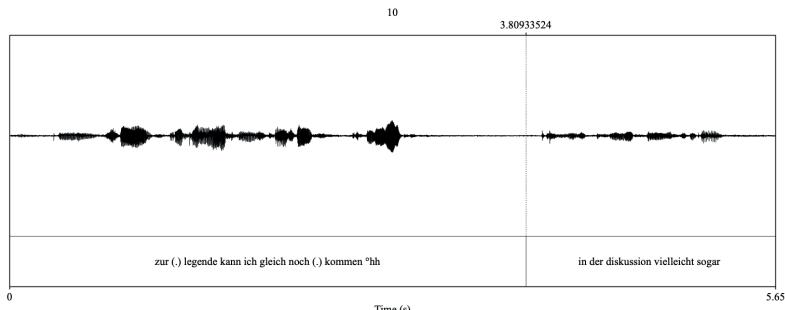
4.4. Signalisierung von Irrelevanz

Im Kontrast zu den prosodischen Hervorhebungen, mittels derer die Vortragenden bestimmte Lexeme als kommunikativ (besonders) relevant signalisieren, stehen prosodische Herabsetzungen, die auf weniger relevante Informationen in der Präsentation hinweisen. Es wird beobachtet, dass die Inhalte, die den Vortragenden in Bezug auf die wissenschaftliche Darstellung als nebensächlich erscheinen, mit einer deutlich niedrigeren Lautstärke, ggf. mit einer schnelleren Sprechgeschwindigkeit, realisiert werden. Hierbei handelt es sich vor allem um situationsgebundene Personenreferenzen, Zusätze bzw. Hinzufügungen und spontane Kommentare (manchmal in Form von Selbstgesprächen) zur eigenen Vortragsperformanz und zu den aktuellen Begleitumständen. Die Strategie scheint zu sein, die Aufmerksamkeit der Zuhörerschaft von den (nach Ansicht der Vortragenden) sekundären/nicht sachbezogenen Informationen abzulenken. In den Belegen 10–12 werden die fett markierten Äußerungen mit einer geringeren Intensität im Verhältnis zum linken und rechten Kontext realisiert. Interessant in diesem Zusammenhang ist, dass die Intensitätswerte direkt vor und nach der Signalisierung der Irrelevanz nahezu identisch sind.¹⁴

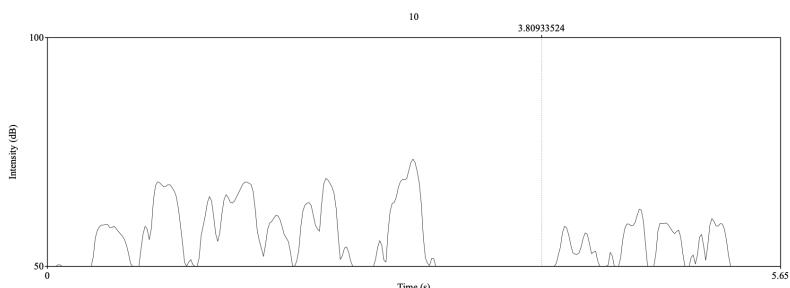
¹⁴ In den Praat-Graphiken zur Intensität konnten die zugehörigen Transkriptionen nicht eingeblendet werden. Daher wurden ergänzend Sound-Objekte eingefügt, damit die Abbildungen besser nachvollziehbar sind, siehe Graphiken 10a, 11a und 12a.

Beleg 10

das is das übertragungsresultat der transliteration die ich vorhin schon angesprochen habe also °h das is (0.6) digitalisiert von nem handgeschriebenen (.) ähm lerner (.) produkt also m schriftlichen (.) äh lernerprodukt (0.8) genau zur (.) legende kann ich gleich noch (.) kommen °hh in der diskussion vielleicht sogar °hhh öhm (0.4) diese schriftliche vorlage beruht aber (0.2) auf (0.6) weiteren (1.2) schriftlichen vorlagen ((schmatzt)) °h und auch auf mündlichen lerneräußerungen [EV_DE_004]



Graphik 10a: Sound-Objekt von *genau zur (.) legende kann ich gleich noch (.) kommen °hh in der diskussion vielleicht sogar*

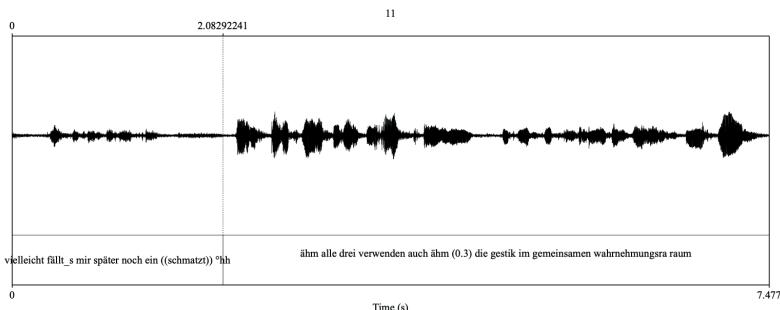


Graphik 10b: Intensitätsveränderung von *genau zur (.) legende kann ich gleich noch (.) kommen °hh in der diskussion vielleicht sogar*

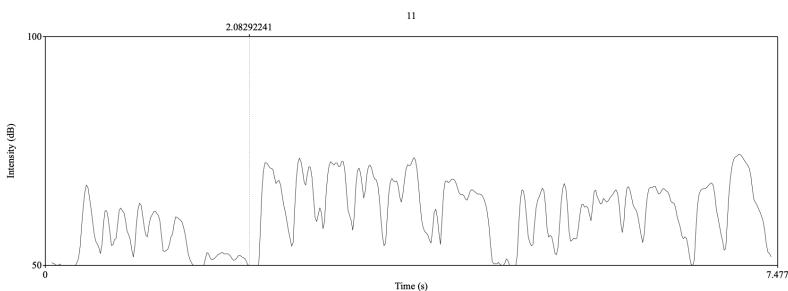
Beleg 11

ich denke aber das is typisch für das alter es is s ja auch typisch bei erzählungen findet man dis °hhh (.) und ähm (0.8) ((schmatzt)) (1.6) ((klopft)) ((schmatzt)) was wollt ich dazu noch sagen (6.4) vielleicht fällt_s mir

später noch ein ((schmatzt)) °hh (.) ähm alle drei verwenden auch ähm (0.3) die gestik im gemeinsamen wahrnehmungsraum (.) um (0.3) eben ihr sprachliches zeigen (.) zu unterstützen (0.6) [EV_DE_092]



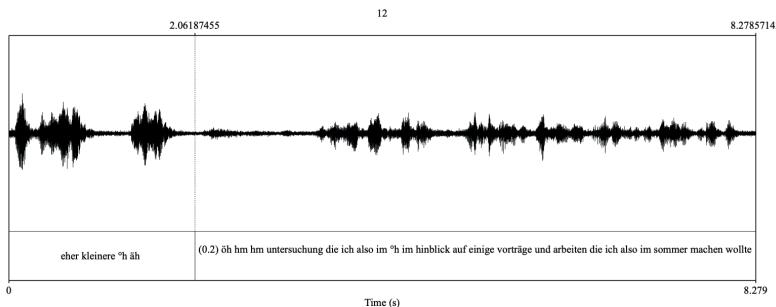
Graphik 11a: Sound-Objekt von vielleicht fällt_s mir später noch ein ((schmatzt)) °hh (.) ähm alle drei verwenden auch ähm (0.3) die gestik im gemeinsamen wahrnehmungsraum



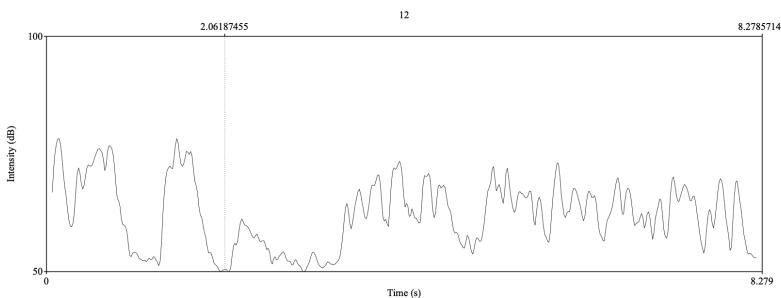
Graphik 11b: Intensitätsveränderung von vielleicht fällt_s mir später noch ein ((schmatzt)) °hh (.) ähm alle drei verwenden auch ähm (0.3) die gestik im gemeinsamen wahrnehmungsraum

Beleg 12

es handelt sich also hier °h äh nicht um so gewaltige (0.3) studien (.) äh mit tausenden befragten oder auch ähm keine habilitationsarbeit so nur so eine klei eher kleinere °h äh (0.2) öh hm hm untersuchung die ich also im °h im hinblick auf einige vorträge und arbeiten die ich also im sommer machen wollte °h äh (.) getätig habe (0.5) ((schnalzt)) nun (.) also dieses °h äh der zusammenhang multilingual awareness language awareness [EV_DE_093]



Graphik 12a: Sound-Objekt von *eher kleinere °h äh (0.2) öh hm hm untersuchung die ich also im °h im hinblick auf einige vorträge und arbeiten die ich also im sommer machen wollte*



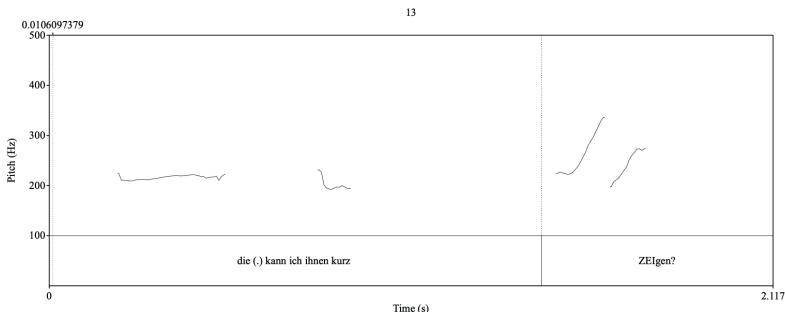
Graphik 12b: Intensitätsveränderung von *eher kleinere °h äh (0.2) öh hm hm untersuchung die ich also im °h im hinblick auf einige vorträge und arbeiten die ich also im sommer machen wollte*

4.5. Signalisierung eines höflichen Hörerbezugs

In einer offiziellen Vortragssituation, die das Sprecher-Hörer-Verhältnis weitgehend bestimmt, wird der direkte Hörerbezug sprachlich vor allem durch die Höflichkeitsformen hergestellt. Allerdings werden nicht nur lexikalische oder syntaktische Mittel zum Ausdruck der Höflichkeit verwendet, sondern auch phonetische. Die emphatischen Ausdrücke sind durch die stark steigende bzw. hoch steigend-tief fallende Tonhöhe (Großbuchstaben) charakterisiert und kommen gewöhnlich am Ende der hörerbezogenen Äußerung vor, vgl. Belege 13–15.

Beleg 13

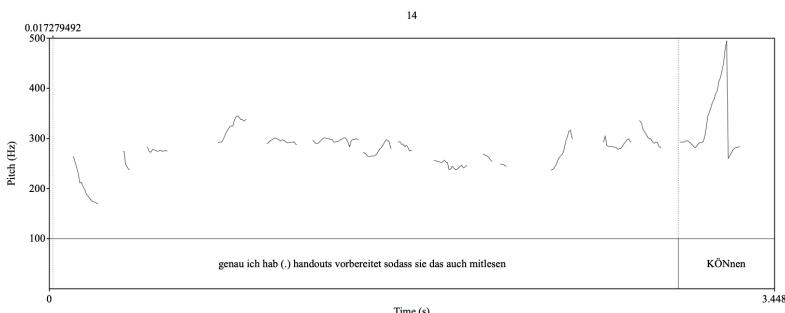
das is jetzt sozusagen der ausschnitt aus der radiosendung °h was hat zu diesem 0.4) medial mündlichen beitrag geführt °h eine (.) schriftliche vorlage (.) natürlich °h öhm (0.9) die (.) kann ich ihnen kurz ZEIgen? [EV_DE_004]



Graphik 13: Grundfrequenzveränderung von *die (.) kann ich ihnen kurz ZEIgen?*

Beleg 14

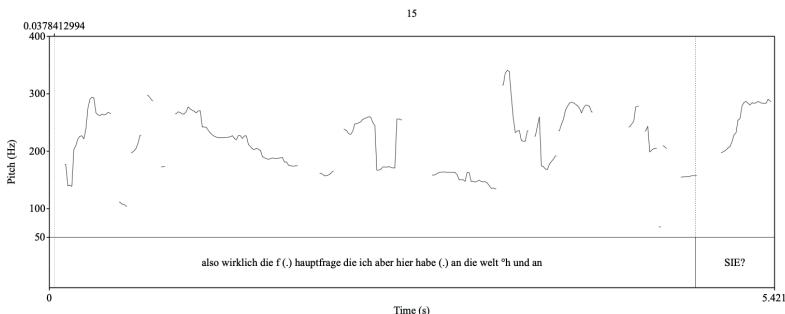
ich möchte ihnen gerne drei (.) beispiele aus unserem korpus vorstellen (0.3) ((schmatzt)) °h (0.4) ähm ((schmatzt)) ich probier_s gerne mal (0.6) ja °h genau ich hab (.) handouts vorbereitet sodass sie das auch mitlesen KÖNnen [EV_DE_092]



Graphik 14: Grundfrequenzveränderung von *genau ich hab(.) handouts vorbereitet sodass sie das auch mitlesen KÖNnen*

Beleg 15

also wirklich die f(.) hauptfrage die ich aber hier habe(.) an <<lachend> die welt "h und an SIE?> ob eben zum Beispiel sprachenpolitik jetzt von Laien betrieben wird oder von Expertinnen oder von allen diesen beteiligten Gruppen [EV_DE_093]



Graphik 15: Grundfrequenzveränderung von *also wirklich die f(.) hauptfrage die ich aber hier habe(.) an die welt "h und an SIE?*

5. Schlussfolgerungen und Ausblick

Im Rahmen der Pilotstudie zu den prosodischen Strategien in den frei gesprochenen Konferenzvorträgen dreier deutscher Linguisten konnte beobachtet werden, dass die Testpersonen trotz idiolektaler Besonderheiten ähnliche parasprachliche Mittel bei der Vortragsperformanz verwenden, um den Redefluss kommunikativ-funktional zu strukturieren und pragmatisch-semantisch zu modifizieren. Eine zentrale Rolle spielt dabei die Tonhöhe, die allein oder in Kombination mit den anderen Parametern eine frei gesprochene Rede prosodisch gestaltet. Erste Ergebnisse deuten darauf hin, dass die spezifischen kontrastierenden Merkmale im Bereich der Tonhöhe und/oder der Lautstärke wichtige segmentierende, kommunikative und rhetorische Funktionen ausüben. Dazu gehören: Signalisierung von Unabgeschlossenheit durch die (hoch) steigende bzw. gleichbleibende Tonhöhe in Begleitung von Dehnungen und/oder gefüllten Pausen, Signalisierung von Abgeschlossenheit durch die (tief) fallende Tonhöhe und leere Pausen, Signalisierung von Relevanz durch die hoch steigende bzw. hoch steigend-tief fallende Tonhöhe, Signalisierung von Irrelevanz durch die niedrigere Lautstärke und Signalisierung des höflichen Hörerbezugs durch die (hoch) steigende Tonhöhe am Ende des hörerbezogenen Aus-

drucks. Es bedarf noch weiterer umfangreicher Untersuchungen, um festzustellen, welche anderen Tendenzen sich in der Verwendung der prosodischen Mittel in der Vortragssituation abzeichnen, mit welcher Häufigkeit die Ausprägungen der prosodischen Merkmale vorkommen und inwieweit diese Merkmale textsortenspezifisch sind.

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Anhang

Liste der in den Transkriptionen verwendeten GAT 2-Transkriptionszeichen

[°] h	hörbares Einatmen von ca. 0.2-0.5 Sek. Dauer
[°] hh	hörbares Einatmen von ca. 0.5-0.8 Sek. Dauer
[°] hhh	hörbares Einatmen von ca. 0.8-1.0 Sek. Dauer
(.)	Mikropause, geschätzt, bis ca. 0.2 Sek. Dauer
(0.8)	gemessene Pause von ca. 0.8 Sek. Dauer

äh ähm öhm hm	Verzögerungssignale
((schmatzt)) ((klopft))	Charakterisierung parasprachlicher und außersprachlicher Handlungen
<<lachend> den raum>	lachendes Sprechen
VORtragen	Charakterisierung der Fokusakzentsilben
?	hoch steigende Tonhöhenbewegung
,	steigende Tonhöhenbewegung
-	gleichbleibende Tonhöhenbewegung
;	fallende Tonhöhenbewegung
.	tief fallende Tonhöhenbewegung
:	Dehnung um ca. 0.2-0.5 Sek.

Pilot study on prosodic strategies in freely spoken conference lectures by German linguists

In this article, partial results of an empirical pilot study on prosodic strategies are presented in freely spoken conference presentations by German linguists. The study aims to take a closer look at the coexistence of prosodic and pragmatic phenomena in scientific discourse and to document the first observations on the speaking behavior of scientists in the field of prosody. The subject of investigation is three selected expert lectures, which were recorded as part of the GeWiss project at international conferences in Germany. The basis of the investigation is the auditory analysis carried out by the author, which is additionally supplemented by acoustic information in Praat.

Keywords: prosodic strategies, conference lectures, scientific discourse.

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Mechanismen und Tendenzen der kreativen Anpassung von IAW-Strukturen im Deutschen und im Französischen

1. IAW-Strukturen: Einführung

1.1. Was sind IAW-Strukturen?

In seinem „logisch-ökonomischen Argument für die Konstruktionsgrammatik“ geht Anatol Stefanowitsch (2011:189-198) auf ein illokutionsverstärkendes Muster des Deutschen ein, das er als WhIAW-Konstruktion bezeichnet. Gemeint ist das Phänomen, bei dem in Ergänzungsfragen, typischerweise direkt nach dem Fragewort (Wh), die feste Verbindung *in aller Welt* (IAW) eingeschoben wird, die als eine Art Intensivierung zu verstehen ist und „Unverständnis des Sprechers bezüglich der Proposition des Satzes aus[drückt], in dem sie auftritt“ (Stefanowitsch 2011:190; vgl. auch Boucher 2010:111). Stefanowitsch (a. a. O.) liefert dazu u. a. folgende Beispiele:

- (1) *Was in aller Welt will Frau Merkel erreichen, ist sie völlig naiv und vergesslich (Stichwort Kosovo)?*
- (2) *Warum in aller Welt sollte man ein Rockkonzert besuchen? Die Luft ist schlecht, der Sound meist ebenso.*
- (3) *Inzenberg, wo in aller Welt liegt das denn?*
- (4) *Aber wie in aller Welt wird es ausgesprochen?*

In aller Welt ist jedoch nicht der einzige Ausdruck, der im Deutschen auf diese Weise verwendet werden kann. Stefanowitsch (2011:190) erwähnt als weitere Beispiele noch *zum Teufel*, *zur Hölle*, *um Himmels willen* und *in drei Teufels Namen*, doch damit ist bei Weitem nicht das gesamte Spektrum abgedeckt: Insgesamt konnten bei einer Recherche in verschiedenen Korpora (insbesondere aus den IDS-Korpusarchiven COSMAS-II und

Datenbank Gesprochenes Deutsch¹) sowie im Internet bereits 1974 verschiedene Ausdrücke gefunden werden (teilweise mit weiteren orthographischen Varianten), die eine solche Verwendung aufweisen. Diese Ausdrücke werden im Folgenden, im Anschluss an Stefanowitschs Analyse, als IAW-Strukturen bezeichnet; die Beispiele (5-8) geben einen kleinen Einblick in diese große Vielfalt.

- (5) *Wo beim Barte des Merlin wart ihr solange?*²
- (6) *Was in des Geiers Namen soll der Blödsinn?*
- (7) *Und wer zur höllischen Hölle bist du, wenn man fragen darf?*
- (8) *Was zum Keks sind denn „Negerkekse“?*

Anders als Stefanowitschs Beschreibung vermuten lassen könnte, beschränkt sich die Verwendung von IAW-Strukturen im Übrigen nicht auf Ergänzungsfragen: Auch in anderen Satz- bzw. Illokutionstypen können zumindest einige dieser Ausdrücke mit einer entsprechenden Funktion verwendet werden (*Bleib zum Teufel nochmal weg von mir!* – mit *in aller Welt* selber ist dies allerdings nur sehr eingeschränkt möglich). Im Folgenden werden jedoch, ähnlich wie in Stefanowitschs Studie, nur die IAW-Strukturen in Fragewortfragen näher betrachtet.

IAW-Strukturen sind kein rein deutsches Phänomen. Ziemlich generell bekannt, und zum Teil auch bereits seit längerer Zeit als Beispiele in der Literatur beschrieben (insbesondere im konstruktionsgrammatischen Kontext oder in formalen Analysen ihrer syntaktischen Besonderheiten, siehe u. a. Fillmore 1985, Pesetsky 1987, Akiyama 2014, Martin 2020), sind englische Beispiele wie *the fuck, the heck, the hell, the devil, on earth, in all world, in tarnation, in heaven's name, for God's sake* usw.³

- (9) *What the heck is a hashtag?*
- (10) *Why, for God's sake, will people not plainly admit that this is the fact?*

¹ <https://www2.ids-mannheim.de/cosmas2/> bzw. https://dgd.ids-mannheim.de/dgd/pragdb.dgd_extern.welcome.

² Die meisten Beispiele in diesem Aufsatz sind Internetfunde (vgl. 1.2); für die genauen Internetadressen verweise ich auf das Verzeichnis in der Anlage. Die Internetbelege werden direkt zitiert, ohne Korrektur etwaiger Sprach- oder Tippfehler.

³ Gemeint sind also die Ausdrücke, die nach Pesetsky (1987) oft als „aggressively non-D-linked wh-phrases“ beschrieben werden (vgl. fürs Deutsche Wiltschko 1997), obwohl Oguro (2017) gezeigt hat, dass diese Bezeichnung eigentlich zu hinterfragen ist, weshalb sie hier nicht verwendet wird.

Bislang deutlich weniger beachtet sind die IAW-Strukturen des Französischen, was auch dem Umstand geschuldet sein mag, dass die Typen- wie die Tokenfrequenz im Französischen im Vergleich zu IAW-reichen Sprachen wie dem Deutschen deutlich niedriger ist: Vom noch einigermaßen geläufigen *diable* und einigen gruppenspezifischen Varianten (siehe 4.2) abgesehen, handelt es sich um ein seltenes Phänomen und in Wörterbüchern wie dem TLFi und dem Grand Robert²2001 werden diese Strukturen auch, sofern sie überhaupt erwähnt werden, als „vieux“ ‘veraltet’, „littéraire“ ‘literarisch’ oder gar „désuet“ ‘obsolet’ vermerkt. Eine Suche im Internet und in verschiedenen Korpora⁴ ergab bislang auch nur 132 verschiedene Strukturen (gegenüber 1974 für das Deutsche). Trotzdem sind im Französischen durchaus auch IAW-Strukturen⁵ zu finden, wie die folgenden Beispiele belegen:

- (11) *Pourquoi diable pose-t-elle toujours des questions ?*
- (12) *Pour l'amour de Dieu, pourquoi as-tu fait ça ?*
- (13) *Comment, par la barbe de Sotha Sil, cette écailleuse avait-elle récupéré cette carte ?*
- (14) *Mais pourquoi, nom de ce qui n'est pas une pipe, s'est-il dissimulé ?*

1.2. Variation bei IAW-Strukturen: Ziele der Studie

Dass Stefanowitsch (2011) ausgerechnet *in aller Welt* als Thema seiner Studie gewählt hat, ist an sich nicht verwunderlich, handelt es sich doch um eine geläufige, verfestigte Verbindung, die tatsächlich als solche in Lexika aufgeführt wird (etwa im Redewendungen-Duden, ³2008, s. v. *Welt*). Gleichermaßen gilt auch für seine anderen Beispiele (*zum Teufel, zur Hölle,*

⁴ Durchsucht wurden unter anderem die letzten 60 Jahre von Frantext sowie das Orfeo-Korpus CEFC (<https://repository.ortolang.fr/api/content/cefc-orfeo/10/documentation/site-orfeo/index.html>).

⁵ Ein anonymer Gutachter kritisiert die Verwendung der Bezeichnung „IAW-Strukturen“ für das Französische, weil es – anders als im Deutschen und im Englischen (*in aller Welt* bzw. *in all world*) – keine entsprechende Struktur gebe, die sich zu „IAW“ abkürzen lasse, und weil sich Stefanowitschs Studie, auf die die Bezeichnung zurückgeht, auf das Deutsche beschränke. Obwohl beide Einwände an sich richtig sind, wird im Folgenden die Bezeichnung „IAW-Strukturen“ weiterhin für beide Sprachen verwendet, weil es sich um entsprechende Phänomene handelt und nicht durch unterschiedliche Bezeichnungen der Eindruck geweckt werden soll, dass die Unterschiede zwischen den Strukturen in den beiden Sprachen größer wären, als sie sind.

um Himmels willen und *in drei Teufels Namen*), und auch typische IAW-Strukturen aus anderen Sprachen (etwa *pour l'amour de Dieu*) können als feste Verbindungen betrachtet werden. Genauer gesagt handelt es sich um phraseologische Einheiten oder Phraseme, d. h. feste Mehrwortverbindungen, die typischerweise keine summative Bedeutung haben (zur Terminologie: siehe u. a. Sabban 1998:15,29, Burger et al. 2007:2-3 und Donalies 2009:29-31). Diese Festigkeit ist jedoch als ein „graduelles Phänomen“ zu betrachten (Sabban 1998:29). Dass das auch im Fall der IAW-Strukturen gilt, illustrieren bereits einige der oben gegebenen Beispiele. Beispiel (14) etwa enthält eine Gelegenheitsmodifikation der geläufigeren Struktur *nom d'une pipe*. In diesem Fall dürfte es sich tatsächlich um eine rein okkasionelle Bildung handeln, die nicht durch den konkreten Kontext bedingt ist (der Text, aus dem der Beleg stammt, bezieht sich nicht auf René Magrittes berühmtes Gemälde „La Trahison des images“). Sehr oft ist jedoch ein solcher Kontextbezug erkennbar, etwa in Beispiel (13), das einem Internetforum zur Computerspielreihe „The Elder Scrolls“ entstammt, in der Sotha Sil eine der Figuren ist. Einen ähnlichen Fall hatten wir fürs Deutsche mit Beispiel (8), in dem aus *zum Teufel zum Keks* gemacht wurde, weil gerade von einem Keks die Rede war.

Gerade dieses Anpassungspotenzial von IAW-Strukturen und die dadurch zustande kommende Vielfalt an Ausdrucksformen sollen im Folgenden für das Deutsche und das Französische näher betrachtet werden. Insbesondere soll den Fragen nachgegangen werden, nach welchen Prinzipien die Anpassung stattfinden kann und welche Tendenzen und Restriktionen die Anpassungsmöglichkeiten beeinflussen bzw. einschränken. Die Sprachenauswahl liegt gerade darin begründet, dass IAW-Strukturen im Deutschen, insbesondere in der informellen Umgangssprache, ein geläufiges Phänomen darstellen, im heutigen Französisch dagegen nicht. Im Folgenden soll also das Variationspotenzial in einer „IAW-reichen“ und einer „IAW-armen“ Sprache verglichen werden, um zu überprüfen, ob dieses Potenzial in der „IAW-reichen“ Sprache stärker ausgeprägt ist. Die nachfolgenden Beobachtungen sind auch immer vor diesem Hintergrund zu lesen; insbesondere Ausdrücke wie „häufig“ und „üblich“ sind, bezogen auf das Französische, relativ zur generellen Seltenheit von IAW-Strukturen in dieser Sprache zu interpretieren.

Dem Ziel entsprechend, das Anpassungspotenzial der IAW-Strukturen zu beschreiben, war es wichtig, einen guten Eindruck der Vielfalt und der tatsächlich möglichen Modifikationen zu bekommen: Die Studie soll sich nicht auf usuelle Varianten beschränken, die aufgrund ihrer Üblichkeit sel-

ber zum Teil auch in Lexika zu finden sind (etwa *was zum Geier* als Variante zu *was zum Teufel*, vgl. 3.1), sondern eben auch die Möglichkeiten der okkasionellen Variation abdecken. Deswegen wurde für diese Studie nicht primär von traditionellen Korpora ausgegangen, sondern von einer Internetrecherche⁶, da die verfügbaren Korpora – trotz ihres zum Teil beachtlichen Umfangs – nur einen beschränkten Teil des Variationsspektrums abdecken (COSMAS-II enthielt zum Beispiel zum Suchzeitpunkt, Release DeReKo-2015-II, gut 6,9 Milliarden Textwörter und trotzdem ergab die Suche nur 40 verschiedene IAW-Strukturen). Nur so konnte sichergestellt werden, dass auch Gelegenheitsbildungen berücksichtigt werden konnten, die aufgrund ihrer Seltenheit als Okkisionalismen (zum Teil auch im Internet Hapaxlegomena!) sonst übersehen worden wären und die auf den ersten Blick zum Teil sogar einigermaßen gekünstelt oder gesucht wirken dürften, aber eben auch das Variationspotenzial der IAW-Strukturen mit ausmachen. Angesichts dieser Vorgehensweise können sich Aussagen zur Geläufigkeit im Folgenden auch nur auf die Typenfrequenz beziehen, nicht auf die Tokenfrequenz.

Der Fokus liegt tatsächlich auf das rein formale Anpassungspotenzial der IAW-Strukturen. Etwaige subtile Nuancenunterschiede zwischen den einzelnen Strukturen oder Gelegenheitsbildungen bleiben demnach außer Betracht, genauso wie etwaige Unterschiede hinsichtlich Register, Textsorte oder Stilebene. Ebenso ausgeklammert bleibt die Variation im Stellungsverhalten⁷ sowie die Tatsache, dass IAW-Strukturen teilweise, aber nicht

⁶ Gesucht wurde mit Google (inkl. GoogleBooks), hauptsächlich nach Kombinationen vom Typ „was zum“ oder „warum beim Barte“. Außerdem wurde zielgerichtet nach konkreten Variationen gesucht, die erwartbar oder zumindest plausibel erschienen, aber bei den ersten Suchanfragen nicht belegt waren. Als Inspirationsquelle für die Suchanfragen diente auch die existierende Literatur zu IAW-Strukturen sowie zu entsprechenden Ausdrücken in anderen Sprachen (vgl. die Referenzen in 1.1.) und Synonymangaben in Wörterbüchern und Redewendungenlexika. Es kann nicht ausgeschlossen werden, dass bei dieser Vorgehensweise manche Ausdrücke übersehen wurden (weil sie eine Struktur haben, die nicht den Suchanfragen entspricht, oder weil sie nicht direkt nach dem Fragewort verwendet werden). Der Umfang des Datensatzes, mit zumindest fürs Deutsche immerhin fast 2000 belegten Ausdrücken, lässt jedoch vermuten, dass die Studie einen wesentlichen Teil der Vielfalt abdeckt.

⁷ Typischerweise stehen IAW-Strukturen im Deutschen direkt nach dem Fragewort, aber auch eine Verwendung in der linken Satzperipherie oder weiter hinten im Satz (insbesondere im Mittelfeld) ist möglich. Im Französischen ist insbesondere die linksperipherie Verwendung deutlich geläufiger als im Deutschen (ausführlicher dazu Schoonjans 2019).

systematisch, durch Kommata, Klammern oder Gedankenstriche vom Rest des Satzes abgetrennt werden, da diese beiden Faktoren zwar die Prominenz oder die genaue Interpretation der jeweiligen Struktur beeinflussen können, für die Entfaltung des Variationspotenzials jedoch keine wesentliche Rolle zu spielen scheinen. Mit in die Studie aufgenommen werden jedoch Einwortsausdrücke, die als IAW-Strukturen auftreten können (etwa *diable* in (11)): Dabei handelt es sich zwar nicht um Phraseme im vollen Sinne, aber zum Teil weisen diese Strukturen (insbesondere *diable*) ein ähnliches Anpassungspotenzial auf wie die Mehrwortsausdrücke, sodass sie für die vorliegende Studie durchaus auch relevant sind.

Der Beitrag ist folgendermaßen aufgebaut: Im folgenden Abschnitt werden die wichtigsten Muster besprochen, nach denen IAW-Strukturen in den beiden Sprachen aufgebaut sind. Die beiden nächsten Abschnitte behandeln die beiden zentralen Fragen: Im Abschnitt 3 wird auf die wichtigsten Anpassungsmechanismen eingegangen, im Abschnitt 4 auf die wichtigsten Tendenzen und Restriktionen. Der Beitrag schließt mit einem Fazit mit Ausblick (Abschnitt 5).

2. Arten von IAW-Strukturen im Deutschen und im Französischen

Obwohl die Recherche für das Deutsche knapp 2000 verschiedene IAW-Strukturen ergeben hat, lässt sich diese große Vielfalt hinsichtlich des Aufbaus der Strukturen auf sieben Hauptgruppen reduzieren, die im Folgenden vorgestellt werden sollen. Die vier wichtigsten Gruppen werden über bestimmte Aufbaumuster definiert (vgl. die Konzepte der „Phrasem-Konstruktionen“ bei Stein & Stumpf 2019:18, der „Wortverbindigmuster“ bei Steyer 2011 sowie der „Phraseoschablonen“ bei Fleischer 1997:130-134); bei drei Restgruppen lässt sich ein solches Muster nur schwer bestimmen. Für das Französische konnten zwar nur gut 132 verschiedene IAW-Strukturen gefunden werden, aber trotzdem lassen sich auch hier sieben Hauptgruppen ausmachen, die den deutschen Hauptgruppen weitestgehend entsprechen. Deswegen werden diese Hauptgruppen im Folgenden gleich für beide Sprachen gemeinsam vorgestellt.

