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Teaching pragmatic competence. The contrastive analysis of discourse completion tests findings on the usage of compliments and compliment responses among Polish learners of various proficiency levels and American native speakers

Abstract
Pragmatic competence is undeniably one of the most fundamental, yet commonly overlooked competence in the second language classroom. The status and the dominance of grammatically and lexically - oriented activities are always taken for granted and their role in developing one's language accuracy is barely questioned. For some reason though, even a relatively advanced non-native speakers of English still find it difficult to produce native-like pragmatically appropriate utterances. Pragmatic competence encompassing such abilities as using the language for different purposes, understanding various intentions and last, but not least, choosing and connecting together appropriate utterances in order to create a discourse (Bialystok, 1993) is rarely placed in the limelight of classroom attention. Thus, such a negligence commonly contributes to students' inability to behave appropriately and conform to different social situations requiring from them both verbal and non-verbal behavior adaptations strategies. The aim of this study is to determine the level of the development of pragmatic competence as manifested in the usage of compliment response strategies produced by Polish speakers of English. These results are further compared with the results of English native speakers and their reactions to compliment responses. In addition, the study attempts to compare the compliments response patterns used by a special group of participants-high School pupils and university students, with those used by English speakers as cited in Herbert study (1989), and to reveal differences between the American and Polish cultures, in terms of responding to compliments.

Key words: pragmatic competence, compliment responses, discourse, discourse completion tests

1. Pragmatic competence

While analysing the concept of pragmatic competence one should first start with defining a more general term, namely communicative competence. For Canale and

[1] The study was conducted by Garczyńska (2014) during the process of creating her MA diploma paper. As the supervisor of her work, and a genuinely interested and engaged in the research myself, I received a written consent to use the findings she compiled in this article.

Swain (1980) this notion encompasses the knowledge/abilities belonging to four broad categories, i.e grammatical, discourse, sociolinguistic and strategic. Hence pragmatic competence can be interpreted as one aspect of communicative competence pertaining to the ability of using so called invisible rules allowing one to remain socially appropriate while producing speech acts. Those invisible rules comprise a speaker's declarative knowledge of the target language (Kasper, 1989 in Grossi, 2009: 53). Thus it can be stated that pragmatic competence falls somewhere in between what Chomsky (1965) called competence (the speaker's or hearer's knowledge of languages) and performance (the actual use of knowledge in concrete situations). For Bachman (1990), pragmatic competence, together with organizational knowledge is just one part of language knowledge that a second language learner must internelize. He characterises the former as the knowledge of how words and utterances can be assigned specific meanings in context and function according to the user's intentions. This, in turn, is an umbrella term encompassing other abilities, such as lexical, functional and sociolinguistic knowledge. Organizational knowledge, on the other hand, subsumes grammatical and textual knowledge and concerns the ability of producing correct sentences and organizing them in texts. Bialystok (1993) provides one more interpretation of pragmatic competence, dividing it into three general aspects:

1. The ability to use language for different purposes
2. The ability to understand the speaker's real intentions
3. The ability to choose and connect together appropriate utterances in order to create a discourse.

All in all it can be concluded that differences in performing speech acts in L2 resulting from pragmatic transfer may significantly contribute to various form of misunderstanding and offence. Learners unable to use their universal or transferrable L1 pragmatic knowledge in L2 contexts will not meet the standards of being socially acceptable and appropriate as the language they produce will differ from the one used by native speakers. Pragmatic competence according to Crystal (1997: 301), should be analysed as the study of communicative action in its sociocultural context:

> the study of language form the point of view of users, especially of the choices they make, the constrains they encounter in using language in social interaction and the effect their use of language has on other participants in the act of communication

Pragmatics covers a wide spectrum of notions, ranging from politeness strategies and giving compliments to practical pedagogic lessons. As Crystal (ibid.) pointed out, it basically concerns individual choices concerning the language used in various sociocultural situations and the effect it has on other participants. Yet, the context cannot be separated from communicative act. Situational context, according to Crystal (1985: 71), includes the total non-linguistics background to a text or utterance, including the immediate situation in which it is used, and the awareness by speaker and hearer of what has been said earlier and of any relevant external beliefs or presuppositions. While defining cultural context, on the other hand, Halliday (1985: 46) states that the context of culture refers to the culture and the ideological background of the society the text is functioned. It can be also assumed that cultural context relates utterances to the cultural awareness of pragmatic community.

2. Teaching pragmatic competence

'The key to understanding language in context is to start not with language, but with context' (Hymes, 1972 in Kramsch, 1993: 34).

As has been already mentioned, pragmatics is the study of linguistic acts and the contexts in which they are performed. The teaching of pragmatics however, aims at facilitating the learners' sense of being able to find socially appropriate language for the situations that they encounter. Within second language studies and teaching, pragmatics encompasses speech acts, conversational structure, conversational implicature, conversational management, the organization of discourse, and sociolinguistic aspects of language use such as the choice of addressative forms. Leech (1983) lists the following aspects of speech situation:

(1) Addressers or addressees (addressers are the other term used to refer to speakers or writers, whereas addressees refer to hearers or readers;

(2) The context of an utterance (context is any background knowledge assumed to be shared by speaker and hearer and which contributes to hearer's interpretation of what speaker means by a given utterance);

(3) The goal(s) of an utterance (in Leech's view, the goal of an utterance is to talk about the intended meaning of the utterance, or speaker's intention in uttering it. The term goal is more neutral than intention because it does not commit its user to dealing with motivation, but can be used generally of goal-oriented activities);

(4) The utterance as a form of act or activity: a speech act;

(5) The utterance as a product of a verbal act;

Thomas (1983 in Grossi, 2009: 56) states that it is the role of the teachers to "equip the student to express her/himself in exactly the ways s/he chooses to do so-rudely, tactfully, or in an elaborately polite manner. What we want to prevent in her/his bring unintentionally rude or subservient". Pragmatic expressions can be presented in a variety of forms, and for second language learners, appropriateness is often cast aside simply to get the message across. Moreover, unfortunately, many L2 speakers make use of their own L1 sociocultural communicative competence, norms and conventions in performing L2 speech acts. Hence this pragmatic transfer appears as a result of the influence exerted by learners' pragmatic knowledge of languages and cultures other than L2 on their comprehension, production and learning of L2 pragmatic information (Kasper, 1992).

Consequently students must be equipped with the necessary knowledge that would enable them to use the language outside the classroom in as real-like as it is possible way. Thus pragmatic instruction in a foreign language classroom should fulfill such functions as exposing learners to appropriate target language input, raising learner's pragmatic awareness and arranging authentic opportunities to practice pragmatic knowledge. All in all, as Krisnawati (2011) points out, second and foreign language curricula ought to provide students with information on the socio-cultural rules of the target language.

