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Ivan Poldauf: Sebrané spisy

Svazek III (English Papers)

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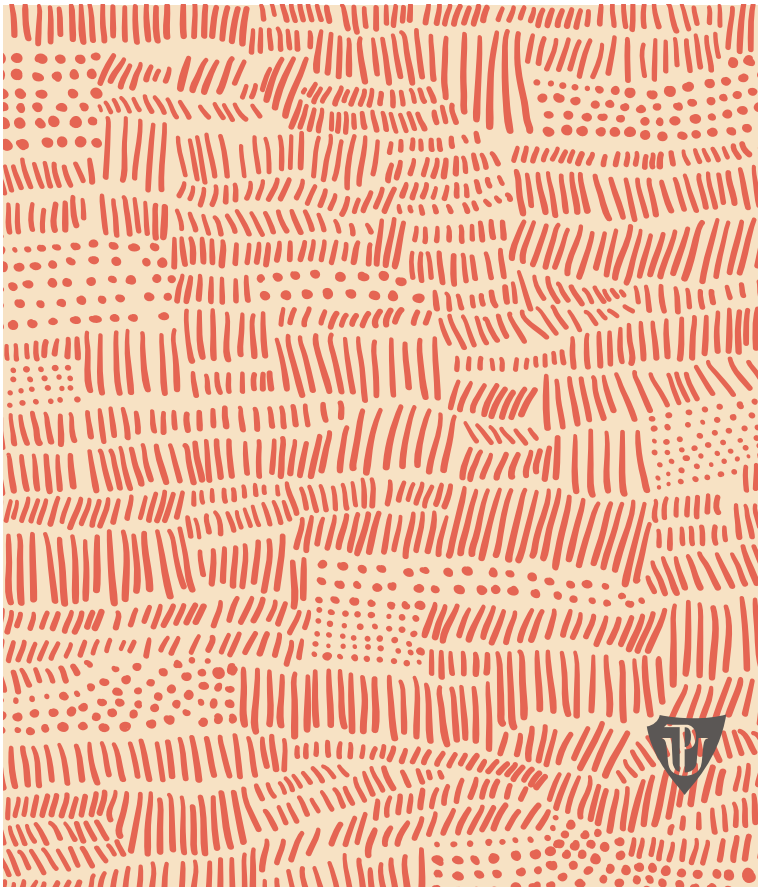

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Ivan Poldauf: Sebrané spisy

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Edited by

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2021

KATALOGIZACE V KNIZE – NÁRODNÍ KNIHOVNA ČR

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Contents

On Ivan Poldauf's Collected Papers

Michaela Martinková, Markéta Janebová & Jaroslav Macháček

1 Introduction

This monograph is the third and last volume of the critical edition of the linguistic papers of Ivan Poldauf, a prominent Czech linguist and lexicographer, the founder of English Studies at Palacký University Olomouc, and later a professor at Charles University in Prague. Ivan Poldauf (15 September 1915 – 9 August 1984) was an Anglicist and a Bohemist whose scope of interests was incredibly broad, ranging from theoretical linguistics (his works cover all levels of language representation) to applied linguistics. He is known as an author of Czech-English dictionaries,[1] but he was also the editor-in-chief of the *Cizí jazyky ve škole* [Foreign languages at school] journal, which published his texts dealing with the methodology of teaching foreign languages. Last but not least, his contrastive linguistic analyses include frequent excursions into translation studies.

The editorial team of the collected papers consists of the alumni and members of the Department of English and American Studies, founded within the Department of Germanic and English philology by Ivan Poldauf at the renewed Faculty of Arts at Palacký University Olomouc in 1949. As linguists, we share Poldauf's interest in the contrastive and empirical study of English and Czech and, though benefiting from the advances of modern technology such as language corpora that were unavailable to Poldauf, we still feel the need to return to his works for inspiration. For that reason, we considered it our duty to respond to the fact that more than thirty years after Poldauf's death, most of Poldauf's works were scattered throughout journals and periodicals published at home as well as abroad. To (at least partially) pay our debt to Ivan Poldauf, we set out to compile as complete a set of Poldauf's linguistic texts as possible, whether published in journals or edited volumes, in Czech or English, at home or abroad.

Our hope is that by compiling the papers, we will facilitate further research on Ivan Poldauf's contribution to linguistics. However, providing a critical analysis of the works was not our ambition, and nor was putting them in a broader linguistic context, be it the

1 Poldauf's relentless lexicographic work, as well as his distinctive contribution to Czech lexicography, is aptly documented by Aleš Klégr in his "Ivan Poldauf and Lexicography, and Beyond", published in *A Centenary of English Studies at Charles University* (2012). At the end of the chapter, Klégr stresses the importance of a linguistic perspective in compiling a dictionary (quoting the work of the lexicographer and Fillmore's longtime collaborator Sue Atkins) and suggests that Poldauf was ahead of his time in this regard as well.

promptness of Poldauf's reactions to state-of-the-art international research[2] or the reception of Poldauf's texts abroad – in functional and cognitive linguistics (e.g. Quirk et al. 1985; Fried 1999; Hundt 2007; Gilquin 2010) as well as in formal linguistics (e.g. Kreidler 1997). All this is beyond the scope of the collected papers. Still, with this English introduction, we take the opportunity to introduce the work of Ivan Poldauf and also the previous two volumes of his collected works to those who do not speak Czech.

2 Ivan Poldauf's Life and Work Reflected in His Collected Papers

The first volume of the collected papers, entitled *Ivan Poldauf: Sebrané spisy. Svazek I (1940–1960)*, was published in 2016. It comprises seventeen linguistic

2 This promptness is admirable, given the lack of access to literature in those days, which is mentioned in Poldauf's 1983 paper "The Rise and Development of English Studies in the Country of the Prague School" (included in this volume). This is how Eva Hajičová (1985) recalled Ivan Poldauf in *The Prague Bulletin of Mathematical Linguistics* shortly after his death:

> One of our leading linguists called him once "the master of subtle linguistic analysis", and this outstanding feature has made Poldauf not only an unsurpassable compiler of English-to-Czech and Czech-to-English dictionaries, but can be traced also in Poldauf's contributions to the study of various language phenomena, including topics of transformational grammar. Let us mention in this connection two of them: the classification of verbs according to their semantic components, which leads to the selection of a particular type of complementation with a particular logical (truth-value) interpretation of these complementations, as started by P. and C. Kiparsky's Fact, and Fillmore's case theory. The dates of publication of Poldauf's papers on these topics testify how prompt his reaction was: his paper Fact and Non-Fact (PBML 18, pp. 3–14; an enlarged version in PSML 5, 1976, 271–281), as well as his Factive, Implicative, Evaluative Predicates (Philologica Pragensia 15, 65–92), appeared in 1972, and his extremely valuable subtle analysis of Fillmore's case theory dates back to 1970 (Case in Contemporary English, Philologica Pragensia 13, 1970, 121–131). It is no wonder, too, that Professor Poldauf's deep interest in lexicology and lexicography led him to a critical evaluation of transformational treatment of lexical elements (see his Semantics, Lexicology, and Generative Grammar, Philologica Pragensia 13, 1970, 65–73, as well as his former paper Evaluative Predication, published in Philologica Pragensia 11, 1968, 1–12). All the mentioned papers imply a warning not to rush to postulate systems and distinctions without paying a due regard to linguistic facts. (Hajičová 1985, 77–78)

Other linguists commemorate Poldauf as well, e.g. Kuncová (1984), Dušková (1985), Šoltys (1985), Vachek (1994), Peprník (1995), Macháček (1996), and Vašků (2016). The first volume of the collected papers (2016) contains a chapter by Jaroslav Macháček entitled "Můj učitel Ivan Antonín Poldauf" [My teacher Ivan Antonín Poldauf].

and lexicographic papers written in Czech and published in linguistic journals and conference proceedings between 1940 and 1960. Šaldová (2017, 137) points out that Poldauf, who graduated from Charles University in Prague, published his first paper in 1939, at the age of 25; in it, he "emerges as a strong and independent academic figure who is not afraid to confront the views of the greatest authorities with his own" [our translation]. In 1946, Poldauf completed a one-year internship in Leeds and Oxford, and the following year he became associate professor at the Faculty of Arts of Charles University in Prague (Vašků 2016, 300). In April 1946, the rector of the renewed university in Olomouc, J. L. Fischer, entered into negotiations with Prague concerning Poldauf's employment. The same year, Poldauf started lecturing in Olomouc and founded English studies there. As Šaldová (2017, 136, our translation) puts it: "He subsequently raised and chose his followers here, some of whom still work at the department. Theoretically as well as practically, he determined the course of the Department of English and American Studies at the Faculty of Arts of Palacký University Olomouc, thus influencing generations of other teachers and students up to the present" (one of the editors of the collected papers, Jaroslav Macháček, was a student of Poldauf's and later succeeded him as head of the department).

The second volume, published in 2018, is entitled *Ivan Poldauf: Sebrané spisy. Svazek II (1961–1977)*. The year 1961 was not chosen randomly: in 1961, Ivan Poldauf left Olomouc for Prague. In 1965, he began to work at Charles University in Prague and was a professor there until his untimely death. The second volume book comprises twelve texts published in Czech, five fewer than in the previous part of the collected papers. It is understandable because at that time, Poldauf started publishing mainly in English; the last linguistic text written in Czech was published in 1977.

Still, the second volume includes a number of key and often quoted works, many of which elaborate further on the major topics outlined in the papers published in the first volume of the collected papers and which became Poldauf's key topics in his English papers as well. Let us mention the 1962 paper "Místo dativu ve výstavbě věty" [The position of the dative in the sentence structure], in which Poldauf deals with the issue of valency and especially non-attached datives. The non-attached dative was later regarded as one of the manifestations of what he called "the third syntactic plan" ("Třetí syntaktická rovina" [The Third Syntactic Plan], 1963). In the 1964 paper "Souhrnný pohled na vid v nové češtině" [A summary view of the verbal aspect in modern Czech], Poldauf deals with one of his core themes, i.e. verbal aspect. The second volume also contains an edited version of an unfinished study written by Ivan Poldauf and Jaroslav Macháček which has never been published before, entitled "Adjektivum" [The adjective]. The manuscript, which dates back to the 1950s, when Poldauf was still in Olomouc, was meant to become another volume of Poldauf's university textbooks. A sample of the original manuscript is included in Appendix III in the second volume.