IAW-Strukturen gehen ursprünglich auf Kraftausdrücke (Flüche und Verwünschungen) oder auf Schwurformeln zurück. Dies zeigt sich auch beim weitaus frequentesten Muster im Deutschen, für das immerhin 1524 verschiedene IAW-Strukturen gefunden werden konnten: [*bei/zu X*]. Dabei geht die Variante mit *bei* (415 verschiedene Strukturen) ursprünglich auf eine Schwurformel zurück, während die geläufigere Variante mit *zu* (1109

verschiedene Strukturen) eher auf Kraftausdrücke zurückzuführen ist.⁸ Heutzutage scheint diese Dimension allerdings nur mehr bedingt relevant zu sein und mehrere Strukturen sind tatsächlich mit beiden Präpositionen belegt (etwa *beim/zum Geier* und *beim/zum Kuckuck*).

Zu dieser ersten Gruppe gehören einige der geläufigsten IAW-Strukturen, u. a. *zum Teufel*, *zur Hölle*, *zum Geier* und *zum Kuckuck*, aber auch etliche Gelegenheitsbildungen wie *zum heiligen St. Martin*, *zum Krampus*, *zu Merlin's gestreifter Unterhose*, *zur Erdbeere*, *zum verteufelten Donnerwetter* und *zur dreifach gebügelten Wollsocke*. Die Präposition *bei* wird vor allem mit Heiligen verwendet, was noch ein Überbleibsel ihrer Herkunft in Schwurformeln sein könnte (*bei allen Heiligen*, *beim heiligen Benedikt*, *bei der heiligen Maria im Himmel* usw.). Wie bereits angedeutet, findet sie sich aber heutzutage auch in vielen anderen Strukturen, oft Gelegenheitsbildungen wie *bei Merlin's bunt gestreifter Unterhose*, *bei allen verdammten Höllen*, *bei Trumps rechtem Ei*, *bei allen fliegenden Untertassen* u. dgl.

- (15) *Was zum Geier ist die „CommonName Toolbar“ ?!*
- (16) *Wann zur dreifach gebügelten Wollsocke, wird der Heider Veganer?*
- (17) *Warum, bei allen Heiligen, musste dieser grantige Kerl nur so unglaublich attraktive und starke Hände haben!*

Auch das Französische hat ein entsprechendes Muster, nämlich [*par X*] (46 verschiedene Strukturen). Auch in diesem Fall gibt es einige Basisstrukturen, wie *par le diable* und *par Dieu*, und Gelegenheitsbildungen wie *par les couilles du pape*, *par les caleçons de Merlin*, *par la sainte culotte de la Sainte Vierge* usw. Anzumerken ist allerdings, dass *par le diable*, anders als das deutsche *zum Teufel*, kaum noch verwendet wird; stattdessen ist im Französischen eher (*que*) *diable*⁹ (mit Varianten wie *di-antra*) üblich (vgl. auch Rouayrenc 1997:17). Obwohl in diesem Fall die Präposition fehlt, lässt sich *diable* wohl auch als Variante des ersten Musters betrachten – jedenfalls lassen sich fürs Deutsche in älteren Quellen ebenfalls präpositionslose Strukturen finden, die in ihrer heutzutage üblicheren Form mit Präposition dem ersten Muster zuzurechnen wären. Jacob & Wilhelm Grimm erwähnen in ihrem *Deutschen Wörterbuch* (1897, s. v.

⁸ Genau genommen hat das Fluchen aber selber auch seinen Ursprung im Schwören, vgl. u. a. Achilles/Pighin (2008:141).

⁹ *Que diable* ist die satzperiphere Variante; im Satzinneren wird meistens nur *diable* gesagt.

Geier) zum Beispiel auch Beispiele wie „wo geyer hastu die hände gehabt, dasz sie so fett und salzigt sein?“ (heute: zum Geier). Dies legt nahe, dass auch im Deutschen die präpositionslose Variante früher üblich war¹⁰ (und heute verschwunden ist), während die präpositionslose Form im Französischen zumindest in einzelnen IAW-Strukturen wie *diable* und *diantre* bis heute Bestand hat.

(18) *Comment par le diable es-tu venu ici ?*

(19) *Mais pourquoi diable ces vaccins ont-ils pu être développés et autorisés en un délai record alors que cela prend d'habitude des années ?*

Ein zweites Muster, das als Variante des ersten betrachtet werden könnte und tatsächlich auch aus einer Schwurformel hervorgegangen ist, hat die Struktur [*beim Barte Xs*] (selten auch mit Voranstellung des Genitivs [*bei Xs Bart*]¹¹) bzw. im Französischen [*par la barbe de X*] (126 deutsche Strukturen, 20 französische). Die deutsche Basisvariante ist *beim Barte des Propheten*, die französische also vermutlich das heutzutage seltene *par la barbe du prophète*¹², aber in beiden Sprachen finden sich auch Varianten mit anderen Entitäten in der X-Position. Oft handelt es sich dabei tatsächlich um reale oder fiktive Bartträger (*beim Barte des Archimedes*, *beim Barte des Königs*, *beim Barte des Weihnachtsmannes*, *par la barbe de Socrate*, *par la barbe de Merlin* usw.), aber auch weibliche Personen

¹⁰ Ähnlich liest man in Marie von Ebner-Eschenbachs Geschichte *Die Freiherren von Gemperlein* aus dem Jahre 1878 noch „Was der Teufel!“ – zwar mit Artikel, aber ohne Präposition. Im Übrigen ist auch das präpositionslose *Teufel (nochmal)!* bis heute vereinzelt als Fluch belegt und auch in Lexika wie dem Redewendungen-Duden (³2008, s. v. *Teufel*) vermerkt (für die Verwendung als IAW-Struktur konnten keine eindeutigen aktuellen Belege gefunden werden).

¹¹ „Xs“ bedeutet also, dass X im Genitiv steht (oder ggf. als possessive *von*-Phrase realisiert wird).

¹² Anders als das deutsche *beim Barte des Propheten*, das u. a. im Redewendungen-Duden (³2008, s. v. *Bart*) zu finden ist, konnte *par la barbe du prophète* in keinem Lexikon gefunden werden. Ein anonymer Gutachter weist darauf hin, dass [*par la barbe de X*] „höchstens“ in Comics verwendet werde (etwa *Tim und Struppi* bzw. auf Französisch *Les Aventures de Tintin*). Obwohl die Belege zeigen, dass „höchstens“ eine Übertreibung ist, mag es sich tatsächlich um ein in der Alltagssprache sehr seltenes Muster handeln. Trotzdem legen der usuelle Charakter des deutschen Ausdrucks und die Variation, die auch im Französischen belegt ist, nahe, dass es sich doch auch im Französischen um einen Ausdruck mit längerer Tradition handelt, der – außer vielleicht in Comics und in modifizierter Form bei Harry-Potter-Fans (siehe 4.2.) – nur nicht (mehr?) hochfrequent ist.

(oft Verwandte) und Tiere kommen in beiden Sprachen vor (*beim Barte meiner Mutter, beim Barte der Zahnfee, beim Barte des Schneeleoparden, par la barbe de ma tante, par la barbe du chat angora usw.*). Auffällig ist besonders im Französischen die Produktivität dieses Musters, trotz seiner generellen Seltenheit; zum Teil ist diese wohl darauf zurückzuführen, dass es sich um ein typisches Muster in Harry-Potter-Kontexten handelt (vgl. 4.2.), obwohl die meisten vorgefundenen Variationen (*par la barbe de Socrate, par la barbe de ma tante usw.*) nicht in solchen Kontexten angetroffen wurden.

- (20) *Wer beim Barte des Propheten ist denn Freu Eilers?*
- (21) *Was beim Barte meiner Mutter ist denn hier passiert?*
- (22) *On peut dire ça ainsi, mais comment par la barbe de Merlin savez vous ça ?!*

Ein drittes Muster, das in beiden Sprachen in entsprechender Form besteht, ist das Muster [*in Xs Namen*] (auch mit Nachstellung des Genitivs: [*im Namen Xs*]) bzw. [*(au) nom de X*] (178 deutsche Strukturen, 34 französische). Auch in diesem Fall lassen sich, neben einigen etablierten Basissvarianten (die im Übrigen perfekt übereinstimmen: *in Gottes Namen – au nom de Dieu, im Namen des Himmels – au nom du ciel usw.*), in beiden Sprachen Gelegenheitsbildungungen finden: *in Godfathers Namen, im Namen aller afrikanischen Schwalben, im Namen von wem auch immer, au nom de Merlin, nom de ce qui n'est pas une pipe usw.*

- (23) *Wieso in Gottes Namen sollten wir dieses Auto, das jetzt auf der Höhe seiner Zeit ist, aufgeben?*
- (24) *Wie in Godfathers Namen war sie in Florida gelandet?*
- (25) *Alors pourquoi, au nom du ciel, lui avez-vous donné la Pologne ?*
- (26) *Mais pourquoi, nom de ce qui n'est pas une pipe, s'est-il dissimulé ?*

Diese Beobachtung gilt auch für das vierte Muster, bei dem die Übereinstimmung allerdings weniger deutlich aus der Form hervorgeht: [*um Xs willen*] (bei Nachstellung des Genitivs zum Teil auch mit *bei: [beim willen Xs]*) bzw. [*pour l'amour de X*] (60 deutsche Strukturen, 10 französische). Trotzdem können diese beiden Muster als Pendants betrachtet werden, zumal sich das deutsche *willen* und das französische *amour* (dt. ‘Liebe’) etymologisch betrachtet derselben konzeptuellen Domäne zuordnen lassen: Sowohl das Lieben als auch das Wollen sind

Formen des Begehrens.¹³ Erneut lassen sich in beiden Sprachen sowohl etablierte Strukturen (*um Gottes willen, um Himmels willen, pour l'amour de Dieu, pour l'amour du ciel* usw.) als auch Gelegenheitsbildungen finden (*um aller Tiere willen, um der Sterne willen, um des Platzes des himmlischen Friedens willen, pour l'amour de Salazar, pour l'amour du *!@#\$ usw.*).

- (27) *Wo um Himmels Willen liegt Mannebach?*
- (28) *Was um der Sterne willen wollten sie hier?*
- (29) *Pour l'amour de Dieu, pourquoi as-tu fait ça ?*
- (30) *Pour l'amour de Salazar, que t'est-il arrivé Draco ?*

Den vier bislang beschriebenen Gruppen bzw. Mustern lassen sich die allermeisten bei den Recherchen gefundenen IAW-Strukturen zuordnen. Bei den verbleibenden Strukturen (86 deutsche und 22 französische) lassen sich jedoch noch einmal drei weitere Gruppen ausmachen, die sich allerdings nicht über ein ähnliches Muster definieren lassen.

Die erste dieser Restgruppen besteht aus IAW-Strukturen, die auf die Gesamtheit der Dinge und unserer Lebenswelt verweisen. Die meisten deutschen Strukturen in dieser Gruppe sind nach dem Muster [*um alles auf/in X*] oder [*in allem/aller/allen X*] aufgebaut – sowohl usuelle Varianten wie *um alles auf der Welt* oder das namensspandende *in aller Welt* als auch okkasionelle Bildungen wie *um alles im Wald, um alles im All, in allen Ozeanen* und *in aller Unterwasserwelt*. Dieser Gruppe werden aber auch Strukturen wie *auf Erde(n)* zugeordnet, die ein ähnliches Bild hervorrufen, aber nicht nach einem der beiden angesprochenen Mustern aufgebaut sind. Für das Französische sind in dieser Gruppe insbesondere *au monde* und *de toutes les choses au monde* zu nennen; Gelegenheitsbildungen konnten bislang keine gefunden werden.

¹³ Diesen Hinweis verdanke ich Dirk Geeraerts (persönliche Kommunikation). Es ist wohl auch kein Zufall, dass ausgerechnet *zuliebe* eine geläufige Paraphrase der Zirkumposition *um...willen* (außerhalb von Phrasemen) ist (siehe u. a. DWDS und die Duden-Wörterbücher). Außerdem ist sowohl im Deutschen als auch im Französischen die X-Position in diesem Fall ursprünglich als Objektgenitiv zu lesen, enthält also das Objekt des Willens bzw. Liebens (vgl. DWDS bzw. Le Grand Robert 2001, s. v. *amour*); sowohl für das deutsche als auch für das französische Muster sind also historisch gesehen Paraphrasen wie ‚um X zu wahren, aus Liebe für X/X zuliebe, wegen X‘ möglich.

- (31) *Wer um alles auf der Welt hätte einen Grund gehabt, die junge Frau zu töten?*
- (32) *Was in allen Ozeanen trieb ihn?*
- (33) *Aber warum auf Erden fühle ich es immer noch?*
- (34) *Je me souviens m'être demandé comment au monde j'allais l'annoncer à ma famille.*

Die zweite Restgruppe besteht aus Kraftausdrücken, die als IAW-Strukturen gebraucht werden können. Es wurde bereits darauf hingewiesen, dass IAW-Strukturen ursprünglich auf Fluch- und Schwurformeln zurückgehen, und insbesondere in linksperipherer Verwendung (siehe etwa die französischen Beispiele (29-30)) ist diese Nähe zum Fluchen noch erkennbar bzw. ist die Grenze zwischen Fluch und IAW-Struktur durchlässig. Generell kommt es aber auch vor, dass Fluchformeln, die keinem der oben besprochenen Muster entsprechen, trotzdem wie IAW-Strukturen eingesetzt werden und dabei auch das typische Stellungsverhalten von IAW-Strukturen aufweisen. Zu dieser Gruppe gehören im Deutschen Ausdrücke wie *verdammmt*, *verflucht* und *verflixt* (oft in Kombination mit *nochmal*) sowie *Scheiße*; im Französischen sind unter anderem *putain* und *merde* zu erwähnen. Diese Gruppe zeichnet sich dadurch aus, dass hier weniger Gelegenheitsbildungen zu finden sind.¹⁴

- (35) *Wieso verdammmt nochmal können Bäcker nicht die Finger von Remoula-de lassen!?!?*
- (36) *Warum Scheiße nochmal habe ich mir den Ersatzschlüssel nicht schon viel früher besorgt.*
- (37) *Pourquoi putain tu m'as frappé ?*

Die dritte und letzte Restgruppe enthält IAW-Strukturen, die aus einer anderen Sprache entlehnt wurden. In den meisten Fällen handelt es sich sowohl im Deutschen als auch im Französischen um Entlehnungen aus

¹⁴ Zum Teil dürfte bei diesen Ausdrücken der Fluchcharakter auch in der Verwendung als IAW-Struktur noch stärker durchschimmern, als das etwa bei *zum Teufel* der Fall ist. Mit Sicherheit hängt dies auch damit zusammen, wie stark die Ausdrücke bereits grammatisiert sind und auch andere expressive Verwendungen entwickelt haben, die nicht mehr als reines Fluchen zu betrachten sind, etwa als expressives Adjektiv oder als Affixoid. Diese Frage übersteigt jedoch den Rahmen des vorliegenden Beitrags.

dem Englischen, obwohl zumindest fürs Deutsche auch Entlehnungen aus dem Französischen (u. a. *pour l'amour du ciel* (38)) und dem Italienischen (*per l'amor di Dio*) gefunden werden können. Entlehnungen, die sich in beiden Sprachen finden lassen, sind zum Beispiel *the fuck*, *the heck*, *the hell*, *on earth* und *for God's sake*. Manchmal ist es tatsächlich nur die IAW-Struktur selber, die entlehnt wurde, aber es kommt auch vor, dass das Fragewort mit entlehnt wurde, wie die Beispiele (39-42) zeigen.

- (38) *Wie, pour l'amour du ciel, ist so etwas möglich?*
- (39) *Warum the fuck ist es so wichtig, was ich gerade mache?*
- (40) *What the heck ist ein Fußballventilator?*
- (41) *Pourquoi the fuck le site officiel nous envoie vers Anthem ?*
- (42) *Why the fuck est-ce que le roi et ses gardes sont aussi surchéatés ?*

Insgesamt lassen sich alle bislang nachgewiesenen IAW-Strukturen des Deutschen und des Französischen einer dieser sieben Gruppen zuordnen. Zu einigen der beschriebenen Muster lassen sich im Übrigen auch Pendants in anderen Sprachen antreffen. Das Muster [*in Xs Namen*] findet sich zum Beispiel auch im Englischen (*in heaven's name*, *in God's name*) sowie im relativ IAW-armen Niederländisch (*in 's hemels naam*, *in Gods naam*), das Italienische kennt unter anderem *per l'amor di Dio*, was direkt dem Französischen *pour l'amour de Dieu* entspricht, und das englische Muster [*the X*] (*the fuck*, *the heck*, *the hell* usw.) scheint dem deutschen [*zum X*] zu entsprechen, nur dass es keine Präposition enthält, die auf einen Ursprung als Kraftausdruck hindeutet.¹⁵ Auf jeden Fall weist [*the X*] Modifikationsmöglichkeiten auf, die auch für das deutsche [*bei/zu X*] typisch sind, etwa die Modifizierung durch bestimmte Adjektive (*the holy hell – zur heiligen Hölle*) und die Möglichkeit, im passenden Kontext nahezu jedes beliebige passende Substantiv in die X-Position einzusetzen (es finden sich zum Beispiel Belege für *what the unicorn – was zum Einhorn* und *what the chicken – was zum Huhn*). Diese Modifikationsmöglichkeiten werden im Folgenden anhand der beiden Sprachen, die in diesem Beitrag im Vordergrund stehen (Deutsch und Französisch), ausführlicher besprochen.

¹⁵ Hier sei jedoch an die oben zitierten Beispiele *wo geyer* und *was der Teufel* erinnert, die nahelegen, dass auch im Deutschen die präpositionslose Variante früher üblich war.

3. Modifikationsmechanismen

Dass die ganze aus den bisherigen Recherchen hervorgegangene Vielfalt an IAW-Strukturen im Deutschen und im Französischen durch nur sieben Basisgruppen abgedeckt wird, impliziert gleichzeitig auch, dass die einzelnen Gruppen zum Teil sehr umfangreich sind und dass die einigen Gruppen zugrunde liegenden Muster vielfältige Realisierungsmöglichkeiten bieten. Dies ist aus zwei Gründen wenig verwunderlich. Zum einen gehen die Basismuster hauptsächlich auf Kraftausdrücke zurück, und Kraftausdrücke werden seit jeher vielfach variiert (vgl. u. a. Hughes 1991 und Rouayren 1997), mit teilweise sogar bereits denselben Modifikationen, die auch bei den IAW-Strukturen belegt sind. Zum anderen wurde bereits darauf hingewiesen, dass IAW-Strukturen als Phraseme gelten können und dass die Festigkeit von Phrasemen eine relative ist. Im Folgenden soll vor allem letztere Perspektive weiterverfolgt werden, zumal die Modifikationsmöglichkeiten von Phrasemen bereits eingehend erforscht wurden.

In der einschlägigen Literatur werden für Phraseme generell (u. a. Sabban 2007:245, Pfeiffer 2018:56) vier basale Modifikationsmechanismen angenommen: Substitution, Expansion bzw. Erweiterung, Reduktion und Permutation – neben weiteren Mechanismen wie Kontamination und grammatischer bzw. struktureller Modifikation (Änderung des Numerus, der Polarität, der Diathese u. dgl.). Für IAW-Strukturen sind insbesondere die ersten beiden Mechanismen, Substitution und Expansion, relevant und werden im Folgenden ausführlicher besprochen. Strukturelle Modifikation ist bei IAW-Strukturen, aufgrund ihrer Kürze, nur beschränkt möglich (manchmal ein Wechsel zwischen Singular und Plural oder zwischen Vor- und Nachstellung eines etwaigen Genitivattributs); die anderen drei Typen sind aus demselben Grund bei IAW-Strukturen kaum bis gar nicht möglich (Reduktion höchstens insofern, als nur „was zum?“ o. dgl. gesagt wird, aber solche Fälle wurden nicht in den Datensatz aufgenommen), sodass darauf im Folgenden nicht weiter eingegangen wird.

Bei der Besprechung wird auch nicht weiter zwischen usuelle bzw. etablierten Varianten und okkasionellen Variationen unterschieden, aus zwei Gründen: Einerseits ist der Unterschied nicht immer leicht zu machen, andererseits sind in beiden Fällen die gleichen Modifikationsmechanismen am Werk (vgl. Dobrovolskij 2000 und Pfeiffer 2018 für ähnliche Beobachtungen zu anderen Arten von Phrasemen); höchstens könnte man annehmen, dass das Potenzial dieser Mechanismen bei den okkasionellen Bildungen stärker ausgeschöpft wird als bei den usuellen. Dementspre-

chend wird der Terminus „Modifikation“ hier allgemein für jede Art von Anpassung der IAW-Strukturen verwendet und beschränkt sich (anders als bei u. a. Stein/Stumpf 2019:84) nicht auf okkasionelle Modifikationen. Auch die Frage, ob es sich noch um Modifikationen im vollen Sinne oder doch bereits um Modellbildungen handelt (vgl. Stumpf 2016), wie es die im vorigen Abschnitt beschriebenen Phrasemkonstruktionen zum Teil suggerieren, muss ausgeklammert werden, da die herangezogenen Internetdaten keine verlässlichen quantitativen Aussagen bezüglich der Tokenfrequenz erlauben; im Folgenden wird daher der Einfachheit halber nur von Modifikationen gesprochen.

3.1. Substitution

Unter ‚Substitution‘ wird das Ersetzen eines lexikalischen Elementes aus dem Phrasem durch ein anderes verstanden, etwa wenn anstelle von *in Gottes Namen* die Struktur *in Godfathers Namen* realisiert wird. Eine gewisse Vielfalt durch Substitution dürfte es bei den IAW-Strukturen schon relativ früh gegeben haben. Ein wichtiger Grund ist, dass zu den zentralen und wohl auch ältesten IAW-Strukturen diejenigen gehören, die auf den Teufel verweisen (*zum Teufel, in Teufels Namen usw.*). Lange Zeit herrschte aber der Aberglaube, dass das Erwähnen des Teufels dessen Erscheinen herbeiführe (siehe etwa Wander 1963:1443). Dementsprechend hat man schon früh begonnen, anstelle des Wortes *Teufel* Entstellungen wie *Deuker* und *Deixel* oder Teufelssymbole wie *Geier* und *Kuckuck* zu verwenden (laut Grimm/Grimm 1873, s. v. *Kuckuck*, wird zum Beispiel *Kuckuck* bereits seit dem 16. Jahrhundert als Bezeichnung des Teufels verwendet). Diese Variation zeigt sich auch in IAW-Strukturen, bei denen neben *zum Teufel* auch *zum Geier* und *zum Kuckuck* bis heute zu den üblichsten gehören (ähnlich auch: *in des Teufels/Geiers/Kuckucks Namen, um des Teufels/Geiers/Kuckucks willen usw.*).¹⁶ Strukturen mit Entstellungen wie *zum Deuker* und *zum Deixel* sind dagegen nicht mehr so gebräuchlich (anders im Französischen, wo *diantre* statt *diabol* noch einigermaßen üblich ist),

¹⁶ Im Französischen zeigt sich diese Tendenz zur Substitution weniger stark beim Teufel, sondern vielmehr bei Strukturen, die sich auf Gott beziehen – auch Gottes Namen auszusprechen ist ein religiöses Tabu (Rouayrenc 1997:9). Dementsprechend ist *au nom du chien* laut Rouayrenc (1997:15) auch als Substitutionsvariante zu *au nom de Dieu* und nicht zu *au nom du diable* zu sehen, obwohl der Hund auch ein Teufelssymbol sein kann (De Cleene/De Keersmaecker 2012:372).

und auch bei *zum Kuckuck* und *zum Geier* denken wohl nur noch die Wenigsten daran, dass sie ursprünglich eine Art ‚Ausweichstrategie‘ darstellten, um den Teufel nicht explizit erwähnen zu müssen. Aus synchroner Sicht spielt dieser Aberglaube bzw. die Angst vor dem Teufel denn auch wohl kaum noch eine Rolle bei der Wahl zwischen *zum Teufel* einerseits und *zum Geier* oder *zum Kuckuck* andererseits, aber das ändert nichts daran, dass die durch die Substitution entstandenen Varianten bis heute erhalten geblieben sind.

Möglicherweise hat die Tatsache, dass schon so früh Varianten durch Substitution entstanden sind, mit dazu beigetragen, dass die Substitution heutzutage ein dermaßen produktives Phänomen bei IAW-Strukturen ist. Inzwischen kann so gut wie jedes für passend gehaltene Substantiv bei den verschiedenen Basismustern in der X-Position stehen. Mit Strukturen wie *zur Kokosnuss des Pikachu*, *zu Merlins goldener Unterhose* oder *zur Ente* sind wir weit von Basisstrukturen wie *zum Teufel* entfernt und diese Varianten lassen sich auch nicht unbedingt in jedem beliebigen Kontext anwenden. Viele von diesen Varianten sind richtige Gelegenheitsbildungen, die auch bei einer Google-Suche nur einen Treffer liefern und die oft als kreative, witzige Sprachspiele zu sehen sind, die auch nur im jeweiligen Kontext wirklich funktionieren. Dass eine Struktur wie *was zur Ente*, die nur mehr wenig mit *was zum Teufel* zu tun hat, in (43) als IAW-Struktur funktionieren kann, liegt daran, dass sie auch als solche erkennbar ist: Sie instanziert ein typisches IAW-Muster (nämlich [zu X]) und steht im Satz an einer typischen IAW-Position, in diesem Fall direkt nach dem Fragewort. Dass eine wörtliche Interpretation hier kaum einen Sinn ergibt (noch dazu an dieser Stelle im Satz), trägt wohl auch dazu bei, dass *zur Ente* hier als IAW-Struktur gelesen wird. Solange diese Bedingung der Erkennbarkeit als IAW-Struktur erfüllt ist und also klar ist, dass man eine IAW-Struktur verwendet, scheinen der Phantasie kaum noch Grenzen gesetzt zu sein und die Elemente in der X-Position können wirklich frei variiert und modifiziert werden.

(43) *Und warum zur Ente bin ich jetzt schon wieder so negativ?*

Von dieser Möglichkeit wird in der deutschen Umgangssprache auch oft und gerne Gebrauch gemacht. Oft ist das Ziel mit Sicherheit einfach, kreativ und lustig zu sein oder spielerisch bestimmte Tabuwörter zu vermeiden. Zum Teil werden die Möglichkeiten aber auch bewusst ausgeschöpft, was dann zu Wortspielen und kreativen Neuschöpfungen führt, wie in den folgenden drei Beispielen:

-
- (44) Was zum Höcke äh Henker sind Junisextoiletten?¹⁷
- (45) Was zum Geier/Teufel/Henker/Fluxus ist das und wieso schauen sich das Leute an?
- (46) Was zum beschissenen-Teufel-dämpfer-kacken-pissen-scheißen-fick-dings (Anmerkung 1: wegen Aufregung neues Wort erfunden xD) ist daaaaa denn los??

So weit treibt man es zugegebenermaßen nicht immer. In vielen Fällen beschränkt sich die Kreativität darauf, dass in der X-Position eine Entität erscheint, die zum Kontext passt. Dies führt dann tatsächlich dazu, dass in dieser Position nahezu jede beliebige Entität auftreten kann. In (47), zum Beispiel, wird *zum Kuckuck* durch *zur Mücke* ersetzt, weil gerade von Insekten die Rede ist, und ähnlich erscheint in (48) anstelle von *zum Geier* die Struktur *zum Bussard*, weil die Frage an einen Bussard gestellt wird. In (49) findet zwar kein so expliziter Austausch statt, aber auch hier ist ein an dieser Stelle geläufigeres Wort wie *Teufel*, *Kuckuck* oder *Geier* durch *Wolf* ersetzt worden, weil im Rotkäppchen-Kontext der Wolf eine prominentere Figur ist als der Geier oder der Kuckuck. Einen ähnlichen Fall hatten wir mit Beispiel (8) aus der Einführung, das hier als Beispiel (50) erneut aufgenommen wird.

- (47) Was zum Kuckuck – entschuldige, was zur Mücke – ist ein Insektenrestaurant?
- (48) „Was zum Geier ...“, begann Teddy seine Frage und wurde sofort von Lucky mit dem Hinweis „Ich bin ein Bussard“ unterbrochen. Also fuhr Teddy fort: „Was zum Bussard machen die mit diesen Würsten?“
- (49) Wo zum Wolf ist Rotkäppchen?
- (50) Was zum Keks sind denn „Negerkekse“?

Dass eine solche Anpassung an den Kontext stattfindet, ist an sich nicht verwunderlich: Dobrovolskij/Piirainen (2009:99) haben bereits auf die Rolle des Kontextes bei der kreativen Anpassung fester Verbindungen hingewiesen. Genau diese Fähigkeit, sich an den Kontext anzupassen, ist aber auch der Grund dafür, dass bestimmte Fancommunitys auch ihre eigenen IAW-Strukturen haben, die zum Thema der Community passen. Darauf wird im Abschnitt 4.2. ausführlicher eingegangen.

¹⁷ Diese Frage reagiert auf einen Tweet der AfD-Fraktion Berlin und verweist auf den kontroversen AfD-Politiker Björn Höcke.

Dass der Phantasie kaum noch Grenzen gesetzt sind, soll allerdings nicht heißen, dass sich keine Tendenzen zeigen. Auf Abschnitt 4.1. vorgreifend ist zum Beispiel darauf hinzuweisen, dass in IAW-Strukturen, wie generell in Kraftausdrücken (u. a. Rouayrenc²1997, Achilles/Pighin 2008), oft auf negativ konnotierte Bereiche und Tabuthemen wie das Sexuelle und das Skatologische Bezug genommen wird. In diesem Fall kommt eine besondere Art von Substitution zum Einsatz, um Tabuwörter zu vermeiden: Entstellung durch Zensursymbolen wie ... oder *** die, ähnlich wie die oben angeführten Entstellungen durch Lautwechsel u. dgl. (*Deuker, di-anstre* usw.), für eine gewisse Verfremdung sorgen und so den Tabubruch weniger prominent hervortreten lassen und den Ausdruck einigermaßen abschwächen (vgl. u. a. Rouayrenc²1997:109f., Drescher 2002:9). Im Bereich des Skatologischen finden sich im Deutschen für *zur Scheiße* zum Beispiel auch Varianten wie *zur Sch...* und *zur Sch****, und im Bereich des Sexuellen wird aus *zum Ficken* gelegentlich auch *zum F*cken*.

(51) *Was zur Scheiße ist das?*

(52) *was zur sch... meinst du mit 'normal'?*

Auch im Französischen wird, trotz des generell seltenen Gebrauchs von IAW-Strukturen, zum Teil frei variiert. Die Möglichkeiten der kreativen Anpassung sind bei französischen IAW-Strukturen grundsätzlich auch nicht beschränkter als im Deutschen; sie scheinen lediglich weniger ausgeschöpft zu werden. Dass das Kreativitätspotenzial grundsätzlich auch im Französischen vorhanden ist, beweisen neben den im Abschnitt 4.2. noch zu besprechenden communityspezifischen Strukturen auch andere kreative Belege. Wenn es um Anpassungen an den Kontext geht, ist zum Beispiel die Struktur *par la barbe du chat angora* ‘beim Barte der Angorakatze’ zu nennen, die dem Kinderbuch *Pablo, drôle de pirate* entstammt, in dem tatsächlich eine Katze die Hauptrolle spielt. Ein anderes Beispiel wäre das oben bereits zitierte *par la barbe de Sotha Sil*. Weitere Beispiele kreativer Abwandlungen, die sich nicht direkt auf den jeweiligen Kontext beziehen, sind neben dem oben bereits zitierten *nom de ce qui n'est pas une pipe* auch *par les couilles Gabe Newell* ‘bei Gabe Newells Hoden’ und *nom d'un dragon* ‘im Namen eines Drachens’.

(53) *Par la barbe du chat angora, que fais-tu là, fiston ?*

(54) *Comment, par la barbe de Sotha Sil, cette écailleuse avait-elle récupéré cette carte ?*

- (55) *Mais pourquoi, nom de ce qui n'est pas une pipe, s'est-il dissimulé ?*
- (56) *C'est pas contre toi spécialement hein mais comment, par les couilles de Gabe Newell, peut-on enregistrer un utilisateur non connecté ?*

3.2. Expansion

Eine weitere Möglichkeit, neue Variationen zu bilden, besteht darin, das Element in der X-Position zu erweitern. Sehr oft kommen dabei expressive Adjektive oder Affixoide zum Einsatz. „Expressiv“ wird hier mit u. a. Gutzmann (2019) so definiert, dass es sich um Elemente handelt, die keine Eigenschaft des Modifizierten bezeichnen, sondern primär eine Einstellung zum Modifizierten zum Ausdruck bringen. Wenn es zum Beispiel heißt, dass „der verdammt Bus“ oder „der Scheißbus“ mal wieder zu spät ist, so beschreibt man durch *verdammmt* oder *scheiß-* den Bus an sich nicht näher (anders als etwa „der weiße Bus“ oder „der direkt fahrende Bus“), sondern drückt eine (in diesem Fall negative) Einstellung zum besagten Bus aus.¹⁸

Dass hier bei den einführenden Beispielen für expressive Elemente optiert wurde, die eine negative Einstellung zum Ausdruck bringen, ist kein Zufall: Wenn IAW-Strukturen durch expressive Elemente (Adjektive oder Affixoide) modifiziert werden, so handelt es sich meistens um Elemente, die eine negative Einstellung kommunizieren (siehe auch Abschnitt 4.1.). Bei den expressiven Affixoiden scheinen bislang gar nur solche mit negativer Einstellung vorzukommen. Im Deutschen handelt es sich insbesondere um *scheiß-, kack-, mist- und dreck-*, wie in *zum Scheißteufel*, *zur Kackhölle* und (als Kombination zweier expressiver Affixoide und eines expressiven Adjektivs) in *zum verkackten Mistdreckshenker*. Entsprechende Elemente bestehen auch im Französischen, etwa *de bordel* und *de merde*, und auch

¹⁸ Der Affixoidbegriff wird in der Forschung kontrovers diskutiert. Ich schließe mich Elsen (2009) und Decroos/Leuschner (2008) an und verstehe unter ‚Affixoide‘ Wortbildungsmorpheme, die wie Affixe (in diesem Fall Präfixe) fungieren, aber ein freies lexikalisches Pendant haben, von dem sie sich semantisch entfernen. Affixoide stehen also an der Grenze zwischen Komposition und Derivation. Im Beispiel *Scheißbus* ist *scheiß-* ein solches Affixoid: Es unterscheidet sich von einem typischen Affix, indem es ein freies lexikalisches Pendant hat (*Scheiße*), aber trotzdem können wir hier nicht von einem reinen Kompositum ausgehen, denn *scheiß-* hat hier nicht die volle lexikalische Bedeutung („Kot“), sondern eine für diesen affixähnlichen Gebrauch typische expressive Bedeutung. Ob man von Affixoidbildungen oder von reinen Determinativkomposita ausgeht, ist jedoch für die vorliegende Analyse unerheblich; entscheidend ist, dass der zweite Teil des Wortes durch einen negativ-expressiven ersten Teil modifiziert wird.

diese werden gelegentlich zur Erweiterung von IAW-Strukturen herangezogen, wie in *diabolique de merde* oder (wiederum kombiniert) *nom de Dieu de bordel de merde*.