While discussing the factors pertaining to the acquisition and development of pragmatic competence, Bardovi-Harling (1998) stresses the importance of few variables that determine these processes, i.e.: input, instruction, level of proficiency and length of stay living in the L2 culture, and the L1 culture. The amount of exposure to specific pragmatic features may have an effect on the hearer's pragmatic awareness. Learner's level of proficiency may also contribute to further development of pragmatic competence - some studies revealed that advanced learners are more likely to perform a speech act that is considered more appropriate in a given context. (Bardovi-Harling, 1998). All in all it can be stated that one of the most essential teachers' roles is to develop students' pragmatic competence. This can be achieved by raising awareness that misunderstandings can be caused by differences in performing speech acts in L2. What is more, learners should be made aware of what they already know and encouraged to use their universal or transferrable L1 pragmatic knowledge in L2 contexts. They ought to be also informed about the phenomenon of pragmatic transfer and shown that what is considered to be polite differs from culture to culture. Last but not least, the educators should teach appropriate linguistic forms (as well as pragmatic strategies) that are likely to be used by native speakers of L2 in performing speech acts (Kondo, 2003).

3. Compliment responses across cultures

Compliments may be described as "*speech acts that notice and attend to the hearer's interests, wants, needs and goods*" (Brown and Levinson cited in Holmes, 1995: 116). Compliment is one of the ways of the positive politeness strategy recognized and discussed by many researchers. According to Holmes, "*a compliment is a speech act which explicitly or implicitly attributes credit to someone other than the speaker, usually the person addressed, for some 'good' (possession, characteristic, skill etc.) which is positively valued by the speaker and the hearer*" (Holmes 1986: 485). Since the concept of politeness exists in every culture, the polite formula is divided into two groups"

Primary polite formulae

e.g., words of address, greetings and farewells, thanks, and apologies;

Secondary polite formulae

e.g., compliments, congratulations, good wishes, toasts, and condolences (Jakubowska, 1999: 43). According to Ishihara and Cohen (2010: 57), compliments in English function as *'social lubricant'* and help in social relations to *'go smoothly'*. The authors give the following themes of compliments:

(1) Appearance/possessions (e.g., *You look absolutely beautiful!*)
(2) Performance/skills/abilities (e.g., *Your presentation was excellent.*)
(3) Personality traits (e.g., *You are so sweet.*)

A response to a compliment in e.g. Japanese may draw a very different response in English - a compliment, which one would associate with something positive, can actually turn into an FTA in certain cultures. This can happen when a given culture requires „negative politeness" while the other culture follows "positive politeness" as an appropriate form of communication, or vice versa. Negative politeness, according to Bogdanowska-Jakubowska (2010: 216) "is oriented toward redressing H's negative face [as] the potential face threat is minimized by the assurance that S recognizes and respects H's negative-face wants and will not impede him in his action". The latter is directed toward the hearer's positive face. "The potential face threat is minimized "by the assurance that in general S wants at least some of H's wants" (Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 70 in Bogdanowska-Jakubowska, 2010: 216). Marcjanik (2009: 47)[2] believes that compliments play a very significant social role, i.e they serve the purpose of establishing rapport between interlocutors and enable to create "good conversational climate". By paying compliments we show appreciation of one's appearance, behavior, or possessions. This, in turn, can turn out to be very promising for the future relationship. As far as Poles' reactions to compliments are concerned, Marcjanik (2009: 49) holds the opinion that it is quite customary for us to reject the compliment, or even to introduce a kind of counter-arguments, diminishing the importance and value of a complimented item, e.g.:

Świetnie dziś wyglądasz. –Weź, przestań! (You look great today!; oh, come on, stop it!), or *Piękny płaszcz. –A wiesz, jaki stary?* (Beautiful coat; – Do you know how old it is?).

Last but not least, the way we compliment others may be determined by the level of closeness and intimacy or professional dependence. It is also highly welcomed to compliment people's close relatives, such as children or one's spouse, e.g.:

Ale pani ma grzeczne i miłe dziecko (What an obedient and nice child you have)
Pozazdrościć takiej żony (One should envy such a wife)

The professed ideal in American culture is to accept a compliment graciously, but, on the other hand, there is also a strong pressure towards being modest. The opposing pressure is visible in interactional dilemma when a person is paid a compliment. Consequently people will sometimes deflect a compliment as in the example provided by Holmes (1995: 138) - Harry is admiring Ken's new mountain bike wheels.

Harry: *Neat set of wheels.*
Ken: *I got them at Sam's. They weren't expensive.* (Holmes, 1995: 138)

2 All translations from Polish sources are mine.

Social pressure to act modestly or to minimize self-praise may even lead people to reject compliments, and disagree with the complimenter.

According to Ishihara and Cohen (2010: 59-60), compliment responses can be divided into three broad categories: accept, reject/deflect, and evade. Semantically, common responses to compliments can be categorized into acceptance, mitigation and rejection. Each category has sub-categories

Accept

Token of appreciation (*thanks/thank you.*)

Acceptance by means of a comment (*Yeah, it's my favourite, too*)

Upgrading the compliment by self-praise (*Yeah, I can play other sports well, too.*)

Mitigate

Comment about history (*I bought it for the trip to Arizona.*)

Shifting the credit (*My brother gave it to me/it really knitted itself.*)

Questioning or requesting reassurance or repetition (*Do you really like them?*)

Reciprocating (*So's yours.*)

Scaling down or downgrading (*It's really quite old.*)

Reject

Disagreement (A:*You look good and healthy*. B: *I feel fat*.)

No response

Request interpretation

Addressee interprets the compliment as a request (*You wanna borrow this one too?*)

Holmes (1995: 117) also adds that compliments may be indirect and they are usually but not always aimed at the person addressed (e.g., it may be an article of clothing), though this may not necessarily comprise a cardinal rule:

Rhonda is visiting an old school-friend, Carol, and comments on one of Carol's children.

Rhonda: *What a polite child!*

Carol: *Thank You. We do our best.*

The English etiquette-book responses to compliments are what Pomerantz calls *Appreciation Tokens* (thank you, thanks, thank you so much, and well thank you). Sometimes responder of a compliment expresses also his agreement with a comment. Pomerantz claims that this type of response is 'very prevalent'

A) *Oh it was just beautiful.*

B) *Well thank You. I thought it was quite nice.*

If people are in good relations, the compliment may even increase the complimentary force of the previous comment, at the same time violating the constrain to avoid self-praise (I). If responder of the compliment does not want to accept it, usually he directly disagrees with the complimnter (II).

I. A) *Isn't he cute?*
B) *Oh, he's adorable*

II. A) *You did a great job cleaning up the house.*

B) *Well, I guess you have not seen the kids' room*.

