

Waldemar Saramonowicz

SOME CAUSAL ASPECTS OF SEGMENTATION PROCESSES IN INDOEUROPEAN DRIFT

1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this article is the analysis of some selected analytical tendencies in Polish from the point of view of the so called *drift* phenomena in Indo-European languages [cf. Sapir 1949; Lakoff 1972; Vennemann 1974, 1975]. Specifically, the generalisations advanced by Theo Vennemann in his model of syntactic change [Vennemann 1973, 1974, 1975] will be confronted with views held by Polish linguists concerning the relevant tendencies in the language.

2. THE CONCEPT OF DRIFT

The term *drift* traditionally subsumes the gradual systematic structural changes in the Indo-European family, reflected in a variety of analytical processes.

In an article "Another look at drift", Lakoff enumerates the following major manifestations of the phenomenon:

1. The nominal system:

- i) the obligatory use of anaphoric, nonemphatic subject pronouns.
- ii) the use of articles- definite and indefinite.
- iii) the use of prepositions instead of case endings.

2. The verbal system:

- i) the development of periphrastic causatives, inchoatives, etc.
- ii) the development of periphrastic auxiliaries.

According to Lakoff all these phenomena reflect a single general scheme which manifests itself basically in the tendency towards greater segmentation in the linguistic system. She calls this scheme a metacondition and presents the following working definition of the concept:

If there is a choice between a rule and a lexical item to produce a surface structure containing independent segments, as opposed to one containing bound forms, pick the former. Speaking metaphorically, it instructs the language to segmentalize where possible. In a wide variety of ways, every one of the phenomena I have identified as being drift-related is a change in the direction of greater segmentation, or, as Sapir put it, in the direction of the independent word. [Lakoff 1972: 178]

Within Vennemann's developments of the theory of drift, the relevant segmentation processes are determined by the Principle of Natural Serialization. This principle imposes a unidirectional serialization of operator-operand hierarchies (with the directional arrangement of verb and object being a model for the other sentential arrangements)

The rule is represented by the following diagram:

	Operator (Operand) in XV
Operator (Operand)	(Operand) Operator in VX

where:

X = verb complement

and: in a constituent structure AB, A is operator and B is operand if the entire constituent AB is in the same syntactic category as B.

Thus, given the following categories:

A	B
object	verb
adverb	verb
main verb	auxiliary verb
noun modifier	noun
noun phrase	adposition
standard of comparison etc.	comparative adjective

A precedes B in XV languages

A follows B in VX languages.

where:

XV, VX = indicate the dominant order of verb and its complement.

As Vennemann points out a change in the basic ordering of V and O appears to result (through analogical pressure) in a wholesale reordering of other operator-operand hierarchies.

In the following analysis we will discuss two major diachronic processes in Polish: nominalization, and the spread of prepositional constructions. Both processes constitute examples of a wide range of analytical changes in the language, all of which appear to be strikingly consistent with Vennemann's segmentation predictions. At the same time, the nature of these tendencies, as defined by Polish linguists, would seem to point to a richer variety of causal factors than those suggested in Vennemann's structurally orientated model.

3. NOMINALIZATION

The process of nominalization is generally described in Polish linguistics as a shift from synthetic verbal constructions which cumulatively carry both categorial and lexical meaning, to their analytical counterparts in which category and meaning are expressed by separate element [cf. Bartmiński 1973; Anusiewicz 1978].

e.g.	1. zamierzać	–	mieć zamiar.
	2. strzelić	–	oddać strzał.
	3. zdarzyć się	–	mieć miejsce.
	4. pojmować	–	mieć pojęcie.
	5. baczyć	–	zwracać uwagę.