(57) *Was zum Scheißteufel hat denn Sven hier verloren?*

(58) *Diable de merde, de quelle secte de fou sors-tu ?*

Bei den expressiven Adjektiven ist das Bild etwas diverser, denn hier ist nicht immer von einer eindeutig negativen Einstellung auszugehen. Außerdem finden sich hier auch sogenannte gemischt expressive Adjektive (Gutzmann 2019:84), die gleichzeitig eine Einstellung zum Ausdruck bringen und auch eine Eigenschaft der Entität beschreiben. Dominant sind allerdings die negativen rein expressiven Adjektive wie *verdammt*, *verflucht*, *verflixt* und *verteufelt* (*zum verdammten Teufel*, *zum verfluchten Aschenbecher*, *zum verflixten scheißverdammten Kuckuck* usw.), oft auch in Kombination mit Iterationsangaben wie *dreifach* oder *neunmal* (*zur dreifach verfluchten Hölle* usw.). Gemischt expressiv sind Adjektive wie *verrückt* (*zur verrückten Hölle*), nicht eindeutig negativ sind zum Beispiel *heilig* und *selig*¹⁹ (*zum heiligen Rinderknochen*, *zum heiligen Klabauterhasen*, *um des heiligen Schattens willen* usw.). Auch im Französischen finden sich vereinzelt Belege für solche Modifikationen durch expressive Adjektive wie *damné* ‘verdammt’, *fou* ‘verrückt’ oder *saint* ‘heilig’ (*diabolique damné*, *diabolique fou*, *par la sainte culotte d’Andrasté*, *par la sainte barbe de Merlin* usw.).

(59) *Warum zum verdammten Teufel müssen sich solche Streits über Jahre hinziehen?*

(60) *warum zum heiligen klabauterhasen sollte ich eifersüchtig auf den marc sein?*

(61) *Pourquoi, par la sainte barbe de Merlin et les cheveux blancs de Morgane, faudrait-il que je les perde tous alors qu'ils ne sont que des chiots?*

Grundsätzlich sind neben den expressiven Adjektiven und Affixoiden auch alle weiteren Arten von Phrasemexpansion, die Wotjak (1992:141-146) auflistet, in IAW-Strukturen möglich. All diese Typen im Einzelnen zu besprechen würde jedoch an dieser Stelle zu weit führen, zumal einige auch im Deutschen in IAW-Strukturen nur spärlich belegt sind (ins-

¹⁹ Wenn sie sich tatsächlich auf Heilige oder Selige beziehen, wie in *zum heiligen Petrus*, sind diese Adjektive wohlgerne meistens nicht expressiv, sondern rein deskriptiv gebraucht.

besondere Expansionen durch Präpositionalattribute). Deswegen werden hier nur mehr zwei weitere Arten von Expansionen durch Attribute besprochen, die zumindest im Deutschen noch einigermaßen geläufig sind: rein deskriptive Adjektive (d. h. Adjektive, die eine Eigenschaft und keine Einstellung zum Ausdruck bringen) und Genitivattribute. Beide Arten von Expansionen finden sich hauptsächlich bei Entitäten, die häufiger in IAW-Strukturen vorkommen, wie dem Teufel, der Hölle oder Merlins Unterhosen (Adjektive: *zur ewigen Hölle*, *zur lodernden Hölle*, *bei Merlins löchriger Feinrippunterwäsche* usw.; Genitivattribute: *zur verdamten Hölle des verdamten Teufels* usw.; Kombinationen: *zur heißen Hölle des Hades* usw.), auch wenn sich auch andere Beispiele finden lassen (*zum lila Brokkoli*, *zum pinken Lama*, *zur Kokosnuss des Pikachu* usw.). Für das Französische konnten bislang nur Beispiele für Adjektive mit typischen IAW-Entitäten gefunden werden (*diable cornu*, *au nom de l'enfer éternel*, *par les caleçons sales de Merlin* usw.).

- (62) *Was bei Merlins löchriger Feinrippunterwäsche treibst du denn hier?*
- (63) *Woher weißt du das, zur heißen Hölle des Hades?*
- (64) *Was zum lila Brokkoli habt ihr beide hier verloren?*
- (65) *Moi, pour commencer; j'aimerais bien savoir pourquoi, au nom de l'enfer éternel, on l'a reçu, l'ordre d'y marcher, dans ces bois, à moins que ça soit pour que les rebs'y puissent nous canarder tranquillement.*

4. Tendenzen und Restriktionen

Im Grunde genommen lässt sich also festhalten, dass sich bei den IAW-Strukturen im Deutschen und im Französischen die gleichen sieben Basisgruppen sowie die gleichen Anpassungsmechanismen ausmachen lassen. Nur schöpft das Deutsche die Möglichkeiten, die dabei entstehen, mehr aus, was in einer größeren Vielfalt resultiert. Allerdings scheinen auch im Deutschen beim Ausschöpfen dieses Anpassungspotenzials noch gewisse Tendenzen oder gar Restriktionen zu bestehen. Im Folgenden wird noch auf zwei solche Tendenzen eingegangen: die Dominanz des Negativen und Umgangssprachlichen (4.1.) und die Rolle der Community (4.2.).

4.1. Dominanz des Negativen und Umgangssprachlichen

Auch wenn in der X-Position der verschiedenen Basismuster mittlerweile fast jedes Substantiv erscheinen kann, dominieren nach wie vor die

negativ konnotierten und tabuisierten Bereiche. Der Ursprung mehrerer Basismuster liegt im religiösen Tabubereich, mit Basisvarianten wie *zum Teufel* (deswegen auch die Existenz von Varianten wie *zum Kuckuck* und *zum Geier*), und bei aktuelleren Bildungen sind auch andere Tabubereiche, insbesondere der sexuelle und der skatologische, stark vertreten (*zum Bumsen*, *zum Ficken*, *zum Pimmel*, *zum Scheiß*, *zur Kacke* usw.). Auch in an sich nicht tabuisierten Domänen sind jedoch negativ konnotierte Entitäten stark vertreten. Es gibt zum Beispiel mehrere Strukturen, die sich auf das Wetter beziehen, allerdings mehr auf schlechtes als auf schönes Wetter (*zum Regen*, *zum Hagel*, *zum Donner* usw. sind belegt, *zum Sonnenschein* dafür nicht). Ähnlich finden sich mehrere Strukturen, die auf Politiker verweisen, allerdings vor allem auf solche, die aufgrund einer rechtsextremen oder diktatorialen Einstellung oder aufgrund von bedenklichen Entscheidungen und Handlungen eher kontroverse Figuren sind (belegt sind u. a. *zum Trump*, *zum Putin*, *zum Erdogan* und *zum Höcke*, nicht aber etwa *zum Obama*).

- (66) warum *zum ficken* ist es offenbar immer noch möglich ein Restaurant zu eröffnen, obwohl oftmals keinerlei Fachwissen, Ausbildung und genügend Rücklagen vorhanden sind?
- (67) Was *zum Regen* soll ich nur machen?
- (68) Was *zum Trump* ist ein „knapper Erdrutsch“?

Ein weiterer Bereich, in dem sich die Tendenz zum Negativen im Deutschen wie im Französischen zeigt, ist jener der Expansion. Im Abschnitt 3.2. wurde bereits darauf hingewiesen, dass bei den expressiven Affixoiden in IAW-Strukturen nur solche belegt sind, die eine negative Einstellung zum Ausdruck bringen (*scheiß-*, *drecks-*, *de bordel*, *de merde* usw.). Auch bei den expressiven Adjektiven zeichnet sich, zumindest im Deutschen, diese Tendenz deutlich ab: Außer *heilig* sind die positiven expressiven Adjektive je nur in Einzelfällen belegt, während die negativen expressiven Adjektive durchaus geläufig sind.²⁰ Im Französischen zeigt sich diese Tendenz bei den Adjektiven nicht so deutlich, was allerdings auch damit zusammenhängen mag, dass das Französische für die negative Ein-

²⁰ Außerdem dominieren bei den negativen Adjektiven die rein expressiven, die die negative Einstellung noch stärker zum Ausdruck bringen als die gemischt expressiven. Bei den positiven Adjektiven ist keine so deutliche Dominanz vorhanden, zumal auch *heilig* nicht als rein expressives Adjektiv gelten kann (vgl. die Merkmale expressiver Adjektive bei Gutzmann 2019).

stellung stärker auf Ausdrücke zu setzen scheint, die hier den Affixoiden zugerechnet wurden (*de bordel*, *de merde* usw.), und weniger auf expressive Adjektive im engeren Sinne.

Darüber hinaus ist darauf hinzuweisen, dass insbesondere bei Tabuthemen eine klare Tendenz zur weniger gepflegten Stilebene besteht, die häufig auch mit einer negativeren Einstellung korreliert. Zwar sind IAW-Strukturen generell eher umgangssprachlich, aber während in Basisvarianten wie *zum Teufel* oder *beim Barte des Propheten* der gebrauchte Wortschatz durchaus als einer standardsprachlichen, neutralen Stilebene zugehörig gelten kann, finden sich in vielen Varianten doch auch Wörter, die in Wörterbüchern als derb, vulgär oder zumindest umgangssprachlich qualifiziert werden. Diese Tendenz zeigt sich erneut deutlicher im „IAW-reicherem“ Deutschen. *Zur Kacke* und *zur Scheiße* sind zum Beispiel geläufiger als das neutralere *zum Kot* oder das schon eher gepflegte *zum Stuhlgang*, und auch die umgangssprachlicheren Ausdrücke *zum Bumsen* und *zum Ficken* sind geläufiger als das gepflegtere *zum Sexualverkehr*. Noch deutlicher zeigt sich die tiefere Stilebene bei *zur Hure* und *zur Nutte*, die tatsächlich belegt sind, während für das neutralere *zur Prostituierten* keine Belege gefunden werden konnten. Obwohl IAW-Strukturen generell eher ein umgangssprachliches Phänomen sind und daher auch ein umgangssprachlicher Wortschatz durchaus erwartbar wäre, zeigt sich also eine Tendenz zu weniger gepflegten Stilebenen, die über die einfach umgangssprachliche Natur des Phänomens hinausgeht.

- (69) *Aber warum zur Kacke musste denn der Daijiro mal wieder gewinnen?*
- (70) *Warum zur Nutte werden immer noch keine Handdesinfektionsstationen aufgestellt?*

4.2. Die Rolle der Community

Im Abschnitt 3.1. wurde bereits darauf hingewiesen, dass IAW-Strukturen oft kreativ dem jeweiligen Kontext angepasst werden. Der Kontext kann also eine Inspirationsquelle für kreative Neubildungen sein. Zugleich schränkt er aber auch die Möglichkeiten ein: Wenn schon eine kreative Gelegenheitsbildung verwendet wird, dann soll sie auch zum Kontext passen. Im oben zitierten Rotkäppchen-Beispiel (49), hier als (71) erneut aufgenommen, wäre zum Beispiel die Struktur *um alles im Meer* (eine Variante zu *um alles auf der Welt*) fehl am Platz, weil die Rotkäppchen-Geschichte nichts mit dem Meer zu tun hat. Bezogen auf SpongeBob

Schwammkopf wäre hingegen *um alles im Meer* passend (und tatsächlich wurde die Struktur auch in diesem Kontext gefunden, genauer gesagt in der SpongeBob-Folge „Thaddäus TentakelKopf“), während *zum Wolf* hier wiederum weniger gut funktionieren würde, weil in SpongeBobs Unterwasserwelt keine Wölfe leben.

(71) *Wo zum Wolf ist Rotkäppchen?*

(72) *Wo um alles im Meer hast du Fahrradfahren gelernt?*

Ein Bereich, in dem der Kontext eine besondere Rolle spielt, ist jener der Fancommunitys. Sowieso sind viele Gruppen durch ihre eigene Gruppensprache gekennzeichnet, und bei Fancommunitys ist ein typisches Merkmal dieser Gruppen- bzw. Communitysprache, dass sie viele Elemente aus dem Original oder Anspielungen auf das Original enthält. Aufgrund ihrer Anpassungsfähigkeit bieten IAW-Strukturen viele Möglichkeiten, solche Anspielungen einzubauen. Auf Websites aus der Harry-Potter-Community sowie in Harry-Potter-Fanfictions finden sich zum Beispiel für das Muster [zu X] Varianten wie *zum Dementor*, *zur Acromantula* und *zum Grindeloh*, die auf Wesen aus der Zaubererwelt verweisen, und in den Mustern [*in Xs Namen*], [*um Xs willen*] und [*beim Barte Xs*] sind in der X-Position viele wichtige Figuren aus der Zaubererwelt vertreten: *in Merlin's Namen*, *in Godric Gryffindors Namen*, *um Dumbledore's willen*, *bei Merlin's Bart*, *bei Slytherins Bart* usw. (ähnlich im Französischen: *au nom de Merlin*, *par la barbe de Dumbledore* usw.). Dass auch im Original IAW-Strukturen wie *in the name of Merlin*, *in the name of Merlin's pants* und *Merlin's beard* enthalten sind, dürfte die Experimentierfreudigkeit unter Harry-Potter-Fans beim erfinden neuer IAW-Strukturen noch gesteigert haben – obwohl im Original tatsächlich nur Merlin und keine anderen wichtigen Figuren in IAW-Strukturen vorkommen.

(73) *Warum zum Dementor kann es Sirius dann nicht?*

(74) *Wie um Dumbledore's Willen kann er wissen, dass ich an dieser klitzeklein Stelle unglaublich empfindlich bin?*

(75) *Comment par la barbe de Dumbledore aurais-je pu faire ça ?*

Ein ähnliches Beispiel ist die amerikanische Zeichentrickserie SpongeBob Schwammkopf. Auch hier wird bereits im englischsprachigen Original fleißig mit IAW-Strukturen experimentiert, was sich in Gelegenheitsbildungen wie *the barnacles* ‘bei den Seepocken’ und *the blue-eyed scallop*

‘zur blauäugigen Sankt-Jakobs-Muschel’ äußert. Diese wurden zwar für die deutsch- bzw. französischsprachigen Folgen nicht wörtlich übersetzt, aber dafür wurden ähnliche Gelegenheitsbildungen eingesetzt (neben dem in Beispiel (72) bereits zitierten *um alles im Meer auch zum Killerhai, zum Blaubarsch, nom d'une crevette, nom d'un plateau de fruits de mer usw.*). Auch hier legt ein Blick auf Websites der Fancommunity nahe, dass dieses Phänomen in der Fancommunity aufgegriffen wurde und dass weitere kreative Abwandlungen, die mit der Unterwasserwelt zu tun haben, geschaffen werden.

(76) *Was zum Blaubarsch ist denn überhaupt los hier?*

(77) *Nom d'une crevette, qu'est-ce qui m'arrive ?*

An dieser Stelle ließen sich noch weitere Beispiele aus anderen Fancommunitys anführen (Star Wars: *was beim Barte Obi-Wan Kenobis, warum zum Darth Vader*; Pokémon: *was zum Pikachu usw.*). Auffällig ist aber, dass in diesen Fällen deutlich weniger gruppenspezifische IAW-Varianten zu finden sind, als das bei Harry Potter und SpongeBob Schwammkopf der Fall ist. Dies dürfte tatsächlich darauf zurückzuführen sein, dass bei Harry Potter und SpongeBob Schwammkopf bereits im Original kreativ mit IAW-Strukturen umgegangen wird und dass gerade deshalb die Fans diesen kreativen Umgang mit IAW-Strukturen eher als typisches Merkmal in die Fancommunitysprache aufnehmen.

5. Fazit und Ausblick

In diesem Beitrag wurde versucht, einen Einblick in die Vielfalt der IAW-Strukturen im Deutschen und im Französischen zu geben und zu klären, welche Prinzipien und Mechanismen dieser Vielfalt zugrunde liegen. Insgesamt konnten sieben Basismuster bzw. Basisgruppen ausgemacht werden, die diese ganze Vielfalt abdecken. Diese Basismuster sind aber sehr anpassungsfreudig und erlauben, neben einigen etablierten Basisvarianten, viele Gelegenheitsbildungen. Dabei spielen vor allem die Mechanismen der Substitution und der Expansion eine Rolle. Bei diesen Mechanismen sind noch zwei allgemeine Tendenzen auszumachen, erstens eine Vorliebe für das Negative und Tabuisierte sowie für weniger gepflegte Stilebenen und zweitens die Tatsache, dass die Gelegenheitsbildung in den Kontext passen muss. Dabei spielt auch der Einfluss von Fancommunitys eine Rolle, weil bestimmte IAW-Strukturen auch ein Merkmal des Sprachgebrauchs innerhalb der jeweiligen Community sein können.

Im Laufe des Beitrags wurde mehrmals darauf hingewiesen, dass das Deutsche bei den IAW-Strukturen wesentlich variationsfreudiger ist als das Französische, obwohl grundsätzlich die gleichen Basismuster und Anpassungsmechanismen ausgemacht werden konnten und also ein vergleichbares Anpassungspotenzial besteht. Das Deutsche scheint also vor allem dieses Potenzial stärker auszuschöpfen als das Französische. Mit Sicherheit hängt dies damit zusammen, dass IAW-Strukturen im Deutschen generell häufiger sind als im Französischen, wobei es noch zu klären gilt, ob diese höhere Frequenz im Deutschen vor allem als begünstigender Faktor für das stärkere Ausschöpfen des Anpassungspotenzials zu sehen ist oder doch vielmehr als eine Folge desselben und welche anderen Gründe ggf. die niedrigere IAW-Frequenz im Französischen mit erklären könnten. Generell sind die IAW-Strukturen im Deutschen und im Französischen aber noch kaum erforscht und es bleibt noch viel zu tun, bis alle Fragen zu diesem Thema beantwortet sind. Mit diesem Aufsatz habe ich versucht, dazu einen Beitrag zu leisten.

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Mechanisms and tendencies in the creative adaptation of IAW structures in German and French

German has a particularly large inventory of IAW structures, i.e. expressions such as *zum Teufel* ‘the devil’ and *zur Hölle* ‘the hell’ that are used as intensifiers in wh-questions. This is due to the fact that German maximally exploits the creative adaptation potential of IAW structures. French, on the other hand, has fewer IAW structures. However, as is shown in this paper, French has the same basic patterns according to which IAW structures are built and makes use of the same basic mechanisms for IAW modification that we also find in German, substitution and expansion. It thus seems that German simply makes more use of this adaptation potential that is also present in French. Still we also find some tendencies and restrictions in German, which also play a role in French. Two of them are discussed in more detail in this paper, viz. the preference for negatively connotated words and the role of the context and the community in which the IAW structures are used.

Keywords: IAW structures, German, French, variation, creativity.

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Pre-service teachers' beliefs about teaching English to older adults: The case of motivation

1. Pre-service teachers' beliefs¹

Similarly to learners, pre-service teachers enter the university classroom with a set of assumptions about the process of Foreign/Second Language Learning and Teaching. As pointed out by Judith Castellanos Jaimes (2013:196), they might either be aware of them or not, but in both cases the beliefs stem from their understanding of what the process of teaching entails, which is not infrequently influenced by their previous learning experiences “and their reflection upon critical incidents in their first encounters with teaching”. Moreover, the assumptions about learning can at times be illogical and self-contradictory. They may also undergo certain changes or reach turning points due to the effect of professional educational courses, reflection, or personal development and teaching practice, as they are dynamic in nature (see Richardson 2003; Narváez/Ramírez/Vasco 2017). According to Deborah Busch (2010:319), however, there are studies showing that teacher training has little or no impact on pre-service teachers' opinions (see also, Peacock 2001) and that “experiential and reflective activities seem to have a stronger effect on the development of belief systems than declarative knowledge (theories and research) taught alone” (*ibid.*). Xu Li (2012), on the other hand, argues that novice teachers' opinions play a vital role in preparation for language teaching (qtd. in Gilakjani/Sabouri 2017:78). Hongying Zheng (2009) also notes that, if unchanged, these beliefs can affect lesson planning and the choice of techniques and methods, as well as classroom management (qtd. in Kandilla/Pebriyani/Meliana/Arbiansah 2018:64).

¹ It is not within the scope of this paper to distinguish between beliefs, opinions, subjective theories, assumptions, etc. Therefore, these terms are used interchangeably to refer to the views of pre-service teachers regarding foreign language learning and teaching.

2. Older adults and U3As

In the case of older adults, pre-service teachers' subjective theories regarding old adulthood, the process of ageing, and learning a foreign language later in life are rarely challenged during teacher training courses in Poland (see for instance Słowiak-Krogulec 2020a). This is in spite of the fact that the beginning of the 21st century has seen a slowly increasing worldwide interest in the studies of "Foreign Language Geragogy" (FLG) which, until recently, had been developing as two separate fields: geragogy and Second Language Acquisition. In 1997, Annette Berndt introduced the term "Fremdsprachengeragogik", which was later translated by Anna Jaroszewska as "Glottogeragogika" in her book „Nauczanie języków obcych seniorów w Polsce” 2013 (Teaching foreign languages to older adults in Poland, my transl.). The English term, "Critical Foreign Language Geragogy", was first used three years later by Danya Ramírez Gómez in her book "Language Teaching and the Older Adult" (2016a; see also 2016b). So far, except for the two aforementioned monographs (see Jaroszewska 2013; Ramírez Gómez 2016a), only one other volume researching this age group has been published: "Third Age learners of Foreign Languages", edited by Danuta Gabryś-Barker (2018). One more, namely "Insights into Senior Foreign Language Education" by Marek Derenowski (2021), is pending publication. This demonstrates that, although there is a growing number of studies related to "Foreign Language Geragogy", there is a considerable need for more research to be done on older adult learners of foreign languages.

Yet, simultaneously, it should be pointed out that the so-called developed societies are ageing at an unprecedented rate, which has implications for nearly all aspects of our lives, including education (see Findsen/Formosa 2011; Schmidt-Hertha/Jelenc Krašovec/Formosa 2014). The growing interest in FLG of groups who are no longer vocationally active but are willing to continue their lifelong education in later years is reflected by the number of courses offered by private language schools, senior centres, and Universities of the Third Age, of which there are already 640 in Poland alone (GUS 2020:67). However, despite this positive trend that allows older adults to take part in cognitively engaging activities, such as learning foreign languages during their retirement, the quality of the courses varies significantly.

Many English classes are taught by peers who share their knowledge with others as volunteers, which is to be expected, especially in the British U3A

model. According to this model, the role of the U3A is to offer self-help and to provide “the friendly, fun way to learn new things and share your skills with others”, take part in local events, advertise positive ageing and challenge ageist stereotypes.² The French model of U3A, on the other hand, is found in most continental centres for older adults, including Poland, and is an educational offer for those who are interested in developing their skills and expanding their knowledge in later life. The classes can be taught by academic staff or other specialists/teachers/lecturers in the given field, but they do not exclude volunteer peer-teaching (see Formosa 2009; 2010). There are also four hybrid versions of U3A: the “culturally-hybrid”, “French-speaking North American”, “South American”, and “Chinese” models, that include elements of both the French and British models (Formosa 2009).

Irrespective of the prevalent model or the institution that provides lifelong learning opportunities for people of the age of 60 and older, educators often might not have the necessary knowledge of how to approach this age group and, as a result, do not equip their learners with techniques and strategies that would improve the learning process. By following solely their beliefs and subjective theories regarding senescence and old age teachers often do not respond to their course participants’ needs, cognitive abilities and preferences (to learn more about the learners’ expectations see Grottek 2018; Słowiak-Krogulec 2019). In addition, the older the learners are, the more potential problems might be encountered by the educators due to natural age-related changes. The materials used in the classroom are also not adapted to suit this age group, both in terms of their quality (font size, easy-to-see colours, enough space to write the answers, easily understandable recordings without any background noise that is known to impede real-life communication let alone listening practice, to name just a few of the most common problems), and content (unprejudiced and non-condescending topics that are relevant and valuable to the learners) (see Słowiak-Krogulec 2020a; 2020b). Nonetheless, so far in Poland programme providers rarely acknowledge the specific needs of this age group and, as of 2021, there are hardly any University courses introducing FLG, which would equip pre-service teachers with knowledge about the process of ageing and the specific character of late-life learning.³

² <https://www.u3a.org.uk>

³ For instance, at the Institute of English Studies (University of Wrocław, Poland), the first (elective) course related to lifelong learning in later life and “Foreign Language Geragogy” was introduced in winter term 2020/2021.

It should be highlighted that there is a necessity for such courses as older adults are and should be treated as a heterogenous group with special educational needs (see Ramírez Gómez 2016b). The beliefs of teachers-in-training, as well as their (mis)understanding of the reasons behind learning foreign languages in later life, can affect not only the quality and usefulness of the course, but might even lead to stereotypical treatment of older adults and, consequently, their discouragement. In his recent analysis of U3As, Marvin Formosa (2009) notes that U3As have had a lot of positive impact in terms of the better physical, cognitive, social, and psychological well-being of its participants. However, there are also studies that show “strong gender, social class, ageist, and ethnic biases” (*ibid.*). Along similar lines, Simone Pfenninger and David Singleton (2019:419) argue that “L2 acquisition in the third age needs to be regarded not just as a goal in itself but as a means of promoting social interaction and integration, and that it is partly through the stimulation of social well-being that its cognitive effects may potentially be observed”. It is, therefore, the role of widely understood education not only to challenge and (as a result) end discriminatory practices, or to affect the way in which we see older adults and understand the process of ageing, but also to promote actively the role of foreign language learning in later years.

As pointed out by Craig A. Talmage, Rob Mark, Maria Slowey and Richard C. Knopf (2016:1), “[w]hile traditionally geared towards provision for younger adults, [...] universities have the potential to play a major role in innovation for later life learning for older adults. [...] Universities as major educational providers can and should adapt to fully address the challenges and barriers faced by older adults through the creation of appropriate opportunities for later life learning. Universities have the potential to bridge disciplinary and geographic barriers to overcome the intellectual compartmentalisation that has often impeded later life learning research and practice”. Therefore, since foreign languages are among the most popular courses at the U3As in Poland (see GUS 2020), it is crucial to introduce FLG courses to pre-service teachers of English as a Foreign Language in order to ensure a better quality of teaching, as well as new and innovative techniques that will be used to promote lifelong education in later years. Indeed, as Formosa (2010:5) argues, “[i]t is augured that in future years the U3A movement will continue to be relevant to incoming cohorts of older adults only by embracing a broader vision of learning; improving the quality of learning, instruction, and curricula; as well as including a wider participation agenda that caters for older adults experiencing physical and cognitive challenges”.

3. Motivation and older adults

To date, a lot has been written about the individual learner differences and Second Language Acquisition, but it is the study of motivation that has been of particular interest to researchers since Gardner and Lambert's (1959) publication that marked the beginning of the *social-psychological period* (see also Gardner/Lambert 1972; Gardner 1982). In the 1990s, which are termed the *cognitive-situated period*, the interest shifted to (as the name suggests) cognitive theories, which were originally developed outside of L2 research. Then, the beginning of the 21st century saw a growing interest in the way contexts affect the individuals and vice versa, which was the beginning of the *process-oriented period* that lasted until recently (see Dörnyei 2020:23-33; Dörnyei/Ushioda 2021:40-66).

Zoltán Dörnyei (2020:72) notes that we have now entered a new *socio-dynamic phase*, which is "characterised by a concern with the situated complexity of the L2 motivation process and its organic development in dynamic interaction with a multiplicity of internal, social and contextual factors", and adds that "[t]he move towards more socially grounded, dynamic and complex interacting systems in the analysis of L2 motivation is also in keeping with wider contemporary trends within the field of applied linguistics that has highlighted emergentist and dynamic system approaches to understanding SLA" (ibid.; see also Dörnyei/Ushioda 2009; Dörnyei/MacIntyre/Henry 2015; Dörnyei 2020; Dörnyei/Ushioda 2021:76-81). The author (Dörnyei 2020:72) also remarks that English has become a global language, a lingua franca that is used by various speakers from numerous cultural backgrounds, and its role has moved away from a communication tool between "native and non-native speakers". As a result, the role of motivation has also changed and it can no longer be seen solely in terms of integration with, or the learners' attitudes towards, target language speakers and their culture, but has become "a basic educational skill" (ibid.).

However, even though there is a significant growth in the research output associated with the topic of L2 motivation, older adult foreign language learners' motivation, similarly to other issues related to this age group, still lacks a thorough analysis and remains understudied. This reluctance may be explained by an inconsistent and fragmented research related to late life learning and FLG or, in other words, teaching foreign languages to older adult learners, but also by a divergent understanding of age boundaries and terminology related to older adulthood. The problems with defining the precise age brackets seem to stem from a variety of factors, such as the

stereotypical treatment of this age group (both positive and negative), subjective perceptions of one's own age, and the highly heterogenous character of older adults as a group (see Findsen/Formosa 2011; Ramírez Gómez 2016a; Gabryś-Barker 2018; Słowik-Krogulec 2020a).

There are two ways of categorising older adults: numerical and descriptive. The former allows for a precise and clear division, but it does not take into account different trajectories of age-related biological, psychological, cognitive, neurocognitive and social changes that affect our understanding of this period of human ontogeny, and the aforementioned subjective theories related to chronological and biological age. Moreover, due to the lack of one unified distinction, the age division is often based on the researchers' subjective understanding of the term. The latter, on the other hand, allows for older adults to be viewed as a separate group, and does not have the majority of drawbacks associated with the age brackets, but it is more fluid and imprecise, which once again, leaves a lot of room for interpretation.

Identifying the motivations for entering or, in some cases, re-entering foreign language education in later life ought to be of utmost importance to teachers/educators and programme providers, as it should influence the curriculum design. Although there are undeniably various individual differences among the group of older adults due to the highly heterogenous character of older adulthood and the multiplicity of previous life and learning experiences, the current state of research shows that, when it comes to the learners' motivation to study a foreign language, there are clear similarities between the respondents' answers (see Kim/Merriam 2004; Duay/Bryan 2008; Grotek/Kiliańska-Przybyło 2012; Jaroszewska 2013; Parks/Evans/Getch 2013; Gabryś-Barker 2018; Słowik-Krogulec 2020b). That said, larger-scale longitudinal research is needed in this area to draw more valid conclusions.

According to an almost 30-year old statement by Peter Grundy (1995), older adults always have a clear aim when starting learning in later life. Furthermore, Friedemann Pulvermüller and John H. Schumann (1994:682-683) argue that motivation is by far the most significant factor that affects the process of foreign language learning in adults (see also Cox 2013). In their book, Brian Findsen and Marvin Formosa (2011:120) refer to two early empirical studies related to motivation which, according to the authors, could be applied to older adult cohorts: Cyril Houle (1961), and Barry Morstain and John Smart (1974). The former research divided the

learners into three groups: goal-, activity-, and learning-oriented. The latter study divided learners into six categories: social relationships, external expectations, social welfare, professional development, escape/stimulation and cognitive interest (see also Słowik-Krogulec 2020b). Next, based on Houle's (1961) Education Participation Scale (EPS), Sherman Sheffield (1964), created a list of "58 reasons for participation in education" and developed an instrument to measure the learning orientations of adults. An analysis of the questionnaire results revealed five factors: (1) learning orientation, (2) desire-activity orientation, (3) personal goal orientation, (4) societal goal orientation, and (5) need-activity orientation" (Kim/Merriam 2004:443).

It should be noted, however, that the aforementioned studies grouped adults and older adults together as a homogenous group and, therefore, did not differentiate between the two. The study of older adult motivation started in the 1990s. In 1991, once again drawing on Houle's (1961) model, Roger created its new version that was supposed "to clarify certain basic parameters associated with learning among older adults". The new EPS consisted of seven factors, the last group of which included "(1) Communication improvement, (2) Social contact, (3) Educational preparation, (4) Professional advancement, (5) Family togetherness, (6) Social stimulation, and (7) Cognitive interest" (*ibid.*:444). Ahjin Kim and Sharan B. Merriam (2004:446) remark that the motivation of older participants to start learning in later life can be divided into two main groups: (1) "cognitive interest (intellectual curiosity) and a desire to learn' (which suggests that older students are likely 'to learn for the sake of learning' and 'to seek knowledge for its own sake'), and (2) 'personal growth and satisfaction, which includes the following items: enrichment, enjoyment, self-satisfaction, and sense of accomplishment". The authors (Kim/Merriam 2004:446) further argue that these motivations "are arguably complicated and multidimensional. Rarely does a single motive lead older adults to participate in educational activities. Generally, both external and internal forces influence the decision of older adults to pursue learning," which could be also seen in the results of the study by Słowik-Krogulec (2020b) of ninety two learners of English at the U3A in Wrocław.