Even after he left Olomouc for Prague, Poldauf kept in touch with his students from Olomouc. However, the fruitful period of the 1960s was succeeded by less fortunate times. Although Poldauf remained a member of the faculty, he was, as Vašků (2016, 301–2, our translation) wrote, "systematically sidelined from the 1970s onwards".[3] Eventually, he was removed from the position of head of the department, and he had to leave the position of editor-in-chief of the *Cizí jazyky ve škole* journal. As Poldauf himself put it in his paper reflecting the situation in his country entitled "The Rise and Development of English Studies in the Country of the Prague School" (1983, included in this volume): "Within a decade, the universities of Bratislava and Olomouc were [striped bare] of high-ranking Anglicist academic professionals. But the cradle of the Prague School did not fare much better at Charles University in the sixties and seventies."

The third volume comprises twenty-three works published in English, covering thirty-four years of his career between 1950 and 1984. From 1977 onwards, Poldauf published his papers exclusively in English. As we know from the family's recollections, he worked relentlessly until the very end, even when he was confined to a hospital bed: he was finalizing the proofs of his *English Word Stress: A Theory of Stress Patterns in English* (1984) as well as the proofs of his Czech-English dictionary (1986).

Given the incredible breadth of Poldauf's interests, ranging from phonetics and phonemics, through papers concerning morphology, lexicology, syntax, semantics, and translation studies, up to general topics such as sign and society, it is extremely difficult to pinpoint some language area that he left untackled in his English papers. He compiled his own huge corpus of linguistic data (in part based on Galsworthy's plays) and subjected it to detailed analysis to get as much information as possible out of it (this can be called the method of, so to say, wringing the material dry).

Nevertheless, there is one area in which he contributed most, namely to what in today's linguistic terminology is called pragmatics. This is particularly evident in his papers such as on the "Have construction", "Evaluative predication", and "On a type of tension inside an utterance", but primarily in his analysis of the role of the unattached dative in English and Czech. This led him to conclude that there must exist what he called a third syntactic plan, now referred to as pragmatics. It was later developed by

3 Jareš recalls that "Professor Poldauf's name was crossed out of the list of members of the Communist Party during the party's vetting process, but at the same time he was not one of the active teachers in 1968 [during the Prague Spring]; after 1970 he remained on the reconstructed scientific board and even chaired the normalizing department of English, German, and Nordic studies for a while. In his heart, however, he was not a political man but fully a man of science, including many international experiences from his studies at Oxford to his visiting professorship in Hamburg" (2012, 95).

Mirjam Fried, e.g. in her paper "From Semantic to Interactional Dative: A Preliminary Investigation".[4]

True to the Prague School tradition, represented by his teacher Vilém Mathesius, Poldauf was an advocate of contrastive linguistics. This was reflected in the fact that, where possible, he always compared English with Czech. He did so when dealing with his other favourite subject, which he kept returning to, namely the problem of aspect in English compared with Slavonic languages, in which he used Czech as a source language. He did not hesitate to use terms borrowed from mathematics and physics and explained the difference between English and Slavonic languages by characterizing English as a vectorial language, while Slavonic languages were scalar.

He also devoted repeated attention to the role of English stress, as shown by his paper "A new restriction imposed on the occurrence of /ə/ in English, and "Towards a Theory of English Word-Stress", but especially in "Germanic Stress in English Words", in which he characterized English stress as functional, since it has a communicative value. The same topic was later developed in his book *English Word Stress*, published by Pergamon Press in Oxford; Poldauf hoped it would fill the gap in the literature in which a functional description of English word-stress patterns was missing.

In spite of the political situation, Poldauf was always interested in what was happening in the study of language structure abroad. This is evidenced in his papers concerning Fillmore's theory of cases, the Kiparskys' division of complementations into factive and non-factive on the basis of truth value, the role of semantics in generative grammar, and others. He did not merely add his comments, but offered a deep analysis of his own approach.

3 Editorial Policy

When compiling the list of texts suitable for publication in the collected papers, we drew on Jiří Nosek's bibliography, published in 1975 to commemorate Poldauf's 65th birthday and supplemented after Poldauf's death in 1984 (it is included in Appendix I in this volume). In addition to Poldauf's linguistic papers, we also included those of his lexicographic works which have linguistic purport as well as his reflections on the state of the art in linguistics; texts dealing with teaching English as a foreign language and all the other texts published in the *Cizí jazyky ve škole* journal are not included here (they would deserve a separate publication). Reviews were excluded as well, and so were Poldauf's brief reactions to the texts of other authors.

4 In 2014, the editorial team contributed to an edited volume entitled *Categories and Categorial Changes: The Third Syntactic Plan and Beyond*. It was Poldauf's concept of categories, especially grammatical ones, and the changes in their functions that proved to be the most inspiring for the authors of the publication; several chapters follow Poldauf's work on the third syntactic plan. The above-mentioned paper by Mirjam Fried is one of these chapters.

We also decided not to translate Poldauf's papers written in Czech into English: although our aim was to reach an international readership, to translate Poldauf's papers into English would have been a Herculean task for our small team.[5] Fortunately, from the 1960s onwards, Poldauf published his main works in English. Therefore, we decided to divide the papers according to the language of the original: the first two parts contain Czech texts, and the third part comprises Poldauf's English texts. The papers are arranged chronologically within each volume.

The actual work on the collected papers started in 2012, when the editorial team obtained financial support from the Faculty of Arts at Palacký University (IGA grant FF_2012_030 Ivan Poldauf, Founder of English Studies in Olomouc; the vast majority of the grant covered student scholarships). A team of students,[6] led by Michaela Martinková and Markéta Janebová, worked on the scanning, OCR processing, and subsequent editing of Poldauf's texts. All texts went through three phases of editing (for the first two, Markéta Janebová prepared extensive style sheets which the students were supposed to follow), each of which was conducted by a different student. The team met regularly; at the meetings, the next steps were planned and problematic issues that required the editors' attention were discussed. Even after the adoption of the primary rule, namely to stay true to the original texts, there were many such issues. It should be mentioned that Poldauf's papers were published in many different journals over four decades; not only Poldauf's style, but also the spelling and editorial rules of the journals evolved over that time. It was not possible, and ultimately not desirable, to achieve a completely unified style in the three volumes of the collected papers, since individual papers attest to Poldauf's idiosyncratic style, as well as different editorial policies at different times. Still, we did strive for maximum systematicity, especially within individual articles. In many cases, we were under the impression that the deviations might actually have been typesetting errors made by the typesetters or caused by the limited technological resources of that time (for example, unsystematic font sizes, non-chronological numbering of notes, or the unsystematic use of special characters

5 The reasons were not only financial: anyone who has translated merely a few sentences from Poldauf's Czech texts into English will surely confirm how difficult this task is. As Jaroslav Macháček puts it: "Unlike his lectures, though requiring from the students deep concentration, exhaustive as well as exhausting, but still characterized by their clarity and logical structure, Poldauf's thoughts, when put down on paper, are by no means reader-friendly. His capacity for abstract thinking was remarkable, which was reflected in the fact that in an attempt to capture the nature of the underlying differences he resorted to very abstract formulations." The decision to publish the texts in their original forms was thus also motivated by an effort not to do more harm than good.

6 Irena Pauková, Andrea Ryšavá, Eva Nováková, Kateřina Havranová, Michaela Čakányová, Ondřej Klabal, Kristina Kvapilová, Barbora Boráková, and Jaroslav Marek. Irena Pauková's contribution was so indispensable that she later became one of the editors.

and diagrams). Some papers were clearly written on a typewriter, and examples were underlined instead of italicized.

In general, we unified the typography in the papers: for example, we unified the placement of the note number after the punctuation mark, the use of the apostrophe in English examples instead of other characters, the use of italics (in some cases the italics were not used in the whole example, or they appeared in places where they did not belong, or underlining was used instead, etc.; all examples are now italicized); guillemets, which were used in several articles, were replaced with double quotation marks. Our primary guide in all these changes was the *Chicago Manual of Style*, which discusses permissible "silent" changes to punctuation, capitalization, spelling, etc. The decision-making process was demanding, as we considered each deviation from the original very carefully.

The main question we asked before making each change was this: if someone wanted to quote a passage, which changes would they probably have to make there? In other words, in which passage would they have to use "[sic!]"? Thus we corrected obvious misspellings (for example, "beatiful" was changed to "beautiful", etc.), but the original version is always listed in the list of "Errata" in an appendix at the end of each book. We also asked the question in the case of punctuation – superfluous as well as missing – and graphic elements such as capital letters, expanded letter-spacing, and different font sizes used for highlighting. In the case of a missing parenthesis or quotation mark, we decided to add the missing punctuation mark; we also corrected missing or redundant full stops. As for the missing and redundant commas, we proceeded more carefully: we systematically added missing commas in enumerations (these changes are also included in the "Errata"), but made only minimal changes to sentence complexes. Here, we left the decision to make any changes to the reader. As for the typographic changes, we preserved the capital letters, italics, and expanded letter-spacing in linguistic terms or metalinguistic expressions, but we did not keep them in the names of authors cited in the papers because they were not used systematically. We also unified the font size if it was not used systematically. We converted all endnotes into footnotes[7] and numbered them chronologically; if our numbering differs from the original (this happened, for example, when there were two notes with the same number), the original number in square brackets follows the new number. For the reader's convenience, we also decided to refer to the original pagination in case the readers wanted to check the original version; the original page number is placed in square brackets exactly where the page ends in the original; this number is given in both the main text and in the footnotes.

7 The only exception is "Form and Meaning", in which some of the notes are so extensive (including figures) that we decided to keep the endnotes.