The Polish responses to compliments can be put into the same categories

A) Świetnie dzisiaj wyglądasz (*You look great today*)

B) *Dziękuję* (*thank you*)

A) *Ale szał*owa torebka (*What a smashing handbag)*

B) *(hesitation) dziękuję. Mnie też się bardzo podoba. (thank you. I like it very much, too)*

3.1. The coding system of compliments

The study conducted by Herbert (1989) on the usage of compliment responses by speakers of American English has led to the emergence of the revised Pomerantz's taxonomy and the creation of a twelve-type taxonomy of compliment response:

(1) **appreciation token** ("Thanks," "Thank you"), (2) **comment acceptance** ("Yeah, it's my favorite too"), (3) **praise upgrade** ("Really brings out the blue in my eyes, doesn't it?"), (4) **comment history** ("I bought it for the trip to Arizona"), (5) **reassignment** ("My brother gave it to me," "It really knitted itself"), (6) **return** ("So's yours"), (7) **scale down** ("It's really quite old"), (8) **question** ("Do you really think so?"), (9) **disagreement** ("I hate it"), (10) **qualification** ("It's alright, but Len's is nicer"), (11) **no acknowledgment**, and (12) **request interpretation** ("You wanna borrow this one too?"). They were also further subsumed within three broad categories, such as agreement, nonagreement, and request interpretation.

4. The study

The aim of this study is to determine the level of the development of pragmatic competence as manifested in the usage of compliment response strategies produced by Polish speakers of English. These results are further compared with the results of English native speakers and their reactions to compliment responses. In addition, the study attempts to compare the compliments response patterns used by a special group of participants-high School pupils and university students, with those used by English speakers as cited in Herbert study (1989), and to reveal differences between the American and Polish cultures, in terms of responding to compliments. As a result, five related research questions emerged:

(1) Whether Polish learners of English produce target-like compliments responses

(2) How are compliment turns designed in English and Polish?

(3) How is a compliment introduced linguistically into ongoing conversation during a lesson?

(4) Whether the Polish students of English have a problem with pragmatic transfer, and if it is the case, how it is manifested?

(5) Is the notion of pragmatic competence present during teaching English?

The materials used in this study was a written Discourse Completion Test (DCT) and observation. Discourse Completion Test is an open-ended questionnaire, which is the most frequent and effective method in pragmatics to elicit respondents' utterances (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989). It includes different contextual situations followed by a blank. The participants had to provide the appropriate responses of the compliment responses investigated to fill in the blank, as if they had been talking in an authentic conversational setting. The participants of the study comprised three groups. The first group consisted of thirty undergraduate pupils of high school in Tychy, the next group were thirty students of University of Silesia and the last represented twenty American native speakers. Pupils from the first group were at the third year of high school education. They were recruited from among of students who studied English regularly, for average period of five years, either at a language school or at public school. Most were studying at intermediate level. It is worth mentioning that questions of the DCT in this study involve not only 'a friend/classmate says', but also other types of potential speakers so there is a different factor of power and distance. The scenarios are designed intentionally to show both complimenting among people with equal status and unequal one. The situation with the peer (status equal) are situations 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 13, and 14 in which the complimenters are friends or classmates of the recipient. The situations in which compliments are given downward are situations 3 and 15 in which the complimenters are teachers and neighbours of the recipients. The situation where there is no familiarity between the complimenter and recipient is situation 10, 11, and 12. The design of the DCT used in this study is based on the discourse completion tasks developed in the area of cross cultural pragmatic studies (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989). The author used individual expressions as to show scenarios to present situations that a specific group was likely to come across. The topics used in DCT are as follows:

Table 1. Topics of compliment responses in DCT questionnaire

	ContextTopic	Object of compliment
1.	cooking	skills/performance
2.	beautiful voice	skills/performance
3.	passing exam	skills/performance
4.	great speech	skills/performance
5.	good organization	skills/performance
6.	appearance	attractiveness
7.	hair	attractiveness
8.	beautiful eyes	attractiveness
9.	appearance	attractiveness
10.	appearance	attractiveness

11.	pretty dress	attractiveness
12.	nice beg	attractiveness
13.	trousers	attractiveness
14.	bike	attractiveness
15.	shoes	attractiveness

Data analysis of the DCT was done quantitatively, therefore each compliment response strategy used by each participants was identified and coded according to one of the Herbert's (1989) classification that includes 12 categories. After analyzing the data of each DCT, these strategies were counted in terms of the frequency they occur in order to decide which strategy had been used mostly by each group of participants. Thirty Polish high school pupils, thirty Polish university students and twenty native speakers of English (Americans) participated in this survey.

Each participant responded to fifteen situations of compliment responses:

- Five situations on five situations on appearance/skills (questions from 1 to 5)
- Five situations on attractiveness (questions from 6-10)
- Five situations on attractiveness of one's possession (questions from 11-15)

According to prepared DCT, the frequency of responses for each type of compliment in each group would be the following:

450 compliment responses for a group of High School pupils

5 situations of compliment responses on performance/skills x 30 pupils = 150
5 situations of compliment responses on attractiveness x 30 pupils = 150
5 situations of compliment responses on attractiveness of one's possession
x 30 pupils = 150

450 compliment responses for a group of University Students

5 situations of compliment responses on performance/skillsx 30 students = 150
5 situations of compliment responses on attractiveness x 30 students = 150
5 situations of compliment responses on attractiveness of one's possession
x 30 students = 150

300 compliment responses for a group of native speakers of English

5 situations of compliment responses on performance/skills x 20 natives = 100
5 situations of compliment responses on attractiveness x 20 natives = 100
5 situations of compliment responses on attractiveness of one's possession
x 20 natives = 100

4.1. The choice of compliment responses given by Polish High School pupils

There are a total of 450 compliment responses that may be seen from the DCT (See Appendix 1). They will be discussed mainly according to Herbert's (1986) categorizations which include **Agreement**, **Nonagreement** and **Other Interpretations**. The author categorized the responses into: Agreement and Nonagreement. Each category has a few subcategories. There are some examples given by High School pupils.

Table 2 Examples of compliment responses given by secondary school students

RESPONSE TYPE	EXAMPLE
AGREEMENT	
APPRECIATION TOKEN	*Thanks*
COMMENT ACCEPTANCE	*I think so, it's my favourite, too*
PRAISE UPGRADE	*I always look good*
COMMENT HISTORY	*I bought it in Katowice*
REASSIGNMENT	*That was my mother's choice*
RETURN	Your hair is also very beautiful
NONAGREEMENT	
SCALE DOWN	
QUESTION	*Really?*
DISAGREEMENT	*I don't think so*
NO ACKNOWLEDGMENT	*Silence*
REQUEST	

Concerning the frequency of different response types given by pupils, it can be argued that *Agreement* comes at the top of compliment responses with *Appreciation Token* with the highest frequency. It is clear that saying *Thank you* is the most used response used by high school pupils, 152 responses in all. The reason for simple response may indicate equality and decisiveness on the part of the complimentee, because simple responses can be taken to be straightforward expressions. Hence it can be concluded that the general tendency of the Polish speakers' responses to compliment is *Agreement*.