The research results pointed to social contact (including travelling and keeping in touch with family members living abroad), communication skills (once again, especially while travelling), and cultural aspects as the most important motivations to attend English classes, followed by language improvement, and personal and intellectual curiosity. Along similar

lines, Su Sheng-Chu/Lee Tsai-Ju/Chang Jen-Chia (2018:208) state that older adults seek to maintain their past abilities and want to learn new things for the sake of cognitive development and personal growth: “the educated mind seeks to satisfy intellectual curiosity. Highly educated elderly people who want stimulating activities participate in learning activities because they are interested in knowledge itself and find learning joyful”. Monika Grotek and Grażyna Kiliańska-Przybyło (2012:113-114) enumerated memory practice and the development of cognitive skills as the most popular answers given by older adults. The authors also observe that in late adulthood it is typical to view learning in terms of maintaining one’s intellectual abilities. Two other categories chosen by the respondents were participation in modern reality and catching up with those who already know how to speak the language, as well as the usefulness of English when travelling, which, once again, is in line with the previously presented studies.

According to Dian-Fu Chang and Sung-Po Lin (2011:576), “Older adults’ attitudes toward ageing are intricately connected with their motivation to participate in social activities. Those who hold positive attitudes are more willing to participate in social activities, and consequently, enjoy a richer lifestyle” (see also Hori/Cusack 2006). There are three theories of ageing that determine older adults’ involvement in social activities and can affect the learners’ motivation: the disengagement theory, first developed by Elaine Cumming and William E. Henry (1961); the continuity theory of normal ageing of George L. Maddox (1968); and activity theory (also known as normal or implicit theory of ageing), described by Robert J. Havighurst (1961). The disengagement theory assumes that following their retirement, older people are no longer willing to participate in society and feel withdrawn from it and its regular activities. However, its critics argue that it is rarely present in developing countries, in which older people often readily engage in social activities (Chang/Lin 2011:576). The continuity theory posits that, despite being no longer vocationally active, individuals continue to engage (as much as possible) in activities similar to those they did earlier in their lives (Pinto/Neri 2017:259). Finally, the activity theory “brings together an extensive amount of empirical data that corroborates practical applications such as policies to encourage health promotion through the practice of physical activities, voluntary work and, more recently, the active aging policy proposed by the World Health Organization” (*ibid.*). In addition, there are mutual benefits to social activity, as it is advantageous both for the individuals and for the society to which

it contributes. These theories are also further explored in the systematic literature review provided by Juliana M. Pinto and Anita L. Neri (2017:259), the aim of which is to “identify patterns of social participation in old age and the theories used to explain them” (see also Chen 2020:1-2). According to the authors, the most frequent trajectory of social participation was that of disengagement, with limited participation in social actions and family events. However, as pointed out by Aleksej Bukov, Ineke Maas, and Thomas Lampert (2002:513), who examined individual differences and changes in social participation over time in a cross-sectional and longitudinal study of very old age, this time of human ontogeny can simultaneously be a period of “stability, reactivation, and reduction”, as the analysis of the research data indicated the degree of participation stability. Older individuals who were already active remained active after four years; on the other hand, those who were inactive at the beginning took part in the activities with time. The reduction in activity was caused by social death that was viewed as preparation for biological death.

Moreover, the authors highlight the value of social participation and its complex quality and argue that there is a visible interdependence between health and social activities. This relationship is explained by the feeling of usefulness to others, personal fulfilment and self-respect, all of which are said to be the result of taking part in productive activities. As Bukov, Maas and Lampert (2002) point out, individuals who are productive participants “are challenged in their abilities and competencies, and the influence of this challenge is shown to be stimulating even on the cellular level of human organism” (*ibid.*; see also Old/Naveh Benjamin 2008; Blanchard-Fields/Horhota/Mienaltowski 2008; Mast/Zimmerman/Rowe 2009). Finally, the dynamic nature of older adults’ engagement in social activities “is accepted, and includes as determinants personal motivations and preferences for activities and institutional factors” (Pinto/Neri 2017:260).

4. Research

The aim of the study presented in this paper was to find out whether the “Older adults and SLA” MA seminar and elective course influenced the pre-service teachers’ beliefs regarding older learners, their motivation to learn English, and “Foreign Language Geragogy”. The goal of the course was to draw students’ attention to the problems related to teaching and assessing learners of age 60 and older, and to the specific needs, cognitive abilities and learning preferences of this age group. The main focus of the

course was on the following aspects: problems in defining senescence, “middle age” and “old age”, the role of age and the process of ageing, the importance of individual differences, classroom interaction patterns and group dynamics in enhancing the learners’ motivation, the use of the learners’ mother tongue, as well as techniques applied in teaching English to older adults. The course was divided into the following parts:

1. Older adults: the historical perspective; differences and problems in defining the age group.
2. Older adult education: the theoretical perspective (Gerontology, Andragogy, Geragogy, Critical Educational Gerontology and Critical Geragogy, Critical Foreign Language Geragogy).
3. Age and ageing: the ageing body (Sensory Impairment, Vision, Hearing, Dual Impairment, Touch, Taste and Smell, Motor Impairment).
4. Ageing and sociological differences: (The Consensus Approach; The Conflict Theory Approach; Interpretive Approaches; Postmodernist Perspectives).
5. The ageing brain and the ageing mind (1/2): cognitive, neurocognitive, structural, functional, and psychological differences (Lifestyle-cognition hypothesis; Cognitive reserve; Cognitive re-training; memory - STM, LTM, Episodic Memory; Crystallised and fluid intelligence; Processing speed; Attention; Visuospatial abilities; Executive functioning; Selection, optimization, and compensation model; Language processing in older adults; Second language learning in later life; Personality, Motivation).
6. Techniques used in teaching English to older adult learners (Peer-teaching; E-learning; Intergenerational learning; Storytelling).
7. Approaches, methods and techniques used in teaching adult learners and their application to older adults (GTM; DM; ALM; The Silent Way; Desuggestopedia; Community Language Learning; TPR; CLT; CBI; TBLT).
8. Problems related to teaching and assessing older adult learners: The classroom environment; the qualities of a good language teacher; the expectations of a language course; Interesting topics; the form of classes; Own activity; Error correction; Observation study; Teaching materials; Grammar; Vocabulary; Pronunciation; Own-language use; Interaction; Assessment techniques; Rapport; Treatment of language skills (Speaking; Listening; Reading; Writing).

Forty two pre-service teachers of English from the Institute of English Studies at the University of Wrocław took part in the survey. Twenty two subjects, from now on referred to as Group 1, attended “Methodology of teaching English at the second stage of education” as part of their regular teacher-training programme in summer term 2020/2021 (March-June 2021) and never attended “Foreign Language Geragogy” classes. (This is with the exception of one subject who learnt about teaching older adults during a short session as part of her CELTA training; the content of the course, however, was different to the aforementioned University course. Therefore, this person was not excluded from the study). The remaining twenty participants, from now on described as Group 2, were extramural students of the MA seminar ($n=15$) and the elective course ($n=5$) titled “Older adults and SLA”, which, as mentioned earlier, introduced theoretical and practical knowledge related to FLG. Group 2 was also the only one in which participants had some prior experience in teaching students at the age of 60 and older. In future studies, this group should be analysed separately in order to see whether their previous teaching experience and more advanced age would affect the results of the study.

There were 7 men and 35 women (see Table 1). The majority of the participants were of age 20-30 ($n=36$), four were at the age of 31-40, and two were 41-50 (see Table 2).

Table 1: The total number of subjects. Level and gender distribution

	male	female	<u>total</u>
Group 1	3	19	22
Group 2	4	16	20
total	7	35	42

Source: own research.

Table 2: Age

	male	female	<u>total</u>
20-30	7	29	36
31-40	0	4	4
41-50	0	2	2
51+	0	0	0
total	7	35	42

Source: own research.

Table 3: Years of teaching experience

	male	female	total
0 (<i>I'm a pre-service teacher</i>)	7	27	34
1-5	0	4	4
6-10	0	2	2
11-15	0	1	1
16-20	0	0	0
21+	0	1	1
total	7	35	42

Source: own research.

Table 4: Years of teaching older adults

	male	female	total
0 (<i>I'm a pre-service teacher</i>)	7	27	34
1-5	0	7	7
6-10	0	1	1
11-15	0	0	0
16-20	0	0	0
21+	0	0	0
total	7	35	42

Source: own research.

The non-probability sampling technique, i.e., the convenience sample, was used to choose the participants of the study. All of the participants included in the research were students known to and taught by the researcher.

Two links to the Google Forms with identical questionnaires were sent to Groups 1 and 2 after their regular online classes on the MS Teams platform. The subjects were asked to specify their previous language teaching experience, that is, whether they had any (see Table 3), and if so, if it included teaching older adults (60+) (see Table 4). As already mentioned earlier, only the participants in Group 2 had some experience in teaching this age group (n=3 with groups, n=5 only with individual learners).

The subjects were also asked two open-ended questions: (1) Why, in your opinion, do older adults (60+) want to learn English in later life? (see Table 5); (2) What, in your opinion, motivates older adults (60+) to learn English in later life? (see Table 6). As could be seen from the answers given by the subjects, there were some limitations to the second question as it did not yield accurate results and elicit the same kinds of answers in

all the respondents. Participants interpreted it differently as, for instance, practising English outside of the classroom, or taking an active part in the process of learning. However, even though the research presented in this paper is original and has not been previously published, it is a part of a larger study. Hence, despite the aforementioned limitations, the same questions were asked of pre-service teachers in this questionnaire as were earlier posed to older adults, in order to compare the results and draw conclusions (see Słowik-Krogulec 2020b). Moreover, instead of pre- and post-course beliefs surveys, the participants were asked to give open-ended explanations about their beliefs at the end of their courses, as some of the learners in Group 2 already had some previous experience in FLG. Next, the answers of the two groups were compared.

The data collected from the questionnaire was grouped into the following categories (see Table 5 and Table 6). There were more answers than participants.

Table 5: Reasons for learning English
(Why, in your opinion, do older adults (60+) want to learn English in later life?)

	Group 1 n=22		Group 2 n=20	
Social contact	13	60%	21	105%
to communicate with family living abroad	9	41%	9	45%
to get to know new people	2	9%	7	35%
to share interests with ‘the young’	1	5%	0	0%
to share interests with grandchildren	0	0%	2	10%
to keep in touch with classmates	1	5%	3	15%
Communication skills	12	55%	11	55%
to communicate while travelling	9	41%	9	45%
to communicate in the target language	3	14%	2	10%
Language improvement	6	28%	0	0%
to learn new vocabulary	3	14%	0	0%
to learn grammar	3	14%	0	0%
Personal growth	14	65%	18	90%
to learn something new	6	27%	6	30%
to fulfil their dreams	1	5%	2	10%
to feel younger/stay active	1	5%	5	25%
to broaden their horizons	1	5%	1	5%
to spend free time	5	23%	4	20%
Intellectual curiosity	3	14%	11	55%
to maintain intellectual abilities	2	9%	11	55%
to enjoy the challenge	1	5%	0	0%

	Group 1 n=22	Group 2 n=20
Participation in modern reality influenced by English	10 46%	11 55%
to understand linguistic landscape	6 27%	8 40%
to watch films, news/listen to music in the target language	1 5%	3 15%
to stay up to date	3 14%	0 0%
Other	3 14%	9 45%
to share their knowledge with others	1 5%	0 0%
to feel independent	2 9%	0 0%
to learn more about other cultures	0 0%	9 45%

Source: own research.

Table 6: Motivation

(What, in your opinion, motivates older adults (60+) to learn English in later life?)

	Group 1 n=22	Group 2 n=20
Other people in the class	4 18%	14 70%
Teacher	3 14%	9 45%
Other learners	1 5%	5 25%
Communication	18 81%	21 105%
The ability to communicate abroad (when travelling)	8 36%	12 60%
The ability to communicate with English-speaking family/friends	10 45%	9 45%
Class environment	1 5%	12 60%
Good atmosphere	1 5%	7 35%
Interesting topics	0 0%	3 15%
Interesting materials	0 0%	2 10%
Other people outside the class	10 46%	7 35%
Family	9 41%	3 15%
Friends	1 5%	4 20%
Intellectual curiosity	6 27%	14 70%
The need to learn new things	4 18%	5 25%
Cognitive development	2 9%	9 45%
Social contact	5 23%	8 40%
Social contact with peers	3 14%	8 40%
Loneliness	2 9%	0 0%
Personal growth	3 14%	4 20%
Sense of accomplishment	1 5%	4 20%
Self-satisfaction	2 9%	0 0%

	Group 1 n=22	Group 2 n=20	
Other	12	55%	7
No tests	0	0%	3
Tests (the ability to see the results)	6	27%	0
The feeling of belonging	3	14%	0
The changing society	1	5%	3
Being independent	2	9%	1
Course for free	0	0%	1

Source: own research.

5. Presentation and discussion of the results⁴

The results presented in this paper are the first in a series of reports concentrating on foreign language pre-service teacher beliefs regarding FLG and, as mentioned earlier, are based on the same questions that were asked of the group of older adult learners of English a year earlier (see Słowik-Krogulec 2020b).

In their answers to the first question (i.e. Why, in your opinion, do older adults (60+) want to learn English in later life?), Group 1, who did not attend any classes related to FLG, decided that personal growth (65%) and social contact (60%) are the most important reasons for learning English for this age group. These answers were also the most popular for participants in Group 2 (90% and 105%, respectively). Within these two categories “to communicate with family living abroad” was the most popular answer, chosen by 41% of the subjects in Group 1 and 45% in Group 2, while “to learn something new” was mentioned by 27% and 30%, respectively, and “to spend free time” by 23% and 20%. In Group 2, 25% of the respondents wrote that the reason is “to feel younger/stay active”, while in Group 1 it was only 5%. Both groups agreed on “communication skills” as an important reason for learning English, with 55% of the answers in both groups. Similarly, “participation in modern reality influenced by English” was written about by 46% and 55% of the respondents in Groups 1 and 2. On the other hand, while 28% of novice teachers in Group 1 mentioned language improvement, it was not present in any of the answers in the second group. The opposite was the case for “intellectual curiosity” that was noted by 14% in Group 1 and 55% in Group 2. Finally, the category of “other” answers also revealed some differences between participants in two groups as only Group 2 wrote about “learning more about other cul-

⁴ The original spelling is used in all of the examples.

tures” and no one in the first group saw it as an important reason to study the language.

Although, the answers of both groups could be said to recognise older adults’ reasons to study English in later life, there were some differences between them. Firstly, the answers of Group 2 were much longer, more detailed and concentrated on more aspects. Participants in Group 1 usually concentrated on one or two main motivations and justified their choice by adding a description. Group 2, on the other hand, enumerated more aspects (3 to 7), often in bullet points. Moreover, the language used to describe the given examples was more precise, the participants using some of the terminology related to the field of FLG, such as: *lifelong learning* (2S2), *cognitive decline* (2S20), *compensation strategies* (2S3), *vision and hearing loss/decline* (2S5, 2S10, 2S11), *motor impairment* (2S11), *processing speed* (2S10), or *older adults* (n=7, the only term used in Group 2, as opposed to *seniors* (1S2, 1S4, 1S7, 1S15), *the elderly* (1S8, 1S19), or ‘*grandparents*’ (1S1), which were used by some of the respondents in Group 1, and which are known to be seen as ageist and politically incorrect (*elderly*, *the elders*), or less appropriate (*seniors*) (see Słowik-Krogulec 2020a:42-45). The comments made by Group 1 were slightly shorter (n=22, 1277 words in total, 58 words/person) than opinions expressed by Group 2 (n=20, 1322 words in total, 66 words/person).

In Group 1, some of the answers also showed the pre-service teachers’ uncertainty,⁵ for instance: *Maybe because they didn’t get the chance to do so in their early life and they need it for e.g. work or because they have more free time and want to learn something new to experience the world better* (1S3); *Maybe, the reason is that some of their grandchildren do not speak Polish* (1S21); *I think they want to communicate with others, especially with their family who live abroad. (...). I believe some people might also like the challenge* (1S16); *Perhaps, they want to explore the world and need English to do so* (1S18); *I believe the elderly want to learn it since it is an international language, very common everywhere, useful in everyday communication with foreigners as well as in understanding messages on tv, films, music, news* (1S19). Altogether, there were 14 such expressions used in the answers of Group 1.

Group 2 seemed more confident in their answers. Only 2 respondents started their answer with *I think/believe that* and 3 respondents used *in my*

⁵ It should be noted, however, that, as mentioned earlier, in both cases these types of responses may have been induced by the questions asked of the respondents.

opinion (I believe that older adults want learn English in order to train their brains by gaining new knowledge. They also want to belong to some type of group/society and English classes offer such opportunity (2S7); In my opinion older adults want to learn English in later life due to many reasons (2S13)). Furthermore, two of the answers (2S13; 2S14) contained a modal verb expressing possibility, which was used more than once by both subjects: Moreover, they may want to learn English simply because their members of family, e.g. children with grandchildren, live in English-speaking country and they would like to be able to communicate with their grandchildren (2S13); Another reason would be that they may want to keep up with the changing world where a lot of English words are used in everyday life even in non-English speaking countries (2S14).

Other statements began with a verb in the infinitive, for instance: *To stay active, to exercise their memory, to be able to help their grandkids learn English, to communicate while travelling, to socialize with other people their age, to fulfil lifelong dreams (2S17)*. Some were affirmative statements, such as: *They are eager to talk with foreigners abroad (e.g. on holidays) (2S6); or were sentence fragments, for example: Because they want to work on their cognitive skills, train their brain, meet new people at their age, or as a hobby (2S2).*

The answers to the second question, (i.e. What, in your opinion, motivates older adults (60+) to learn English in later life?) revealed more differences between the two groups of respondents. Firstly, both groups disagreed about the following categories: “other people in the class”, (19% of comments in Group 1, and 70% in Group 2), “class environment” (5%, and 60%, respectively), “intellectual curiosity” (27% vs. 70%), “social contact” (23% vs. 40%), and “other” (55% vs. 40%). On the whole, pre-service teachers in Group 1 seem to believe that teachers and other students are far less important sources of motivation for older adult learners than their family and friends (46%), while learners in Group 2 recognised the importance of one’s relatives and friends (35%), but also noticed the value of teacher (45%) and colleagues’ motivation (25%). The importance of communication was recognised as a motivating factor by both groups (81% in Group 1, and 105% in Group 2), however, the ability to communicate abroad was seen as more important to Group 2 with 60% of the answers, than to Group 1 with 36% of the responses. “The ability to communicate with English-speaking family/friends”, on the other hand, was equally important to both groups with 45% of the answers each.

Class environment was mentioned by only 5% of the teachers in Group 1, whereas Group 2, who have been sensitised to the problem of inadequate topics and materials and the value of a positive and supportive classroom atmosphere, mentioned this aspect in 60% of their answers. Similarly, intellectual curiosity and the need for continued self- and cognitive-development in later life were seen as a significant motivating factor by 27% of the subjects in Group 1, whereas in Group 2 as many as 70% of the respondents noted the connection. Another interesting observation can be made about the attitude of older learners towards testing: in Group 1, 27% of the answers pointed to older adults' need to be tested and to see the results, whereas no one in Group 2 mentioned it. At the same time, some of the pre-service teachers in Group 2 (n=15%) wrote that courses without any formal type of testing are more motivating for this age group.

Once again, Group 1 used some of the expressions that suggested uncertainty, such as *can be*, *I suppose*, *I guess*, *I would say* (there were, however, fewer such instances than in the previous question), for example: *They can be motivated by their children and grandchildren. They can be motivated by the time they have to spend. They also can be motivated by inner need to develop and learn new things.* (1S3); *I suppose they would feel motivated if they could see some actual results, even if small ones, e.g. they are now able to introduce themselves in English. Therefore, I guess frequent feedback would be a good idea, because the learner would realise that they are making progress, and feel more motivated to keep studying* (1S5); *I would say wanting to communicate with family? Especially grandchildren who live abroad. If they choose to learn English out of curiosity, the motivation will be more internal. They are doing it for themselves* (1S18).

There were only three such expressions used in Group 2 by two of the respondents: *may*, *can* and *I believe that*. The example answers of this group of respondents are as follows: *Older adults may be willing to seek opportunities to socialize while providing stimuli for the brain while learning a new language. (New occupation)*, (1) *the necessity: if they want to be independent (e.g. on holiday in a foreign country, complete a form, do the shopping abroad) they have to understand English*, (2) *the opportunity to communicate with their English speaking family members (grandchildren)*, (3) *intrinsic motivation - they want to learn something new, meet new people and feel satisfaction because of the new challenge* (2S16); *I believe that what can motivate older adults to learn English in later life may be the need of constantly developing themselves. They may want to*

learn new and challenging things for them. They **may** also have a family living in one of the English-speaking country so the need of communication with their children and grandchildren might be motivating as well (2S13). Other examples include affirmative statements such as: **They see other older adults who learn English, they see that it's possible so they want to do the same, they have got English speaking grandchildren** (2S15); **Sometimes they are motivated to learn when the language course is free of charge, or when their friends are learning too.** Factors such as family influence/support, good teacher, satisfaction with their progress, also help to sustain their motivation. On the one hand their needs to learn a foreign language, or the other interesting topics, engaging activities, patient teacher (2S17).

In Group 1 there were also four comments that could be understood as a stereotypical and slightly ageist treatment of older adults: **Seniors are like children, so they are happy to learn** (1S15); **They want to feel younger and up to date so they want to learn English and use the coursebooks to finally see what is important in our world** (1S22); **Learning English is fashionable, they can boast about it in a younger company** (1S1); **Freedom, boredom, the desire to belong to a multilingual society** (1S13); However, there were also instances of beliefs that expressed hope and understanding of the value of older adults' experience and their understanding of reality, such as: **Unfortunately, quite often it is loneliness. They miss their family, hence they want to learn a language to be able to communicate with their grandchildren living abroad. By attending an English course, they double benefit from it - they learn a language but they also meet new, exciting people. Learning a language is not like learning how to cook, sew or play with technology - it really brings people closer. By learning English, they can finally voice their opinions, share amazing stories and feel heard in their community because it is all a part of language learning.**

In Group 2 there were also comments that could partly have been based on the learners' knowledge from FLG classes: **It is often their desire to achieve something new life, something that for various reasons they could not do before. They are aware of their problems that are related to age, they experience vision and hearing loss, they have problems with moving, they use compensation strategies to deal with these changes, so they need something new in life, something to boost their energy, to be positive and motivating. Teacher, classmates, friends, the sense of achievement are all very important at this stage of life** (2S20); **Ageing has an effect on our memory (short and long) and processing speed, vision declines, hear-**

ing is worse, moving [is] painful. Being able to do something positive is important. Learning a language is great for the brain that thanks to it is younger for longer (2S10).

6. Conclusions

In short, although much more research is still needed to draw valid conclusions, there are some aspects related to FLG that can be noticed in the answers provided by both groups of respondents. The participants in Group 1 usually concentrated on 2-3 aspects, but they were followed by more detailed explanations. In Group 2, on the other hand, the pre-service teachers used more examples of motivating factors, usually 3-7, but they did not justify their opinions as precisely. In Group 1 there were more cases of language that could suggest some uncertainty, whereas in Group 2, although there were some examples of such structures present, there were fewer of them. The respondents in Group 2 more often used affirmative sentences “They want to..., They need to...”, sentence fragments beginning with “Because...”, or infinitive structures “to learn..., to study..., to self-develop...”, etc. Moreover, the vocabulary used by teachers-in-training in Group 1 was more descriptive and some of the terms were outdated and inappropriate, such as “the elderly”. By contrast, in Group 2 the subjects referred to the target group as “older adults” and used some of the terminology related to FLG, such as “processing speed, compensation strategies, etc”. Finally, in Group 1 there were four instances of slightly stereotypical treatment of this age group – out of which the comparison to children seemed especially harmful – which were absent in the answers of Group 2.

Although the answers to the first question showed relatively small differences between the two groups (except for the lack of noting cultural aspects in Group 1, which were recognised by Group 2 as a very important reason for learning a foreign language in later life), the second question elicited more varied beliefs. As described earlier, the opinions of the two groups differed on the majority of aspects, and the answers of Group 2 were closer to the answers given by older adults in the earlier study (see Słowik-Krogulec 2020b:162-163).

As pointed out by Virginia Richardson (2003), the assumptions made about the process of learning are dynamic, and can sometimes be illogical and even self-contradictory. They can also be affected by formal education, although Deborah Busch (2010) notes that the degree to which this takes place can vary. Indeed, some studies show that the role of university

courses in affecting pre-service teachers' beliefs may prove to be rather insignificant (Peacock 2001). It is, therefore, difficult to unequivocally state whether the "Older adults and SLA" MA seminar and elective course influenced the pre-service teachers' beliefs regarding older learners, their motivation to learn English, and "Foreign Language Geragogy", but based on the respondents' answers it might be possible to tentatively claim that, to some extent, their subjective theories were affected by the content of these two courses. However, more reflective activities and practice in teaching this particular age group would definitely be beneficial for future foreign language teachers as, according to Deborah Busch (2010), it is a more effective way of developing belief systems.

Of course, there is a need for larger longitudinal research to be carried out, with pre- and post-course beliefs surveys with more precise questions that would concentrate on a variety of aspects related to FLG. Nonetheless, at this point it can be stated that such courses as "Older Adults and SLA" are valuable, and pre-service teachers' opinions regarding foreign language learning and teaching to older adults should be challenged in order to offer a better quality of teaching and to promote the idea of lifelong learning. Finally, it should be highlighted that a role of widely understood education is to challenge and, as a result, end ageist practices, and affect our understanding of older adulthood and the process of ageing. After all, "scientia potentia est" (knowledge is power) and one never knows at which point it will become useful in our ageing societies to be aware of cognitive, neurocognitive, biological, psychological or social changes related to ageing and their relationship with foreign language learning.

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Pre-service teachers' beliefs about teaching English to older adults: The case of motivation

As of 2021, in Poland there are hardly any University courses preparing pre-service teachers to teach groups of the age of 60 and older. However, at the same time, it is estimated that in Poland older adults represent approximately 24% of the population and it is expected to increase to 40.4% by 2050.⁶ The number of private language centres and Universities of the Third Age⁷ (U3A) offering, among other subjects, foreign language education, is also constantly growing. In order to examine the value of introducing "Foreign Language Geragogy" (FLG, i.e. teaching foreign languages to older adults) to the curriculum, a qualitative study of forty two MA students from the Institute of English Studies (University of Wrocław) was carried out. Only half of the respondents attended the elective course and MA seminar "Older adults and SLA", but both groups completed the same open-ended questionnaire, the aim of which was to explore pre-service teachers' subjective theories regarding older adults' motivation to learn foreign languages in later life, and to examine the extent to which they were affected by the content of the course. The results suggest that such courses are valuable, and pre-service teachers' opinions regarding foreign language learning and teaching to older adults should be challenged in order to offer a better quality of teaching and to promote the idea of lifelong learning.

Keywords: motivation, Foreign Language Geragogy (FLG), lifelong learning, the age factor, older adults, pre-service teachers' beliefs.

⁶ Population figure in total: 38 433 558 people (18 593 175 men and 19 840 383 women); population figure for older adults (age 60 and more) 9 293 592 (3 869 259 men and 5 424 333 women). Source: Central Statistical Office of Poland (GUS, 2018).

⁷ In 2007 there were already 125 U3As in Poland. Ten years later, in 2017, the number increased to as many as 476 places. In only three years' time, the number of Polish U3As grew to 640. As of 2020 there are 113 200 students (with 86.3% of the age of 61+, out of whom 70.3% are 61-75 years old, and 16% are of age 76+) (GUS 2020:67).

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The functions of punning utterances in English and Chinese: a cross-cultural perspective

1. Introduction

Some time ago, while surfing the net, I came across a blog entry commenting on a Chinese text containing two puns. There would be nothing special about it except that the text in question was part of a safety notice cautioning users of electric appliances to replace a burnt out fuse instead of trying to fix it. Written in big red characters above a picture of an electric switch and a faulty fuse, the message in (1), repeating the word *huàn*, first as a verb meaning ‘replace’, then as a noun meaning ‘hazard’, alerted the reader to the dangers of not abiding by the proper safety measures.

- (1) *Nǐ shì yào huàn* (换), *háishì yào huàn* (患)?
you be want replace, or want hazard
'Do you want to **replace** (it), or do you want a (safety) **hazard**?'

Incorporated in the small print text at the bottom of the poster was the injunction given in (2a), *Prevent danger before getting “burnt”!*, evoking an identically sounding proverb *Prevent danger before (it) happens*, given in (2b), in which the key fragment is written with a different character (然) and forms part of the expression meaning ‘in advance’ (未然 *wèirán*).

- (2)
(2a) Explicit message: *Fáng huàn yú wèi rán* (“燃”)!
prevent danger at not yet burn
'Prevent danger before getting burnt!'
(2b) Implicit message: *Fáng huàn yú wèirán* (然)
prevent danger at in advance
'Prevent danger before it happens'!

Surprised to encounter paronomasia in a public service poster, at first I thought examples (1) and (2) point at a difference between how punning

wordplay is used in Chinese and English, where – I assumed – it would be out of place in regulatory contexts. However, an internet search soon brought up a safety sign, given in (3), exploiting homophony between the verb *know* and the particle *no*. I also recalled a structurally ambiguous traffic safety slogan, given in (4) below, a humorous hybrid of the phrase *dead on time* and the saying *Better late than never*. The absence of a disambiguating comma before the preposition *on* made it possible to treat the homonymous word *dead* both as an adverb modifying the phrase *on time* and meaning ‘exactly’ and as an adjective meaning ‘not alive’:

- (3) ***Know Safety, No Pain. No Safety, Know Pain.***
- (4) *Better late than dead on time.*

Clearly neither English nor Chinese relegated ambiguity-based wordplay to poetry, punchlines of jokes or advertising slogans. What is more, they employed similar formal means to create it. Though fashioned in different languages, examples (1) – (4) owed their punning effect to homophony. The odd-numbered puns paralleled each other in structure and so did the even-numbered ones. Nonetheless I knew that there were differences in the prototypes around which English and Chinese puns were built as well as differences in how they were perceived and put to use in the two cultures. While speakers of English would associate punning with humor and apply the term ‘pun’ to most types of ambiguity-based wordplay, speakers of Chinese would regard *shuangguan*, which is how the word *pun* is usually rendered in Chinese, as a rhetorical device whose main purpose is not humor but communication of covert meanings, different from the explicitly conveyed ones. Laboring under the assumption that puns are “the lowest form of wit”, English-speaking punsters would offer assurances that “No pun was intended”. Chinese-speaking punsters, incorporating both age-old and totally new punning conceits into their spoken or written messages, would see no reason to accompany them with a Chinese version of *Pardon the pun*.

How do these differences in the perceived main purpose of punning (provoking mirth or indirect communication of meanings) and the perceived status of ambiguity-based wordplay (a trope of ill-repute¹ or a lofty rhetorical device) affect the ways in which puns are exploited in the two cul-

¹ This is how I characterize puns in a (2020) paper using the relevance-theoretic framework to investigate the stigma they carry in the English-speaking world.

tures? To the best of my knowledge, this issue has not yet been addressed in the literature, at least not in a systematic way. Scattered remarks on the communicative functions of punning can be found in the existing Chinese-English contrastive studies of puns, but they focus mainly on purely formal features of punning or on proposing pun taxonomies (Li 2000; Ai 2007; Ai & Ai 2010; Shao et al. 2012). The purpose of this paper is to explore this under-researched area and to provide a systematic account of the functions served by the punning utterances in English and Chinese.

2. Object of analysis: punning utterances in English and Chinese

“The Oxford English Dictionary” defines punning as “the use of a word in such a way as to suggest two or more meanings or different associations, or the use of two or more words of the same or nearly the same sound with different meanings, so as to produce a humorous effect; a play on words” (Burchfield 1989). Each of the four examples in section 1 fits this definition. They all incorporate a fragment which correlates two distinct meanings by virtue of having a phonetic value shared by two different words. In the literature it is usually identified by the term ‘connector’, introduced in 1994 by Attardo, who defined it as “the ambiguous element of the utterance which makes the presence of two senses possible” (1994: 134). In puns (1) and (3), it is repeated in a different meaning yielding a category of utterance dubbed by Delabastita (1993) a horizontal pun. In (2) and (4), it activates two meanings, giving rise to what Delabastita called a vertical pun. However, of the two Chinese examples, only (2) comes close to being a prototypical *shuangguan*, defined in “The Contemporary Chinese Dictionary” as “the use of a word in such a way as to capture one meaning on the surface while hiding another” (Ling 2002). This formulation makes no provisions for horizontal puns, such as (1), and it speaks of conveying covert meanings, which is not really what is observed in (2): the sense of the word implied by its connector is rather ostentatiously signaled by the quotation marks around the key character. A prototypical *shuangguan* is better illustrated by example (5), a line from *Mengzi*, a 4th century BCE collection of conversations and anecdotes by the Confucian philosopher Mencius. During his audience with King Hui of Liang, he was allegedly told:

- (5) *Venerable Sir, you have not regarded one thousand leagues (li 里) too far to come, so you must have a way of profiting (li 利) my state? (Mengzi 1A1; italics and parenthetical material added)*

In the original, this line is a horizontal pun whose two connectors: the unit of length rendered as ‘league’ (*li* 里) and the verb ‘profit’ (利), are written with different characters, yet both are pronounced *li*. More importantly, and less obviously, the line is also a vertical pun since the real purpose of this choice of words is to make a veiled reference to another homophonous word, ‘propriety’ (禮), indicating one of Confucian virtues. The intended covert message thus is that Mengzi made a long journey to assist the king because it was a proper thing to do.