4 Copyright Issues

In the final stage, only a small team consisting of Markéta Janebová, Michaela Martinková, and Irena Selucká continued editing the works, aided by Professor Jaroslav Macháček, who took part in the strategic decisions. This phase turned out to be the most time-consuming because it was necessary to solve the copyright issues. The three volumes cover thirty-eight years of Poldauf's career and comprise fifty-two papers included in journals and edited volumes published in what was then Czechoslovakia and abroad. Czechoslovakia ceased to exist, and so did some of the journals and publishing houses. Tracing the successors and entering into negotiations with all the subjects concerned required a lot of work and energy. While we were able to provide those, we were not able to provide the financial means necessary to include all the works we had planned (e.g. the combined fees demanded for two papers, "Indo-European Personal Endings" and "The Genesis of Terminational Stress in English", would have exhausted almost our entire budget for the third volume).[8] In the vast majority of cases, however, we were granted permission to reprint the work free of charge, and we gratefully acknowledge the assistance of all those representatives who made the publication of the collected papers possible.

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8 Together with these, we were not able to obtain permission for "Language Awareness" (1972) and "Reflections of the Notion of Place in English and in Czech" (1976).

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A Decennium of Modern English Studies

[*Philologica* 6 (1950): 18–29]

The decade opening with the year of the loss of Czech independence (1939) is characterized in English studies by (1) a marked increase in studies on English pronunciation, intonation, phonemics and orthography on the other side of the Atlantic; (2) continued interest in English vocabulary throughout the English-speaking countries; (3) fresh concern with past stages of English linguistics; and (4) the maintenance by the Scandinavians of a highly scholarly approach to modern English, especially grammatical, studies. We shall leave all diachronic studies untouched in this brief report, hence also studies in etymology, works on place-names and field-names (of which the English Place-Name Society and individual writers in the United Kingdom and in the United States have produced quite a number) as well as works on English and Scottish personal names in the present and the past, all well represented[18] in the crops of this period. The last-named have had a semi-social study put by their side: the study of Christian names, represented by Weekley's *Jack and Jill* (1941) and by E. G. Withycombe's *Oxford Dictionary of English Christian Names* (1945).[1] Works on the articulatory and acoustic side of the spoken language as well as those on the graphic side of the written language are numerous enough to require a special treatise. They, too, have therefore been excluded from this account.

In the English-speaking countries important auxiliary works have either been finished in this period or have proceeded far enough for the public to pass judgement on them. There are, first of all, two monumental works which have not yet been completed. In America, H. Kurath and a number of collaborators have produced the first volumes of *The Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada*, namely *The Linguistic Atlas of New England* (1939–1941), accompanied by H. Kurath's *Handbook of the Linguistic Geography of New England* (1939). The monumental work of Sir William Craigie, published simultaneously on both sides of the Atlantic, the folio *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*, begun in 1931, has also made considerable progress. Of the two works, the first has been covered here by an extensive account of the field-work on which it is based by Raven J. McDavid Jr. (Philologica 4, p. 43), while the second does not directly concern us here. Of other enterprises of a similar sort falling into this period, *The Dictionary of American English on Historical Principles* by W. Craigie and James R. Hulbert was finished in 1944. Already in 1939

1 Cf. ČMF 30 p. 273 and Philologica 2 p. 9. Of a similar sort are Z. Vančura's *Remarks on Personal Names and Ways of Address in English*, in Czech ČMF 25 (1939).

Sir William Craigie gave us his view of the development of this important type of English in *The Growth of American English* (Society for Pure English = S. P. E. Tracts 1939). In 1944 the same author expressed his ideas of modern dictionary-making and described the method and arrangement employed in the *D. A. E.* (*Sidelights on the 'Dictionary of American English'*, Essays and Studies). There is no doubt that gaps will again and again be discovered in the dictionary and its datings corrected by new evidence, or again that some of the entries for which American priority is claimed will be out of place as soon as older evidence is found in British records, but it is undeniable that this work, continuing all the achievements of the *O. E. D.* and introducing many improvements on its technique in addition to superior typographic arrangement, is a worthy companion to the classic of English lexicography. Like it, *The Dictionary of American English*, too, will call for revision after some time, but its very existence is a guarantee that addenda and corrigenda of all sorts will pour in now to special magazines, such as American Speech, and to the authors themselves, in yet greater numbers than they have done hitherto. The predecessor of this work, to which it owes a great debt, was posthumously published in 1939: H. Thornton's *American Glossary* (begun 1912, Dialect Notes). Of other dictionaries the second edition of Ekwall's *Concise Dictionary of English Place-Names* (1936[1], 1940[2]) and the third edition, "much enlarged", of E. Partridge's *Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English* (1937[1], 1949[3]) deserve to be mentioned before several special works. These are above all: *The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations* with an introduction by Carl Van Doren (1941), an Oxford publication, rounding off a long English tradition of this type of dictionaries; Webster's *Dictionary of Synonyms* (*A Dictionary of Discriminated Synonyms* by Egan, E. Rose and others, 1942), a work long expected by foreign students of English semantics with good cross references and careful descriptions of the shades of meaning, implication, style, etc.; Lester V. Berrey[2] and Melvin Van Den Bark's *American Thesaurus of Slang* (1942), a good reference book for anybody looking for explanation of the meaning of an American slang term or interested in the richness or provenance of slang terms covering a notional field. A serious disadvantage of the last-mentioned work is the fact that it lacks any hints at the time in which the single terms were in use or the class that use them. There are also no quotations, which would have extended this bulky volume into several books. Henry L. Mencken also produced a dictionary of quotations (*A New Dictionary of Quotations on Historical Principles from Ancient and Modern Sources*, 1942), while his equally prolific British colleague, Eric Partridge, produced[19] a dictionary of words which were originally personal names (*Name into Word*, 1949) and a dictionary of the thieves' jargon (*A Dictionary of the Underworld, British and American, being the Vocabularies of Crooks, Criminals, Racketeers, Beggars and Tramps, Convicts, Commercial Underworld,*

2 Author of *English War Slang* (The Nation 1940).[19]

Drug Traffic, White Slave Traffic and Spivs: 16th–20th Century, 1949). A useful work is C. C. Matthews's *A Dictionary of Abbreviations* (1947).

Additions and corrections in the *O. E. D.* have been suggested in many articles, especially such as were published in the Notes and Queries (most of them by St Vincent Troubridge) and the Modern Language Notes (1944–45). E. G. Berry has offered some additions to Partridge's *Dictionary of Clichés: Clichés and Their Sources* (Modern Language Notes 1944). Sir William Craigie produced a tract on this subject (*Completing the Record of English*, S. P. E. Tracts 1941). New editions of several standard English dictionaries (*Concise Oxford*, *Pocket Oxford*, *Pronouncing*) have appeared with interesting addenda. These have been competently dealt with by R. W. Zandvoort (English Studies 1947).

Lexicography has had unusually great attention focussed upon its past history in this period. This interest in early lexicography obviously links up with the treatises by H. T. Price (*The Early Modern English Dictionary*, Language 1930) and M. M. Matthews (*A Survey of English Dictionaries*, 1933). In this connection especially the studies of Miss G. E. Noyes have to be mentioned. In collaboration with De Witt T. Starnes she published in 1946 *The English Dictionary from Cawdrey to Johnson, 1604–1755*, in which she traces the history of the dictionaries explaining the meaning of English words in English, beginning with more explanations of hard words and proceeding to regular dictionaries of N. Bailey, his contemporaries and S. Johnson. Miss Noyes also wrote on single dictionaries of the 17th century (*Edward Cocker and Cocker's English Dictionary*, Notes and Queries 1942, John Dunton's *Ladies' Dictionary, 1694*, Philological Quarterly 1942) and their interrelation (*Interrelations of English Dictionaries of the 17th Century*, Publications of the Modern Language Association of America = P. M. L. A. 1939). American lexicography of the 19th century was the subject of R. K. Leavitt's *Noah's Ark* (1947). Both Leavitt and R. W. Chapman have also submitted suggestions for the improvement of dictionary-making (1949). Miss Noyes and W. W. Gill have contributed to the bibliography of old slang dictionaries, one of the most important sources for the study of the slang of by-gone periods (*The Development of Cant Lexicography in English*, Studies in Philology 1940; *Some Additions to the Slang Dictionaries*, Notes and Queries 1940). The neglected field of foreign-English lexicography has been entered by Miss Vera E. Smalley in her *Sources of a 'Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues' by Randle Cotgrave, London 1611* (1948). A special aspect of old English dictionaries has been dealt with by E. K. Sheldon: *Pronouncing System in Eighteenth Century Dictionaries* (Language 1946).

Little has been done in this period for the English linguist on the field of bibliography. A modernized abstract of A. G. Kennedy's *Bibliography of Writings on the English Language from the Beginning of Printing to the End of 1922* (1927), whose reprint English students all over the world have been expecting in vain, has been published at the Stanford University Press (*A Concise Bibliography for Students of*

English, 1945, 1948[3]), while John W. Spargo's *Bibliographical Manual for the Student of the Language and Literature of England and the United States* has been edited for the second time (1941[2]). A very brief hand-book and one rarely used in Europe is that by Tom Cross: *Bibliographical Guide to English Studies* (1943[8]). A most conscientious piece of work appears to be W. J. Burke's *The Literature of Slang* (1939).