Table 3. The frequency of compliment responses type among Polish High School pupils

	APRECIATION TOKEN	COMMENT ACCEPTANCE	PRAISE UPGRADE	COMMENT HISTORY	REASSIGNMENT	RETURN	SCALE DOWN	QUESTION	DISAGREEMENT	NO ACKNOWLEDGMENT	REQUEST
1	7	0	0	0	0	2	0	3	3	0	0
2	4	5	3	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
3	7	2	2	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0
4	6	3	0	2	0	2	0	0	2	0	0
5	4	2	3	2	0	3	0	0	1	0	0
6	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0
7	5	3	2	2	0	2	0	0	1	0	0
8	4	7	0	0	1	2	0	0	1	0	0
9	4	3	1	1	0	1	0	2	3	0	0
10	4	5	1	0	0	1	0	3	1	0	0
11	5	4	1	1	1	0	0	3	0	0	0
12	6	4	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	1	0
13	4	4	1	1	1	1	0	1	2	0	0
14	7	3	0	1	0	0	0	2	2	0	0
15	4	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0
16	7	3	0	1	1	1	0	2	0	0	0
17	6	6	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
18	4	8	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0
19	3	7	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	0
20	2	4	0	2	1	2	0	2	1	1	0
21	4	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0
22	5	7	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
23	1	1	0	4	2	1	0	3	1	2	0
24	8	4	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
25	2	8	0	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
26	9	3	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
27	5	6	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0
28	8	2	1	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
29	3	9	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
30	4	7	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
SUM	152	132	17	32	15	28	0	28	36	10	0
MEAN	5,0667	4,4	0,5667	1,0667	0,5	0,9333	0	0,9333	1,2	0,3333	0
SD	2,1162	2,4011	0,8976	0,9803	0,6297	0,8277	0	1,1427	1,4239	0,9942	0
MEDIAN	4,5	4	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
DOMINANT	4	4 and 7	1	1	1	1	0	2	1	1	0

Comment Acceptance and *Disagreement* are the second and third most frequently used strategies by this group of participants. The implementation of this type may indicate that Polish culture is not so open to compliments, as their acceptance can equal to being too proud or arrogant. According to *Comment*, *Acceptance* the most encountered answer was *Thanks, it's my favourite too*. Moreover, the most common answer belonging to *Disagreement* was *I don't think so*. The rest mentioned categories were at the similar level. The strategies that were not brought up were *Request* and *Scale Down*.

According to Sobczyk (2014), the correlation between standard deviation and mean equals less than 30% what indicates that the group is heterogeneous. The results are as follows: Praise Upgrade, Reassignment, question, Disagreement, and No Acknowledgment. When the correlation between standard deviation and mean equals more than 30%, it indicates that the group is not homogenous. Respondents' opinion are presented as follows: Appreciation token, Comment acceptance, Comment history, and Return.

4.2. The choice of compliment responses given by Polish University Students

The chart below demonstrates exemplary answers of compliment responses provided by Polish University students:

Table 4. The examples of compliment responses given by University students

RESPONSE TYPE	**EXAMPLE**
AGREEMENT	
APPRECIATION TOKEN	*Thank You, Thanks*
COMMENT ACCEPTANCE	*I prefer it the most, thanks*
PRAISE UPGRADE	*Yes, it's very delicious*
COMMENT HISTORY	*It's my birthday party*
REASSIGNMENT	*My mother gave it to me*
RETURN	*Your eyes are more beautiful*
NONAGREEMENT	
SCALE DOWN	*It's really quite old*
QUESTION	*Do you think so?*
DISAGREEMENT	I don't like this *colour*
NO ACKNOWLEDGMENT	*Silence*
REQUEST	*Would you like to borrow it?*

The findings from the table display that the most frequent response type was *Appreciation Token*. It was used 129 times of all possible responses. However, *Common Acceptance* was used in a similar number (122 times).

Table 5. The frequency of Compliment response Type among Polish University Students

	APRECIATION TOKEN	COMMENT ACCEPTANCE	PRAISE UPGRADE	COMMENT HISTORY	REASSIGNMENT	RETURN	SCALE DOWN	QUESTION	DISAGREEMENT	NO ACKNOWLEDGMENT	REQUEST
1	**5**	**4**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**2**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**0**
2	**2**	**4**	**0**	**5**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**0**
3	**2**	**5**	**2**	**0**	**2**	**2**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**0**
4	**3**	**8**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**0**
5	**6**	**6**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**3**	**0**	**0**	**0**
6	**6**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**3**	**1**
7	**3**	**5**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**
8	**4**	**7**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**0**
9	**4**	**6**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**2**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**
10	**3**	**6**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**2**
11	**3**	**8**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**
12	**1**	**4**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**4**	**0**	**4**	**2**	**0**	**0**
13	**2**	**5**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**3**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**
14	**1**	**4**	**3**	**0**	**0**	**4**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**0**
15	**0**	**2**	**3**	**0**	**0**	**5**	**0**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**1**
16	**2**	**7**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**1**
17	**6**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**0**	**3**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**
18	**2**	**5**	**2**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**2**	**0**	**2**
19	**10**	**3**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**
20	**7**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**0**	**0**
21	**9**	**0**	**1**	**2**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**
22	**7**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**2**	**2**	**0**	**1**
23	**6**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**
24	**5**	**4**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**

25	4	4	0	0	0	1	1	2	2	0	1
26	5	5	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0
27	3	6	1	1	0	0	1	1	2	0	0
28	7	2	1	0	0	1	1	1	2	0	0
29	6	2	1	0	1	1	2	2	0	0	0
30	5	4	2	1	0	2	0	1	0	0	0
SUM	129	122	28	23	10	43	15	39	21	11	9
MEAN	4,3	4,0667	0,9333	0,7667	0,3333	1,4333	0,5	1,3	0,7	0,3667	0,3
SD	2,409	2,2118	0,9444	1,04	0,6609	1,3309	0,6297	0,9523	0,8367	0,7184	0,596
ME-DIAN	4	4	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
DOMI-NANT	2,3 and 6	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1 and 2	1	1

Polish students tend to use self- praise avoidance strategy, *Praise Upgrade* accounted 28 times of this category. There is *Return* category on the fourth place accounting for 43 of all responses. *Comment History* and *Disagreement* are on the similar place and account respectively 23 and 21. *No Acknowledgment*, *Reassignment*, and *Request* responses constituted 30 of the total responses. The respondents used two more categories than pupils and Americans, namely *Scale Down* and *Request*. If one compares sub-categories they might find out that Polish speakers' participants in their responses to compliments, use *Comment Acceptance* and *Comment History* in order to avoid self-praise. In many cases, firstly, as an acceptance, they thank the compliment giver, and then following it with a comment like '*It was very kind of you to say so*'. From a statistical point of view there are seven groups that are heterogeneous: *Praise upgrade*, *Comment history*, *Return*, *Scale down*, *Disagreement*, *No acknowledgment*, and *Request*. Only three of all groups are not heterogeneous, and these are *Appreciation token*, *Comment acceptance*, and *Question*.