In the present discussion, ‘classical’ *shuangguan* like (5) are treated as a subset of *puns*, the latter term being applied to all forms of wordplay involving the use of an linguistic expression in a way that activates two or more meanings or different associations. Thus understood, puns arise when a potentially ambiguous linguistic fragment is placed in a context providing information that makes more than one of its potential meanings valid or at least salient.² This prevents the interpreter from deriving a single meaning of the connector fragment, forcing him to reprocess a verbal string which has already yielded a meaning and, consequently, use at least two meanings in deriving the full import of the message. An attempt at comparing and contrasting the specific ways in which puns are used in different language communities thus has to consider three major issues: (i) the characteristic features of the fragment which correlates two meanings, (ii) the contextual information which compels the interpreter to access these meanings, (iii) and the effects achievable through this configuration of meanings. These will be discussed in the next three sections.

3. Linguistic factors determining the punning potential of English and Chinese

3.1. Homophony

What makes puns possible is the universal feature of homophony. In both English and Chinese, both homophone-rich languages, it enables the production of puns by exploiting related meanings of a linguistic expression (i.e. polysemy), unrelated meanings of a an expression (i.e. homonymy) as well as differently spelled words which happen to sound identical.

² A discussion of pun interpretation can be found in Giora (2003), Yus (2003) and Solska (2012a, 2012b, 2012c, 2017).

In English, polysemy is most often exploited in vertical puns with one fully valid and one extraneous meaning, the latter often highlighting some aspect of the conceptual domain connected with the topic at hand. For instance, the review of a museum, given in (6), describes it metaphorically as being *First Class*, i.e. ‘excellent’. The inadmissible literal meaning of this phrase, a reference to first class carriages on passenger trains, highlights the fact that it is a railway museum. In the advertising slogan for Pentium processors in (9), the ‘computer processor’ sense of *xīn*, is a polysemic extension of *xīn* ‘heart’, while *bēnténg*, the Chinese equivalent of Pentium, retains its original sense of ‘gallop’, which emphasizes the speed of performance.

- (6) *The Old Railway Station: First Class (no pun intended!)*
(online review of Old Railway Station museum at Petworth, West Sussex)
- (7) Explicit message: *Gěi diànnǎo yī kē bēnténg de xīn* (芯).
give computer one CLF Pentium PRT processor
‘Give your computer a Pentium processor’
Implicit message: *Gěi diànnǎo yī kē bēnténg de xīn* (心).
give computer one CLF gallop PRT heart
‘Give your computer a galloping heart’

Homonymies tend to generate puns which yield two equally valid meanings. In the English witticism in (8), the noun *lie* oscillates between the unrelated meanings of ‘untruth’ and ‘a position of golf ball’. The word *shān* in (9), a jocular answer to a question why planes flying in the sky manage to avoid hitting stars is ambiguous between the ‘sparkle’ and ‘get out of the way’ readings.

- (8) *In politics as in golf: you’re trapped in one bad lie after another.*
- (9) *Yīnwèi xīngxing huì shān.*
because stars can shan (闪)
‘Because stars can sparkle/get out of the way’

Most of the examples in this article owe their effect to a multitude of potential punning connectors found in both English and Chinese in the form of identically pronounced words with different graphic representations.

English, whose script is alphabetic yet notorious for its loose sound-to-letter mapping, boasts numerous mono- and polysyllabic doublets (*no, know*), triplets (*seize, sees, seas*) and even quadruplets (*right, rite, wright* and *write*), which get utilized in endless pun-based advertising slogans,

book titles, newspaper headlines and punchlines of jokes. The potential of this kind is staggeringly higher in Modern Standard Chinese, whose smaller phonetic inventory and simpler phonotactics permit only 405 distinct syllables, compared with over 10,000 in English.³ As a result, a single syllable encodes multiple morphemes, each represented in the Chinese logographic script with a different graph. Only 23 syllables have no homophonic characters, while some, such as *shi* or *yi*, can be written in dozens of different ways, making it possible to produce contrived texts that are almost impossible to process in the spoken form.

To the best of my knowledge, only in English do homophony-based puns exploit sub-lexical identity of sound. This is what we see in the witticism in (10), whose connector shares part of its phonetic form with an unexpressed word *pen*. As for supra-lexemic homophonies, in Chinese they are always phrase-based, of the type we saw in (7). In English, a phrasal connector can be observed in (6). In (11), the meaning correlating fragment is a string of sounds which is larger than a word and which sounds exactly like the word *sandwiches*.

- (10) *The pun is mightier than a sword.*

- (11) *Why can a man never starve in the Great Desert? Because he can eat the sand which is there.*

Unlike English, Chinese only marginally produces puns based on the similarity of sound, i.e. near homophony. For instance, cryptic meanings get incorporated into text messages, emails or advertising slogans by the expedient of exploiting the rebus value of numerals, some of which are merely similar in sound to the words they represent. The sequence 1314, pronounced ‘yī-sān-yī-sì’ in Modern Standard Chinese, may represent the similar-sounding, rather than identically sounding idiomatic phrase *yīshēng yīshì* (一生一世, meaning ‘from birth until death, always, forever’).⁴ In English, near homophony yields a large number of imperfect puns, whose connector is similar rather than identical in sound to another word. Many of these can be found in what Mieder (1982) describes as anti-proverbs (*Antisprichwörter*), i.e. transformations of well-known sayings. For instance, the witticism in (8) above distorts a popular saying by replacing the word *pen* with a similar sounding *pun*.

³ The count goes to 1300 distinct syllable-tone combinations if we consider the tones, these however are ignored in punning.

⁴ Note that in Cantonese both would sound identical: *jat1 saam1 jat1 sei3*.

3.2. Morphology

The main difference between the potential punning connectors available in English and Chinese stems from the word formation processes operating in the two languages. A pertinent fact about the English lexicon is that, in addition to numerous short monosyllabic and monomorphemic lexemes, it contains a large number of polysyllabic ones, whether loans or products of inflectional or derivational morphology. The horizontal pun in (12), the title of a book for expectant mothers, owes its existence to paronymy (i.e. the use of words with related derivations). The one in the city promotional slogan in (13) represents a false segmentation. The one in the title of a TV show in (14) is a punning blend of *California* and *fornication*. Morphemic ambiguity creates the pun in (15), where *wise* appears first as a free lexical morpheme and then as a derivational suffix. The teacher's comment on a new dry-erase whiteboard in (16), in addition to the standard reading of 'amazing', conveys a non-standard one, 'capable of being repeatedly marked upon', derived through relexicalisation.

(12) *What To Expect When You're Expecting.*

(13) ...and on the sixth day God created MANchester.

(14) *Californication*

(15) Some are *wise*, some are otherwise.

(16) Simply *remarkable*.

Morphologically isolating and totally devoid of inflection, Chinese does not create paronymies. Instead, many of its punning utterances arise thanks to the fluidity of lexical categories: the effect of (7) above hinges on the fact that *bēnténg* is both a verb and a proper noun. Still, the major factor underlying the Chinese 'way of punning' is the language's mono-syllabicity combined with morphemic ambiguity. Nearly all morphemes in Chinese are represented by a single syllable, with one syllable on average encoding 5.4 morphemes (Duanmu 1999). For instance, a comedian's jocular remark that after losing his job he became a writer (*zuòjiā* 作家) since he now spends his days idly sitting (*zuò* 坐) at home (*jīā* 家) exploits the fact that *jīā* (家) can be both a monomorphemic word meaning 'home' or a noun suffix corresponding to the English suffixes, such as *-ist* or *-er*.

Though most lexemes in present day Chinese are now disyllabic, their component syllables remain clearly demarcated units of sense, making

false segmentations or blends impossible. However, the language makes it possible to create unique horizontal puns, such as the advertising slogan for an optical clinic in (17), where the sequence of two syllables *jin* and *shi* is repeated four times, with the two functioning as distinct words or disyllabic lexemes.

- (17) *Jinshì* (近世) *jìn* (进) *shì* (土) *jìn* (尽) *shì* (是) *jīnshì* (近视).
 near age advance scholar exhaustively be myopia
 ‘These days a forward-moving professional is without exception shortsighted’

4. Pun-enforcing factors

Pun-related scholarship has focused mainly on the most conspicuous, purely formal features of punning connectors: the meaning-sound configurations exhibited by puns and the structures of punning utterances have spawned numerous pun taxonomies (Tanaka 1992, 1994; Dynel 2010; Solska 2012a) and the phonetic patterns exhibited by punning connectors have inspired a number of phonological studies of puns (Zwicky 1976; Zwicky & Zwicky 1986; Sobkowiak 2001; Guidi 2012). And yet, a major pun-enforcing factor which brings more than one meaning of the connector into play is background information against which it is processed. What validates two distinct possible interpretations of the repeated connector in (1) and (3) is the co-text as well as the spelling of the key words. In (4), the ‘not alive’ sense of *dead* is made salient by the fact that the utterance is a traffic safety notice. In (8), what imbues the connector with two competing senses is the presence of the nouns *golf* and *politics*. The pun in (5) will only be apparent to those who are aware of how classical *shuangguan* work. Even this brief overview indicates that pun-enforcing contextual information can be linguistic, para-linguistic or extra-linguistic, meaning that its nature is to a large extent determined by the language of the pun and the culture this language is embedded in.

4.1. Linguistic pun-enforcing factors

The linguistic material surrounding the fragment being processed, including the conceptual content provided by the connector fragment itself, draws the addressee’s attention to at least one of the (usually) two senses at play. In horizontal puns, such as (1) or (12), it disambiguates the connector in a different way on each of its occurrences. In vertical puns, it forces the addressee to accept two, sometimes conflicting senses of the

connector, as is the case with examples (8) and (9). In (6), the parenthetical comment *no pun intended* is (perversely) added to ensure that the reader will not overlook the pun.

The main difference I can observe between the two languages concerns the role of context in what I call evocative puns. These are utterances whose connector replaces a fragment of a set phraseology (an idiom, proverb, title of book or a movie, etc.), which allows it to evoke another word, which usually fills that slot. The title of a documentary on the hysteria following the tragic death of Lady Diana Spencer, given in (18), echoes the identically sounding *The Morning After*, the title of a mystery thriller. The anti-proverb in (11) puns on the standard proverb *The pen is mightier than a sword*.

(18) *Diana: The Mourning After.*

Chinese puns of this sort seem to exploit only perfect homophony. The title of a book in (19) provides a relevant example. In this punning distortion of a Mao-era slogan, the key word *qián* (钱 ‘money’) is used in place of a homophonous word meaning ‘forward’, which is expressed with a different character (前).

- | | |
|------------------------|--|
| (19) Explicit message: | <i>Xiàng qián (钱) kàn</i>
toward money look
'Look to the money' |
| Evoked message: | <i>Xiàng qián (前) kàn</i>
toward forward look
'Look forward to the future' |

Both in English and Chinese-speaking world language users will have in their memory a large number of set expressions, each of them ready to be brought into action in a punning utterance. This is precisely what happens in another, uniquely Chinese type of an evocative pun. Instead of evoking a different word, whether identically or similar sounding, it brings into play multiple meanings it carries in other common phraseologies it is a part of even though the punning utterance it is incorporated into contains only one of them. This can be observed in the advertising slogan for breast enhancing cream in (20), whose most apparent meaning, “It is good to be a woman”, is based on treating the key word *tǐng* (挺) as the adverb ‘very’, forming the explicitly conveyed phrase *tǐng hǎo* (挺好 ‘very good’). However, *tǐng* can also function as an adjective meaning ‘straight, upright’, forming a set phrase *bǐtǐng* (笔挺 ‘standing

straight'), and a verb meaning 'push out', part of a collocation *tǐng xiōng* (挺胸, i.e. 'push out one's chest'). As noted by Jin (2006:197), all of these meanings are brought to bear in (20), which essentially communicates that it is good for a woman to stand up straight and push out her chest, presumably to show off her breasts. In other words, the slogan conveys the idea that it is good for a woman to have big breasts. The mechanism of imbuing the key fragment of a pun with readings it may carry in unexpressed collocations seems to be absent from English.

- (20) Explicit meaning: *Zuò nǚrén tǐng* (挺) *hǎo*
 be woman very good
- Evoked meanings [bǐtǐng: (stand) **straight**]
 [tǐng xiōng: **push out** (chest)]
- Intended meaning: 'It is good for a woman to have big breasts'

4.2. Graphemic representation: a para-linguistic pun-enforcing factor

Examples (1) and (3) would make little or no sense if presented in speech. The pun in (2) might be missed if the quotation marks did not draw attention to the key fragment. The biblical reference in (13) would not vanish in speech, yet the capitalization of the *Man* fragment of *Manchester* makes it much more prominent. And yet, graphemic issues as a pun-enforcing factor have received very scant attention in the literature. In English pun-related research this is understandable: after all, linguistic studies of written, as opposed to spoken English, hardly ever consider the nature of the language's alphabetic script. It is impossible to do so with written Chinese. Prototypical *shuangguan*, with their overt-covert meaning configurations, to a large extent owe their existence to the Chinese writing system, with its multitude of morpheme-encoding logograms, allowing to write each syllable in many different ways.

Paradoxically, although it is ideal for conveying cryptic messages, which can be lost on some readers, the Chinese script sometimes makes clear connections that in English are not instantly obvious. The relatedness of polysemic meanings can be overlooked in English but in Chinese, polysemic puns often utilize logograms which share the phonetic component (and pronunciation), but which differ in the so-called radical, i.e. in the semantic component. In (7), the character 心, representing 'core' or a 'computer processor' sense of *xīn*, merely adds a grass radical 艹 to the character 忄, representing the 'basic' sense, i.e. 'heart'.

Yet another script-related observation concerns the attitudes to the writing systems serving the two languages. In the English-speaking world, they are purely utilitarian, but in China the characters function as a powerful symbol of the nation's unity, a repository of cultural values to be cherished and protected. The reason for the quotation marks in the safety poster in (2) is legal. A directive issued in November 2014 by SARFT (State Administration for Press, Publication, Radio, Film and Television) prohibited the perceived "irregular and inaccurate use of the Chinese language, especially the misuse of idioms", and regulated the use of puns in the mass media. From then on special graphic symbols had to be used to indicate the departure from the norm, i.e. from the standard use, phrasing and meanings of characters and idioms.

4.3. The extra-linguistic pun-enforcing factors

Many puns are instantly obvious to a sufficiently proficient learner of the language. Some become apparent only to the interpreters equipped with the necessary extralinguistic knowledge. This may include the physical setting in which communication is taking place as well as the language user's experiences, memories, encyclopedic and other knowledge as well as religious and other beliefs. The punning character of *Superior By Nature*, a tagline promoting the Canadian city of Thunder Bay, is apparent only to those who know it is located on Lake Superior. *Yes, We Scan*, a slogan which was contrived in response to the news of the US global surveillance program and which plagued president Barrack Obama during his 2013 visit to Germany, was perceived as a pun only by those who were familiar with the *Yes, We Can* slogan of his presidential campaign.

Yet another source of extra-linguistic information which may prevent the interpreter from settling for just one reading of the key element of a pun comes from social norms, cultural assumptions and values, which would be different for speakers of English and Chinese. In order to be noticed, *shuangguan* require a reader who knows he should be on the lookout for double meanings, which are likely to be culturally important, such as propriety in (5), or potentially embarrassing, such as breast size in (20) or emotions. In Solska (2019b), I argued that stylistic figures of this sort are a product of a high-context culture. This notion, proposed by Hall (1976), is applied to communities whose members tend to communicate in ways that are indirect and heavily dependent on common contextual knowledge, unlike low-context culture communities, which put a premium on

directness, explicitness and lack of ambiguity. The communities we find in the English-speaking world are by no means uniform, with the British often described as being high-context, unlike most Americans. However, compared with the Chinese culture, even the British fall toward the low-context end of the communicating scale.

Part of the shared knowledge involves awareness of the core values of a given society, such as the notion of social harmony, one of the cornerstones of the Chinese civilization, which dictates that each of its members should perform his or her social role as dutifully as possible, attempting to prevent conflict and avoid confrontation or direct criticism. One of the ways of achieving this is to conduct social interactions in a way that recognizes one's own position in society as well as the position and respectability of the others. In other words, by regard for the people's face. The open expression of emotions may be appreciated in the English-speaking world but in China doing so might lead to a loss of face. An effective way of being non-committal and thus face-saving involves fashioning *shuangguan*.

5. Language functions: an organizing principle

What do speakers of English and Chinese achieve by producing puns? Scholarly reflection on the purposes verbal messages may serve has, on one hand, yielded a number of proposals, specifying the so-called functions of language and, on the other hand, comments on the futility of trying to establish them (cf. Halliday 1978:186). Conceding the limitations of the very notion, I have nonetheless decided that language functions would make an appropriate organizing principle for the discussion of the communicative purposes behind the use of puns in the two languages. Having considered a number of available options (Halliday 1978; Brown & Yule 1983; Leech 1974) I have settled on the list proposed by Jakobson (1960), to this day a go-to reference in both linguistics and literary studies. Halliday's proposal seemed irrelevant for my discussion since it is not so much concerned with language functions in general but with functions that language has for children in their early years. Brown and Yule's model, recognizing only two major functions – transactional and interactional – was too reductionist, while Leech's made no provisions for the metalingual function, which I believe is most essential in punning utterances. In what follows I compare and contrast English and Chinese puns with respect to how they realize Jakobson's six functions, fully aware that usually more

than one function is at play. Though the order in which they are mentioned is usually different, I will start with the metalingual and poetic functions, which I believe is exhibited by all puns, before considering their poetic, emotive, conative, phatic and referential uses.

6. The overview of functions of punning utterances

6.1. Metalinguistic uses of puns

Using language to talk about the language itself is the essence of messages realizing the metalingual or metalinguistic function. Though usually mentioned last, and missing from some proposals in the case of puns, this function has to go to the forefront. After all, making a pun involves careful manipulation of form and meaning resulting in an utterance which compels the comprehender to pause and reflect on the mechanics of language processing. This invitation to metalinguistic reflection, characterizing all puns, has been noted by practitioners of applied linguistics who have advocated exploiting their pedagogical value in foreign language teaching. The argument they use is that the metalingual element inherent to puns can help raise learners' awareness of a whole range of issues pertaining to vocabulary and orthography, phonology, morphology and syntax, appropriacy and style, text types, discourse and even pragmatic competence (Cook 2000; Lems 2013; Solska 2019a).

Interestingly, the point of some puns is in fact exactly to showcase linguistic issues. In China, there is a millennia-old tradition of explaining the meaning of a character by using another, its homophone or a near-homophone, i.e. by providing a *paronomastic gloss*. In *Shuowen Jiezi*, the first comprehensive Chinese dictionary dating to the 1st century CE, the entry for *ghost* (*guǐ*), given in (21), offers an explanation that this is a condition human beings revert to (*guǐ*). The *Shiming* dictionary, compiled a century later, contains 1,502 definitions of this sort, and is essentially a collection of puns produced in an attempt to establish semantic connections between the word being defined and the word defining it.

- (21) Rén suō *guǐ* wèi *guǐ*
 Man place return (歸) be ghost (鬼)
 ‘A ghost is where (the state that) human beings return to.’

In present day China, this practice can still be found in the form of horizontal puns describing some aspect of reality in a way that is jocular, profound or both. (22) – (23) are the relevant examples:

- (22) *Lǎogōng* (老公), *jiù shì láogōng* (劳工).
 husband just be work labor
 ‘A husband is hard labor’.
- (23) *Shīqù* (失去), *jiù shì shíqù* (拾取).
 lose go just be collect take
 ‘Losing something is gaining something.’

In the English-speaking world, purely metalingually-oriented puns seem to represent the ludic rather than the philosophical dimension of pun use, unless we acknowledge that they in fact highlight such properties of language as duality or arbitrariness. The absurd logic the Mock Turtle uses in “Alice in Wonderland” to explain, in (24), why his Old Master at school was given his nickname, is based on the fact that in British English both *tortoise* and *taught us* have the same pronunciation:

- (24) *we called him Tortoise* ['tɔ:təs] because he *taught us* ['θɔ:t əs].

More recent examples of such pun-based absurd humor include mock redefinitions of words, as in (25) and (26), as well as nonsensical captions of memes, violating grammatical rules and accompanied by a visual representation of the key word: in (27) and (28) a picture of respectively a sheep and an orange:

- (25) *Diode* – a pair of two long poems (*di-* and *ode*)
- (26) *Syntax* – a tariff on immorality (a tax on *sin*)
- (27) *Ewe Are the Best* (i.e., *You...*)
- (28) *Orange You Glad To See Me?* (i.e., *Aren't...?*)

6.2. Poetic function

Arguably all puns realize the poetic function of language, i.e. the function which pertains to phrasing the message in a way that best fits whatever purpose it is intended to serve. If they did not, language users would not go out of their way to produce them. The extensive research conducted over the last few decades into the most conspicuous uses of punning utterances has identified a number of cognitive and interpersonal communicative effects achievable through punning, namely:

- (i) the rich meaning package: puns provide an economical way of communicating an array of meanings,

- (ii) attention-grabbing: puns tend to capture the attention of the audience,
- (iii) memorability: puns tend to be remembered,
- (iv) wittiness: puns demonstrate creativity in using language,
- (v) humorousness: usually attributed to some incongruity inherent in them and the surprise resulting from discovering it.

These communicative effects attainable by puns make them particularly effective as advertising slogans (cf. Goddard 1998; Tanaka 1992, 1994; van Mulken et al. 2005), including city promotional slogans (cf. Solska & Rojczyk 2015). They make them a perfect choice for headlines, film or book titles (cf. Dor 1995; Chovanec 2005). They also make them singularly well-suited to appear in punchlines of jokes or in witticisms (as established by Attardo 1994). One may add that in longer pieces of discourse, horizontal puns may provide textual cohesion by focusing the audience's attention on some major theme or form. In (5), that theme is one of Confucian virtues; in Shakespeare's Sonnet 135, that form is the word *will*, repeated 13 times in at least 6 different meanings.

The poetic function of language also embraces the perceived aesthetic value of verbal messages. Generating affective meanings in addition to conceptual meaning is an aspect of punning which has long been acknowledged and studied in both Western and Chinese rhetorical and literary traditions. In the West, a whole family of pun-related figures has been recognized, with 'paronomasia' being the most general term for punning wordplay.⁵ As could be expected, some of these differ from classical Chinese *shuangguan* with respect to their formal qualities, a presentation of which would be too space-consuming for this short article and which falls outside its purview. What lies within its scope is the difference in the status they have in their respective cultures. In the West, especially in the English-speaking world, puns tend to be viewed as somewhat crude and often loud; in general, a figure of speech of lesser value. Dismissed by Dryden as "the lowest and most groveling form of wit", they do not come close to being as appreciated as the metaphor, a device which takes pride of place among stylistic devices. Not so in the Chinese culture, where that honor goes to *shuangguan* and where re-

⁵ In addition to paronomasia, these include *antanaclasis* (repetition of a word in a different sense), *polyptoton* (repetition of words derived from the same root) and *asteismus* (a mocking or humorous reply that plays on a word). The two latter figures are not always pun-based.

sorts to ambiguity-based wordplay has been seen as a desirable verbal skill associated with subtlety, good education and wit.

6.3. Emotive: from self-expression to hidden anger

The emotive function of language focuses on the producer of the message. It is evidenced especially in works of poetry, which tend to be created out of the poet's need for self-expression and which often capture his or her emotional state. A striking difference in the use of puns and *shuangguan* is connected with the kind of emotions they are made to convey. English puns, typically conspicuous and difficult to overlook, are not normally coined to reveal being in love. For instance, the reader of Shakespeare's Sonnet 138 is fully aware that the lyrical subject is pursuing a relationship with a woman. The three senses of the word *lie*, which are exploited in the poem (telling untruths, deceiving oneself and having sex), serve to depict the dynamics of this love affair. Unlike English puns, Chinese *shuangguan*, which are low-key and easy to overlook, are often chosen to confess love in an unobvious way. Consider (29), a line from a Tang dynasty poem by Li Shangyin, which is seemingly about silkworms making silk until they die. However, a perceptive reader will notice that the word indicating silk (*sī*) sounds identical to the word indicating thought, affection, thinking of someone or something, written with a different character (思). Thus (29) is really a veiled confession that the poet will not stop thinking about his beloved till the end of his life.

- (29) Explicit message: *Chūn cán dào sì sī (丝) fāngjīn*
 spring silkworm till die silk no more
 ‘Only when they die will spring silkworms stop making silk.’
 Implicit message: ‘Only when I die will I stop thinking about (you).’

The ‘silk’ *shuangguan* thus enables the poet to communicate his deepest feelings in a very subtle and socially accepted way. In the high-context Chinese culture he can be confident that the intended message will not be lost on the person or people that matter to him.

Obviously, the expression of emotions is not limited to love and affection. Speakers of both English and Chinese may resort to punning if they want to express disdain, derision or give vent to their anger. In both cultures, the inherent ambiguity of puns makes them convenient for conveying such potentially confrontational emotions in a way that prevents open conflict.

When news of the SARFT directive, mentioned in section 4.2, was reported in the English-speaking media, it was decried as the Chinese “crack-down on puns” and the comment sections of online newspapers exploded with pun-rich postings, some of which are listed below:

- (30) *You china be funny?* ('trying to')
- (31) *There won't be a Man darin' to pun.* ('Mandarin')
- (32) *The jail will be renamed House of Pun.*
- (33) *One could call it cruel and unusual pun-ishment.*
- (34) *Well, China, it either was Mao or never.* ('now')

In much the same way, in the early years of the 21st century, Chinese netizens flooded the cyberspace with pun-based memes poking fun at the decision made by Hu Jintao, leader of the Chinese Communist Party, to elevate the notion of social harmony to the status of China's official political philosophy. All of them featured ‘river crabs’, i.e. creatures whose name, héxiè (河蟹), phonetically resembles the word indicating ‘harmony’ héxié (和谐).

6.4. Conative function, extending to entertaining, didactic, magical and preemptive uses of puns

Defined as using language to modify the hearer's behaviour, the conative function is particularly obvious in advertising slogans, whose purpose is to persuade the prospective customer to buy the advertised product or service. Whether punning or not, these work the same way in English and in Chinese. However, a special aspect of Chinese advertising is that the very name of a product may function as a selling point. Some brand names carry a very clear meaning and thus an Opel (*Ōubǎo* 欧宝) constitutes a ‘European treasure’, a BMW (*Bǎomǎ* 宝马) a ‘precious horse’, Lenovo (*Liánxiān* 联想) connotes ‘mental connections’ and Pentium (*Bēnténg* 奔腾) a ‘galloping’ performance. Pun-based punchlines of jokes, produced to evoke laughter, would represent another example of using language to affect the audience, one that is essentially the same in both cultures. As utterances (1) – (4) indicate, puns are also occasionally used to encourage safe behavior of both English and Chinese speakers. However, only in the Chinese culture do we encounter cases where puns are used to promote or at least stimulate the ethically appropriate conduct. It is not surprising that

Ames' 2008 article on Mengzi is tellingly titled "Paronomasia: A Confucian Way of Making Meaning".

In Chinese, the conative function extends not only to teaching morality via puns but to the symbolic or even magical uses of wordplay. As is well known, the Chinese deem number four (*si*) inauspicious because it sounds like the verb 'to die' (*sī*). Bats are symbols of good fortune because the words 'bat' and 'good fortune' have identical pronunciation (*fú*). Wordplay is often used as a smart way to avoid saying or doing things felt to bring misfortune. In emails and text messages the ominous word *cānjù* ('tragedy') is often replaced by the innocuous 'tableware' (*cānjiù*), and clocks and watches are never desired as gifts: after all *sòng zhōng*, 'to offer a clock,' sounds exactly like 'attend upon a dead person'. As can be seen, the use of homophones aligns with Chinese notions of superstition.

One more noteworthy way in which the conative function of puns manifests itself involves refraining from using a potential pun to prevent possible undesirable actions on the part of the powerful audience. After the second world war, a novelist and journalist Shen Dehong thought it prudent to change his penname. Adopted in the 1920s, *Máodùn* ('contradiction'), was a perfect choice, reflecting as it did tensions in revolutionary ideology. In Communist China, it became dangerous, so Shen replaced its first component with an identically sounding word, thus changing his moniker to a meaningless but safe 'thatch shield'. Is such preemptive avoidance of unintentional puns practiced in the English-speaking world? Absolutely! It has been rumored that Harry, Duke of Sussex and his wife, Meghan Markle rejected the title of the Earl of *Dumbarton* for their son Archie, for fear that the *dumb* fragment it incorporates would make him a butt of crude jokes.

6.5. Phatic uses of puns

Typically realized through messages whose informative content is low, the phatic function of language evinces itself through formulaic expressions of greeting, inquiries about the interlocutors' well-being as well as remarks about trivial topics or apparently irrelevant or obvious facts, such as the weather. In Solska (forthcoming) I pointed out that a social game dubbed ping-pong punning may constitute another phatically-oriented verbal practice since it involves exploiting the punning potential of situationally relevant words in order to create an atmosphere of sociability and establish personal communion between the interactants. Pun-laden

comments (30) – (34) above on the restrictions on pun use in Chinese mass media can be seen as one of many examples of this practice. Another one, indulged in by both English and Chinese speakers, erupted on social media in 2012, when the followers of Jeremy Lin, a hugely successful American basketball player of Chinese descent started to express their admirations for their idol as well as their solidarity with other fans by engaging in (depending on their language) ‘Linsanity’ or ‘Lin Fengzi’, that is the obsessive (ab)use of the athlete’s name in puns. Speakers of English would construct ‘Linisms’, or words blended with the athletes name, and incorporate them into their comments to Lin-related online articles or into the Twitter messages. Examples include:

(35) *Glad NY could get a hold of a good, Lin-telligent player*

(36) *Linteresting Lindeed ;)*

(37) *Are you a Lin-guist? Tweet your words to us @linwords.*

The Chinese version of this phenomenon involved fashioning nicknames for the idol, which would playfully manipulate the athlete’s Chinese name Lín Shūháo (林书豪). Thus when Lin’s team emerged from a game undefeated, he was renamed Zero-Loss Hao (*líng shū háo* 零输). In this moniker, the first character was replaced with a similar sounding *líng* (‘zero’) and the second with a homophonous *shū* (‘loss’). After a seven game winning streak under Jeremy’s leadership, he was dubbed 007 (*líng líng qī*), a clear reference to the code number of the fictitious British Intelligence Officer, James Bond.

On the grounds of linguistic theories of politeness, producing puns of this sort would be construed as a positive politeness strategy, meant to express solidarity with the hearer or some third party. As could be expected, punning can also be used as a negative politeness strategy, allowing the speaker to mitigate the expression of hostility toward the hearer or some third party. The seemingly meaningless (38), a witticism attributed to Mark Twain, is a case in point. Evoking *the Nile*, a similar sounding name of an African river, it is a toned down version of the impolite blunt refusal. A simple *No!* would be much more confrontational.

(38) *Denial ain’t just a river in Egypt.*

In the Chinese culture, resorting to *shuangguan* can function as a way to preserve the speaker’s own face as well as the face of the addres-

see. The lyrical subject of the ‘silkworms’ poem spared himself and his audience the embarrassment of openly discussing his intimate feelings. A careful choice of *shuangguan* provided him with a face-saving way of broaching a socially unaccepted topic. *Shuangguan* use can also provide a way of ‘giving’ face to the interlocutor, i.e. indicating appreciation of his social standing. In her unpublished dissertation Ai (2007:3) mentions a telegram message consisting of a single character *yǔn* (允), sent by a woman whose given name (*Yunhe*) incorporated the character. The purpose of the telegram was to inform the addressee that he had obtained her father’s permission (*yǔn*) to marry her sister. Performing a double function of telegram message and the signature of its sender, the single character constituted an ingenious pun. By choosing this very laconic form of conveying factual information Yunhe not only demonstrated her own superior verbal skills but her conviction that the addressee was an intelligent man of high learning, capable of unravelling the cryptic message and worthy of marrying her equally sophisticated sister. The message was a face-giving warm welcome to the family.

6.6. Referential uses of puns

Representing the use of language to convey factual information, the referential function dominates in lectures and conference presentations, news programs, scholarly literature and technical manuals, i.e. texts typically associated with providing descriptions and classifications, offering explanations and clarifications. Their quality, both in English and Chinese, to a large extent depends on clarity, precision and the lack of ambiguity. When puns appear in them, they serve other functions, mainly conative and expressive and always metalingual and poetic. The pun-based sexual innuendo in (39) constitutes an unexpected comic relief in a text on linguistics, raising the likelihood that the term *morphological stripping* will be understood and remembered. The parenthetical information in (40) draws attention to the pun and its author’s wittiness.

- (39) Using a technique called morphological **stripping** (get your mind out of the gutter!), morphologists provide a morpheme breakdown of long words, which allows them to find the root of a word. (from a book “Linguistics for Dummies”)
- (40) It is fitting, especially in the context of this issue of *Romantic Praxis*, that Paul Yoder opens his article with John Locke’s philosophy of language

on his way to showing how Blake's **unlocks** (to use the elegant pun of Yoder's title) language [...]. (from a polemical reply to an article by Paul Yoder)

Referentially used puns often appear in titles of academic and other books, articles, documentaries, where they provide a summary of the contents in a way that is compact, witty and humorous, and thus attention-grabbing and memorable:

- (41) *The Gravity of the Situation: Crash Course Astronomy* (title of a YouTube video)
- (42) *Archaeology: Date with history.* (title of an article in “Nature”)
- (43) *There is no getting round Gettier.* (title of an article in “The Journal of Pragmatics”)

In the Chinese language context, ingenious referentially-intended texts are created serving as an aid to memorize strings of numbers, such as telephone numbers or the value of π . Its first few digits can be easily committed to memory thanks to a ‘poem’ whose first line is given in (44). Exploiting the phonetic resemblance of numerals to other words, the author chose the syllable *shān* to represent *sān* (‘three’), and *hú* to represent *wǔ* (‘five’).