Considerable effort has been devoted to the study of special vocabularies and dialects. Apart from studies of various non-English elements in the British and American vocabularies[3] especially American[20] Speech has given up much space to all and sundry articles of various extent dealing with the languages of sport, the railway, different occupations, etc. From the European point of view especially A. F. Hubbell's *List of Briticisms* is of interest (American Speech 1942), as showing the influence of British English upon American English, naturally less marked than the reverse influence. Of general studies on English vocabulary only V. Mathesius' article *Contribution to the Structural Analysis of the English Vocabulary* (in Czech, Časopis pro moderní filologii = ČMF 26, 1940) is known here. In book form comparatively few works have appeared and especially a treatise on the words and phrases created by and in the World War II is still to be waited for. Army and navy slang has been covered by a number of works: Elbridge Colby's *Army Talk* (1942), G. D. Chase's *Sea Terms Come Ashore* (1942), Miss J. C. Colcord's *Sea Language Comes Ashore* (1945), American products, J. L. Hunt and A. G. Pringle's *Service Slang* (1943), C. H. Ward Jackson's *It's a Piece of Cake* (1943), Eric Partridge's *Dictionary of R. A. F. Slang* (1945) and Wilfred Granville's *Sea Slang of the 20th Century* (1949). Of colonial and dominion slang that of New Zealand and Australia has been professionally dealt with by S. J. Baker (*New Zealand Slang: A Dictionary of Colloquialisms*, 1941; *Australian Slang*, 1942; *The Influence of American Slang on Australia*, American Speech 1943). Of books on school slang there is Morris Marples: *Public School Slang, A Dictionary on the Lines of Fowler's Modern English Usage* (1940). To the English language adapted by the mother-tongues of American immigrants Sir William Craigie devotes a chapter in one of his tracts (*Inflected English*, S. P. E. Tracts 1946). Quite recently, Aasta Stene collected *English Loanwords in Modern Norwegian* (1948). An abstract of Eric Partridge's *Slang Today and Yesterday* is another of the S. P. E. Tracts (*Slang*, 1939). Political slang of 1750–1850 has been treated by Uno Philipson (1941). A useful

3 J. F. Bense, *A Dictionary of the Low-Dutch Element in the English Vocabulary* (finished 1939). C. T. Carr (the author of *German Influence on the English Vocabulary*), *Some Notes on German Loan-Words in English* (Modern Language Review 1940). O. Vočadlo (well-known among Anglo-Saxonists for his *Anglo-Saxon Terminology*, Příspěvky, Prague 1933, and his plea for the revival of[20] Anglo-Saxon studies at Cambridge), *The Slavonic Element in English* (Časopis pro moderní filologii 26, 1940). J. H. Newman, *The Dutch Element in the Vocabulary of American English* (Journal of English and Germanic Philology 1945).[21]

book for foreign students is *A Glossary of Literary Terms* by Dan S. Norton and Peters Rushton, both of the University of Virginia (1941).

In dialect studies little has been done with respect to social dialects. A historical study of the social stratification of language has been undertaken by A. H. King in his *The Language of Satirized Characters in Poetaster: A Socio-Stylistic Analysis, 1597–1602* (1941). The closely related problem of correctness has been the subject of very few competent works of scientific character. Partridge's *Usage and Abusage* (1947) can be compared with Fowler's *Modern English Usage* in its purpose, though Partridge's verbose style can hardly vie with Fowler's pithy humour. Sir William Craigie discovers among the peasantry the truly "pure English" (*Pure English of the Soil*, S. P. E. Tracts 1946) and it is the same author who surveys, as Sterling A. Leonard once did for the 18th century (*The Doctrine of Correctness in English Usage*, 1929), the idea of correctness in language before Smollett (*The Critique of Pure English from Caxton to Smollett*, S. P. E. Tracts 1946).

Among the works on the single regional types of English those on American English worthily align themselves with the opening of the scheme for the *Linguistic Atlas*. Generally, it may be said, there are no broad regional dialects in New England which have been covered by the first volumes of the Atlas. There are also apparently no marked social distinctions (three age groups and three social groups, split up according to the educational factor, have been employed in the field-work during the research). It is difficult to judge the merits of a linguistic atlas in a country which has not itself produced one. The more important it is, therefore, to hear the opinion of a Swiss, Eugen Dieth of Zurich (*Linguistic Geography in New England*, English Studies, London 1948). Most of Dieth's criticism is directed at minor points of technique used in the investigation and the publication of facts. It is most valuable both for the authors of the Atlas and anyone going to start a similar enterprise in any other country. Publications of the American Dialect Society were continued in the period in question, but of greatest interest for the general student are no doubt H. Wentworth's *American Dialect Dictionary* (1944), the two *Supplements* to H. L. Mencken's *American Language* (1939; *S. I* 1945, *S. II* 1948) and H. W. Horwill's *Anglo-American In*[21]*terpreter: A Vocabulary and Phrasebook* (1939). The *Dictionary* is a practical handbook rather than a scientific manual. Both dialect pronunciations, differing widely enough from the general standard to be expressible by ordinary writing and thus find entrance into books, and dialect words and bits of dialect morphology are treated in it, etymology, too, being occasionally guessed at. On the whole, the dictionary may be said to be an able compilation of popular and professional contributions to various American magazines on the subject of dialect words and of words found in popular literature. The nature of H. L. Mencken's big work is universally known. The very fact that the material collected by this voluble journalist and critic has grown into three bulky volumes and thus become hardly accessible to the general public and, with its three indexes, hardly

workable for the expert, shows how important it is that observations by the public on various matters of language should be collected by an expert if what is good in them should not be wasted. H. W. Horwill is the author of the useful *Modern American Usage* (1935, 1944[2]), and the *Interpreter* is addressed to the general British public reading American literature. The question of the origin of the differences between the two main types of English and the problem of why so many features in American English show that in America the standard apparently lingered for a considerable period without much change and why it was just the 18th century standard is dealt with by a Swedish scholar, Eilert Ekwall, who was honoured by Scandinavian linguists by a *Miscellany* in 1942. The work was reviewed here by J. Vachek (*American and British Pronunciation*, Studia Neophilologica 1946; Philologica 3, p. 31). Two works on American English are inaccessible here: John Vandenbergh, *Americana, Zo spreekt Amerika* (1947), and Georg Friderici, *Amerikanisches Wörterbuch* (Hamburg 1947).

In England, The Yorkshire Dialect Society in Leeds appears to have been the only one actively publishing in this period. Except for the usual popular interest in dialects (Notes and Queries), only past records of British dialects have attracted greater attention in England and abroad.[4] The comparative inactivity in this field in England provoked E. Dieth to review and compare what has been done in the study of dialects by continental and British scholars and to stimulate British linguists to work in the field before the dialectal pattern of England is changed. The Philological Society, which had, seventy years ago, engaged J. A. H. Murray as a full-time editor of its *New* (now *The Oxford*) *English Dictionary*, appears to have already commenced work on a linguistic atlas, for which all English students wish them good speed.[5] An interesting work has come out of the private study of Mr J. N. Jarvie. He published a dictionary of English and Lowland Scots (or Lallans), giving both the spelling and the pronunciation of the single Scottish words and appropriate quotations from literature, with a Scottish-English vocabulary as appendix to make cross-reference possible (*Lallans*, 1947). Of colonial and dominion types of English, Australian, New Zealand and Melanesian English have been described: S. J. Baker, *The Australian Language*, 1945, J. A. W. Bennett, *English as it is Spoken in New Zealand* (American Speech 1943), R. A. Hall Jr., *Melanesian Pidgin English* (1943; with additions in *Notes on British Solomon Islands Pidgin*, Modern Language Notes 1945). The first and biggest of the works contains a good deal on several types of Pidgin. On the whole, however, with the exception perhaps of an interesting treatise on the shift of the articulation basis noticeable in Australian English as compared with British English, the work has the drawbacks of a work of the

4 Cf. W. Mathews, *The South-Western Dialect in the Early Modern Period* (Neophilologus 1939), H. Kökeritz, *Alexander Gill on the Dialects of South and East England* (Studia Neophilologica 1938–39).

5 J. A. Sheard, *Dialect Studies*, Transactions of the Philological Society (1947).[22]

Mencken type. For by being anxious to say too much to the general public, its author tells too little to the specialist. Books on the single aspects of Australian English are still wanting.

Semantics has been considerably developed in America where a *Review of General Semantics* was started in Chicago by the Society for General Semantics in 1943. A number of journalists and essayists have got hold of the rudiments of this branch of linguistics and readily work them into pleasant chats[22] on morals, politics and nothing. Serious work on semantics is contained in Samuel I. Hayakawa's *Language in Action* (1941) and in W. H. Davis's *Familiar Figurative English Expressions* (1941). Scientific basis for the study of idiom is sought for by Murat H. Roberts (*The Science of Idiom*, P. M. L. A. 1944), who confronts the discourse as thought prepared so as to be expressible by a particular language and the conventions making up the language system itself. Besides O. Vočadlo's Czech article,[6] only American scholars seem to have been attracted by problems of homonymy and polysemy. Miss E. R. Williams, of Yale University, published *The Conflict of Homonyms in English* (1944), in which she closely considers the conditions which make it impossible for a language community to tolerate two or more homonyms side by side. R. J. Menner wrote on *Multiple Meaning and Change of Meaning in English* (Language 1945), an essay showing that in the case of polysemy the ousting of one meaning of a word by another is necessarily gradual.

In grammatical studies, a number of works have appeared, in which linguistic view is combined with that of another science. There is philosophy and logic in A. H. Gardiner's *The Theory of Proper Names: A Controversial Essay* (aimed at Bertrand Russell, 1940). Philosophy of morals is the chief interest of C. L. Stevenson in his *Ethics and Language* (1944), while Victor Grove's *The Language Bar* (1949) is virtually a study in the philosophy of society. Grove indicts English of being a language particularly apt in its present shape to the splitting of society into classes. He is obviously forgetting that only split society can produce a "split language", which, in its turn, may further contribute to the split of the society itself. The question to be asked is whether a given society at a given period tends to foster the will of individuals or individual groups to segregate and thus split society or whether it tends to counteract any such will. There are further two partly historical, partly philosophical books: Margaret Schlauch's *The Gift of Tongues* (1943; Philologica 1, p. 24) and C. L. Wrenn's *The English Language* (1949). Both books are meant for private or group study and C. L. Wrenn's represents a new view of the same matter as that dealt with by Jespersen in his *Growth and Structure*. O. Jespersen, too, has entered the field of philosophy and history, education and social science in *Mankind, Nation and the Individual* (1946). Linguistics and psychology play a great part in G. K. Zipf's works

6 *O polyonymii a desynonymisaci*, ČMF 29 (1946).[23]

(*The Psycho-Biology of Language*, 1934, extended in *Human Behavior and the Principle of Least Effort*, 1949; Philologica 5, p. 3). Of new periodicals on general linguistics frequently concerned with problems of Modern English one should be mentioned here. It is *Word*, published in New York since 1945. Of linguistic controversies especially that between the school of the mechanists, followers of Bloomfield, and that of the mentalists, with Leo Spitzer as its most ardent spokesman, aroused considerable interest in the United States during the war.