4.3. The choice of compliment responses given by Native speakers of English

Americans try to accept compliments although reflecting or rejecting compliments negates the implication that the addressee is superior in any way. In American English, the preference of response strategies other than acceptance may be related to the notion of democracy and equality of all human beings.

Table 6. The examples of compliment responses given by native speakers of English

RESPONSE TYPE	EXAMPLE
AGREEMENT	
APPRECIATION TOKEN	*Thanks*
COMMENT ACCEPTANCE	*Yeah, it's my favorite too*
PRAISE UPGRADE	*It is very nice of You, everybody says that*
COMMENT HISTORY	*I bought it from the trip to…*
REASSIGNMENT	*My brother/sister gave it to me*
RETURN	*So's yours*
NONAGREEMENT	
SCALE DOWN	
QUESTION	*You think so?*
DISAGREEMENT	I *hate it*
NO ACKNOWLEDGMENT	*Silence*
REQUEST	

There are two categories that are absent in American responses to compliments and those are *Scale Down* and *Request*.

Table 7. The frequency of compliment responses type among native speakers of English

	APPRECIATION TOKEN	COMMENT ACCEPTANCE	PRAISE UPGRADE	COMMENT HISTORY	REASSIGNMENT	RETURN	SCALE DOWN	QUESTION	DISAGREEMENT	NO ACKNOWLEDGMENT	REQUEST
1	4	0	5	2	2	1	0	1	0	0	0
2	3	0	5	3	0	1	0	1	1	1	0
3	3	4	2	1	0	2	0	2	0	1	0
4	11	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5	10	2	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0
6	1	5	3	3	0	1	0	1	0	1	0
7	7	0	1	2	0	0	0	2	1	2	0
8	8	2	2	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0

9	**7**	**3**	**3**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
10	**4**	**2**	**3**	**2**	**0**	**4**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
11	**0**	**4**	**5**	**4**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
12	**14**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
13	**1**	**7**	**3**	**2**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
14	**0**	**1**	**6**	**4**	**0**	**3**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**
15	**3**	**5**	**6**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**
16	**4**	**4**	**3**	**2**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
17	**2**	**5**	**5**	**3**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
18	**1**	**6**	**5**	**2**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
19	**4**	**5**	**3**	**3**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
20	**2**	**2**	**3**	**3**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**3**	**0**	**0**	**0**
SUM	**89**	**60**	**65**	**36**	**2**	**27**	**0**	**13**	**3**	**5**	**0**
MEAN	**4,45**	**3**	**3,25**	**1,8**	**0,1**	**1,35**	**0**	**0,65**	**0,15**	**0,25**	**0**
SD	**3,8726**	**2,1026**	**1,8028**	**1,3992**	**0,4472**	**1,1367**	**0**	**0,8751**	**0,3663**	**0,5501**	**0**
MEDIAN	**3,5**	**2,5**	**3**	**2**	**0**	**1,5**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
DOMINANT	**4**	**2**	**3**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**0**

As can be seen in the chart, *Appreciation Token* was used as the most frequent response (repeated 89 times) from all 450 records. *Common Acceptance* and *Praise Upgrade* were at the similar second position. 36 of all compliment responses fell into *Comment History*. *Reassignment*, *Question*, *Disagreement*, and *No acknowledgment* comprised less dominant groups.

The findings also show that the main function of compliments in American English is to create and maintain solidarity and finally to affirm common ground between interlocutors. This may be the reason why the majority of compliment responses by Americans took the form of *Appreciation Token*.

In comparison to two previous groups of respondents, there are five non heterogeneous groups (*Appreciation token*, *Comment acceptance*, *Praise upgrade*, *Comment history*, and *Return*). In the group of American native speakers, responses such as *Reassignment*, *Question*, *Disagreement*, and *No acknowledgment* tend to be heterogeneous.

5. Final remarks

The results displayed in chart 3,5 and 7 demonstrate some visible differences between the three groups of respondents. Two groups of Polish informants used similar strategies when receiving compliments although Polish secondary school learners did not use two subcategories such as *Request* and *Scale Down*. It should be also added that American native speakers' responses also differed from those presented by Polish teenagers. The group that used almost all categories (11) was the one comprised of Polish students of English Philology.

The results indicate that there are some differences in the aspect of linguistic patterns between compliment responses given by two groups. Polish learners accept the compliment in modest way in comparison to American group, who accepts when responding on behalf of praise upgrade. In terms of compliment acceptances and agreements with compliments one may observe that the most frequent strategy for all three groups was *Appreciation Token* even though American used half of what non native speakers did. Polish learners give an assessment of the compliment, something that was not reported for Americans. Americans just agree with the compliment saying *Thanks*, on the other hand, Poles would say *Thank You, it's nice*. As can be concluded, Polish students display similar responses types to American. However, it must be mentioned that in American corpus there are fewer rejections *Disagreement* responses than in Polish. On the other hand, the Poles when responding in Polish use disagreement responses very often, for instance, responding to compliment given by a friend about possession the answer could be *I don't think so, it's very old!*.

Since the group of Polish university students were students of English Philology as a second language at the University of Silesia, their proficiency might have been above the national average. It may be assumed that having a higher level of pragmatic competence, pragmatic transfer most probably has occurred. It should be also mentioned that there were considerable individual differences amongst learners of second language concerning pragmatics as well as grammar and lexis. Polish University students showed language proficiency as well as pragmatic competence in the language intended to be learnt, while high school pupils showed definitely less of those. Using too many acceptances could be caused by lack of knowledge or willingness to put oneself in a safe situation.

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Grammatical and lexical error recognition in l3: some insights into multilingual proficiency

Abstract
The purpose of the paper is to present, on the basis of a grammaticality judgement test and a lexical correctness judgement task in French as L3, some insights into multilingual proficiency, understood as the sum of multilingual linguistic competence and the ability to use that competence (Herdina & Jessner, 2002). Special attention is paid to cross-linguistic interaction in various directions and to insights into multilingual representation and processing provided by such interaction. The results provide evidence of the complex and dynamic character of multilingual proficiency as well as some indications of differences in the representation and/or processing of grammar and vocabulary.