The analysis of these examples shows that in structural terms nominalization seems to be consistent with the Principle of Natural Serialization, and could, theoretically, be interpreted as a potential result of the analogical pressure of the predominant SVO pattern in the language.

e.g.	older form	modern form
	pojmujesz	masz pojęcie
	X V	V X

As we can see from the comparison of the relevant patterns, only the nominal VX arrangement is serially compatible with the statistically predominant word order. The diachronic nature of nominalization (as opposed to the synchronic aspect of the phenomenon evident in examples 1,2,3) is indicated in the figures presented by Wierzbicka [1962]. They show a gradual transition from a verbally to a nominally dominant system:

	wiek	XIV–XV	XVI	XVII–XIX	XX
Procent czasownika wśród czterech części mowy		37	33	24	8

She offers the following comment with regard to the long-term directionality of the process:

Tak więc rozwój polszczyzny od przewagi konstrukcji werbalnych i hipotaksy międzyzdaniowej do przewagi konstrukcji nominalnych [...] nie ulega wątpliwości. Nie jest to rozwój równomierny. Analiza bardziej szczegółowa, uwzględniająca większą liczbę tekstów wykazałaby z pewnością szereg odchyżeń od tej głównej linii. Zasadniczy jednak kierunek jest właśnie taki. [Wierzbicka 1962: 208]

The diachronically viewed nominalization tendency described by Wierzbicka is best illustrated in her comparison of a 16th and 20th century translation of the same Latin text:

1593 [Koszucki]	1960 [Kornatowski]
Jakom się dobrze nauczył	Jak wielkie postępy sam zrobiłem
Się [...] strzec	mieć się na baczności
Jeśliby tego pierwej nie uczynił	Jeśli nie urzeczywistnił swego zamiaru
Bardzo mało co bacząc	Ma [...] poczucie

While accepting the possibility of a stronger Latin influence on the early translation, Wierzbicka presents examples of nominal constructions in the original text, rendered verbally by Koszutski. This, according to her, points to the fact that the verbal nature of the 16th century Polish prose is not entirely determined by the Latin source, but reflects intrinsic features of the native system:

[Cycero]	[Koszutski]
consequentia cernit	baczy co za tym idzie
oblivio	zapamiętywać muszą
in dicendi exercitatione	gdym się na wymowę ćwiczył
tam est in vitio	tak grzeszy

Although Wierzbicka's research clearly suggests the progressive nature of deverbalization in Polish, the expansion of nominal constructions in the language has not been concurrent with a wholesale removal of their synonymic synthetic equivalents. In the majority of cases descriptive nominal structures coexist with their verbal counterparts, with which they are generally identical on the denotation level but not identical on the connotation level [cf. Anusiewicz 1978]. The nature of this coexistence is described by Anusiewicz in the following way:

Between analytical constructions and their simple equivalents there occurs a process of meaning, stylistic, and functional repartition which is a sign of tendencies to polarize common-functional lingual elements in the language. E.g. the expression *wywrzeć nacisk* (to exert pressure) is not synonymous with *nacisnąć* (press), and *prowadzić śledztwo* (conduct an enquiry) differs from *śledzić* (to watch).

Analytical constructions, as alternative forms, acquire a defined stylistic tone (e.g. they serve to express such text characteristics as: officialism, loftiness, festivity, seriousness, anonymity, etc.), and become characteristic stylistic determinants of particular flexions of the Polish language. [1978: 194]

Having considered briefly the diachronic and synchronic aspects of nominalization, let us now concentrate on some explanatory suggestions advanced by Polish linguists with respect to the phenomenon.

In her analysis of causal aspects of deverbalization, Wierzbicka [1962] points out that in structural terms the process is to be understood as the result of a systematic shift from syntactic hypotaxis to the simple sentence. She illustrates this tendency with the following examples:

16th century: *Wszakoz my śmieie stoików naśladować możemy, którzy się pilnie dowiadują, skąd słowa idą.*

20th century: *Odważmy się naśladować tutaj stoików, którzy starannie badają pochodzenie wyrazów.*

According to Wierzbicka, this shift is a reflection of a tendency in the language towards a greater precision and economy of style. As regards the dramatic expansion of nominal constructions in the 20th century, she derives the phenomenon from a variety of cultural and intellectual trends (e.g. impressionism, naturalism) which she cumulatively refers to as the "modern European mentality". These trends are supposed to have introduced a change in the language towards a predominantly nominal style. Wierzbicka enumerates, after Lombard, a number of features which have facilitated the spread of nominalization:

- nominal constructions are short, which makes them especially suitable for captions, titles, posters, advertisements, etc.