Most work done on word-formation concerned the formation of compounds. A. G. Hatcher dealt with the commercialized poetism of compounds with the first member denoting a certain aspect of the second member (poetic 'twilight splendour', commercial 'leg loveliness') and with the new three-member type of compounds with the first two members having the relation "provided with" to the third ('gate-leg table') (*Twilight Splendor, Shoe Colors, Bolero Brilliance*; *Bahuvrihi in Sears-Roebuck* – Modern Language Notes 1944). A. C. Bartlett has shown that true compounds with only one principal accent are still a productive type in English (*Full-Word Compounds in Modern English*, American Speech 1940). Already in 1939 L. V. Berrey, joint author of the *American Dictionary of Slang*, wrote an article on *Newly-Wedded Words*, the so-called blendings (American Speech) and Alice M. Ball published a book on *Compounding in the English Language*. On the continent in the same year, J. Ellinger contributed to the Englische Studien (extinct by now) a treatise on the adverbial compounds with *here-*, *there-* and *where-* to show that they are literary but by no means confined to special vocabularies (*Die mit Präpositionen zusammengesetzten Adverbien here, there, where*). Of suffixal formations especially those used[23] to form adjectives from proper names[7] and those employing the suffix *-dom*[8] have been investigated. A very interesting suffixal formation, that with *-s* in hypocoristic names, such as *mums* for *mummy*, has been dealt with by K. Thielke[9] and G. Langenfelt.[10] Although the latter's derivation of this formation from the plural is more plausible than deriving it from the genitive (*lazybones*, sg., rather than *boy's*, sg.), it is not always worth while looking for the origin of a termination which appears to be homophonous with one used in one or several definite functions. Many expletives end in *-s*, as if plural function were to be indicated (*rats*, *fiddlesticks*, *figs*, *balls*, *beans*). In Czech again there is a genitive/accusative masculine termination in some exclamations (*kýho výra*, *šlaka*, *kata*). Apparently what functions here is not the termination as such, but its heterogeneity with regard to the extralinguistic situation in which it is employed.

7 R. W. Chapman, *Adjectives from Proper Names*, S. P. E. Tracts 1939.

8 H. Wentworth, *The Allegedly Dead Suffix -dom in Modern English*, Modern Philology 1940.

9 *Neuenglische Kose- und Spitznamen auf -s*, Englische Studien 1939.

10 *The Hypocoristic English Suffix -s*, Studia Neophilologica 1942.

It is this heterogeneity that gives it the strongly emotional character.[11] What need is here to look for the original function of the termination? We have *a timber-legs*, but not *a flatfeet*, though the first generally denotes a man with only one timber leg. Both *-s* and *-oo-*/*-ee-* have the same function; hence they should be equally applicable. This expressive termination may naturally take further expressive endings. Thus *-sy*, *-cy* or *-sie* (*Magsie*, *Nancy* and cf. *tootsies* = feet, with *-oo-*, not *-ee-*). Y. M. Biese made a list of reduplicative formations, characteristic of modern English (*Neuenglisch tick-tack und Verwandtes*, Neuphilologische Mitteilungen 1939). Most of these problems, once touched by the only manual on word-formation in English by H. Koziol, were also considered by O. Jespersen in the morphology volume (*VI*) of his *Modern English Grammar* (first publication in Britain 1946). The advantages of Jespersen's work over Koziol's are obvious and Jespersen mentions them. In Jespersen it is at least hinted at which are the productive types of formation in present-day English. Jespersen uses material of his own collections and takes the actual phonetic structure of the formations into account (though the graphic shape is frequently treated first). On the other hand, Jespersen's intentional emphasis on form has in this work brought about the arrangement of suffixes according to the sound thought to be most characteristic in the termination. This is rather puzzling, especially since – in accordance with his professed disregard of the difference between inflection (paradigmatic or at any rate regular change of grammatical function) and word-formation proper (irregular or at any rate multiform change of semantic function) – Jespersen treats all possible forms an English word may have in morphology. It is therefore curious not to find in Jespersen's morphology such formations as [dount], [ša:nt] under suffixes containing a nasal. It is similarly not clear why *-er* and *-est* of the comparison have been relegated to the seventh volume on the syntax. Perhaps only the non-syllabic character of *'s* is an excuse for treating this "suffix" with word groups (*the Emperor of Japan's palace*), while not treating *of* as a prefix with either single words or word groups (*the palace of the Emperor of Japan*). No need to say that Jespersen's *Morphology* is an exhaustive, rich and well-evidenced work of this sort and that it is only general principles in the method of treatment that can be objected to. The painstaking work itself, in which the more than eighty-years old scholar was helped by P. Christophersen and Niels Haislund, deserves admiration. Broad views of English word-formation, thoroughly considering the function, since it is only in order to function that there *is* linguistic form, would, however, be sought in vain in Jespersen's *Morphology*. In this connection reference can be made to V. Mathesius' article *Contribution to the Structural Analysis of the English Vocabulary* (ČMF 26, 1940). – Two minor works on morphological problems have appeared besides G. H. Vallin's *Making and Meaning of Words: A Companion to the Dictionary*

11 In Czech, similarly, a postpositive feminine attribute with a masculine noun imparts the combination a strong emotional colouring (*kluk cukrářská*).[24]

(1949; not accessible here). They are C. T. Onions's *The Plural of Nouns Ending in -th* (S. P. E. Tracts 1943), showing some tendencies and revealing much vacillation in the choice between [-θs] and [-ðz], and[24] B. Bloch's *English Verb Inflection* (Language 1947), a study on the morphonology, or functional morphology, of the English verb.

In syntax, apart from general problems discussed by the adherents of Bloomfield's theory of "immediate constituents" (Language), little specifically American work on English syntax has been done in the United States. Most work in this field has been lately done by Scandinavians, under conditions much less favourable to research than were those in the United States. In 1939, Paul Christophersen published his *Articles: A Study of Their Theory and Use in English*, practically superseded ten years later by his teacher's exposition of the "theory of familiarity" (Jespersen, *Modern English Grammar VII*). In the same year, O. Jespersen produced two articles published in the S. P. E. Tracts: *The 'Split Infinitive'* and *A System of Clauses* (1939). Both were later utilized by him in the *Grammar*. A re-formulation and completion of Jespersen's pronouncements on the use of *shall* and *will* and *should* and *would* is to be found in two contributions to the Studia Neophilologica (repr. in *Ekwall Miscellany*). They are C. A. Bodelsen, *The System Governing the Use of the Futuric 'Shall' and 'Will'* and Asta Kihlbom, *The Use of 'should' plus infinitive in Subordinate Clauses of Time* (1942). It is apparent that these and similar problems will hardly be satisfactorily solved before the various tendencies directed at the setting up of a modal system in English are described. In 1942, E. Ekwall produced *Studies on the Genitive of Groups in English*. V. Ohlander followed in 1943 with *Omission of the Object in English* (Studia Neophilologica), while A. Ahlmgren added to Christophersen's study *On the Use of the Definite Article with 'Nouns of Possession' in English* (1946). All the last-named contributions to English grammatical studies are based on a retrospect view showing the development of the present status. Of a similar nature is G. Langenfelt's *The Roots of the Prop-Word 'One'* (Studier i Modern Språkvetenskap, Stockholm 1946). The principal work of Scandinavian scholarship in English syntax was, however, the two final volumes on syntax of Jespersen's *Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles* (*V* 1946 and *VII* 1949). In Central Europe, most work on syntax was published in article form. There was the important *Aufforderung, Wunsch und Möglichkeit* of Hans Oskar Wilde (Anglia 1939 and 1940), in which much valuable can be found for anyone interested in the modal system of a language. E. E. Ericson's *Observations on New English Syntax* (Anglia 1939) and H. Marchand's *Syntaktische Homonymie: Das umschreibende 'do'* (Englische Studien 1939, cf. also Engblom, *On the Origin of 'Do'*, Philologica 3, p. 31) also contain some new ways of approach to old problems. There are further several Czech works, most of them already reviewed in the Philologica: I. Poldauf, *The Nature of the Passive Voice in English and the Constructions Expressive of Concern and Participation* (in Czech, on the passive and constructions such as *we have friends staying with us*, *he hasn't got much left*, *she had a son born*; ČMF 26,

1940), J. Vachek, *Universal Negation in English and Czech* (in Czech; Prague Studies in English 6, 1947; with I. Poldauf's article *Some Points on Negation in Colloquial English* appended; both rev. in Philologica 4, p. 4), I. Poldauf, *The Nature of the Comparison of Adjectives* (in Czech; with many references to various stages of English; ČMF 31, 1941; rev. in Philologica 4, p. 11). In Holland, the first part of *English Grammar*, based on Kruisinga and elaborated by P. A. Erades, appeared in 1941. Its most interesting feature is that it provides at the close of the book texts for grammatical study to which frequent reference is made in the single chapters of the grammar. R. W. Zandvoort's *Handbook of English Grammar* (1947, rev. in Philologica 4, p. 5) is an additional contribution to the interesting Dutch school of grammatical studies. P. A. Erades also launched an interesting experiment (English Studies 1948) by starting a series of *Points of English Syntax*. Students are asked to send in their solutions to syntactical problems well-evidenced by extensive quotations. The solutions are afterwards compared and reviewed from the standpoint of the Dutch school.

In the United States, C. C. Fries produced a rather disappointing *American English Grammar* (1940; Philologica 3, p. 32). His article *On the Development of the Structural Use of Word Order in Modern English* (Language 1940) has not reached the present reviewer. Like Fries, L. Dennis (*The Progressive Tense*; P. M. L. A. 1941) is primarily interested in the frequency of forms. Another problem,[25] dealt with some time ago at a greater length by Professor Fries, has been approached from a new angle: the rules for the use of *shall* and *will* (J. R. Hulbert, co-author of the *D. A. E., On the Origin of the Grammarians' Rules for the Use of 'Shall' and 'Will'*, P. M. L. A. 1947). Considering that Miss Knorrek has convincingly shown (*Der Einfluß des Rationalismus auf die englische Sprache*, 1938) there had been practically no influence before the age of Johnson of grammarian or lexicographer upon standard usage, one is rather apt to consider the old rules (Mason and Wallis) an attempt to formulate the actual state of things, difficult as it was. It may be remarked here that the problem of *shall* and *will* was attacked many years ago by Philip Aronstein, who died in 1942. Of Russian works on English, the second edition of B. A. Ilyish's *Contemporary English* (1948^2) has reached here and will be reviewed in a special article (Современный английский язык: теоретический курс). It is based on and has been revised according to I. I. Meshtchaninov's *Sentence Members and the Parts of Speech*. Except for a revised and abridged edition of G. O. Curme's *Grammar* (*Principles and Practice of English Grammar*, 1947), no valuable work seems to have appeared in America outside the periodicals. We mention here two articles: E. Calver's *The Uses of the Present Tense Forms in English* (Language 1946) and D. J. Bolinger's *More on the Present Tense in English* (Language 1947). Calver describes the present tense as one used to denote the constitution of things, while Bolinger calls the simple present tense "non-committal about time" and the present progressive tense "oriented to or confined by a beginning or possible cessation". It is, however, rather difficult to

agree with the identification of what is clearly not tense, but aspect, with a kind of opposition to the aoristus.