Keywords: multilingual proficiency, cross-linguistic interaction, grammaticality judgement, error identification and correction

1. Introduction

The purpose of the paper is an analysis of third language (L3) learners' recognition and correction of both grammatical and lexical errors in L3 in the language combination Polish (L1) – English (L2) – French (L3). It is based on two studies, one of which focused on grammaticality judgements, whereas the other involved the recognition of lexical errors. However, since grammar is largely lexicalized (Singleton, 2000: 24-28) and, simultaneously, the syntactic properties of words are stored in the mental lexicon (Levelt, 1989; Herwig, 2001), lexical competence and grammatical competence are interconnected rather than separate. Therefore, lexical competence can also be regarded as a part of linguistic competence which can be studied by means of judgements of correctness. In fact, some of the grammatical structures tested here are borderline cases between grammar and vocabulary because the choice of the right structure (for example, an infinitival construction, a gerund or a clause) depends on the syntactic properties of a particular verb.

Special attention is paid here to cross-linguistic interaction (term introduced by Herdina & Jessner, 2002: 29, see Section 2.2. below), especially transfer from L2 into L3, as it constitutes a window on the organization and functioning of multilingual systems. For this reason, part of the test sentences were constructed in such a way as to allow the investigation of the participants' ability to distinguish between L2- and L3-specific structures, idioms and meanings. They thus included, for example, word-for-word translations of L2 structures and idioms, or false friends used in L3 in their L2 sense. It was assumed that the acceptance of such sentences as correct would be a proof of interlanguage transfer (term introduced by de Angelis & Selinker, 2001, to describe transfer from one interlanguage, here L2, into another, here L3), but apart from being a strategy, such transfer can be a reflection of cross-linguistic interaction and the dynamic character of multilingual competence (Herdina & Jessner, 2002).

Still, if we distinguish, following Taylor (1988: 166) and Herdina and Jessner (2002: 57), between competence in the Chomskyan sense, or the tacit knowledge of a language (or languages in the case of multilinguals), and proficiency as the ability to use competence, such studies as the present one can provide interesting insights into both multilingual competence and proficiency, including declarative and procedural knowledge as well as strategic behaviour. It was thus attempted to provide insights into both multilingual proficiency and strategy use on the one hand, and into multilingual language representation and processing on the other.

The research questions were as follows:

First, what kind of cross-linguistic interaction can be observed in L3 judgements of correctness and error correction, both at the grammatical and the lexical levels?

Second, is there any difference in the participants' performance on the grammatical and lexical correctness judgement and error correction tasks in the case of well-formed and ill-formed sentences?

Third, what strategies did the participants use while performing the tasks? However, the answer to this question can only be approximate, as it was impossible to create any think-aloud protocols and strategy use can only be inferred from the students' performance on the tasks, including their errors, and from their written comments, for example, "this looks too much like English", which explains why the participant rejected such a sentence.

2. Multicompetence and Multilingual Proficiency

2.1. Foreign Language Competence

Undoubtedly, the linguistic competence of foreign language learners differs from that of native speakers. Still, a learner's language cannot simply be treated as a collection of errors, as it constitutes a system with its own rules, based on target language input, instruction and the learner's own hypotheses. Therefore, Selinker (1972) proposed the notion of interlanguage (IL), which he defined as a "separate linguistic system" underlying "a learner's attempted production of a TL norm"

(Selinker, 1972: 214) and which can be inferred from the learner's observable input. It must therefore be remembered that interlanguage competence cannot be observed directly, but that it can only be reflected in the learner's language production. Thus, errors observable in a learner's speech or writing can reflect some of his or her interlanguage rules, as well as cross-linguistic interaction, as some errors may be due to transfer from one language to another (strategic transfer in a given situation or rules transferred, for example, from L1 to L2 and incorporated into L2 competence) or to interference between two or more languages. On the other hand, avoidance, which is often present in interlanguage production, does not reveal much about interlanguage competence, unless it is accompanied by a relevant comment, for example, "one doesn't say *successful*", pronounced with French vowels and stress, in the corpus collected for the present author's doctoral thesis (Wlosowicz, 2011, translation mine), which reflected a student's avoidance of a calque. Therefore, in the case of avoidance, one can often not be sure whether a learner does not know the target word or structure, or whether he or she tries to avoid transferring, for instance, an L1 structure, because he or she does not perceive any (or, arguably, enough) similarity, between L1 and L2 (Ringbom, 1987: 50-51).

However, unlike an adult native speaker's competence, interlanguage competence is still in the process of development and restructuring. Whereas in native speakers variation depends on the relationship between form and function, in interlanguage there is 'both free variation, when a new form is used together with an old form to perform a single function, and systematic variation, when the new and old forms are assigned to different functions' (Ellis, 1990: 390).

Indeed, as languages are learnt and used for particular communicative purposes, linguistic competence is not acquired in isolation, but it is always connected with some ability to use it. Thus, in order to broaden the definition proposed by Chomsky (1965, in Lyons, 1996) which limited competence to the tacit, internalized knowledge of a language, Lyons (1996: 16) proposed a more general definition of competence which takes into account both knowledge and the ability to use it: "Linguistic competence is the knowledge of particular languages, by virtue of which knowledge those who have it are able to produce and understand text in those languages" (Lyons, 1996: 16). It is noteworthy that Lyons's definition takes into account the coexistence of several languages, that is, multilingual rather than monolingual competence.

On the other hand, Taylor (1988) insists on preserving Chomsky's (1965, in Taylor, 1988) original distinction, which excludes from competence the idea of ability. He thus introduces the notion of proficiency, or "the ability to make use of competence" (Taylor, 1988: 166). In his view, "[*c*]*ompetence* can be regarded as a static concept, having to do with structure, state, or form, whereas *proficiency* is essentially a dynamic concept, having to do with process and function" (Taylor, 1988:

166). As for performance, Taylor (1988, p. 166) defines it as "what is done when proficiency is put to use."

In a similar vein, in reference to Ellis (1994, p. 720), Herdina and Jessner (2002: 56-57) distinguish between multilingual competence and multilingual proficiency: "[w]hilst competence refers to the knowledge of L2 a learner has internalised, proficiency refers to the learner's ability to use this knowledge for different tasks" (Herdina & Jessner, 2002: 56). However, multilingual proficiency constitutes a derived quantity which is "derivable from individual language competence" (Herdina & Jessner, 2002: 57) and which is, at the same time, 'a hypothetical construct derived from actual performance measured' (Herdina & Jessner, 2002: 57). Even though the point of reference for the evaluation of multilingual proficiency as reflected in speakers' production is necessarily the well-educated native speaker, this does not mean a return to the "double monolingualism" hypothesis (Herdina & Jessner, 2002: 57), as the authors recognize the qualitative differences between monolingual and multilingual systems (Herdina & Jessner, 2002: 89).