- (44) Explicit reading: *Shān diān yī sì yī hú jiǔ.*
 hill top one temple one jug wine
 ‘At the hilltop, a temple and a jug of wine.’
 Intended reading: *sān diǎn yī sì yī wǔ jiǔ*
 ‘3.14159’

The section on the referential uses of puns would be incomplete without a presentation of a uniquely Chinese way of communication factual information by omission. There is an anecdote about a letter which Sima Xiangru, a Han Dynasty scholar, sent to his wife to inform her of his decision to divorce her. The letter consisted entirely of a string of numbers. Missing from it, however, was a character 亿 (*yì*), representing ‘a hundred million’, and homophonous with such words as 意 (‘feeling, affection’), 忆 (‘memory’) and 义 (‘relationship’). The message the woman was supposed to recover was ‘I have no feelings for you’, ‘I wish to forget you’ or ‘I want our relationship to end’.

This penchant for leaving out the crucial part of the utterance, is not restricted to poetry. All native speakers of Chinese occasionally quote spe-

cial ‘tail-omitted’ sayings, called *xiēhòuyǔ*, literally ‘sayings with the latter-part suspended’. They consist of two parts, the first of which describes some situation and is always stated. The second part, which carries the relevant message, typically remains unsaid. A speaker of Chinese may express the idea of ‘Everything’s lost!’ by uttering a seemingly irrelevant *Confucius moving house*. The omitted relevant second part is *Nothing but books* (尽是书 *Jin shì shū*), whose last word is homophonous with the verb ‘to lose’ (输).

7. Concluding remarks

An artefact of ambiguity, the phenomenon of punning probably exists in all languages. In this article I compared and contrasted (i) the punning potential of English and Chinese resulting from the peculiarities of the phonological and morphological features exhibited by these two languages as well as (ii) the functions punning utterances serve in the English- and Chinese-speaking worlds, grounded in the cultural backgrounds the two languages are embedded in. To systematize the discussion I have adopted Jakobson’s list of six language functions as the organizing principle. I am aware of the limitations of such an approach. More research definitely needs to be conducted into the social and the affective aspects of punning, grounded in a framework better suited to this purpose than Jakobson’s model. Considering the paucity of contrastive English-Chinese studies on puns, I see my publication as a small contribution, providing some insights into this under-explored area.

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The functions of punning utterances in English and Chinese: a cross-cultural perspective

Capitalizing on the universal linguistic feature of ambiguity, punning utterances can be found in languages as distinct as the Indo-European, marginally inflected English and the Sino-Tibetan, monosyllabic, inflectionless Chinese. Though forming a tiny fraction of the utterances produced in these languages, they tend to stand out and can be encountered in diverse communicative settings, including poetry and prose, jokes and comedy routines, advertising slogans and book titles. Whether perceived as “the lowest form of wit” or a lofty rhetorical device, they perform a wide range of functions which are often grounded in distinct cultural and historical backgrounds they are embedded in. The objective of this article is to identify the most striking differences in the functions served by typical English and Chinese puns and to investigate the cultural factors underlying these differences. Adopting Jakobson’s model of language functions as the organizing principle for the discussion, I examine a range of puns in the two languages, comparing and contrasting the motivations for their use.

Keywords: puns, English, Chinese, language functions, high- and low-context cultures.

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Intelligibility in the early language contact in Danelaw revisited

1. The issue

The issue of intelligibility¹ between the speakers of Old English (OE) and Old Norse (ON) in Danelaw has long been the subject of scholarly investigation (see, among others, Geipel 1971, Hansen 1984, Poussa 1982, Fell 1984, Kastovsky 1992, Milroy 1997, Pons-Sanz 2000; Faarlund 2004; Crystal 2004; Chia Kuo Ku 2009; Miller 2012; Hellem 2014; Monticolo 2016, Faarlund & Emonds 2016, Bech & Walkden 2016, Chruszczewski 2021). Much of this debate has addressed the question of the degree of mutual intelligibility. Some scholars have argued that there was a great deal of mutual intelligibility. For example, Dance (2012), Townend (2002), Hockett (1987), Poussa (1982), and Fell (1984) argue that the level of cultural and communication interactions between these two nations had to be high and that they understood each other while speaking their languages.

The Danelaw was settled around 500 years after the Anglo-Saxons and Norsemen had split from the Germanic tribe. It is rather unlikely that four or five centuries of independent existence converted these languages into two distinct and incomprehensible language codes. It is a fact that those languages developed their independent syntactic, phonetic and lexical features, tackled in the following sections, but many Proto-Germanic (PG) continuations were still strong in those languages. We point them out during the discussion in this paper. The mutual intelligibility approach is further confirmed by literary findings. For instance, Fell's (1984) analysis

¹ Mutual intelligibility is defined in this paper after Townend (2002:183), i.e., as the ability to follow coherent sentences in the foreign language and understand them at least in the context.

of Ohthere's words at the Alfredian court demonstrates that a Norseman trader communicated with an Anglo-Saxon trader without an interpreter.

In contrast, other researchers (see, among others: Milroy 1997, Kastovsky 1992 & Trudgill 2010) question this position, pointing to the earlier division of the Germanic languages into the Western and Northern groups and their further unrelated development. The languages of these groups show phonological and syntactic differences distinctive enough to disrupt mutual understanding during early contact. If we follow this approach, an alternative scenario has to be envisaged, that of emerging bilingualism.

In the face of these conflicting opinions, the primary aim of this paper is to adduce evidence to the mutual intelligibility approach proposed by Townend (2002), among others. This study covers the period shortly after the Danes had established and inhabited the territory of roughly 15 Anglo-Saxon shires,² which they later called Danelaw. The main question is whether the Norsemen were able to understand the language of the conquered nation and, conversely, whether the Anglo-Saxons recognized Norse as a comprehensible language because it was similar to their own. To this aim, a comparative study of OE and ON syntax and grammar is provided, followed by a qualitative etymological analysis of high-frequency words in both languages. The study of the hypothetical common ancestry of the parallel words is enhanced by the data on the culture of Germanic tribes. Next, the findings are verified against the theory of language contact. The outcome of the analysis depicts a high degree of mutual intelligibility between Anglo-Saxons and Norsemen during their first days in Danelaw.

The paper is divided into two major parts. Firstly, we critically examine selected aspects of OE and ON syntax and morphology, as well as phonetic correspondences. Secondly, we present a comparative etymological analysis of high-frequency parallel words in OE and ON. The data have been collected with the aid of dictionaries that comprise words from different dialects in both languages. We are conscious of the fact that the words may have varied dialectally and that a few words may have been used for one concept in England depending on the region; therefore, in our dictionary search we carefully looked for the words indicated as coming from the Anglian dialect. However, not many were marked with this feature in the sources. The compiled parallel words were next classified into semantic

² Leicester, York, Nottingham, Derby, Lincoln, Essex, Cambridge, Suffolk, Norfolk, Northampton, Huntingdon, Bedford, Hertford, Middlesex, and Buckingham (Thomason & Kaufman 1992:362).

classes. The etymological analysis of the words in the semantic classes aims to establish if they were derived from a common Proto-Germanic ancestor. The main assumption is that, if the investigated parallel words were derived from the same mother language, the speakers of OE and ON must have understood each other. Complete comprehension might have been blurred by sound changes but cannot be denied.

2. The comparative analysis of selected aspects of syntax

Following Emonds & Faarlund (2014) and Faarlund & Emonds (2016) the most contrasting facets of OE and ON syntax were word order in verb phrases, verbal prefixes vs. post-verbal particles, subject-to-subject raising and subject-to-object raising, exceptional case marking and subject split. Let us compare these aspects in this section and comment on the possible effects on intelligibility. In this section the data is drawn from Emonds & Faarlund (2014) and Faarlund & Emonds (2016). Although the conclusions from their approaches may be disputed, we do not follow their claim that Middle English is a creole which developed from Old English and Old Norse. Rather, we focus on their findings in the scope of the syntax of the investigated languages.

Regarding the word order, it is commonly assumed that the basic word order in OE affirmative clauses was VO and OV in subordinate clauses. As for the question of which order was basic and which derived, generative grammarians claim that the underlying order in VP was V-final and that the V-second position in main clauses was derived by movement (van Kemenade 1987, Roberts 1997). ON had exhibited the same word order until circa 9th century, when it changed to underlying VO in both types of syntactic constructions (Faarlund & Edmonds 2014, 2016), but even after this period some marked examples of OV order are still found (Faarlund 1990:52). Sociolinguists claim that, before any type of change is fully established in a language, a certain dose of fluctuation is usually observed. The 9th century was the period in which Danelaw was established, and shifting word order in ON, which was lingering at times as OV in subordinating clauses and was so well-known to OE speakers, must have facilitated comprehension.

Another aspect of syntax discussed in Emonds & Faarlund (2014) and Faarlund & Emonds (2016) relates to verbal prefixes and post-verbal particles. OE marked both movement and aspect by using two prefixes *ge-* for aspect and *be-* for movement. While these verbal prefixes still exist in present-day German, English converted them into post-verbal particles in the Middle English period. The shift was probably a calque of the ON sys-

tem of post-verbal particles, which developed in this language as early as prehistoric times (Faarlund & Emonds 2016). It seems that it was a diacritical feature, which might have caused confusion during the initial contact.

The next seemingly conflicting issue is subject-to-subject raising, i.e., constructions in which the subject of the matrix clause is, in fact, the subject of the subordinate clause, for instance, *John seems to like apples*. Following Traugott (1972), constructions which display subject-to-subject raising were not found in OE. In contrast, they were unmarked constructions in ON as early as the beginning of Danelaw.

Let us now take a look at subject-to-object raising or Exceptional Case Marking (ECM). It occurs when the subject of a subordinate clause appears to be the object of a matrix verb, for example *Do you want him to bring you your coffee?* The object *him* receives accusative case from the matrix verb and can be a reflexive pronoun bound by the higher subject. Contrary to ON, in which this construction was fairly common, it was completely unknown to the speakers of OE. ECM developed in English around the Middle English period, again, by analogy to ON (Emonds & Faarlund 2014; Faarlund & Emonds 2016).

Another contrasting issue is subject split: the process by which control infinitives are preceded by an infinitive marker *to* for OE and *at* for ON. It was frequently encountered in the syntax of the languages which developed from common Germanic. In both these languages, the infinitival marker was invariably adjacent to the following verb. It was an effect of verb movement to T. When this parameter was lost, sentential adverbs started to appear before the verb in both languages, making it a shared feature.

Finally, the Verb-second (V2) property of North and West Germanic main clauses shall be compared. Although OE mainly shows V2 in main clauses, it exceptionally admitted verb-third constructions in which both a topicalized phrase and pronominal subject are to the left of the finite verb. Verb-third (V3) constructions were marked and occurred exceptionally in ON. Following Emonds & Faarlund (2014) and Faarlund & Emonds (2016), verb-third constructions soon disappeared in ON, motivating the same loss in OE by analogy.

Given all this, it seems that the syntactic differences were quite numerous, but it is unlikely that the above-discussed contrasts hindered comprehension. We hypothesize that, for the past or present languages, even if similar lexical roots of words appear in the inverted order in a sentence or are marked by some unknown affixes, effective communication is plausible.

3. The comparative analysis of morphological innovations

A close analysis of the morphological features of selected ON and OE parts of speech, including noun and adjective declination, verb conjugation and the personal pronoun paradigms, has shown that despite clear-cut distinctions in, for example, personal pronouns (3rd person plural) and stems of strong adjectives, the investigated languages shared many similarities. They both declined nouns and adjectives for case and number as well as distinguishing between strong and weak adjectives and verbs (Reszkiewicz 1973, Haugan 2000). The languages shared the number and type of morphological cases (nominative, genitive, dative, accusative). Furthermore, both languages divided both strong and weak verbs into 7 classes. The conjugation of verbs was rather unambiguous and, despite vowel changes in roots in preterite forms, the pattern was systematic and still strongly Germanic in quality.

What is more, both languages had preterite-present verbs in which the present forms were derived historically from the IE perfect, and most of these verbs were still seen in OE and ON. In addition to this, all three parts of speech – nouns, verbs, and adjectives – developed certain common morphological innovations or shared features, which were continuations of the PG system. For instance, the analyzed languages shared some remnant case suffixes, i.e., Genitive plural was marked with suffix {-a} while Dative plural with {-um}, regardless of type and gender. It must be pointed out that, in Danelaw, the withdrawing inflection played an increasingly marginal role in the interpretation of utterances. It was the period in which suffixes were merging or dying out, first in English and next in Danish.

Although the similarities, which prevail in number over the differences, cannot be taken as an irrefutable indication of mutual intelligibility, their number invites the assumption that they enhanced intelligibility.

4. Sound correspondences

Milliken & Milliken' (1993:1; in Townend 2002:45) report that the more sound correspondences there are between cognate lexical items in two dialects or languages, the higher the intelligibility between the speakers. In a conversation, the speakers do not search for phonetic similarities only. Their perception frequently codes sound correspondences as well. This may be an effect of our natural search for regularity in the sound system. Such an observation leads to the conclusion that these are phonemic correspondences – not similarities – that boost mutual intelligibility.

As for the sound systems of languages that developed from PG, Wright & Wright (1925:27) and Townend (2002:41) ascertain that the possible phonetic innovations, which developed during the separation period of the Germanic tribes, “were of a regular and [...] predictable nature”. Nielsen (1981) provided a comprehensive phonological analysis of Germanic phonetic innovations in search of the parallels. ON and OE showed a wide range of common phonetic features. The number reached 45 common innovations, 6 of which were common only for these languages. The vowel correspondences, which were continuations of PG vowels, included the lax vowels /e/, /i/, /o/, /u/, and the tense vowels /ā/, /ē/, /ī/, /ō/, /ū/. Contrastingly, vowels that developed separately after the split from PG were PG /a/ < OE /æ/ but /a/ in ON, and PG /ǣ/, which remained /ǣ/ in OE, but became a lax /a/ in ON. Diphthongs underwent more complex changes: for instance, the breaking of PG /ai/ > OE /ā/, but PG /ai/ > /ei/ in ON; PG /au/ > OE /ēa/, but retaining the same quality in ON /au/; PG /eu/ < OE /ēo/ and in ON moving up to /jō/. The final comparison here is the PG diphthong /iu/, which changed to /īo/ and to /jō/ in ON.

The existing contrasts in vowels might have baffled the speakers at first, but following the principles of *gestalt* perception (Hockett 1987), the participants of a conversation strive to recognize the meaning of words first, paying less attention to contrasts. Hockett (1987:41) argues that people “habitually recognize words as wholes, rather than a letter at a time in linear fashion [...] and this overall pattern that [helps to] identify the word [is called] the same holistic pattern or *gestalt*”. While having a conversation, one tends to register the general pattern of sentences and skips the finer details, such as variations in dialect, voice quality, and so-called superimposed paralinguistic effects for separate handling. *Gestalt* perception focuses only on separate vocabulary items and the ability when “certain sounds or arrangements of sound in the unfamiliar dialect [...] [are] coded automatically into the proper sounds or combinations of sounds in the listener’s dialect, to recognize the intended word by assembling the latter” (Hockett 1987:44). Given that, it seems relatively correct to assume that Englishmen immediately associated ON *heil* ‘healthy’ and *weik* ‘weak’ with their native *hāl* and *wāc*.

Let us now move to the etymological analysis of selected words naming concepts common for both nations. The aim will be to analyse their common origin, structure, and phonetic features. We assume that the more commonalities there are, the more chances there are for mutual intelligibility.

5. Method

The set of lexical items under analysis comprises the words which we consider high-frequency words in Anglo-Saxon England and Scandinavia in the period around the 8th and 9th centuries. The words were collected during our study of literary sources commenting on the life, routines and cultures of both nations; therefore, we truly believe that they constitute a representative sample for examination. For the collected words, the OE and ON antecedents were found in dictionaries i.e., Buck's Dictionary of "Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages" (SSPIEL), "Bosworth and Toller's Dictionary" (BTD) for OE, and "Dictionary of Old Norse Prose" (DONP) for ON. For English, we attempted to gather data from the Anglian dialect of English. Yet, we must admit that the information on the dialectal variants of words was scant; hence, the analyzed words reflect words used in general Old English. The words for which we did not find respective cognate words were rejected. To confirm the frequency of use for selected verbs, the Middle English Compendium (MEC) was used.

The compiled words were next allocated to semantic groups, including mankind-family-relationship, nature, animals and breeding, body, food-drinks-cooking, conditions-states-feelings, basic verbs and actions, and occupations. Next, semantic parallels underwent the etymological analysis. During the etymological analysis, an attempt was made to provide a hypothetical ancestor for each set of parallels in the semantic groups. We hope to establish if the investigated words had roots deriving from PG. We assume that if they developed from the same PG mother tongue, the common ancestor roots facilitated understanding.

In the analysis below, different markers indicating the length of the vowel are used. We follow the literary conventions and mark long vowels with the following diacritics: *ü* in ON and *ū* in OE.

6. Lexical comparative analysis of oe and on words

6.1. Mankind – family – relationships

Family life and relationships were very important for both societies. The nuclear family was the basic family unit with a clear status of its members, including mother, father, and forefathers (Wolf 2013). Families built houses in which children, sons and daughters, and brothers and sisters were born and raised. When mankind – family – relationships vocabu-

lary undergoes the comparative etymological analysis, it turns out that the great majority of words in this semantic field share the same PG lexical roots. For example, the most common word for an adult male a ‘man’ in OE was *wer* from PG **weraz* ‘man, husband’, while in ON the word *karl* was used, for which the source was PG **karilaz* ‘free man’. These forms developed subsequently to individualize the form ‘a male member of the society’ from the previously used PG **mann* – an umbrella term for ‘person/human/man’. The ON word was borrowed into OE in the form of *ceorl* ‘a churl’. Similarly, numerous terms existed for ‘woman’. For example, Anglo-Saxon speakers referred to them as *wif* or *cwene*. Both OE forms may be traced back to PG forms **wifa-* and **kwenō* ‘woman’. ON used a word *vif* ‘woman’ analogous with OE *wif*. OE *cwene* soon became elevated to mean ‘a woman who rules a country’.

Among the immediate family members, we come across the OE *ealdfæder* ‘ancestor, grandfather’, which was a continuation of PG **aldafader* ‘ancestor’, whereas, in ON, it developed into analogous *forfaðir*. The form *eald* that prefixed *fæder* in OE derived from PG **aldaz* (“a grown-up”). The same PG root had been prefixed with *for-* in ON. Following DONP, the prefix *for-* was added to root words in order to add the meaning of strength and significance to the thing or the person. It seems that ancestors were important members of the society in the Norse culture and its lexical designation just highlighted this role. Since the prefix *for-* was used in OE with the same meaning, we may assume Anglo-Saxons reanalyzed the meaning of ON *forfaðir* as their *ealdfæder*.

The next important family member was ‘mother’, who was referred to as *mōdor* in OE and *móðir* in ON, ultimately descending from PG **módér* ‘mother’. On the other hand, the existence of *fæder* in OE and *faðir* in ON is a continuation of PG **fader* ‘father’. The pronunciation of /d/ in both ‘father’ and ‘mother’ underwent a series of similar processes from PG, i.e., the spirantization of *d* to *ð* in ON as well as vowel changes, e.g., the rising of /e/ to /i/ in ON and fronting of /o/ to /e/ in OE. An interesting difference is displayed by the words meaning a ‘child’. In OE two words for a ‘child’ were used: *bearn* ‘an offspring’ and *cild* ‘a baby’. Following from the MEC, it can be deduced that in English both words were used with the same frequency. The ON speakers commonly used one word *barn* for a ‘child’. *Bearn* and *barn* are the continuation of PG **barnan* ‘child’ whereas OE *cild* got derived from PG **kelbaz* ‘womb’ or ‘fetus’, and there is no ON cognate coming from this PG root. The derivate of *bearn* has survived in northern English to the present day.

The word ‘family’ in a narrower sense was *hīwan* in OE and *hjún/hjón* in ON. Both forms were immediately related to PG **hīwan* ‘married couple’ or ‘household’. While OE retained the PG form, in ON it underwent a series of phonetic changes, during which /w/ disappeared and the following /a/ rose to /o/ and /u/. Families lived in houses, hence ‘house’ was *hús* in OE and, analogically, *hūs* in ON, both deriving from PG **husan* ‘house’. ‘Sister’, *sweostor* in OE and *systir* in ON corresponded with the PG root **swestēr* ‘sister’. Finally, PG **sunus* ‘son’ yielded OE *sunu* and ON *sonr* in which /s/ rhotacized to /r/ in final position.

6.2. Nature

Life revolved around nature for both the Anglo-Saxons and the Vikings. Both nations were raised in a climate specific to northern Europe: rainfall, strong winds, and chilly summers. Nature surrounded every sphere of their lives: when they hunted, built their houses or boats, cultivated land and harvested, spent time outdoors with their loved ones, both at night and during the day. The etymological analysis shows that many words describing various concepts in nature were derived from common PG roots. For example, ‘darkness’ was *mirce* in OE and *myrkr* in ON. Both words were the continuation of PG **merkwjo-* ‘darkness’. ‘Fire’, which illuminated the darkness and heated the houses during cold periods, was called *fýr* in OE and analogically *fírr* in ON, both from the PG root **fýr-* ‘fire’. In OE /ü/ fronted to /y/ and in ON the final /r/ geminated.

Now, ‘flower’ – *blōstma* in OE and *blómstr* in ON – was a continuation of PG **blo-sm/blo-stma* ‘flower’. The suffixes *-stma* and *-str* developed from PG **-stmo* and became regular suffixes in OE and ON, respectively (Peterson 2013:1). In PG, this suffix was added to non-human agentive nouns but soon its meaning bleached out. This suffix in *lobster* and *bolster* represents the modern continuation of the PG suffix **-stmo* (2013:1). Other elements of nature such as ‘wood’ in a more generic sense were *weald* in OE and *viðr* in ON from PG **walbu* ‘wood’. The type of tree used as a building material to construct ships was ‘oak’ – *āc* in OE and *eik* in ON, from PG **aiks* ‘oak tree’. Ready-made ships sailed the seas, i.e., *sæ* in OE and *sjā* in ON, derived from the generic PG **saiwiz* ‘sea, ocean’.

As far as weather terms are concerned, ‘weather’ itself was referred to as *weder* in OE and *veðr* in ON, based on the PG root **wedra-* ‘weather’, ‘season’. ‘Snow’ was *snāw* in OE and *snár* in ON from PG **snaiwaz* ‘snow’. In contrast, ‘the sun’ was *sunne* in OE and *sunna* in ON, both

derived from PG **sunno* ‘the sun’. The Anglo-Saxons and Norsemen were farmers, who among other crops grew ‘wheat’ – *hwæte* in OE and *hveiti* in ON, which derived from PG **hwaitjaz* ‘wheat’. ‘Harvest’ was *hærfest* in OE and *haust* in ON, both developed from PG **harbitas* ‘harvest’.

6.3. Animals and breeding

Animals played an important role in Anglo-Saxon and Viking life. Animals were kept for food, to facilitate farm work, for house protection, and simply as pets. Some animals could also be used as a sacrifice in the worship of gods. The ones categorized as game were hunted. The investigated languages shared the names of animals, which were in majority systematic continuations of their Proto-Germanic forms. The word for ‘animal’ was *dēor* in OE and it varied from its ON equivalent *dýr* in the quality of root vowel, i.e., a diphthong in OE but a single vowel in ON. Both words were derived from the PG root **dheusa-* ‘wild animal’. The shift from /dh/ to /d/ illustrates the effect of the First Germanic sound shift. A ‘bird’ was called *fugol* among Anglo-Saxons while Norseman used an analogical word *fugl*, both based on PG **fuglaz* ‘bird’. In Anglo-Saxon and Norse households, a ‘cat’ was *catt* and *köttr*, accordingly. A ‘dog’, on the other hand, was *hund* in OE and *hundr* in ON. They were continuations of PG **kattuz* ‘cat’ and **hundaz* ‘dog’, respectively. Cats caught a *mūs* – a ‘mouse’ – in both OE and ON, bearing an immediate relation to PG **mūs* a ‘mouse’.

Poultry included *chicken*, i.e., the OE *cicen* and the ON *kjúklingr*, both a continuation of PG **kiukinam*, a ‘chicken’. The two forms varied significantly in morphology and pronunciation. In the early Old English period, /k/ followed by a front vowel was pronounced as /tʃ/, an allophone of /k/, while in ON it was pronounced as hard /k/ without allophonic variation. The /k/ - /tʃ/ contrast could not have gone unnoticed by the speakers. In fact, it seems to have been one of the most distinctive differences in pronunciation between the analyzed languages. The last analyzed lexical item belonging to the semantic field of poultry is a ‘duck’, which was referred to as *ened* in OE and as *qnd* in ON – both were continuations of PG **anudz* ‘duck’.

Among the livestock, designated as *fēoh* in OE and *fé* in ON (from PG **fehu* ‘livestock’), we find a ‘horse’ - *hors* in OE and *hestr* in ON, from the PG root **harss-* a ‘horse’; a ‘lamb’, designated by the same word *lamb* in OE and ON, derived from **lambaz* a ‘lamb’ in PG; a ‘sheep’ was *scēap* in

OE and *sauðr* in ON. The English word was derived from **skæpa* ‘sheep’ in PG, while the ON form was a continuation of the PG **sauðiz* (cp. Go. *sauþs* ‘sacrifice’), according to Orel (2003). The initial cluster <sc> in *scēap* in OE was pronounced as fricative /ʃ/ in contrast to the ON word which retained the hard /k/, making the word for a sheep likely to be misunderstood during early contact. The last animal is a ‘pig’, i.e., *swīn* in OE and *svín* in ON, both derived from the PG root **sweina-* ‘swine’.

The word for the activity of ‘hunting’ was distinctive for the analyzed languages and illustrates how what is apparently the same action can be designated by different words, as it was reanalyzed as bearing a narrow difference in semantic meaning. This is at least what the etymological evidence suggests. Anglo-Saxons used *huntian*, the source for which was PG **huntojan* ‘chase game’. Norsemen preferred the word *veiða* from PG **waipiz* ‘catch, hunt’.

6.4. Body

Body parts, as well as words describing entrails and organs, belong to the core vocabulary of every language, including OE and ON. A number of sagas and medieval manuscripts reveal that Anglo-Saxons and Vikings, happened to suffer from various injuries and illnesses. When Anglo-Saxons felt unwell, they would say that they were *seoc* ‘sick’, from the PG root **seuka* ‘ill, disabled’. Norsemen used the word *sjukr*, but alongside it they developed the word *illr* ‘ill’, from PG **ilhilaz* ‘evil, wicked’. This word was to enter the English lexicon in the Middle English period as an effect of ON influence, and undergo a semantic shift of meaning.

The word for a living ‘body’ and a ‘corpse’ was *līc* in OE with palatalized /ʃ/ and *lik* in ON, from PG **likow* ‘body, corpse’. The word for ‘bone’ was *bān* in OE and *bein* in ON from PG **bainan* ‘bone’. The PG **hau**b**uda* ‘head’ yielded OE *heāfod* and ON *hafuð*. Among the internal organs, we find names for ‘heart’, i.e., OE *heorte* and ON *hjarta*, both from PG **hertan* ‘heart’, as well as for ‘liver’: OE *lifer* and ON *lifr* from PG **librn* ‘liver’. The examined external body parts include a ‘nose’, which was called *nosu* in OE and *nasar* in ON, the source for which was the PG root **nuso-* ‘nose’. The other word is OE *tōþ* and ON *ton* ‘tooth’, which are continuations of the PG root **tanþu-* ‘tooth’.

Appearance was described by the Anglo-Saxons using words such as *beard* – the OE word for ‘beard’ from PG **bard* ‘beard’. In contrast, Norsemen developed a word *skegg* for a ‘beard’ from a different PG root

**skaggijq*, meaning ‘that which protrudes or sticks out; beard’. Finally, ‘hair’ was *hær* in OE and *hár* in ON, from PG **héran* ‘hair’.

6.5. Food – drinks – cooking

Both nations enjoyed food and alcoholic beverages (Wolf 2013:108; Lambert 2020). Living on similarly enriched lands, in which winters were severely cold (particularly in Scandinavia) and summers were ultimately warm and rainy, both Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians grew crops in spring and harvested in autumn. From the manuscripts and sagas, we learn about the food they ate and how they prepared it.

Among the food products, we come across different types of ‘food’, which word itself was designated by *mete* in OE and *matr* in ON, both from PG **mati* ‘food’. An ‘apple’ was referred to as *aappel* in OE and *epli* in ON, both continuations of PG **ap(a)laz*, meaning ‘fruit in general’, but also ‘apple’. ‘Bread’ was *bread* in OE and *brauð* in ON, the source for which was PG **brautham* ‘morsel, crumb, bread’. In Old English manuscripts *hlaf* from PG **haibaz* was also frequently used for ‘loaf of bread’. OE *hnutu* ‘nut’ bore phonetic resemblance to ON *hnot*, analogically with the PG root **hnut-* ‘nut’. ‘Honey’ was called *hunig* in OE and *hunang* in ON (from PG **hunang* ‘honey’), and as a substance was regularly added, for example, to ‘beer’ (OE *bēor* and ON *bjórr* from PG **beuzq* ‘dross, brewer’s yeast’) to produce ‘ale’. Interestingly, ON additionally developed a parallel name for ‘beer’, which was *ql*. The reason might have been that a different type of brew was used for preparation and the taste might have been different from the original *bjórr*. Another alcoholic beverage consumed by both people was ‘wine’, which was called *wīn* in OE and *vín* in ON; both words derived from PG **winam* ‘grape wine’.

One of the ways of preparing food was to ‘bake’ it – *bacan* in OE and *baka* in ON (PG **bakan* ‘to bake’). The action of drinking was designated by the word *drincan* in OE and *drekka* in ON, the source for which was PG **drenkanan* ‘to drink’.

6.6. Conditions – states – feelings

People, despite their birth, lineage, homeland, or religion, always have and will experience a whole range of feelings and states, depending on the situation. The testimonies of the contemporary monks reveal that the Anglo-Saxons felt anger or even rage during the Viking Conquests, during

which they were robbed, their villages and monasteries were burnt to the ground or when Vikings murdered their countrymen. On the other hand, they must have also experienced positive feelings and enjoyed happy moments when they succeeded in fights or when they spent time with their families or friends. Vikings were also emotionally attached to their families and devoted to friends (Wolf 2013). In sagas and manuscripts we read that they loudly celebrated their victories.

As mentioned above, both nations used to engage in battles as a consequence of which they could get wounded. A ‘wound’ used to be called *wund* in OE and *und* in ON – a continuation of PG **wuntho* ‘injury, ulcer’. On the other hand, when the warriors recovered from wounds, they became people of good ‘health’, which was designated by *hælp* in OE and *heil* in ON. Both words derived from PG **hailaz* ‘whole, hail’. The warriors were also ‘strong’, which was expressed as *strang* in OE, and *strangr* in ON, from PG **strangaz* ‘tight, strict, strong’. When discussing feelings, ‘happy’ was expressed by the adjective *gesælig* in OE and *séll* in ON, from PG **sæligas* ‘silly’ or ‘in a good mood’. When it comes to ‘hate’, it was referred to as *hete* in OE and *hatr* in ON, from the PG root **hatis-* ‘hatred, spite’. On the other hand, we know that Danes conquered England in search of a better ‘life’ – *lifian* in OE and *lifa* in ON derived from PG **libejanan* ‘life’.

So far, the analyzed lexical items have shown a clear relation to the PG ancestor from which they had developed into almost analogical forms. The verb ‘love’, however, is different. The etymological examination has shown two distinctive words designating this concept in the investigated languages. Thus, in OE the infinitive for ‘love’ was *lufian* from PG **lubōnq* ‘to praise’, while in ON the verb *elska* was used, which was a derivative from PG **aliskanan* ‘admire, love’. Finally, terms related to age shall be discussed. The word for ‘old’ was *eald* in OE and *gamall* in ON. They were derived from different PG roots: OE *eald* derived from PG **althaz* ‘grown-up, adult’, while ON *gamall* is a descendant of PG **gamalaz*. It is interesting to note that in ON the word *ala* was also used to mean ‘old’, but more in the verbal form, namely: ‘to nourish’. In turn, PG **jungaz* ‘young’ yielded OE *geong* and ON *ungr*.

6.7. Basic verbs and actions

Verbs express actions and name various types of states we experience, therefore they constitute an essential part of every language. Let us compare selected high-frequency verbs in the investigated languages to understand if

they developed from a common PG root or different PG roots. We assume that they might also have been borrowed from some foreign language. The collected data reveals a certain regularity in the labelling of infinitives in OE and ON. OE verbs ended in {-an}, whereas ON verbs followed a pattern of either {-ja} or simply {-a}. We start the analysis from a basic word for action, i.e., ‘to do’, which in OE was referred to as *dōn*, from PG **dōnq* ‘to do, to make’. Interestingly, in ON a verb *görva* was used, a continuation of PG **gariwjanq* ‘work, task’. The corresponding word has not been found in OE, therefore we assume it might have hindered communication. Other physical actions included: ‘to build’ *timbr(i)an* in OE and *timbra* in ON from the common PG root **tem(b)ra-* ‘build, house’; ‘to give’, designated by the verb *giefan* in OE and *gefa* in ON from PG **geban* ‘to give’; ‘to jump’, which was *hlēapan* in OE and analogically *hlaupa* in ON, for which the source was PG **hlaupanan* ‘to leap, to run’; ‘to sit’ was *sittan* in OE and *sitja* in ON from PG **setjan* ‘to sit’; ‘to kiss’ was *cyssan* in OE and *kyssa* in ON from PG **kussjan* ‘to kiss’; ‘to name’ was referred to with the verb *hātan* in OE and *heita* in ON from PG **haitanan* ‘to command, to name’; ‘to speak’ was *mælan* in OE and *mele* in ON from PG **mahelen* ‘to speak’; finally, ‘to trade’ was designated by the verb *cēapian* in OE and *kaupa* in ON from PG **kaupaz* ‘to buy’. The frequently used state verbs were ‘to know’ referred to as (*ge)cnawan* in OE and *kenna* in ON from PG **kannijanq* ‘to know’; ‘to owe’ was *sculan* in OE and *skola* in ON from the common PG root **skal-* ‘to owe’; ‘to possess’ was *āgan* in OE and *eiga* in ON from PG **aiganaz* ‘to own, to possess’; ‘to think’ was *hyrgan* in OE and *hyggja* in ON from PG **hugjan* ‘to think about, consider’; ‘to understand’ was expressed as *understandan* in OE and *undistanda* in ON from PG **understandan* ‘to stand between, to understand’.