In *Part V* of his *Modern English Grammar*, the fourth volume of *Syntax*, Jespersen briefly sketches, by way of introduction, the main points of his theory: the retention of word-classes (the parts of speech) as a merely traditional division mainly based on form; the recognition of a hierarchy of mutual relations, "the theory of ranks"; and the introduction of the notion of nexus as a combination implying predication. He more or less admits the weak point there is in his looking for reverse proportion between the narrowing down of the denotative range in the consecutive 'ranks' and the increase of semantic specialization of the words actually used for the purpose. Since his system is professedly formal, functional considerations, such as degrees of the specialization of meaning, are out of place in it. When attempting them, Jespersen must needs fail.[12] References to Jespersen's syntactic symbols as used in *Analytic Syntax* are frequent in this volume, though the crossing of the various formal criteria in them only blurs the correct view of the structure of a sentence. Thus the very insistence on expressing the word-order, whose changes are only partly functional in English, by a corresponding sequence of symbols is of doubtful value. The single chapters of the volume deal with nexus as object, after prepositions and as tertiary, with what Jespersen calls nexus-substantives and the gerund, with the various uses of the infinitive and with clauses as tertiaries. To this homogeneous matter two rather loose groups of chapters are added: one on negation and another on two important sentence types, namely requests and questions. Jespersen's term "nexus-substantive" can hardly be deemed felicitous, since no combination is really contained in it.[13] Occasionally it seems that Jespersen's term *nexus* is applied to verbal and verbless sentences becoming part of other sentences. *His meal over* (*he turned from the table . . .*) can after all be interpreted in Jespersen's terms (*his meal* being the subject and *over* the predicative), but it is difficult with (*he stood*) *hat in hand*, (*he jumped*) *legs foremost* or (*I'll do it*) *the first thing in the morning*. Though *meal* (of the first sentence) can be called the secondary grammatical subject or the secondary point of departure of a part of a communication, only this latter interpretation is possible in the other two cases. Jespersen is misled by the fact that, in English, grammatical and notional subjects generally coincide. The question is: is it necessary to ask whether *legs* is a subject, or what it is, in the "nexus" *legs foremost*? The interesting question of mutual competition between[26] two or more grammatical means existing in a language is seldom asked by Jespersen. The means themselves occupy him too much to enable him to see why there are these variants or whether they are not rather independent in function. Thus the competition between gerund,

12 An interesting view of the various criteria frequently mixed up here has been recently given by C. E. Bazell in *The Fundamental Syntactic Relations*, ČMF 33, 1950.

13 There is no combination of the type *he-arrived* in *arrival*, but there is one in *his-arrival*.[26]

nexus-substantive and infinitive is not adequately treated. This accounts for the fact that he makes no difference between the *ing*-form used with as many syntactic verbal features as possible (gerund proper?) and that used with as few as possible while the semantic content of the verbal idea is retained (verbal noun?). There is another deficiency in the chapter on what is broadly called 'the gerund'. The chapter deals with the various stages of English in the course of six centuries (15th–20th) indiscriminately, though it was in this period, only too comfortably rounded up as Modern English, that the differentiation of at least two "gerunds" (to retain J.'s terminology) was carried out by degrees. The chapter is also split in matter dealt with by being subdivided into paragraphs according to the various ways that grammatical relations relative to the verbal idea are expressed. The explanation of the passive use of a simple *ing*-form or of the use of the bare subject of a gerund is hardly adequate to its importance. Why is either of the two phenomena found with certain verbs and in certain constructions? We need not be surprised to find Jespersen calling the bare infinitive an object after the small verbs (*can*, *may*, *must*, etc.) once we realize that Jespersen refuses to recognize an elaborate system of moods in English and tries hard to reduce syntax to a limited number of well-balanced patterns. One asks then whether the difference between the bare and the *to*-infinitive is not after all a morphological one (in J.'s sense of the term) and should not be treated in morphology instead of forming the fundamental basis of the division of the single chapters on the infinitive. Why has no parallelism been sought in the "activo-passive gerund" (*wants thrashing*) and what Jespersen calls "the retro-active infinitive" (*house to let*)? What havoc exaggerated regard to form can play is shown by Jespersen's splitting of *I have to go* (infinitive as object) and *I am to go* (infinitive as tertiary). Finally, it may be remarked that the term "infinitive of reaction" is rather curious (as in *I was glad to see you*). For it is not in the infinitive that reaction (generally a mental state) is expressed, while there is frequently no reaction at all, but rather an evaluation of what is expressed in the infinitive (*you were lucky to get the job*).

In *Part VII*, the chapters on the word-order and the use of the articles seem to be the most valuable. In the latter, Niels Haislund, who completed his master's work, develops Jespersen's theory of the three stages of familiarity. The theory makes it possible to survey the whole problem easily. Yet it must be admitted that one does not feel quite convinced that there is less familiarity in a word accompanied by an article than in one standing without it. In a problem like that of the articles, Jespersen's historical and formal method is most suitable, especially as showing the great number of petrifactions there are in what appears to be a maze of usage. Objections might again be raised against Jespersen's intentional separation of abbreviated sentences, incomplete sentences and full but inarticulate or semi-articulate sentences. A sentence is certainly complete if it has a conventional form, and by form intonation, too, is understood. The question is whether a sentence type is productive and not whether it is analyzable according to principles derived from the majority of, but not all types of spoken communication. For

the rest there are in the seventh volume rather heterogeneous and incoherent chapters, in many of which morphology plays a greater part than syntax (Sex and Gender. Comparison. Mood.). The refusal to recognize *may* (*may you come again*) and other "small verbs" as signs of mood has made the chapter on mood very meagre.

To conclude, it may be said that Jespersen's monumental grammar is a treasury of all imaginable details of English syntax, a penetrating and at the time of its publication truly pioneer account of the phonemic and orthographic facts about its words (*Vol. I*) and an exhaustive work on the forms of inflection and the various ways of word-formation of Modern English (*Vol. VI*). It discloses to the student of English grammar a great deal of interesting detail, but it does not give him a clear idea of the acting and counteracting forces that build up the structure of an English communication. The period covered by it is too extensive. The method employed does not illuminate the interrelation of[27] form and function, which is meaning, style and general communicative aim. It is richly analytic and synthesis is sorely wanting. Although new ways of approach to the subject will be probably looked for in the future and considerable revaluation will take place of the method adopted, if for no other reason, then in order to give a greater share to function on the various levels of the language structure, the work done here by a single individual in the course of more than forty years, one half of his life, will hardly find a parallel.

On the syntax of the earlier stages of Modern English there are two works dealing with the verb. Trnka's *On the Syntax of the English Verb from Caxton to Dryden* (1930) has been followed by Britta Marian Charleston's *Studies on the Syntax of the English Verb* covering the period 1710–1760 (Schweizer Anglistische Arbeiten 1941). Here especially the problem of what might be called the Latin value of the present perfect is of interest. The question of *shall* and *will* also has considerable space devoted to it. An interesting addition is references to the pronouncements of the grammarians of the period (Cooper, Brightland, Maittaire, Greenwood, Loughton, White, Dr Johnson, Ward and Lowth). A great part of the Modern English Period is also covered by Georg Fridén's *Studies on the Tenses of the English Verb from Chaucer to Shakespeare with Special Reference to the Late Sixteenth Century* (1948). Fridén deals with two points of form: the use of *have* and *be* in the perfect tenses and the distribution of *shall* and *will* in their various functions. He formulates which were the conditions favouring the use of *have* with mutative verbs, but finds out that on the whole *be* was with them the regular auxiliary. In the case of *shall* and *will* no new conclusions are reached, modal distribution of the two auxiliaries being postulated for the period. Of other works F. T. Visser's thesis on the verb with Thomas More, not accessible for review, can be mentioned here (*A Syntax of the English Language of St Thomas More, A: The Verb*, 1941).

Since Ellis, old British grammarians have frequently attracted the attention of English linguists as witnesses to the pronunciation of their time, as judges of the

contemporary status of English, or as spelling reformers.[14] In the decennium under review more interest has centred on the grammatical work itself. The philosophy of language and the general theory of language in their relation to practical grammar have for a long time been the concern of O. Funke. Having dealt with the oldest known English grammar of William Bullokar (1586) in 1938 (Anglia), Funke reprinted another Elizabethan grammar (*P. Gr., Grammatica Anglicana*, 1594) and considered the place of Ben Jonson's *English Grammar* (1640) among Jacobean grammatical works (Jonson's *Grammar* was composed in 1620).[15] From the standpoint of the philosophy of language of the period covered by these works, Funke reviewed the grammatical works from Bullokar to Wallis (1653) in *Die Frühzeit der englischen Grammatik* (1941). To another period covered by one of his early works on this field he added *Sprachphilosophie und Grammatik im Spiegel englischer Sprachbücher des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Ekwall Miscellany, then reprinted in *Wege und Ziele*, 1945). Other than phonetic, orthographic and philosophical interest underlies several works on English grammars and English grammarians before 1800. It is A. W. Read's *The Motivation of Lindley Murray's Grammatical Work* (Journal of English and Germanic Philology 1939) and F. M. Salter's *John Skelton's Contribution to the English Language* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada). Skelton, the poet, was the author of a grammar which has not been preserved, but in his poetry especially his sense for word-formation is clear. I. Poldauf's *On the History of Some Problems of English Grammar Before 1800* (Prague Studies in English 1948) has covered the whole period up to Lindley Murray and Noah Webster. Unlike Funke's, this work is concerned with the achievements of the single grammarians in the bulk of English grammatical studies rather than with the relation of their works to their age, the foreign tradition and the contemporary status of the language.[28] Not much less than half of the work is taken up by an *Introduction* in which division into periods of the grammatical studies before 1800 is attempted and the position of the single grammarians and their attitude to grammar described. The single problems of grammar dealt with are covered by chapters on the parts of speech, articles, gender, number, adjectives and their comparison, and tense. The historical exposition of the views of the old is frequently abused to make the introduction of the author's own views on the single problems possible. More recent periods of grammatical studies have been covered by several articles. A. G. Kennedy in his *Odium Philologicum, or A Century of Progress in English Philology* (Stanford Studies in Language and Literature 1941) describes the 19th century in the light of the several controversies that swayed it. In *Recent Trends in English Linguistics* (Modern Language Quarterly 1940) he refers to the 20th century with its concern in phonemics,

14 Cf. quite recently: J. Sledd, *Baret's 'Alvearie', an Elizabethan Reference Book*, Studies in Philology, on the author of an English-Latin school dictionary of 1573.