- the noun (as opposed to the verb) has a wider range of applications in language. It can serve as the subject, complement, adjunct, adverbial, predicative,

- the use of the noun occasionally allows us to dispense with the notion of subject, which plays an important role in certain official styles (e.g. *Jutro nastąpi otwarcie obrad*).

Similar explanatory views are expressed by I. Bajerowa and J. Anusiewicz. The former finds the motivation for the spread of analytical constructions in general, in what she calls the intellectualization of language. She defines the tendency as one which reshapes the system so that it becomes more adequate as a means of scientific communication [cf. Bajerowa 1972].

The latter describes analytical tendencies as "a semantic process reflecting inclinations to think analytically, to a detached and individualized scrutiny

of things, to an objective description of the world, and to viewing reality in its most complicated and varied aspects" [A n u s i e w i c z 1978: 195]. He further develops and clarifies his view of the problem when he says:

Analizy czasownikowe odznaczają się niejednokrotnie większą precyzją w formułowaniu wypowiedzi, wyrażają bowiem różne relacje temporalne, które nie mają wykładników fleksyjnych. Są one funkcjonalnymi odpowiednikami różnych form rodzaju czynności, a mianowicie: sygnalizują znaczenie inchoatywne, czyli wskazują na początek czynności lub przewidywanego stanu, np.: budzić zainteresowanie, dać początek, podjąć krytykę, wejść w rozważania, uprawić w ruch; wyrażają znaczenie terminatywne, czyli ukazują koniec czynności lub stanu, np.: dojść do stwierdzenia, uznania, wniosku, dokonać analizy, klasyfikacji, doprowadzić do świadomości, sformułować wniosek, znaleźć odbicie, potwierdzenie, są też wykładnikami znaczenia duratywnego, np.: prowadzić badania, poszukiwania, rozmowy, rozumowanie, spory, przeprowadzić analizę, dowód, obserwację... Osiąga się więc przez stosowanie konstrukcji analitycznych większą jasność i dokładność w przedstawianiu rzeczywistości.

The explanatory statements quoted so far are symptomatic for Polish linguistics. They reflect a more general approach to the causal aspects of nominalization and other analytical changes. Within this approach emphasis is placed on non-structural, system-external factors (culture, civilization, science) as the ultimate motivating forces behind the various segmentation processes. Consequently, the rise of new periphrastic structures is viewed as an externally induced, compensating reaction of the system, aimed at satisfying the requirements imposed on the language by the ever increasing "complicacy of thought processes" [A n u s i e w i c z 1978: 196].

This psychologically biased understanding of the causation problem seems to diverge aspectually from Vennemann's mechanism of syntactic change. In his model, the appearance of analytical structures is understood not as an externally imposed enrichment of the means of linguistic expression, but as an internally motivated purely structural process, initiated ultimately by systematic S-O ambiguity and effected through analogical pressure of the predominant V, O pattern.

An interesting aspect of nominalization tendencies in Polish has been pointed out by B a r t m i ń s k i [1971]. The linguist has observed that the relatively recent rapid expansion of nominal constructions in the language of mass media considerably facilitates the grammaticalization of word order. The reason for this phenomenon lies in the fact that the nouns that predominate in journalistic and publicist style belong to the inanimate category (e.g. bodźce, skutki, elementy, problemy, czynniki, stosunki, etc.). This category is characterized by the lack of distinctive S-O inflection. Also, the verbs which occur in analytical structures (e.g. mieć, stanowić, wywoływać, przynosić, stwarzać, etc.) usually have very generalized meaning

and as a consequence cannot themselves serve as a fully dependable S-O disambiguating factor.