6.8. Occupations

Although both societies were mainly involved in basic tasks for family and life maintenance such as agriculture, hunting, fishing and trading, some of them trained to become specialized professionals. Both Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians worked as tailors, smiths, bakers, and fishermen. They produced goods such as jewellery or fabrics to sell on trade routes. What is more, Vikings were also considered to be excellent boat-builders and sailors. Let us look at some selected professions in this section and analyze their etymology.

Firstly, on the farm one worked as a ‘farmer’ *aecerman* in OE and *arkmaðr* in ON, both derived from PG **akraz* ‘field, open land’. High-rated profes-

sions were the ones of ‘a herdsman’ called *hirde* in OE and *hirðir* in ON, both continuations of PG **herdo* ‘herd’, and that of ‘a smith’ (*smiþ* in OE and *smiðr* in ON from PG **smipaz* ‘craftsman, smith’), who manufactured weapons including swords, but also jewellery and various kitchenware. Moreover, ‘a tailor’ was called *sēamere* in OE and *skraddari* in ON, from PG **sago* ‘to saw’ among craftsmen.

The occupations associated with a higher social status were: a ‘doctor’, labelled *laece* in OE and *læknir* in ON from PG **lekjaz* ‘healer, physician’; ‘a judge’, whose role was frequently performed by the king or jarl, was referred to by *dōmere* in OE and *dómári* in ON from PG **domaz* ‘judgement’; ‘a merchant’ was referred to as *cēapmann* in OE and *kaupmaðr* in ON from PG **kaupamann* ‘merchant’. Daredevils could become sailors or soldiers. ‘A sailor’ was called *scipman* in OE and *skipmaðr* in ON. Both were coined as compounds consisting of continuations of two PG stems **scipa-* ‘ship’ and **mann-* ‘human, man’. Next, a broad name for ‘a soldier’, without the specification of rank or role in the army was *hereman* in OE and *hermaðr* in ON. Both words were the continuation of PG **harjan* meaning ‘crowd’.

6.9. Partial conclusions

In sum, the search for the origin of the analyzed words has confirmed that the great majority underwent parallel development from a common PG ancestor. The parallel words developed systematic differences in pronunciation. Substantial differences are observed in the quality of vowels between the words in the compiled pairs. Other problems could have been caused, at least initially, by the changes that resulted from the palatalization of /k/ in English. The contrasts and their hypothetical effect on mutual comprehension will be discussed in Section 7 below. The analysis has also shown a few non-parallel words in OE and ON describing the same concepts. An examination of their origins has shown that they developed from different PG roots. e.g., ON *bearn* and OE *child* for a ‘child’ (Section 6.1.). Non-parallel words are not part of the further analysis couched in language contact theory.

7. Language contact theory

As stated in Section 1, mutual intelligibility is defined as the ability to follow coherent sentences in a foreign language and understand them, at least in the context (Townend, 2002:183). This is the extent of comprehension we expect from the early contact between Anglo-Saxons and

Norsemen in Danelaw. Lexical similarities examined in Section 6 have shown that the great majority of words shared the same roots and that the level of mutual intelligibility must have been high. This observation leads to the claim that both nations could communicate basic needs and observations without the need for an interpreter. Among the existing language contact approaches, there are quite a few which support our claim. For example, Serjeantson (1935:63, in Pons-Sanz 2000:52-53) insists that foreign words are not perceived as distant and strange-sounding by mutually intelligible sides. In such a linguistic environment, speakers of two languages do not have to borrow, alter or dispose of words. Consequently, they refuse to learn a new language simply because they can recognize the meaning of the other.

Adopting his account, the scenario of emerging bilingualism has to be rejected. Furthermore, Jespersen (1956:65) claims that “an enormous number of words were then identical in the two languages [...] [and] an Englishman has no great difficulty in understanding a Viking”. Björkman (1902) and (1935; in Pons-Sanz 2000:52) believe that the lexical and phonetic differences between ON and OE were insignificant since the resemblance was so visible. The testimonies of contemporaries additionally confirms this opinion. “The Icelandic Saga of Gunnlaugur Serpent’s Tongue” from the 12th century claims that, “at the time [King Aethelred’s], there was the same speech in England, as in Norway and Denmark [...] [and] the speech in England was changed when William the Bastard won England” (Pons-Sanz 2000:54). Nielsen (1981) demonstrates that there was a great amount of lexical similarity between OE and other Germanic languages, with an emphasis on its relationship with ON. OE and ON shared certain correspondences which were unknown in the other Germanic languages.

Finally, the following parallel comes to mind: the authors, being speakers of the present-day Polish language, do encounter some difficulties in understanding a Czech speaker. However, when the focus is placed on the comprehension of words, conversation is possible even though Polish and Czech had split from the West-Slavic branch of Indo-European languages by the 7th century. It must be added that, the more basic the topic of conversation is, the better the comprehension. By analogy, we assume that this observation may add evidence to our hypothesis of mutual intelligibility in early Danelaw.

8. Conclusions

The aim of this paper was to adduce evidence to the mutual intelligibility approach proposed by Townend (2002) among others, and accordingly to discover if Vikings and Anglo-Saxons communicated with or without an interpreter when they first met in Danelaw. In order to pursue this aim, evidence was drawn from the following sources: comparison of syntax, grammar, and the phonetic systems of OE and ON. Additionally, an etymological comparative analysis of selected parallel words in both languages was carried out. The obtained results were compared with the findings of selected established approaches formulated on the foundations of the principles of language contact theory.

An investigation of syntactic and grammatical commonalities and differences showed relatively parallel development of these systems in both languages. The depicted differences might have slightly affected comprehension but did not hinder it. The etymological analysis of parallel words has shown that the roots of the investigated words were derived from a common ancestor, the Proto-Germanic language. The majority of the investigated words are continuations of PG roots, most of which underwent a change of the root vowels but retained the same meaning (and sound correspondences were systematic). Following Milliken & Milliken (1993:1; in Townend 2002:45), the more correspondences between cognate lexical items in two dialects or languages, the higher the intelligibility between the speakers. What is more, the principles of *gestalt* perception laid out by Hockett (1987) explain that during a conversation with a foreigner, the speakers focus on the general pattern of sentences and skip finer details. There is no necessity to recognize each word or to sound native-like to communicate effectively. Given all these facts, we hypothesize that Anglo-Saxons and Vikings were able to communicate effectively during their early contact in Danelaw.

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Intelligibility in the early language contact in Danelaw revisited

The problem of intelligibility between Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians in Danelaw has been a matter of dispute for over a century now. Two perspectives of looking at this issue have been proposed. One group of scholars claim that, due to a fair number of similarities in the lexis and grammar of the languages, the level of mutual intelligibility was high.

The other party strongly objects to the view of commonalities and mutual comprehension. Instead, they argue for the idea of emerging bilingualism in Danelaw. This paper aims to adduce arguments to the claim of mutual intelligibility proposed by Townend (2002), among others. We provide an insightful etymological account of meticulously collected parallel words in the analysed languages. The search for the common ancestry of lexical roots is enhanced by the study of cultural context. Moreover, a comparative analysis of syntax, morphology, and pronunciation is also provided. The proposed complex analysis leads to the conclusion that the level of mutual intelligibility between the Old English speakers and Norsemen was high.

Keywords: Danelaw, mutual intelligibility, Proto-Germanic, comparative approach.

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The Gothic Genitive Plural in /-ee/ Yet Again: A Sarmatian Solution

1. Introduction

The origin of the Gothic GPL in /-ee/ remains one of the classic unsolved problems of Germanic linguistics. A recent overview of more notable theories is provided by Fulk (2018:148). At least four observers, Morgenroth (1965:333–336), Lehmann (1967:109–111), Kuryłowicz (1968:2.87, Anm. 8), and Fullerton (1983:119–127), have posited that GPL /-ee/ is somehow connected with desire to have a M form showing gender opposition with F /-oo/. This seems vaguely reasonable, especially given that Gothic, being the only Germanic language that employs a distinct F interrogative, does indeed provide independent evidence of having had a greater concern for gender contrast than is found in other Germanic. But “the devil is in the details”, and as long as it remains unclear exactly how such a scenario could work, no plausible solution has really been presented. The only declensional class where F /ɔ/ might possibly be opposed to M /ɛ/ was the /n/-stems, on the assumption that 1) the F had NSG /-ɔ/, which was only later replaced by /ɔ/ > /oo/ from other forms, and 2) the M had developed NSG /-ɛ/, much as in (pre-attested) Norse (Prokosch 1939:251). But fortunately both of these propositions are completely plausible. Under such circumstances, M NSG /-ɛ/ might well became regarded as implying M GP /-(ɛɛ)nɛɛ/, by analogy with the relation between F NSG /ɔ/ and F GPL /-(ɔɔ)nɔɔ/. If a new M GPL form was modeled on F /-ɔɔnɔɔ/, it is difficult to believe that the first V of the M GPL would not be long /ɛɛ/, since otherwise the F and M forms would not be parallel. Using /tung-/ ‘tongue’ and /hōn-/ ‘rooster’ as examples, the analogy in question would be as follows:

	NSG	GPL
F	/tung-ɔ/	/tung-ɔɔnɔɔ/
M	/hōn-ɛ/	/hōn-ɛɛnɛɛ/

Once a distinctly M GPL ending in /-ee/ developed in the /n/-stems, desire to have gender contrast, or at least opportunity to create gender contrast, would motivate extension of M /-ee/ to other M forms, replacing F-looking /-oo/. This would happen in Ns too, in accordance with the usual rule of older IE languages.¹ The popularity of M /-ee/ was evidently so great that in time it came to be employed even in Fs that were not distinctly marked as such, like /anst-/ ‘favor’ (Wright 1954[1910]:92). GPL /-oo/ > /-oo/ would wind up existing only in distinctly marked Fs: 1) F /ɔɔn/-stems, 2) F /ɔɔ/-stems, 3) F /iin/-stems, and 4) verbal abstracts in /-iin/, which were understandably regarded as connected with case 3. But once /-ee/ spread from its original home in the M /n/-stems to M theatics, such as /dɔgee/ > /dagee/ (‘day-GPL’), the first /-ee/ in cases like /hōneenee/ would no longer have any clear basis, and so would be replaced by /-o/ from other forms, resulting in /-oee/ > /-anee/.

At this point, the argument must be interrupted by some “stray notes”. First, the scenario just given does not work unless Gothic still had, at the time in question, the “square” V-system of Early Germanic, since otherwise the short and long Vs in the F would not belong to a single V. Second, as it is very inconvenient not to have a cover term connecting the F /ɔɔ/-stems with the M /ɔ/-stems, F /ɔɔ/-stems in Germanic (and their analogues in other IE languages) will from here on be called, with mild impropriety, “F theatics”. Third, it seems clear that F theatics adopted GPL /-ɔɔnɔɔ/, which then spread, due to the high prestige of the Goths, from Gothic into West Germanic, most notably Pre-OHG. The result was GPLs of the type seen in OHG /giboono/ </gibooño/ ‘gift-GPL’. One reason that GPL /-ɔɔnɔɔ/ might spread from F /ɔɔn/-stems to F theatics is fully comprehensible at this point. This is that both types had NSG /-o/, which in the F /n/-stems could be seen as being connected, through a rule of copying and lengthening, with GPL /-ɔɔnɔɔ/. If so, then obviously GPL /-ɔɔnɔɔ/ in the F theatics of Gothic was at some later point analogically eliminated. But this is hardly surprising, either as a matter of principle or as a matter of fact, given that the same change happened during the transition from OHG to MHG. A second reason, involving Iranian influence, that /-ɔɔnɔɔ/ might spread from F /n/-stems to F theatics will be given soon below.

Though the solution presented above works technically, the idea that F GPL /-ɔɔnɔɔ/ became regarded as involving two lengthened copies of

¹ Since using “non-F” or “M and N” would be somewhat awkward, from here on all references to M GPL forms will be regarded as including N GPL forms.

NSG /-ɔ/ may well seem bizarre, and indeed it is hardly surprising that this possibility has not (apparently) been considered before now. But further examination (laid out below) reveals what “the missing link” is: Iranian influence. Gothic, as it spread into the western steppes, entered into prolonged and intimate contact with the form of Iranian known as Sarmatian. Some background on matters involving Sarmatian will be provided soon below. For the moment, it suffices to know that Sarmatian almost certainly had a common M/F GPL /-aanaam/ in its theatics. Three points are of interest here, and taken together must arouse considerable suspicion. These are that GPL /-aanaam/ in Iranian 1) had as its first V a long V of the same quality as the V of the NSG, 2) had as its second V a long V that could be seen as a copy its first V, and 3) had /-n-/ between its first and second Vs. All three of these propositions are also true of (undoubted) F /-ɔɔnɔɔ/ and (putative) M /-eenee/ in Gothic. How this extraordinary coincidence can be resolved will be seen below. For the moment, it is worth noting that intrusive /n/ did not occur in the same declensional type in Iranian as in Gothic: in Iranian, /-n-/ occurred in the theatics, whereas in Gothic /-n-/ occurred in the /n/-stems. Given that F /-aanaam/ in Iranian was obviously cognate with F /-ɔɔnɔɔ/ in Gothic, the declensional difference must have created considerable confusion as to why Gothic /-n-/ occurred in what was clearly, to Sarmatian minds, the wrong place. Intrusive /n/ might spread to F theatics simply because that was where it occurred in Iranian.

It seems best to provide at this point some background on Sarmatian and Iranian. Both are traditionally regarded as belonging to a rather hazily defined “East Iranian”, which included all forms of Iranian except Persian and Median. As West Iranian does not come up here, all references to “Iranian” will mean “East Iranian”. Though Sarmatian is not well-attested, it was apparently still fairly similar to Avestan, which is well-attested. Due to “corrections” introduced over time, Avestan also qualifies as “problematically attested”. Avestan occurs in older and younger forms. According to Sihler (1995:3) the older Avestan dates to around 800 B.C., and younger Avestan to about 400 B.C. The similarity between Sarmatian and Avestan was close enough that the various Avestan cognates given by Zgusta (1955:209-237) in explicating Sarmatian names are almost always easily recognizable as being in some sense “the same word” as their Sarmatian equivalents. Avestan in turn was still fairly similar to Sanskrit, as is demonstrated by the fact that considerable stretches of Sanskrit hymns can be mechanically “translated” into Avestan merely by making regular phonological changes (Baldi 1983:63). Sarmatian is attested almost en-

tirely in inscriptions (consisting of personal names only) that were made in Greek (or formerly Greek) cities along the northern coast of the Black Sea, mostly from about 100 to 300 A.D. (Harmatta 1970:58, n.), mostly more toward the beginning of this period (Rostoftzeff 1922:144). Note that this means that the inscriptions represent an earlier stage of the language than was encountered by the Goths. The nature of these inscriptions is such that they can neither be entirely ignored nor confidently interpreted, which certainly creates problems for an author, especially a non-specialist. It is worth noting that the inscriptions show clear (though fairly minor) differences of dialect from west to east. Only westerly forms (specifically those from Tyras and Olbia) are directly relevant to Gothic. Apart from the inscriptions, other attestations of Sarmatian are limited to stray words, which are even less informative than the inscriptions. For propriety it should be noted that Ossetian is descended from some form of Sarmatian. But Ossetian, having entered the Caucasus, was heavily Caucasianized, so that it has little value for reconstructing the morphology of an older IE language probably retaining nominal morphology of the type seen in Avestan (Fortson 2010:242). Finally, it should be noted that (as often happens with religious languages) the spelling of Avestan is to a significant extent phonetic rather than phonemic. Though obviously this is helpful with correspondingly regard to phonetics, it is correspondingly unhelpful with regard to “phonemics”, by mis-representing how speakers perceived their language.² The overall situation is that 1) Gothic shows fairly numerous “Iranianisms”, and 2) Sarmatian is the only possible source for these. Accordingly, it seems reasonable to posit that Sarmatian had the features in question, unless there is evidence to the contrary.

In order to avoid demanding too much “suspension of disbelief” as to whether significant Sarmatian influence in Gothic is plausible, it seems best to provide supporting evidence regarding 1) non-grammatical evidence, and 2) grammatical evidence outside of the GPL, before proceeding to the case of the GPL.

2. Historical and Lexical Evidence

In order to establish that positing Sarmatian grammatical influences in Gothic is plausible, it is necessary to adduce non-grammatical evidence of two types: historical and lexical.

² Beekes (1997) generally comments on what was phonemic and what was not.

When the Goths arrived on the NW margins of the western steppes around 200, the area had for many centuries been dominated by speakers of East Iranian languages, first Scythians and then Sarmatians.³ How the Goths wound up in control of the area by about 250 is quite unclear. Simple conquest seems improbable, for two reasons. First, infantry forces would have had a great deal of difficulty dealing with the heavy cavalry of the Sarmatians. Second, there is no conclusive evidence that the two groups were hostile, and considerable evidence that they were friendly. They seem to have regarded each other as having entered into an eternal alliance against Rome (Rostovtzeff 1922:118–119). The tactical reason for this is clear: cavalry is useful only “in the field”. For purposes other than battles “in the field” (such as petty sieges and keeping horses from being driven off), infantry is much more useful than cavalry, and Sarmatian nobles were probably (like their later analogues in medieval Europe) too proud to serve in this capacity. By working together, pairing cavalry and infantry in optimal proportions, the Sarmatians and the Goths would increase both the quantity and the quality of their military forces, dramatically increasing the benefits that could be expected to be gained in attacking Rome. We should have no illusions about the Goths somehow inventing their own heavy cavalry just out of expediency: over time the Goths must have (in effect) adopted Sarmatian heavy cavalry. Relations were friendly enough, and the heavy cavalry of the Sarmatians was valuable enough, that the Goths wound up significantly Iranianized in culture. Or rather it is convenient, in an article about linguistics, to regard the Goths as culturally Iranianized Germans. But it might be just as accurate to regard the Goths as linguistically Germanized Iranians.

Yet the popular image of the Goths, still apparently held by a fair number of Germanicists who might reasonably be expected to know better, remains more or less Tolkien’s “Riders of Rohan”, with nary an Iranian in sight. But this image is a considerable distortion. Among observers (including one Germanicist) whose concerns do not involve the grammar of Gothic, the effects of the friendly pairing between Goths and Sarmatians have long been recognized. Almost exactly one hundred years ago, Rostovtzeff (1922:119) spoke of “the extreme importance of the Iranian element in the conquering armies of the Goths”, adding that the Sarmatians “formed a very important factor in the governing class” of the Goths.

³ The Sarmatians of the most westerly steppes are most probably to be identified more specifically as Roxolani (Harmatta 1970:49). The Roxolani were also known as “White Alans” (Rostovtzeff 1922:115), probably because they were (more or less) the ancestors of modern Ukrainians.

Much more recently, Green (1998:167), speaking of the Goths' move to the Black Sea, observes that "Of particular importance was their encounter in southern Russia with a number of Iranian peoples". As Kendrick (2013[1930]:54) puts it, "... the Goths lived side by side in south Russia with the Sarmatians". According to Harmatta (1970:49), "The Goths in South Russia stood under a strong Iranian influence that affected almost all sections of their civilization". The same point has been made more recently by Brzezinski and Mielczarek (2002:10-11). From Sarmatian culture, the Goths adopted "polychrome" jewelry and "returned foot" brooches (Kendrick 2013:54-55). Due to the high prestige of the Goths during the period when they were having considerable success against mighty Rome, both of these spread widely to other Germans. The Goths also adopted the strikingly un-Germanic *djerid* ("artistic lance-ride of the steppe nomads"), performed by Totila before the battle of Busta Gallorum (Wolfram 1988:360). None of this is consistent with the idea that the Goths, in taking control of the western steppes, drove off its previous masters. Thus significant Sarmatian influence in Gothic is indeed historically plausible.

As for direct lexical influences, according to Green (1998:177-180) some Sarmatian words of military meaning that entered other Germanic by way of Gothic are *horse*, *mece* ('saber'), and *paida* ('breastplate'). Sarmatian loan words of non-military meaning that followed the same path into other Germanic are (appropriately enough) *path*, *hemp*, and *sour* (Green 1998:165, 179). Reasons have been given above to think that the same path was also followed (to a lesser extent) by F thematic GPLs with intrusive /n/. Indirect lexical influences are seen in the fact that the Goths created loan-translations for "commander of a hundred" and "commander of a thousand" (Green 1998:180), on the model of the decimal system of military organization employed by steppe-nomads.⁴ Words of military meaning are of course classically superstratal, as is seen in cases like *armor* and *cavalry* in English. If we know nothing about the history of the Goths, we might well conclude, on the basis of lexical evidence alone, that they had been conquered by Iranians. Yet further reflection would reveal that the overall haul of superstratal words seems to be rather on the low side, and from this we might well conclude that the Goths did indeed live "side by side" with the Sarmatians. In such a situation, we would expect to find 1) less lexical influence than typically occurs with superstratal influence, and 2) less grammatical influence than typically occurs with sub-

⁴ Among steppe nomads, the tradition of decimal organization persisted long enough that it was employed by the Mongols.

stratal influence. It will be seen below (when the grammatical half of the picture is filled in) that this is indeed what we find.

But though the historical and lexical evidence is clear enough, it seems that “some news travels slowly.” Perhaps the idea that the Goths were to a considerable extent Iranianized in overall culture, including language, is just too jarring to traditional conceptions. Though Wolfram (1988:42-43) mentions the Goths encountering Sarmatians on their “trek to the Black Sea”, he gives no indication of regarding such encounters as being more significant than encounters with other groups (including two supposedly comprised of “Germano-Celts”) that he seems to regard as lightly brushed aside in a triumphant all-conquering march. Bennett (1980:18-19) mentions only what may be called a “side-swipe” with Baltic, and Robinson (1992:44-45) does not mention the Goths encountering any speakers of non-Germanic languages at all, though perhaps the matter was no concern of his. The 2004 edition of Braune’s Gothic Grammar (Braune and Heidermanns) also says nothing about the Goths having had any contact with Iranian. Miller (2019:2-3) seems to regard the Goths as moving through a linguistic vacuum until they encountered Greek and Latin, though perhaps he was not interested in getting into what might be considered “mere speculation” about influences from languages that are not well-attested.⁵ The treatment given by Rauch (2003:1) mentions Finns, Balts, Slavs, and even Thracians as non-Germanic groups that the Goths might have had significant contact with, but not Iranians, which is absurd. Though it is notoriously difficult to prove a negative (especially in Germanic scholarship), it appears that Germanicists have not yet given serious consideration to the question of whether Gothic was grammatically influenced by Iranian.

3. Some Other Odd Grammatical Resemblances Between Gothic and Iranian

In a situation where there is one case of grammatical influence, it is to be expected that there should be more than one: the mechanism that produces one case should produce more than one. Another important consideration is that the fewer suspicious cases there are, the more probable it is that mere coincidence is the explanation. As it happens, there are several other cases where Gothic shows unusual grammatical innovations that can plau-

⁵ Sarmatian was close enough to Avestan, as has been noted, that investigating Sarmatian lexical influences in Gothic would not qualify as “mere speculation”.

sibly be seen as motivated by Iranian influence. Since the present article cannot become a work that would better be titled “Iranian Influences in Gothic”, the various cases will receive only brief treatment here.

3.1. Distinct F Interrogatives

Gothic and Indo-Iranian are the only IE languages that show the peculiarity of having developed distinct F (nominal) interrogatives (Prokosch 1939:279; Burrow 1955:273; Beekes 1988:141). This is to say that distinct F interrogatives occur only in 1) Indo-Iranian, and 2) the only other IE language that is known to have been imposed (at least over a significant area) on Iranian. Since 1) Gothic and Indo-Iranian are famous for preserving “precious archaisms”, and 2) Gothic has traditionally been regarded as not having had any significant contact with Iranian, it is predictable that the distinct F interrogatives of Indo-Iranian and Gothic have been seen as archaisms having nothing to do with each other. But as Sihler (1995:397-398) observes, grammatical gender in interrogative pronouns is “a positive nuisance”, since it is in the nature of things that the grammatical genders of entities that are not known will often not be known. In reality, the distinction made by interrogatives traditionally referred to as “masculine/feminine” and “neuter”, e.g. Latin *quis* and *quid* is “human” vs. “non-human”. Though PIE clearly had thematic interrogatives, the purpose of these must have been to permit gender concord with inanimate nouns, which could be of any gender, since the nature of non-human entities is so various (e.g. *tree, fish, running, age, water*) that *what* alone would often be annoyingly vague. Thus it seems quite clear that the thematic interrogatives in PIE were (as Sihler says) adjectival, not nominal. When we see that in Indo-Iranian and Gothic the adjectival type appears in place of the nominal type, this is to be regarded as an innovation, not an archaism, regardless of the vague “associational” argument that Gothic and Indo-Iranian often preserve archaisms. The reason that Gothic has a distinct F interrogative is clear: Sarmatian, like other Indo-Iranian, had retained only the thematic type.⁶

⁶ Distinct F interrogatives are pragmatically viable only in cultures with strong gender segregation. Since gender segregation is associated with nomadism, which is in turn associated with aridity, it makes sense to think that Indo-Iranian developed a distinct F interrogative during its sojourn north of Iran. It is worth noting that only one other IE language, Tocharian, passed through a similarly

3.2. /uu/ Non-Nominative Forms of the 2SG Pronoun

It is quite common in IE languages for the 2SG pronoun to show variation between a nominative form with (or pointing back to) /uu/ and oblique forms with (or pointing back to) /e(e)/. Such a state of affairs is, according to Sihler (1995:371) seen in Latin, Greek, Old Church Slavonic, and is also plausibly reconstructed for Tocharian (Adams 1988:150-151) and Baltic (Mažiulis 2004:78-79). In Sabellian (Oscan and Umbrian), the two types have evidently become confused and blended (Buck 1904:139). In Celtic, the original unstressed non-nominative forms have become so worn down that their vocalism is no longer recoverable. For what it is worth, the stressed nominative shows /uu/ (Thurneysen 1946:253), and the general similarity between Celtic and Italic makes it probable that the worn-down ASG was once /te/. The only clear and major exceptions to the predominant pattern are Anatolian, which split off early enough that finding aberrant forms (Sihler 1995:375) is not terribly surprising, and Indo-Iranian, where /w/ was evidently restored in the unstressed form on the basis of the stressed form (Sihler 1995:378), due to the fact that the unstressed 2SG (and 1SG) had developed a long V, as in the stressed 2SG (and 1SG).

The typical situation seen in older IE languages is of course seen in all of Germanic except Gothic. But Gothic has extended /u/ into non-nominatives, creating accusative /θuk/ and dative /θus/ (Miller 2019:82). Note that this breaks the usual, and evidently ancient, parallelism between the 2SG pronoun and the reflexive pronoun (Sihler 1995:373), a fact that itself demands (but under traditional assumptions cannot receive) some explanation. The current conventional wisdom, as represented by Fulk (2018:186), assures us that one of following two scenarios, each pretty clearly not true, somehow must be true. The first is that the non-nominative forms are, by an analogy not otherwise known to occur in IE languages, by analogy to the nominative. The second is that non-nominatives with /u(u)/ are archaisms, strong supporting evidence for this supposedly being found (predictably enough) in Indo-Iranian. The second scenario implies that the 2SG forms with /e(e)/ found in other older Germanic languages must be innovations due to analogy with the 1SG, just coincidentally pointing back the

arid area, and it too developed a novel gender distinction, this time in the 1SG pronoun (Adams 1988:153). The correlation between aridity and novel gender in pronouns, limited as it is, is therefore perfect.

same /e(e)/ that is traditionally reconstructed for the 2SG in PIE. The fact that traditional assumptions force us into such a game of “name your poison” must force us to question whether traditional assumptions are warranted.

Chief among these is the proposition that Iranian has no relevance to Gothic. As in the case of distinct F interrogatives, it is more sensible to posit that there is Iranian influence in Gothic than to posit that Indo-Iranian and Gothic just coincidentally preserve parallel archaisms. It has just been seen that Iranian wound up eliminating (or at least modifying) its inherited /u-e/ variation, and this must be the key to understanding what happened in Gothic.⁷ It would be plausible for learners of Iranian to see ASG /tuum/, which existed in younger Avestan (Misra 1978:153), as /tuu + m/, where /-m/ was (unsurprisingly) an accusative marker. Another possibility (seemingly less probable) is that since, to judge by the evidence of /u(u)-stems in both older and younger Avestan (Misra 1978:115-117), /u(u)/ before V-initial suffixes could be worn down to /w/, /twam/ (attested in older Avestan) was seen as going back to /tuu + am/, where /-am/ was also a plausible accusative marker. In Gothic, /-k/ was a special accusative marker employed in the 2SG and 1SG. To the Sarmatian mind, it would seem entirely reasonable that Gothic /-k/, apparently analogous to Iranian /-(a)m/, should be added to nominative /θuu/, producing (stressed) /θuuk/.⁸ Due to the internal workings of Germanic, stressed /θuuk/ would soon be paired with unstressed /θuk/. In the dative, /u(u)/ in /θu(u)s/ developed by analogy to /u(u)/ in /θu(u)k/. Thus the spread of /u(u)/ from the nominative to the accusative and dative can be explained as a result of Iranian influence, and not (it appears) by anything else.

The next four cases, all involving somewhat surprising [h] (either alone or in combination with another articulation), are best treated together.

3.3. Breath [h] in Final Position

To judge by the evidence of non-Gothic Germanic, it seems probable that Germanic had a phoneme that was realized phonetically as [x]. Though it seems arbitrary to prefer either /x/ or /h/ over the other, using something

⁷ Additional details, of little relevance here, on the development of 1SG and 2SG personal pronouns in Indo-Iranian are given by Sihler (1995:378).

⁸ In Indo-Iranian, special accusative markers were characteristic of stressed forms (Sihler 1995:371).

like “h-x” would be intractable, and “h” has been preferred. The only thing that is certain about moraic /h/ in Gothic is that, unlike in other Germanic, it was not [x], for otherwise we would surely find final devoicing of /g/-[ɣ] to /h/-[x], parallel to what is seen with /d/-[ð] becoming /θ/ and /b/-[β] becoming /f/. Roberge (1984:27) argues for [h] in all positions. Against this, it is worth noting that uvular [χ] in medial position would quite easily explain lowering before /h/, whereas [h] would not. There appears to be no evidence that velar [x] (with or without [ʷ]) existed in Gothic. Be that as it may, final [h] would be highly unusual. The only cases that present author is aware of are Malay/Indonesian and (more to the point here) Indo-Iranian. Final /-h/ certainly existed in Sanskrit (Gonda 1966:10). For Iranian, Misra (1978:84) reconstructs /-h/ for Proto-Iranian, and Beekes (1997:23) “supposes” that it still existed in older Avestan.⁹ But final [h] would not be expected to appear in the Sarmatian inscriptions. Sarmatian names inscribed in Greek letters were routinely provided with Greek endings, especially /-os/. Extremely numerous examples of /-os/ are given by Zgusta (1955:174-184). But /-os/ is precisely the ending that, in its Iranian version, might be expected to appear as “-ah” or rather as “-ach”, since Greek spelling provided no way to spell final /h/. But if Roberge and Beekes are both right, which is not improbable about final /-h/ in Gothic and Avestan, then final [-h] is a striking shared peculiarity of Gothic and Iranian, which could hardly have any explanation other than that Gothic having been influenced by Iranian. And since Avestan had uvular /χ/ and Gothic shows signs of also having had uvular /χ/, it is probable that Gothic developed uvular /χ/ due to Sarmatian influence.

3.4. /hu/

Gothic is the only Germanic language that retains non-initial /hu/, as in /alua/ ‘water, river’ and /sahu/ ‘saw’ (Wright 1954:69, 78), though in final position /hu/ was perhaps analogically restored rather than retained. Avestan had /hu/ in initial and intervocalic positions (Beekes 1988:15; Beekes 1997:17; Misra 1978:83). Though /hu/ did not occur in final position, this could easily be seen (by speakers) as accidental. Quite oddly, the phonetic realization of /hu/ employed breath [h] in intervocalic position and fricative [x] or [χ] in initial position, which is the opposite of expectation.

⁹ It may be of interest to note that there are some cases where /-s/ became /-z/, which then followed the development to /-u/ that is seen in Sanskrit and in *Caucasus*, which is the same word as *Kaska*.

An argument favoring uvular [χ] over velar [x] in the fricative realization of /hu/ (in both Gothic and Sarmatian) is that in similar cases uvular [χ] is known to have developed, probably for strengthening, in the implementation of /hʷ/. Some speakers of American English use uvular [χ] in words like *which*, and something similar must have happened, beginning with cases of former /hw/, in the change of velar /x/ to uvular /χ/ that is seen in Welsh (Thorne 1993:7). In this connection, it is worth noting that Gothic /hu/ causes lowering just like /h/ (Miller 2019:36), which is not expected unless both had uvular [χ]. Overall, it seems probable that the existence of /hu/ in Sarmatian both “broke the drift” toward loss of non-initial /hu/ in Gothic,¹⁰ and caused the fricative component of /hu/ (when present) to be pronounced with uvular [χ].