It can thus be stated that the possession of linguistic competence does not necessarily imply the ability to use it. In order to explain this difference, several hypotheses have been proposed, including Bialystok and Sharwood-Smith's (1985) distinction between knowledge and control and Krashen's Dual Competence Paradigm (1981, in Tarone, 1983: 147).

According to Krashen (1981 in Tarone, 1983: 156-157), a learner possesses two knowledge systems: acquired knowledge, extracted unconsciously from the input, and learned knowledge, presented in the form of conscious instruction and containing consciously learned grammatical rules. In his view, learned knowledge cannot be used to initiate utterances and is available only as a Monitor, that is, it can serve to monitor the correctness of utterances. He believes learned and acquired knowledge to be distinct systems where, unlike acquired knowledge, learned knowledge can never become part of implicit competence.

In contrast to Krashen, Bialystok and Sharwood-Smith (1985) do not postulate two distinct kinds of knowledge, but instead, they propose a distinction between knowledge (sometimes also referred to as "competence", see Sharwood-Smith, 1986) and control. As Bialystok and Sharwood-Smith (1985: 106) observe, the disparity between a learner's and a native speaker's language proficiency "may arise from (a) differences in the *representations* of linguistic structure, (b) differences in the *procedures for accessing the knowledge*, or (c) *both*." At the same time, second-language acquisition can be explained "in terms of (a) acquisition of the underlying grammar, (b) acquisition of new procedures for retrieval, or (c) both" (Bialystok & Sharwood-Smith, 1985: 106).

However, as Bialystok and Sharwood-Smith (1985: 106) remark, "(a) necessarily precedes (b)", which means that the learner must first know the necessary grammatical forms before learning how to retrieve them effectively.

Like competence, control is also subject to variability (Bialystok & Sharwood-Smith, 1985: 110) and fossilization (Sharwood-Smith, 1986: 17). Thus, according to Sharwood-Smith (1986: 17), the case of the Chinese learner of English described by Krashen (1981) can be explained in terms of the competence/control distinction. Since she was able to correct her errors "by feel", she must have had the necessary competence. However, in spontaneous speech she did not possess enough control and failed to retrieve the correct forms.

In fact, Tarone admits the possibility of internalizing learned knowledge as if it had become acquired. Her Capability Continuum Paradigm shows "how learned structures become acquired" (Tarone, 1983: 158). In order to distinguish between "competence", defined as linguistic knowledge accessible to introspection in the form of grammaticality judgements and the knowledge which underlies learners' language behaviour, Tarone has introduced the notion of capability. She defines capability as "that which underlies, or guides, the regular language behavior of the second-language learner" (Tarone, 1983: 151) and stresses the fact that "'capability' refers *not* to 'linguistic knowledge' which is reflected in grammatical intuitions, but rather refers more broadly to that which underlies *all* regular language behaviour."

Still, regularity in language behaviour does not exclude variability, which, according to Tarone (1983), Bialystok and Sharwood-Smith (1985) and Ellis (1990), constitutes an important feature of interlanguage competence. Tarone's Capability Continuum Paradigm postulates a continuum of styles, from a careful style, in which "the speaker pays the most attention to language form" (Tarone, 1983: 152), through a number of styles including more or less attended speech data, to a vernacular style, which is more pidgin-like and contains unattended speech data. While the careful style is more TL-like (or more NL-like if it is based on transfer from the native language) and can be a source of grammatical intuition data, the vernacular style is the purest form of interlanguage, being the most internally consistent and the least permeable to NL (native language) and TL (target language) influence (p. 155). As for the internalization of interlanguage, Tarone (1983: 155) proposes two means of internalization: either "the learner spontaneously produces simple structures in the vernacular style", or a TL structure is first incorporated into the careful style and gradually moves towards the vernacular style. Simultaneously, it must be remembered that each style performs a particular function and is used in particular contexts. Moreover, interlanguage development involves elaboration and reorganization, and it can take learners some time to discover the constraints on the use of a given form (Ellis, 1990: 390).

Moreover, it must be remembered that language use, whether in a careful or a vernacular style, involves the application of some strategies. However, a careful style can be supposed to involve more strategy use, which can also be assumed to be the case in the present studies. In particular, in studies involving two or more languages, special attention has to be paid to the use of transfer as a strategy, because there is evidence (for example, Faerch & Kasper, 1983, Ringbom, 1987, Zimmermann, 1999) that learners rely on their earlier language knowledge while learning and using a new language. Such strategic transfer can range from borrowings (adapted to the target language system or not) and calques, through the literal translation of L1 (or, in the case of L3, L2) structures (Ringbom, 1987, Faerch & Kasper, 1983, Sánchez, 2011) to the more subtle preference of structures which resemble those of L1 (Włosowicz, 2012).

However, in order to investigate learners' foreign language competence, one has to be able to tap it somehow. Undoubtedly, a rich source of interlanguage data is spontaneous production, yet it must be remembered that it might not contain more complex or less frequent structures (Tarone, 1983: 142-143). One should therefore collect more specific data, such as grammaticality judgements. Selinker (1972) rejects the use of grammatical intuitions, which, in his view, only provide information about the TL and not the interlanguage, yet other researchers, such as Schachter, Tyson and Diffley (1976, in Tarone, 1983: 146), argue in favour of eliciting grammaticality judgements as a reflection of learners' knowledge. However, as Brown (1996: 195) remarks, grammaticality judgements only reveal learners' propositional or declarative knowledge rather than procedural knowledge, as the learner "tries to match the structure of the target sentence against his or her mental representations of previously encountered structures" (Brown, 1996: 195).

It can therefore be concluded that, though a useful source of information about interlanguage competence, grammaticality judgements must be combined with other data sources, such as spontaneous production, translation, etc. At the same time, it must be remembered that the learning or acquisition of a foreign language involves the restructuring of linguistic competence and qualitative changes in the learner's language system.

3. Qualitative Differences between Monolingual, Bilingual and Multilingual Competence

Generally speaking, bilinguals' and multilinguals' language systems considerably differ from those of monolinguals. On the basis of a large number of studies, Cook (1992: 557) has proposed the notion of multicompetence, or "the compound state of a mind with two grammars". In the case of multilinguals, multicompetence can be defined as the compound state of a mind with two or more grammars, which is actually the definition employed by Cook nowadays (Cook, personal communication on June 16, 2011).