- e.g. Problemy wywołują przesadne reakcje.
 Zasady określają przepisy.
 Problemy stwarzają sytuacje stresogenne.
 Spadek produkcji spowodował wzrost cen.

As Bartmiński suggests, the recipients of the nominalized styles are exposed in consequence to a far greater number of sentences with suspended S-O inflection than would be warranted by the actual level of inflectional syncretism in the language. This, according to him, creates favourable conditions for the stabilization of word order.

5. THE SPREAD OF PREPOSITIONAL CONSTRUCTIONS

In her discussion of Indo-European segmentation processes, Robin Lakoff offers the following view concerning the expansion of prepositional inflection:

The use of prepositions instead of case endings: The older IE languages expressed grammatical relationships in nouns through the use of case endings: morphologically dependent forms attached to a noun-stem that had no independent existence (that is, was a "bound" form). Later languages have tended to develop, instead, an invariable independent noun without endings (except for plural) and a set of prepositions, also morphologically independent, to fulfil the functions previously performed by case endings. In some of the modern languages cases still remain, though in the majority (e.g. Germanic and Greek) they are in vestigial form, and prepositions are becoming more and more essential. In most modern languages, cases (i.e., surface case markers) have vanished entirely, except for a few vestigial forms in the pronominal system. [L a k o f f 1972: 174]

In the wake of Greenberg's and Lehman's studies of linguistic universals, V e n n e m a n n [1975], in his turn, proposes the following structural analysis of the affixation phenomena which accompany the change from XV to VX:

A	Prefix	Stem	Suffix
	X	V	
	X		V
	(S X V)		

or more specifically:

NP	B Postp	⇒	Prep	C N P
X	V		V	X

According to Vennemann, arrangements A and B are contrary to the Principle of Natural Serialization in a VX language, and as such are doomed to phonological reduction and/or oblivion [cf. Vennemann 1975]. The new productive patterns, represented in C, are consistent with the VX order. Symptomatically for Vennemann's model of syntactic change it is implied that, similarly to other segmentation processes, the transition from postposition to preposition is induced through analogical serialization pressure. In the light of our considerations, so far, concerning certain potentially drift related phenomena in Polish, it is interesting to observe that a process has been taking place in the language, which basically appears to reflect the tendencies outlined above by Robin Lakoff. The relevant process consists in a systematic appearance of prepositions in environments in which, from the structural point of view, they seem redundant (given the already existing postpositional inflection, e.g. *przechodzić {przez} ulicę*). The phenomenon is placed in a wider Indo-European context by Maria Lesz-Duk [1988]. In her paper describing the process of the replacement of genitival and accusative objects by prepositional expressions in the history of Polish, she writes [1988: 25]:

W polszczyźnie od czasów najdawniejszych po współczesność obserwuje się proces wycofywania dopełnienia dopełniaczowego i biernikowego na rzecz rozmaitych wyrażań przyimkowych. Proces ten jest ogniwem ogólnej tendencji zdążania języków słowiańskich do analityzmu, tendencji przejawiającej się w językach zachodnioeuropejskich zanikiem fleksji nominalnej, stałym szykiem, oraz użyciem wyrażań przyimkowych w miejscu form przypadkowych.