3.5. Voiceless /r/

Gothic shows indirect evidence of having had voiceless /r/ phonetically, as follows. If Gothic had voiceless /r/, that would explain why we find /h/ instead of expected /g/ in /huuhrus/ ‘hunger’ (Wright 1954:94), as if from */hunhr-. Though ‘hunger’ was properly a /u/-stem, with NSG /hungrus/, where final devoicing would not occur, /u/-stems in Germanic fairly often had M thematic by-forms (Prokosch 1939:248), so that /hungrs/, which would have final devoicing in the NSG, is hardly improbable, and devoicing in the thematic version of the word would quite probably be extended to its /u/-stem equivalent. It seems that final devoicing ran right across /r/, and affected /g/. This implies that /r/ could be completely voiceless phonetically, which is odd. Indeed voiceless /r/ is so rare that “The Phonetic Symbol Guide” (Pullum and Ladusaw 1986), which provides symbols for all kinds of sounds that most linguists would never think of, provides no symbol for voiceless /r/. In any event, incidental phonetic devoicing would not spread right across an /r/ that was regarded as inherently voiced, and so the case of *hunger* Gothic seems to indicate that voiceless /r/ was regarded as a target in itself, which is to say a phoneme.

The difference between /hungrs/ ‘hunger-NSG’, which shows general devoicing, and cases like /hlaifs/ ‘loaf-NSG’ and /hlaiboos/ ‘loaf-NPL’,

¹⁰ On secondary acquisition arguably causing persistence of features, when in theory the result in such cases should be nothing, readers may consult Jeffers and Lehiste (1979:144) on the persistence of long Vs in Czech and western Slovak, which appears to be due to influences from German and Hungarian. The concept of “breaking the drift” seems to be the only way that external influences could cause persistence.

which do not, can be regarded as due to the fact that *hunger*, being an abstract, had little or no use in the plural, whereas in non-abstract nouns the existence of forms like /hlaiboos/ would have provided good evidence against the proposition that voiceless variants were to be regarded as belonging to the “underlying” stem. This interpretation is supported by the fact that all of the words cited by Kortlandt (1978:292) as showing Gothic with an unexpected voiceless consonant, in words where other Germanic has a voiced consonant, are abstracts (*grip, slaying, flying, fall(ing), accusing, descent, meeting, need, harvest*), which would (like *hunger*) have little use in the plural. It seems clear that the phenomenon is motivated fundamentally by meaning, and despite appearances has no connection with “de-Vernerization” (due to early stress-shift) in Gothic.

It should come as no surprise that Iranian at one point developed voiceless /r/ (Beekes 1988:17, 57; Beekes 1997:13; Misra 1978:82), due to the general change of /s/ to /h/, which occurred not only before /w/ but also before /r/. In the dialects ancestral to Avestan, voiceless /r/ was later largely eliminated (Misra 1978:82), due to the very odd development of intrusive /ŋ/ before /h/ or voiceless /r/ in certain environments. (This will become relevant, soon below.). It appears that the development of intrusive /ŋ/ in effect caused voiceless /r/ to be “re-voiced” in Avestan. But there is fairly good evidence (Zgusta 1955:237) that Sarmatian did not develop intrusive /ŋ/, so that Sarmatian would be expected to retain fairly numerous cases of voiceless /r/. Unfortunately it is not immediately apparent whether voiceless /r/ was at one point phonemic or was never more than just /hr/, which is in fact how its few remaining instances are spelled in Avestan (Beekes 1997:13). But it is plausible that voiceless /r/ was indeed phonemic in Iranian. It seems that voiceless /r/ existed in Sarmatian, and permitted devoicing to spread across voiceless /r/ to affect preceding /g/-[x] in Pre-Gothic (before velar [x] was generally replaced by uvular [χ]).

3.6. Interchange between /anh/ and /āah/, and Uvular [χ]

The change of /anh/ to /aah/ in Gothic (Wright 1954:22), as in all other Germanic, is not ordinarily considered anything odd or problematic. But if /h/ in Gothic was a breath [h], there would be no need to lower /n/ (producing a nasal V rather than a true nasal C) in order to avoid producing an excrecent plosive C between the nasal and the following fricative. This is to say that /nh/ in Gothic would not in fact be parallel to cases like /mensa/ > /mesa/ in Latin, where presumably /n/ was lowered in part to avoid seeming to produce /mentsa/. If /h/ in /nh/ was velar [x], making /-anh-/ in

Gothic more or less parallel to /-ens-/ in Latin, that would motivate lowering of /n/ to avoid excrescent /k/. But we have seen reasons to think that Gothic did not have velar [x] as a fricative allophone of /h/, having instead either uvular [χ] or nothing (which is to say [h]). The possibility of [h] was dismissed just above. Uvular [χ] is therefore the only remaining possibility, and fortunately it makes a fair amount of sense: /n/ in /nh/ (with /h/ realized as a uvular) might well be lowered to avoid producing excrescent uvular [q], which would have been jarring in a language that did not otherwise have [q]. Note that this would also explain what was unique about the case of /nh/, explaining why loss of /n/ in /nh/ occurred without loss of /n/ in /ns/ and /nθ/: excrescence in /nh/ would have produced an alien sound. Spread of an originally Gothic change to other Germanic could then be seen as due to the prestige of Gothic, following “the ‘path’ path”. But though this might seem to be a satisfactory internal solution, it would not explain why Gothic developed uvular [χ] in the first place.

At this point it would be nice to be able to say that in Avestan the entity transliterated as “x” (in both “x” and “xʷ”) certainly represented uvular [χ] rather than velar [x]. But though it is quite probable, given the phonetic nature of Avestan spelling, that “x” by itself represented the same sound as “x” in “xʷ”, where “x” surely represented a uvular, arguments that “x” in “xʷ” represented uvular [χ] are less than fully conclusive. Only another indirect argument could serve to make matters more conclusive.

Fortunately there is one. As has been noted, Avestan shows a very odd development of /ŋ/ before /h/ (Beekes 1997:17; Misra 1978:82–83, 91), most often between cases of /a(a)/. This case seems to involve more or less the same elements that are seen in the case of Gothic /nh/, moving in opposite directions. But though in such a situation the term “hypercorrection” immediately springs to mind, there is no evidence that the Avestan change also occurred in Sarmatian. Far from it, it has already been seen that there is fairly good evidence (Zgusta 1955:237) that the Avestan change did not occur in Sarmatian. But there is also evidence suggesting that nasalization of /a/ before /h/ had developed: “-ochos” (instead of expected “-achos”) in *Bagdochos* (Zgusta 1955:237). The last part of this (-ochos) contains the element that appears in Avestan as /vanjav-/ </vahav-/ (‘good’), suggesting that /a/ had been “dampened” toward [o] due to the effects of nasalization.¹¹ But there is no nasal. The Sarmatian evidence seems to show a stage

¹¹ The fact that either /h/ or /x/ might have been spelled as “ch” makes the appearance of “ch” meaningless.

with nothing more than ex nihilo nasalization of preceding /a/. Since such a stage would have to precede development of intrusive /ŋ/, if this somehow had to occur, there is really nothing surprising here. This is to say that something like [ā(ā)x] or [ā(ā)χ] in Iranian is necessary to explain why the true nasal C that eventually developed before /h/ in Avestan appears as “ŋ”. The most straightforward explanation of the change of /anh/ to /aah/ in Gothic would be that Gothic [ānx] or [ānχ] was equated with Sarmatian [āāx] or [āāχ]. (Presumably the Gothic change spread from /a/ to other Vs, for reasons having no direct connection with Sarmatian.) But it has already been seen that the evidence of Gothic favors uvular [χ] over velar [x]. Therefore it appears that Pre-Gothic [ānx] was re-interpreted by Sarmatians as [āāχ].

Though the argumentation in this case is necessarily quite indirect, it does seem that we have here another case of Sarmatian influence in Gothic: nasalization (before a back C) without a true nasal C. Furthermore, this case has provided additional support for a proposition that has repeatedly come up above: that Gothic had uvular [χ] but not velar [x]. Both developments appear to have no plausible source other than Sarmatian influence. The following two cases involve mid Vs.

3.7. Short Mid Vs

The case for Iranian influence in the short-V system of Gothic is almost disappointingly simple. Gothic is the only Germanic language that (at one point) developed a complete loss of short mid vowels. Original /ɛ, ɔ/ were redistributed among /i, a, u/. In general, /ɛ, ɔ/ became /i, u/, though final /-ɛ, -ɔ/ (shortened from /-ee, -oo/) became /-a/ (Fulk 2018:82). It is not controversial that the re-development of short /ɛ, ɔ/ (vel sim.) is a re-development, as is indeed suggested by the unexpected and linguistically inappropriate spelling of these as *ai, au*. The short-V system that developed in Gothic was the same as the short-V system that existed in early Iranian (Misra 1978:16; Beekes 1997:19). It is plausible then to posit that, in Sarmatian-accented Gothic, the 4-V short system of Early Germanic was “mapped onto” the 3-V short system of Iranian.

3.8. Long Mid Vs

The obvious question at this point is what the long-V system of Gothic might show about Iranian influence. Unfortunately this question is beset

with serious problems. Though what we need to know is what the long-V system of Sarmatian was, the evidence of Sarmatian is less than clear. And though the evidence of Avestan is much more clear, the evidence of Avestan is not necessarily informative about Sarmatian. Furthermore, it seems clear that Gothic, as long as /ai, au/ still existed, had a 5-V system for long Vs, as in other (older) Germanic, so that there is (at least on superficial examination) nothing for Iranian influence to explain. But it is worth noting that Iranians secondarily acquiring Germanic would find it very difficult to distinguish between /ɛɛ/ and /ei/ (< /ɛɛi/), since it is difficult to see how any similar distinction could have existed in any form of Iranian at the relevant time. Thus one of the more salient characteristics of the Gothic V-system, collapse of /ɛɛ/ and /ei/, could be seen as due to Iranian influence.

As for other questions, first it must be observed that, to judge by the fuller evidence of Avestan, it would seem that the long-V system of Iranian was not, by the relevant time, a 3-V system. The evidence adduced by Misra (1978:26-28, 32-35) shows that Avestan had, unsurprisingly, developed new /ee/ and /oo/, in at least some cases, from /ai, au/. In fact a change of /ai, au/ to /ee, oo/ is characteristic of East Iranian languages of the Middle period. A similar development occurred in Sanskrit. Unfortunately it is not entirely clear whether /aai, aau/ had fallen together with /ai, au/: Beekes (1997:18) says, or rather implies, that they did, whereas Misra (1978:26-28, 32-35) gives apparently good evidence that they did not. In such a situation, it is very difficult for a non-specialist to know what to think. In the majority of cases older /ai, au/ appear as diphthongs in Avestan (Beekes 1997:18), but despite appearances these may be the result of later developments of /ee, oo/, if these were pronounced as [ei, ou] (much as in PDE), rather than directly continuing /ai, au/. Note that pronunciation of /ee/ as [ei] would tie in well with what was said just above about collapse of /ɛɛ/ and /ei/ in Gothic.

The fact that some observers (e.g. d'Alquen 1974) believe that there was not a general change of /ai, /au/ to /ɛɛ, ɔɔ/ in Gothic, whereas most (e.g. Miller 2019:42) reject this, is itself enough to suggest, however vaguely, that 1) there was no early change of /ai, /au/ to /ɛɛ, ɔɔ/, and 2) there was quite probably a late change /ai, /au/ to /ɛɛ, ɔɔ/. Likewise, as was hinted above in the case short *ai, au*, the very use of diphthongal *ai, au* to spell monophthongal Vs (in the majority view) also points to a relatively late change of /ai, au/ to /ɛɛ, ɔɔ/. Such a change, occurring perhaps around 275-300, would present (to later spellers of Runic) the impression that

earlier Runic *ai*, *au* (as seen in cases like *hailag* ‘holy’) were spellings for /ɛɛ, œœ/, and this usage might well be, in effect, transliterated into the spelling system of Gothic. Accordingly it seems probable that the early Gothic, as of around 200-225, had five long Vs, and that development of two additional long Vs from /ai, au/ occurred at “the last minute” before textual attestation began. The evidence of Sarmatian vaguely hints that /au/ was retained in the westerly part of Black Sea coast, but had become /oo/ in the easterly part of the Black Sea coast. Harmatta unhelpfully says absolutely nothing about /ai/, but Zgusta (1955:213) concludes that /ai/ had become /ee/ as far west as Olbia, which was in the area later taken over by the Goths. What we seem to be looking at is “change in progress”, spreading from east to west (or more precisely from southeast to northwest), within the Iranian-speaking area. If so, it is quite possible that an ongoing change of /ai, au/ to /ɛɛ, œœ/ in westerly Sarmatian was in effect picked up by Gothic, and this would explain a change that was, unlike the earlier development of a 5-V system for long Vs, not usual in other older Germanic.

Overall, the evidence of mid long Vs in Gothic provides no negative evidence with regard to Iranian influence, and may well provide some positive evidence.

3.9. Conclusion

The cases that have been laid out in this section are more than enough to counter any “isolated case” charge that might be raised against Iranian influence in the case of GPL /-ee/. Far from it, taken together they indicate that there is significant unrecognized Iranian influence in Gothic.

4. The Core Case: GPL /-ee/ in Gothic

In thinking about how Sarmatian perhaps influenced Gothic, it is useful to distinguish among three types of Gothic, as follows. 1) First-generation Sarmatian-accented Gothic: Gothic so heavily modeled on Sarmatian as to be in effect “Sarmatian with Gothic morphemes”. 2) Second-generation Sarmatian-accented Gothic, Gothic influenced by Sarmatian but benefiting from substantial childhood exposure to Gothic (of various types). 3) Native Gothic: Gothic not directly influenced by living Sarmatian. Two points are worth stressing: 1) that intermediate types must have existed, and 2) that dialect mixture must have occurred.

The beginning of the story (more or less) is Brugmann's Law in Indo-Iranian: short /o/ was lengthened to /oo/ > /aa/ in open syllables. Though Brugmann's Law is not universally accepted, it was accepted by Beekes (1997:25), who until his death in 2017 was the world's leading authority on Iranian. In accordance with Brugmann's Law, the M thematic GPL /-oonom/, which had already developed 1) /-oom/ by reanalysis of /-o-om/ in M theatics, and 2) /-n-/ by reanalysis of /-n-/ in /n/-stems, became /-oonoom/ > /-aanaam/. Thus the M thematic GPL became the same as the F thematic GPL. The common M/F thematic GPL /-aanaam/ 1) had as its first V a long V of the same quality as the V of its stem, 2) had as its second V a long V that was the same as its first V, and 3) had medial /n/ between its first and second Vs. This should sound familiar: the same was said above about (undoubted) /-oooco/ and (putative) /-eenee/ in Gothic. In Iranian, GPL /-aanaam/ in could be interpreted as produced by lengthening the stem V (vacuously in the case of F /aa/), inserting /-n-, and adding /-aam/, which itself could conceivably be regarded as involving a second lengthened copy of the stem V. Though there is no evidence confirming that the second part of this interpretation ever developed in Indo-Iranian, there is in fact unequivocal evidence that the first part did: all V-stems in Sanskrit form the first part of their GPL with a long version of the stem-V (Gonda 1966:20-24). This even applies to vocalic /r/, which was an innovation of Indic, producing rather improbable-seeming /-rrnam/. (There appears to be no evidence on the GPLs of Sarmatian.) Though there is evidence suggesting that /aa/ before nasals had become /oo/ (vel sim.) in some Sarmatian (Zgusta 1955:212; Harmatta 1970:91-92), that evidence is from Tanais, at the far NE end of the Black Sea, too far east to be directly relevant to Gothic. Though there is of course evidence on the GPLs of Avestan, that evidence is somewhat problematic, due to the tendency of Avestan to show apparently inexplicable deviations in the expected length of Vs (Misra 1978:29; Beekes 1997:19). In the present case, the M GPL generally shows a long first V, whereas the F GPL generally shows a short first V (Misra 1978:108, 110). Since the short V of the F clearly must be some kind of (odd) innovation, it will be assumed here that Sarmatian had /-aanaam/ in both the M and F. For propriety it should be noted that the second V in the thematic GPLs of Avestan is spelled as *q* indicating a nasal V.

As for how Sarmatians would regard /oo/ in Gothic /-oooco/, on purely phonetic grounds either /aa/ or /oo/ would be plausible. But on morphological grounds the roughly cognate status between GPL /-oooco/ in Gothic and GPL /-aanaam/ in Sarmatian could hardly have escaped notice, and

this would have favored /-aanaa/ over /-oonoo/. The reason it is necessary to say “roughly cognate” rather than “cognate” is that Gothic /-oɔnɔɔ/ and Sarmatian /-aanaam/ belonged to different declensions (thematics, and /n/-stems). As has been noted, this must have created considerable confusion in the minds of Sarmatians secondarily acquiring Gothic.

The usual “explanation” for the appearance GPLs with /n/ in the F thematics in some West Germanic, most notably in OHG, is that they are “from the /n/-stems”. But this is much more a description than an explanation, as no reason is given as to why the GPL and only the GPL would spread from F /n/-stems to F thematics. What we need to know is what was special about the GPL of F /n/-stems, and Iranian influence provides the answer: /-aanaam/ occurred in the F thematics of Iranian. It has already been noted that in Gothic the F thematics and F /n/-stems quite probably had the same NSG: /-ɔ/ (to Goths) or /-a/ (to Sarmatians). To the Sarmatian mind, a GPL having /-n-/ flanked by two lengthened copies of the stem V (as judged by the NSG) could not have seemed warranted in the F /n/-stems of Gothic without also seeming warranted in the F thematics of Gothic. If /n/ in the F thematics of Gothic began to spread, due to the high prestige of the Goths, into neighboring forms of West Germanic, the first dialect that would be hit would be Pre-OHG (in the days when it still existed fairly far east). It is in any event well-known that OHG shows a fair number of other resemblances to Gothic, such as a 3rd person pronoun from /i-/ and preservation of long Vs in final syllables, and the present case would simply add one more. All in all, the fact that the GPL of F thematics in OHG is a form proper to the F /n/-stems provides indirect evidence supporting the idea that Gothic /-oɔnɔɔ/ was indeed identified with Sarmatian /-aanaam/. It is worth noting that a similar form in the GPL of M /n/-stems to M thematics would not occur, for a very simple reason: M thematics had no suffixal V in the NSG that lengthening or copying to be applied to. Thus the “Sarmatian Scenario” would explain not only why the GPL of F /n/-stems did spread to F thematics, but also why the GPL of M /n/-stems did not spread to M thematics. Overall, we would at last have an explanation for what gave GPL /-oɔnɔɔ/ a special status in southeasterly Germanic: its analogue in Iranian.

Among first-generation speakers of Sarmatian-accented Gothic, /-ɔ, -ɛ/ would surely be perceived, for reasons that have been seen, as /-a, -a/. Though the model of GPL /-aanaa/ would provide a secondary motivation for this perception, the primary motivation factor must have been that (as has been seen) Sarmatian had only three short Vs: /i, a, u/. But as language-shift proceeded, second-generation speakers of Sarmatian-

accented Gothic, exposed from birth to native Gothic, would be quite well able to regard Gothic /ɔ(ɔ)/ and /ɛ(ɛ)/ as what they were. Likewise it would be clear to second-generation speakers that Gothic had a gender-distinction in its most salient GPLs (the themetics and the /n/-stems). In theory, F /-aanaa/ might then be replaced by /-ɔɔnɔɔ/, and M /-aanaa/ by /-ɛnɔɔ/. But there is a difference between second-generation speakers and perfect native speakers. Among second-generation speakers, there must have been some desire both to “Gothicize” and to “genderize” earlier /-aanaa/. In the F /n/-stems and F themetics (both with NSG /-ɔ/), GPL /-aanaa/ could easily be “Gothicized” to /-ɔɔnɔɔ/, which would also qualify as “genderized”. But such developments would, by coincidence, end with a form that showed no evidence at all of any Iranian influence.

The question is what happened in the GPL of M /n/-stems. The NSG of M /n/-stems, /-ɛ/, did of course offer a V that could conceivably be lengthened and copied to form a new GPL /-ɛɛnɛɛ/, and it seems probable, for reasons that were given at the outset, that such a form at one point existed. But opportunity is not motivation. One consideration is that speakers whose Gothic was intermediate between “first-generation” and “second-generation”, and who had limited exposure to native Gothic, might well think that M /-aanaa/ in the speech of first-generation speakers was simply a Sarmatian mis-hearing of intended /-ɛɛnɛɛ/, much as F /-aanaa/ was a mis-hearing of intended /-ɔɔnɔɔ/, and proceed to “correct” M /-aanaa/ to /-ɛɛnɛɛ/. Another is that, as first-generation F /-a, -aanaa/ began to be “Gothicized” and “genderized” as /-ɔ, -ɔɔnɔɔ/, it would seem “poetically appropriate” (for lack a better term) for M /-a, -aanaa/ to be “Gothicized” and “genderized”, in a parallel manner, as /-ɛ, -ɛɛnɛɛ/. But despite what Lehmann thought, the parallel was not purely abstract. It had two additional aspects that Lehmann missed. First, N-SG /-ɛ/ existed in the M /n/-stems. Second, there was hypercorrection against two characteristic errors of first-generation Sarmatian-accented Gothic: 1) over-generalizing /a(a)/, and 2) failing to understand that native Gothic had a gender-distinction in the GPL of /n/-stems. Thus it was that, as F /-aanaa/ was bettered by back/rounding and raising F /-aanaa/ to /-ɔɔnɔɔ/, M /-aanaa/ was bettered, in a parallel manner, by fronting and raising M /-aanaa/ to /-ɛɛnɛɛ/.

5. Conclusion

Historical, lexical, and grammatical evidence all support the proposition that, to repeat the assessment of Harmatta (1970:49), “The Goths in South

Russia stood under a strong Iranian influence that affected almost all sections of their civilization". By "civilization" Harmatta in effect meant "culture", and language is (as is indicated by the recurrent use of linguistic terms to designate culture) an integral aspect of culture. Examination reveals that Iranian influence affected not only the lexicon of Gothic but also its grammar. Though the focus of the present article has been on the Gothic GPL in /-ee/, other evidence shows that GPL /-ee/ is quite far from being an "isolated case". What is surprising is that the grammatical part of the evidence has not (apparently) been investigated before now. For better or worse, this can only be attributed to the strong internalist prejudice that is, in effect, traditional among Germanicists. But though the demands of academic specialization are, all things being equal, quite sensible, it is hardly realistic to imagine that the various older Germanic languages developed in a series of linguistic vacuums. In settled agricultural areas (which would include the western steppes, where even today agriculture is quite productive), changes of language ordinarily proceed not by population replacement but rather by language shift. The linguistic implications of this should be acknowledged, not swept under the nearest rug on the grounds that they are not only a violation of hoary tradition but also (to put it bluntly) an annoyance. No doubt the typical Germanicist does not want to, in effect, "go back to school" in order to develop at least a nodding familiarity with non-Germanic languages that are quite probably relevant to the development of various Germanic languages. A good example of this sad syndrome is this: the fact that Middle English is the only Germanic language of its time to show "across the board" grammatical resemblances to Welsh (not to mention the other Brittonic languages) has not even been known among Germanicists and Anglistics. And of course what is not known cannot be explained.

It is in effect traditional for judgments about how improbable it is that grammatical resemblances between languages (as in the Balkans) are due to "mere misleading coincidence" to be entirely impressionistic. But it is possible to take things up a notch by using methods (admittedly quite crude) that make it possible to produce a specific number that may serve as a rough approximation for the undeterminable true number. What we need to judge how probable it is that 8 out of 8 cases of (unusual) grammatical resemblance between Germanic and Iranian would, by mere coincidence, be found in Gothic.¹² The number eight has been used, despite

¹² Another odd grammatical resemblance, not treated here, is that the 1PL present subjunctive suffix in both Gothic and Indo-Iranian was /-ma/ (Wright 1954:135, 155; Misra 1978:207, 208).

that fact that ten cases were treated above (two in section 3.8.), because two of the cases that do not qualify as grammatical resemblances found in Gothic only: 1) the change of /anh/ occurs in all Germanic, and 2) the case of the GPL cannot be regarded as a simple grammatical resemblance. If we regard Germanic as having 4 major groups, represented by Gothic (East Germanic), Norse (North Germanic), German (southerly West Germanic), and English (northerly West Germanic), then the chance that, all things being equal, 8 out of the 8 cases that are limited to one of the four groups would, just coincidentally, occur in Gothic is 1/65536 (1 over 4 to the 8th) or about 0.00152%. This is no more 50%, than 65536 is 2. Even if about half of the cases given are invalid, perhaps because they imply each other or are simply “nicht wahr”, the chance of coincidence being the explanation would be about 4%. Though this may seem dramatic, it would amount to nothing more than the chance of non-coincidence being the explanation going down from nearly 100% to 96%, which is not dramatic. It is in the nature of probability that, if we roll 8 dice, it is possible that all 8 will show a number in the range of 1-3. But if we are trying to determine whether the dice in question are loaded, in a situation where this is quite possible, it would be much probable that the dice are loaded than that they are not. The fact that the math involved in this case is “fuzzy” does not mean that it is worthless, or that is no better than the non-math of traditional impressionistic assessments, which could only be even more “fuzzy”.

In the present case, the primary argument made is that the Gothic GPL in /-ee/ owes its origin to modeling on the Iranian GPL /-aanaam/. But significant secondary arguments have also been made, giving reasons to think that Iranian grammatical influences in Gothic were by no means limited to the case of the GPL. Regardless of whether the present author’s scenario for the GPL, which clearly qualifies as “out of the box”, is accepted, it is to be hoped that in the future the various possibilities for explaining striking oddities of Gothic Iranian by positing Iranian influence will no longer be ignored. There is very little in the present article that could not have been said about a hundred years ago by Joseph Wright or (J.R.R. Tolkien), and it is a fair question what, other than a de facto “mind bar”, has stood in the way. Why has it not long been common knowledge among Germanicists that Gothic shows a fair number of odd grammatical resemblances to Iranian?

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The Gothic Genitive Plural in /-ee/ Yet Again: A Sarmatian Solution

Reasons are given to think that the Gothic GPL in /-ee/ (< /-ɛɛ/) developed in the M /n/-stems by analogy with GPL /-ɔɔnɔɔ/ in F /n/-stems: NSG /-ɔ/ : GPL /-ɔɔnɔɔ/ = NSG /-ɛ/ : GPL /-ɛɛnɛɛ/. This analogy was externally motivated, due to various features of Iranian causing Gothic F /-ɔɔnɔɔ/ and M /-ɔɔnɔɔ/ to both be rendered as /-aanaa/ in Sarmatian-accented Gothic. As levels of competence increased, /-aanaa/ was “genderized” (and “Gothicized”) by replacing gender-neutral /-aanaa-/ with F /-ɔɔnɔ/ (which spread to Pre-OHG) and M /-ɛɛnɛɛ/. Historical and lexical evidence is given indicating that Gothic culture and language were significantly influenced by their Sarmatian analogues, and additional cases where Gothic shows unusual grammatical resemblances to Iranian are adduced.

Keywords: Genitive case, Gothic, Iranian, Old Germanic, Sarmatian, Sarmatian influence on Gothic.

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Institut für die Stärkung des Polnischen in Deutschland und Europa. Vorstellung eines besonderen Arbeitsfeldes

Am 1. Juli 2020 nahm das Kompetenz- und Koordinationszentrum Polnisch seine Arbeit zur Förderung der polnischen Sprache in Deutschland auf. Das Kompetenzzentrum Polnisch, kurz KoKoPol, wird zu gleichen Teilen finanziert vom Auswärtigen Amt und von der Staatskanzlei des Freistaates Sachsen. KoKoPol hat seinen Sitz in St. Marienthal bei Görlitz, direkt an der Grenze zu Polen.

KoKoPol wird von den Verantwortlichen als öffentliche Einrichtung zur Umsetzung der einschlägigen Empfehlungen und Forderungen des „Vertrages über gute Nachbarschaft und freundschaftliche Zusammenarbeit“ zwischen Deutschland und Polen verstanden. Unser Ziel ist es daher, insbesondere auf eine Aktivierung des Kultauraustausches auf allen Ebenen hinzuwirken und damit einen Beitrag zur „europäischen kulturellen Identität“ zu leisten. Da es seit jeher eine deutliche Inkongruenz bei der Zahl der Deutschlernenden in Polen (knapp 2 Millionen) und der Polnischlernenden in Deutschland (etwa 50.000) gibt, ist es im Sinne einer gleichberechtigten Partnerschaft zwischen beiden Ländern wichtig, in Deutschland die Kenntnis der polnischen Sprache und Kultur deutlich zu verbessern.

Ein übergeordnetes politisches Ziel ist dabei die Stärkung der europäischen Zusammenarbeit. Die Europäische Union kann nur dann die Herausforderungen durch die Großmächte im 21. Jahrhundert bestehen, wenn es politisch, wirtschaftlich und kulturell als Einheit auftreten kann. Um das zu erreichen, muss in allen westlichen EU-Ländern das Wissen über die östlichen Nachbarn deutlich verbessert werden. Dass man am meisten über andere Länder lernen kann, wenn man eine andere Landessprache lernt und damit eine neue Kultur und deren Hintergründe erschließen

kann, ist unbestritten. Allerdings ist die Hemmschwelle beim Erlernen des Polnischen in Westeuropa doch beträchtlich, und selbst unsere polnischen Freunde, Kollegen und Partner sehen unsere Versuche, die polnische Sprache zu beherrschen, eher skeptisch. Es ist unser Ziel zu beweisen, dass es trotzdem möglich ist, sich dem Polnischen zu nähern.

Hier muss jedoch ein Umdenken stattfinden: nicht Sprachkenntnisse auf C2-Niveau müssen das Ziel sein, auch Teilkompetenzen wie ein gutes Hörverständnis wären schon ein wichtiger Schritt zum besseren Verstehen. Wenn beispielsweise polnische und deutsche Aktive in kommunalen, kirchlichen oder akademischen Partnerschaften jeweils in ihrer Muttersprache reden, der Gesprächspartner sie aber verstehen kann und selbst in seiner Muttersprache verstanden wird, hätten wir einen wichtigen Schritt zum besseren Kennenlernen getan. Die Flucht ins Englische, die nun keine der beiden Partner-Kulturen repräsentiert, wäre damit überflüssig.

Ein wichtiger, bisher zu wenig beachteter Bereich ist „Polnisch als Herkunftssprache“ (PHS). In Deutschland leben viele Menschen mit polnischen Wurzeln bzw. mit einem polnischen Elternteil, die im familiären Umfeld Polnisch sprechen, es aber nie umfassend beherrscht haben. So belegen Studierende mit PHS die regulären Polnisch-Kurse für deutsche Studenten, deren Programme jedoch nicht auf ihren speziellen Bedarf ausgerichtet sind. KoKoPol plante daher 2021 erstmals eine Herbstakademie für diese Zielgruppe in St. Marienthal bei Görlitz. Mit einem maßgeschneiderten Angebot soll Studierenden geholfen werden, ihre Polnischkenntnisse aus dem Bereich Familie/Umgangssprache/Alltag in den Bereich Bildung/Beruf zu überführen. Ihre biographische Verbindung mit Polen und die Einwanderungssituation der Familie erfahren damit eine Aufwertung im Sinne der europäischen Vielfalt und der Mehrsprachigkeit.

Das dem Kompetenzzentrum KoKoPol angegliederte Emil-Krebs-Lektorat bietet zudem Polnischkurse für Führungskräfte in Wirtschaft und Wissenschaft sowie für Diplomaten und Polen-Aktive in Deutschland und der EU an. Hierfür werden auch stark individualisierte, funktionsbezogene Curricula erstellt und ein intensives Sprachtraining angeboten, auch um Lernökonomie bei Zeit und Aufwand zum optimieren. In Krzyżowa/Kreisau haben bereits eine Reihe solcher hyperintensiven Kurse für deutsche Diplomaten stattgefunden. Dabei und bei anderen Aktivitäten ist die „Stiftung Kreisau für Europäische Verständigung“ / „Fundacja Krzyżowa dla Porozumienia Europejskiego“ ein wichtiger Kooperationspartner von KoKoPol.

Auch die Universität Wrocław unterstützt die Arbeit von KoKoPol, indem Dozenten der „Schule für polnische Sprache und Kultur“ (Szkoła Języka Polskiego i Kultury dla Cudzoziemców) unsere Seminare und Sprachkurse in Teilen gestalten. Einen wesentlichen Impuls für die Gründung von KoKoPol haben auch die Wissenschaftler der Germanistik an der Universität Wrocław gegeben, insbesondere Dr. Adam Gołębiowski, der über seine Beschäftigung mit dem Sprachgenie Emil Krebs in einen intensiven Austausch mit dem Autor dieser Zeilen getreten ist und bereits im Auswärtigen Amt vor über 200 Zuhörern über Emil Krebs vortrug. Nicht zuletzt die von ihm und weiteren Germanisten der Universität Wrocław gegebenen Impulse haben zu der Erkenntnis geführt, dass in Deutschland ein Institut zur Förderung des Polnischen und damit der Mehrsprachigkeit in Europa notwendig ist. KoKoPol ist das Resultat eines Austausches mit polnischen Partnern und Freunden auf akademischer und gesellschaftlicher Ebene.

Mehr über KoKoPol können Sie auf der Homepage www.kokopol.eu und in „*Polonus – Zeitschrift für die polnische Sprache und den europäischen Dialog*“ erfahren. Ein Sonderheft von „*Polonus*“ erschien rechtzeitig zum 30. Jahrestag der Unterzeichnung des Deutsch-Polnischen Nachbarschaftsvertrages im Sommer 2021.

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