15 *Grammatica Anglicana*, 1939. Ben Jonson's *'English Grammar'*, Anglia 1940.[28]

syntax and semantics. A very comprehensive article is that by A. Bosker: *Some Aspects of the Study of English Syntax* (Neophilologus 1947). Bosker is interested in the general principles rather than in detail and deals with the various schools of linguistic thought particularly those of the 19th century. Similar general problems have been dealt with by those who gave lectures to the Philological Society: W. S. Allen, *Ancient Ideas on the Origin and Development of Language* (Transactions 1948), and F. W. Thomas, *Parts of Speech* (Transactions 1949). Obituaries and articles written in commemoration of anniversaries also contain much valuable material for future study (P. Aronstein, V. Mathesius, O. Jespersen, Henry Sweet).[16]

Much has been written in the period under review, characterized by a tragically great and apparently inavertible increase in the lack of international understanding, an international language. New auxiliary languages have been devised (Hogben, Interglossa 1943) and the possibility of their construction discussed.[17] Basic English has been attacked by professional linguists, though it may be admitted it is questionable whether professional linguists are the arbitrators here. On the whole, however, their objections seem to be reasonable and impassionate, a fact which gives especially to their criticism of the problem of the verb in Basic considerable weight.[18] For anybody looking for a comprehensive survey of the criticism levelled at Basic H. Bongers's *Basic English* (English Studies 1946) is recommendable. The political background of the support given to the propaganda of English, plain or Basic, as an international world language by British and American reactionaries was revealed by Professor V. Yartseva in 1949.[19]

In conclusion it may be said that continental scholars, for whom the tradition of the Dutch *English Studies* (published since 1919) means a good deal, very much regret

16 C. L. Wrenn, *Henry Sweet* (Transactions).

17 H. Jacob, *On the Choice of a Common Language*, 1946; H. Jacob, *A Planned Auxiliary Language*, 1947; H. Jacob, *Summary of Paper on Language-Making*, Transactions 1948.

18 C. Walsh, *The Verb System of Basic English*, American Speech 1942, replied to by I. A. Richards, ib. 1943. Cf. also G. M. Young, *Basic*, S. P. E. Tracts 1943: H. V. Routh, *Basic English and the Problem of a World Language*, Essays by Divers Hands 1944; I. A. Richards, *Idle Fears About Basic English*, Twentieth Century English 1946; W. E. Collinson, *Basic English as an International Language*, Transactions.

19 *The Reactionary Character of the "Theory of the Anglo-Saxon World Language"* (in Russian, Реакционная сущность »теории мирового« англо-сакс. языка). – Besides showing, the fruitlessness of attempts at the establishment of a 'super-national' world language before classless society has become a reality throughout the world, Yartseva makes it clear that the assumption that the analytic structure is the top of perfection is absolutely idle and that English with its difficult orthography is the least suitable of the analytic languages to be even thought of for that purpose.

that the annual *Essays and Studies* (*by Members of the English Association*) have been re-named as *English Studies*, if only for the reason that reference in bibliographies will be misleading. *English and Germanic Studies*, welcomed here by Professor Trnka,[20] have been appearing annually since 1948 and are devoted to historical studies.[29]

20 ČMF 32 (1949), p. 37.[29]

Further Comments on Gustav Kirchner's *Gradadverbien*

[*Philologica Pragensia* II (1959): 1–6]

In his review of Professor Gustav Kirchner's *Gradadverbien, Restriktiva und Verwandtes* (*Philologica*, Supplement to ČMF 1956, p. 68ff.), Vilém Fried rightly deplored that the author had not gone more deeply into what had led him to dismissing the distinction between intensifiers[1] and down-toners. The reviewer's satisfaction on the ground "that the use of semantic down-toners in the functioning of intensives is a more universal linguistic phenomenon" can, however, be hardly accepted. If we can even consider the *transition* of down-toners to intensifiers, if Professor Kirchner can speak of *Restriktiva, die mir einwandfrei als solche erscheinen*, we must admit there is a difference between the two semantic functions, and it is not difficult to see that the difference is one of polar character and cases of transition cannot be explained by absence of clear lines of division between intensification and down-toning.

Naturally, a direct exchange of down-toner for intensifier is possible (understatement, including litotes) and Fried duly mentions it. But an exchange of a similar sort is only possible in the direction from the emotionally less charged to emotionally charged, not vice versa,[2] and it is only possible where there is a sufficient ground or even a signal to the hearer that it is the reverse he is expected to understand. *I praise you not* could be used as meaning *I blame you* (litotes) in a certain situation only. *You are a clever one* must have a different intonational pattern, perhaps also distribution of stress and above all colour of voice, if it is to be the (ironical) equivalent of *What a silly thing you've done*. The well-known *It isn't bad* has a falling or a rising cadence according to whether it is to be taken literally or as an understatement.[3]

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1 We prefer to speak of intensifiers as they serve to intensify the intensifiable semantic content of a word. Intensive, in our opinion, might mean "saying something of the intensity".

2 Harry Spitzbardt in "Über die intensivierende Funktion von 'fairly', 'pretty' und 'rather'", *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Friedrich-Schiller Universität Jena* Jg. 4, Gesellschafts- und Sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe, Heft 5/6, p. 543ff., interprets *fairly* as an intensive with *hübsch*, *schön*, but it is rather *gebührend* = becomingly, like Czech *hezký* = pretty, originally suitable, cf. Russian *prigozhii* and *prigodnyi*, MHG *zimelîch* = gebührend, and later "*development*" of fairly = ziemlich.

3 In this way even differences in grade may be expressed. In Colloquial Czech, *moc* (literally *might*, *main*) has a different place in the intonational pattern accordingly as it means *very* (*much*) or *too* (*much*).

In our opinion, all study of intensification should be based on a clear distinction between intensification and emphasis, intensification and quantification, high intensity and totality. Intensification as expression of high intensity of a quality, an activity or a state, to use Mathesius' definition,[4] is a semantic phenomenon expressed by phonetic, lexical, grammatical or – most frequently – grammatical and lexical means: *leetle* for *little*, *vvvery* for *very*; *hate* for *dislike*; *you can never* (not at any time) *tell* as compared with *you never can tell*;[1] *very good* (a lexical means in pre-position). Emphasis, on the other hand, as an expression of the speaker's characteristic attitude towards the content of a sentence in general, is a syntactical phenomenon, or, more precisely, a phenomenon in the field of the building up of a unit of communication. In giving a definition of this import, Mathesius did not of course mean any attitude whatever (for inst. the insertion of *unfortunately* is no emphasis), but such as gives a certain prominence and directs the hearer's attention to certain parts of a unit of communication. Emphasis may likewise be expressed by phonetic, lexical and grammatical means.[5] *Precisely*, *exactly*, *just* before interrogatives, American *right* in *right there*, etc., constructions such as *of all things*, *of all men*, or the "childish" *you did, too* (German *doch*), are means of emphasis and should not have been included among *Gradadverbien*. There is no grade in *what* and hence it cannot be intensified by *just*; nor is there any grade in all the other cases. – Further, not every word meaning *much*, *a lot* is an intensifier. Like *many* always is, as in *many gold coins*, so is *much* in a combination like *much money*, a quantifier. Coins and money have no intensity, they do not belong – to use Edward Sapir's term – to gradables. A word like *great* in the combination *great quantity* is a barely descriptive term, such as *yellow* in the combination *a yellow rose*. Only the nature of the word *quantity* itself makes the word *great* here stand for the degree of the meaning of word determined by *great*; otherwise, the word *great* here determines the word *quantity* as it does, for instance *teeth* in *Oh, what great teeth you've got, granny*. Strictly speaking, intensifiers can only refer to (i.e. intensify) gradables: *very sweet*, *remarkably beautiful*, *love him much*, *extremely late*. Things can be *more sweet* or *less sweet*, or *beautiful*, a person can be *loved more* or *less*, a thing can happen *more* or *less late*. On the other hand, *fun* cannot be *more* or *less*, so that in *make a world of fun of him* cannot contain an intensifier, but a quantifier (unlike numerals and numerical expressions of measure, of an indefinite character). – Finally, there is a difference between *very* and *completely*, *fully*, *quite*, between high intensity and totality. These belong to two different spheres with one feature in common: both the spheres are easily subject to emotional charge, as they

4 Cf. bibliography quoted in Vilém Fried's review.[1]

5 Rather infelicitously put by Mathesius as the possibility of "replacement" of intensification by emphasis. *Čeština a obecný jazykozpyt*, Praha 1947, p. 222.

refer to above-normal, on the one hand, and normal, on the other, each considered as a surprising fact. Kirchner's *all* (in *all-wool*, *all-in*, *all-out*), *altogether*, *near* (in *near-wool*), *almost*, *all but*, *half*, *narrowly* (in *escape n*.), perhaps also *quasi-* are expressions of totality. Words that can only go with ungradables are clear expressions of totality: *all* (in *all the same*), *altogether* (in *another story altogether*), *complete*(*ly*) (in *completely new*), cf. *crazy drunk*/*mad*, *dead certain*/*sure*/*level*, *entirely different*, *fair mad* (dial. *fair and . . .*) = completely mad, *plumb crazy*/*tired*, *radically distinct*, *he failed signally*, *slick and clean*, *smack*, *solidly*, *stark*(*ly*).[6]