She offers, among others, the following data in evidence of this analytical tendency:

historical odjechać domostwa ujść niebezpieczeństwa dopłynąć brzegu zebrać chleba pamiętać przestróg poczekać człowieka	present od domostwa przed niebezpieczeństwem do brzegu o chleb o przestrofach na człowieka etc.
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The structural analysis of these data seems to indicate that the appearance of prepositions in the relevant environments above could, theoretically, be interpreted as an initial stage of the analogical serialization process suggested by Vennemann:

e.g.	człowiek a	=	na człowieka
	X V		V X
	ulic ę	=	przez ulicę
	X V		V X
	brzegu	=	do brzegu
	X V		V X

The next "hypothetical" stage would then be the loss of postpositional flexion, whose function would consequently be taken over by the prepositions. Yet although the Polish data seem to lend themselves, with some consistency, to Vennemann's analysis on the structural level, it appears that his universal predictions concerning the causation level do not do full justice to the apparently complex causal nature of prepositional expansion in the language.

In what follows we will briefly concentrate on the semantic aspect of the phenomenon, pointing to motivational factors which go beyond Vennemann's structurally biased analysis and which appear to be of equal if not greater explanatory relevance than the analogical serialization factor.

The most fundamental semantic process which underlies the spread of prepositions in Polish is generally associated with the linguistic tendency to lucidity¹ and precision. As a result of this approach, the phenomenon of "double inflection" is derived by Polish linguists from the "necessity and need to avoid misunderstandings between the sender and receiver in the communication process, the removal of complications in the reception of relayed messages" [Anusiewicz 1978: 196].

The drift towards greater lucidity of linguistic forms is also stressed by Danuta Buttler [1967] in her analysis of three major semantic motivational processes involved in the spread of prepositions in Polish:

1. Synonymical analogy.

e.g. odporny na coś → wybredny na coś

¹ It must be stressed here however, that the range of analytical prepositional constructions and their apparently varied motivational background does not allow for them to be easily subsumed under any single scheme. Thus there seems to be a causal gap between, for example, the rise of "(przez) ulicę" type constructions and pairs like miłość do brata and miłość brata. The lucidity factor can obviously be posited as relevant for only some of the novel prepositional constructions where there is a potential for ambiguity e.g. ukąszenie psa, oskarżenie górników.

Even this brief survey of the major semantic processes involved in the spread of prepositional constructions in Polish indicates the great aspectual disparity between the native approach and Vennemann's universalistic model. Symptomatically for the former, no clear reference is made to the role which verb serialization might play in inducing the relevant segmentation processes. The latter, although structurally coherent, presents an impoverished picture of an apparently complex, causally multilateral phenomenon in which semantic and serialization factors appear to interact and reinforce each other.

The aspectual disparity in question becomes clear if we compare the following diagrams which present the two models in a generalized form:

Vennemann's model

Inflectional syncretism

S-O ambiguity

disambiguating (SXV → SVX)
verb shift (Principle of Ambiguity Avoidance)

segmentation (Principle of Natural Serialization)

Native model

Multifunctionality
of synthetic forms, increasing
complicacy
of thought processes

linguistic tendency to
precision and lucidity
of expression

segmentation

Consequently, it seems that in order to fully account for the analytical tendencies discussed in this article, a theory of change is required which would incorporate all pertinent aspects of the segmentation processes. In particular, before we dismiss Vennemann's structurally orientated model as having relatively little explanatory value in the light of the seemingly predominant semantic causality of the relevant phenomena in Polish, it seems that more research is necessary into the temporal statistical correlations between word order tendencies in the language and the various segmentation processes mentioned in this paper.

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Waldemar Saramonowicz

WYBRANE ASPEKTY MULTIWERBALIZACJI W JĘZYKACH INDOEUROPEJSKICH

Jednym z przejawów rozwoju języków indoeuropejskich jest rozpowszechnione występowanie konstrukcji analitycznych. W języku polskim znajduje to odbicie m. in. w tendencji do używania konstrukcji nominalnych oraz w zjawisku rozprzestrzeniania się wyrażen przyimkowych.

Artykuł jest próbą konfrontacji rodzimych koncepcji dotyczących przyczynowości wspomnianych wyżej procesów z uniwersalistyczną teorią rozwoju języka proponowaną przez Theo Vennemanna.