Similarity and dissimilarity can be treated as notions gradable or ungradable: *very similar*, *much like*, *quite different*. All comparatives are words expressing difference, the stem of the comparative giving in what field the difference lies (e.g. *older* = different in the field of age), the type of comparison distinguishing up-grade (*older*) from down-grade (*less old*). They are intensified by a special set of means (*much better*, *far better*, *by far the best*, *well* with relational adverbs such as *ahead*, *on*, *up*).[2]

All further investigation in the field of linguistic intensification should, in our opinion, be carried on in the direction of emotional and social implications of these words. We may ask: how comes it that there are in a language at the same time and on the same stylistic level side by side so many intensifiers of varying age, some of old standing, others of more recent, even latest and ephemeral creation? They all serve the same communicative purpose. They speak of a high, or an above-the-limit and surprising or below-the-limit but satisfactory degree (of a quality, activity, etc.): *very good*, *too good*, *good enough*. Professor Kirchner, in Ch. XVI, mentions the important role of fashion; but that cannot explain the enormous number of parallelly existing intensifiers. In our opinion, the solution – and at the same time a guide to further investigation – lies in Mathesius' definition of intensification. He says it is "an expression of high intensity, accompanied by an undertone of evaluation (*hodnotící přízvuk*)". This evaluation differs in force and in kind from one intensive to another. The distinction between general and special intensification, made by Mathesius, is of formal nature (special intensification joined to certain words only that are to be intensified), but he also hints at the broad distinction of positive and negative kinds of evaluation: *admirably tough*, *outrageously tough*. But the Mathesian "undertone of evaluation" comprises all sorts of emotional and social attitudes expressed linguistically. In Czech, *hodně* barely refers to high intensity; *moc* already implies the emotional colouring of the undertones of *what a pleasure* or *what a pity*; *hezky* limits the colouring to the positive tone of *remarkable* or even *admirable*. The attitude implied in *terribly* or Czech *děsně* is certainly not

6 Closely related to totality is universality (total *all*, universal *every*, total *no*, universal *not a single*): *am I any different*, *I am not anything like . . .*[2]

one of condolence, so that we can hardly say *I hear your father's dead, it's terribly unpleasant*.[7]

Evaluating force is particularly inherent in what might perhaps be best termed *attitudinal sentence modifiers*. A word like *unfortunately* in *John is unfortunately not back yet* evaluates the communication *John is not back yet* as an unfortunate fact. That is, the speaker's attitude to what he says is that he considers it unfortunate. In similar words and insertions (Jespersen calls them *style adverbs*, František Kopečný speaks of *parenthetical adverbs*) the emotional force may be less evident than the socializing one. In the following sentences, the speaker merely draws the hearer's attention to the reality of what he is saying:

She actually forgot everything about it.
John really knows all about it.
I perfectly appreciate the delicacy of your position.

Here the disclosure of the speaker's emotions or his judgment is hardly, if at all, present. Foremost stands his communicative contact with the hearer. Sometimes it is a contact of an argumentative character: *John accordingly acted well*. By means of words like *accordingly* the speaker draws the hearer's attention to the logical connexion of what he is saying and what was said before. Such words evidently have an inter-sentence connective force. Most frequently, the speaker's contact with the hearer expressed in a similar word at the same time draws his attention to a word or words employed in the sentence. The speaker explains his use of the word or words, his satisfaction with the choice of the expression or his dissatisfaction, at the same time perhaps also in what respect he is dissatisfied.

In *You simply can't mean it*, he says as much as *I* (*must*) *put it thus simply*: You[3] can't mean it. A sentence like *You positively acted like a fool* is near-equivalent to *I am positive about this*: You acted like a fool. In *They as it were* (or *so to speak*) *crippled all enemy supply routes*, he says *I suppose I am right in putting it thus*: They crippled all enemy supply routes. Words and phrases employed in similar insertions may, but need not, have parallels outside this employment, cf. *simply* and *positive* on the one hand and *as it were* on the other, in our examples.[8]

7 Like the study of the social values of various sorts of titling and honorifics, ways of address and greeting, the study of the evaluating undertones of the single intensifiers in the single periods and on various stylistic levels would be of great help to the translator. Particularly the translator of literary works of the past, to whom the emotional and social value of the single expressions can hardly be known, ought to be enabled to select in the language into which he is translating the most adequate term.[3]

8 O. Jespersen deals with similar expressions in his *Linguistic Self-Criticism*, S. P. E. Tract 48, 1937.

Similar insertions may be more or less closely connected with a word or a phrase in the respective sentence. Of the two quotations by Kirchner,

It positively gives me the jumps.
He is . . . positively distressed by their (the Cordilleras) *frigidity.*

the close connection of *positively* and *distressed* is evident, much more so than that of *positively* and *gives* (*me*) *the jumps* in the first example. From this angle, the word *positive* in a sentence like *He is a positive fool* appears as a mere grammatically consequential attraction of *positively*, closely connected with the ensuing *a fool*, to the word *fool* itself (*he is positively a fool*, *he is a positive fool*, cf. *who will eventually win? who will be the eventual winner?*). Here an adverb has changed to an adjective, but of course it continues one in a sentence like *He is positively foolish*. Our reader will understand what we are aiming at: the fluency with which similar insertions may pass to intensifiers. We had better say that intensifiers of the kind of *positively* do not take a neat place in the field of intensifiers, but necessarily draw along with them all the features of the insertions of the kind just described and they belong to the field of intensifiers and that of these insertions at the same time.

The meaning of certain insertions is such as to provide the field of intensification with clear up-toners, intensifiers. There are others of a less outspoken nature. Jespersen gives in his *Modern English Grammar* VII, p. 84, as a typical example of an insertion "qualifying the stylistic choice of the following word" "the word *fairly* in *she fairly screamed*, equivalent to *you may fairly say . . .*" or rather, to define the word *fairly*, "considering other (similar) cases one may without undue risk (*fairly* = becomingly, zimelîch, cf. *properly*) say . . ." There is, naturally, more opportunity to say this if one thinks that the term one is using is rather too strong (considering all circumstances one yet ventures to use it) than that it is weak (considering all circumstances one may use this weaker term and be well on the safe side). That is why *fairly* more easily passes into the field of down-toners than that of intensifiers. It may be noted that it is translated into Czech by unaccented *dost* (enough) or unaccented *docela* (quite) provided it refers to an adjective or an adverb. We must remember, however, that the primary function of *fairly* – and other similar words – is not to intensify or to tone down. This secondary function rather lies in the interplay of verbal expression, intonation and situation. In *a fairly bad mistake* (Galsworthy, Fugitive, 1913) we may have to do with = *moderately* (the speaker ventures to use the term *bad*, though it is rather too strong) or with = *very* (. . . , though the term may be too weak).[9] *Fairly* referring to a verb retains more of the primary function and comes near to other words of the same sort, such as *quite*

9 In American English, the survival of *fair* = straight, directly, fully, seems to make for the latter secondary interpretation more strongly than in British English.[4]

("I think I may say so," "I actually mean it"), *really*, *actually*, *pretty* ("I consider it worth mentioning"). *The Shorter Oxford Dictionary* rightly says s.v. *quite 2*: "Actually, really, truly, positively (implying that the case or circumstances are such as to justify the use of the word or phrase thus qualified)." In *That must have*[4] *been quite a scene* the speaker's general attitude stands foremost ("it was a scene, I positively mean it"), in *Wasn't it quite stupid?* this attitude comes to form little more than the Mathesian evaluating undertone of = *very* (*stupid*).[10] The difference is natural: *scene* is an ungradable, *stupid* gradable. Similarly, in *When I was quite a child* (*a boy, etc*.), we have *quite* = I actually mean a child, neither younger nor older.

Of particular interest is the insertion of *rather*, which comes near to "I say so though I hate exaggerating or jumping at conclusions, I hope I am not saying too much, etc." *Rather*, too, may refer to both intensity (*I shan't be able to read it in one evening, it's rather long* – cf. *very long*, *fairly long*, *long enough*, *quite long*) and totality (*Your nose is rather blue* – cf. *full blue*, *quite blue*). Its import is largely apologetic, and Stoffel's term "apologetic adverb" was not quite inappropriate. Naturally I may apologize for using a term and thus diminish its force (I hate exaggerating, but I have no less forcible term at my disposal, though I should like to use one) or to intensify it (I hate exaggerating, but – without jumping at conclusions – I cannot say less). Let us compare: *I am rather ill. – It's rather clever of you.* We might perhaps speak of an "adverb of reluctance" in colloquial *kind of* and *sort of* (*kinder*, *sorter*).[11]

There are no hard and fast lines between linguistic phenomena. Attitudinal sentence modifiers inserted in a sentence are a natural source of intensifiers and down-toners. The simplest present-day intensifier *very* was such a modifier once in the past (= in truth, truly). It depends on consequential employment of such a modifier in contexts where the relation of this word to one word or a phrase in a sentence, semantically comprehensible (as up-toning or down-toning), is evident, whether we have or have not before us an intensifier or a down-toner to which its origin has perhaps only contributed as regards its undertone of emotional or social evaluation. It is, however, of little use, we suppose, to list among intensifiers (and/or down-toners) attitudinal sentence modifiers which can at best only be said to radiate, semantically, in the direction of intensification or down-toning. Besides, there are attitudes expressed by linguistic means with little notional but strong emotional force, frequently called

10 It remains the subject of further investigation to show why it is preferably totality, not intensity, that is expressed by *quite*: *it is quite good* (*good* gradable). *I am quite sure* (*sure* ungradable). Only with quantifiers (cf. *much*) *quite* has the force of a pure intensifier (cf. *very much*): *they ate quite a lot of luncheon*, *after quite a heavy tea*. – It even reverses the value of quantifiers expressing a small quantity: *quite a bit* (*a little*, *a few*, *some*) = a lot, very much, *quite a while* = a long time. Cf. litotes *not a few* = a great number.

11 E. Partridge in his *Dictionary* gives the definition as "one might say".[5]