However, as Coppieters (1987) has shown, even if native and near-native speakers seem to be roughly equivalent in language use and proficiency, they differ considerably in grammatical intuitions. As Coppieters (1987: 544) concludes, "the data indicate that near-native speakers diverge less from native speakers in formal features, such as those currently covered by studies in Universal Grammar, than in 'functional' or 'cognitive' aspects of grammar." At the same time, L1 competence is restructured under the influence of another language. For example, native English speakers who know French differ in their grammaticality judgements from monolingual English speakers (Cook, 1996: 65).

Still, multicompetence in trilinguals must be assumed to be even more complex than in bilinguals. As Klein (1995) has shown, L3 learners are more open to different parameter settings, they construct more powerful grammars than L2 learners do and thus they are able to learn marked structures, such as preposition stranding, more easily. However, for the same reason, trilinguals can also be more tolerant of errors (Cenoz, 2010). An important role is played by lexical knowledge and, as Klein (1995: 452) supposes, "resetting could be propelled by lexical knowledge that may accompany or result from the enhanced cognitive and metalinguistic skills of MIs [multilinguals]."

Access to Universal Grammar (UG) in the acquisition of L2 and further languages has long been open to debate as well. According to some researchers (for example, Schachter, 1990; Bley-Vroman, 1989, in White, 2008: 40), subtle grammatical knowledge, such as constraints on wh- movement, comes from L1 parameter settings and not from UG. However, this could not explain the acquisition of parameter settings which do not exist in L1 (Cook, 1996: 62). According to White (2008, p. 46), the assumption that access to UG in L2 acquisition would necessarily result in the attainment of grammars identical to those of native speakers is a misunderstanding. The fact that L2 grammars are constrained by UG simply means that they are subject to the principles of UG, like all natural languages, but not that they will necessarily be identical to native speakers' grammars (White, 2008: 46).

As for L1 influence, it is not incompatible with UG access either. As the Full Transfer Full Access Hypothesis (Schwartz & Sprouse, 1996, in White, 2008: 46) postulates, at the initial stages of L2 acquisition learners characterize L2 data in terms of the L1 grammar, which constitutes full transfer. Later, on the basis of L2 input, the grammar is revised and, since such revisions are UG-constrained, full access in assumed (White, 2008: 46-47). As White (2008: 47) remarks, "[t]ransfer may be persistent or not, depending on particular linguistic properties and particular language combinations."

In L3 acquisition, the situation is even more complex, as L1 is no longer the only source of transfer, but structures may be transferred from L1, L2 or both, depending on the distance perceived between the languages (De Angelis, 2007, p. 22). In fact, as De Angelis (2005) has shown, there are two constraints, perception of correctness and association of foreignness, which block native language influence in favour of non-native language influence. As for perception of correctness, learners often regard L1 information as incorrect from the start. On the other hand, "association of foreignness refers to the cognitive association that learners establish between non-native languages, which are assigned the common status of 'foreign languages'" (De Angelis, 2007: 29). As a result, both factors lead to increased acceptance of transfer from non-native languages into the target language (De Angelis, 2007: 29).

At this point, it must be remarked that cross-linguistic influence is dynamic in nature and can take different forms. Therefore, Herdina and Jessner (2002: 29) have proposed the term "cross-linguistic interaction" (CLIN) to incorporate a whole range of phenomena, including transfer, interference, borrowing and code-switching.

It can be concluded that multilingual systems are more complex than monolingual and bilingual ones and that interaction within them is dynamic and often unpredictable. Therefore, in L3 processing not only are there more sources of transfer and interference, but those phenomena can also be more elusive, as their source is not always easy to identify (Heine, 2004). One might argue that error recognition is easier than production, as the subjects do not have to make sentences themselves, but they receive ready-made sentences to evaluate. However, in production they may avoid structures as to whose correctness they are not sure, whereas grammaticality judgements require them to evaluate the correctness of sentences constructed by the researcher. This requires good comprehension, which involves both lexical and syntactic knowledge.

3.1. Comprehension

By and large, reading comprehension starts with the identification of traits and graphemes, followed by that of the graphic representations of words, which is accompanied by the activation of their phonological representations (Perfetti, 1999: 170-171). Subsequently, word meanings are activated (Perfetti, 1999: 180). In other words, word forms activate lexemes, or the parts of lexical entries where their formal properties are stored, and then the lexemes activate the corresponding lemmas, storing the semantic and syntactic properties of words. The lemmas then send activation to the corresponding concepts and, as a certain number of words have been understood, a context is formed which helps to select the appropriate meanings of polysemous words or, in the case of unknown words, to infer their meanings (de Bot, Paribakht & Wesche, 1997: 315-316).

Still, in the case of reading in a foreign language, not all the lexical items are known to the learner and the meanings of some of them need to be inferred. However, as de Bot, Paribakht and Wesche (1997: 317) underline, inferring the meaning of an unknown word requires initial attention to the word form and recognizing it as unknown. For this reason, as Laufer (1997) has shown, deceptively transparent words (for example, "shortcomings", interpreted by some learners as "short visits", Laufer, 1997: 25), idioms, false friends and "synforms" (deceptively similar words, for example, "industrial" and "industrious", Laufer, 1997: 26) can seriously distort comprehension, as they seem familiar to the learner, who does not thus try to infer the correct meanings or look them up in a dictionary. The misinterpretation of some words leads to a distortion of the immediate context, which results in the distortion of the larger context and, consequently, in incorrect comprehension (Laufer, 1997: 27).

As word recognition studies (for example, Beauvillain & Grainger, 1987) show, lexical access, at least at the initial stage, is non-selective, which means that words from both L1 and L2 are activated by the input and only later is the non-target word disactivated. In the case of L3, words from all three languages can be coactivated, which has been demonstrated by Dijkstra and Van Hell (2001). However, even though the available context makes it possible to disactivate non-target meanings (for example, the meaning of a false friend), sometimes such meanings persist and distort the subject's comprehension, especially if the subject lacks the motivation to monitor the coherence of his or her interpretation (Wlosowicz, 2011).

A slightly different kind of difficulty is presented by idioms. Even though their comprehension involves individual lexical access (Cacciari & Tabossi, 1988, in Flores d'Arcais, 1993: 84) and syntactic analysis (Flores d'Arcais, 1993: 85), idioms are often opaque and the meaning of an idiom is not the sum of the meanings of its parts. However, as Blair and Harris (1981) have shown, bilinguals have access to the decomposed meanings of idioms, also in the non-target language. Hence, Spanish-English bilinguals were able to understand English sentences containing literal translations of Spanish idioms (e.g. "Jalopy wants to say car in one form of English slang", Blair & Harris, 1981: 461), which were incomprehensible to monolingual English speakers. It can thus be supposed that a similar situation can occur in L3 comprehension, allowing subjects to understand literal translations of L2 idioms.

At the morphosyntactic level, comprehension requires not only the identification of sentence constituents and their functions, but also that of person, number, tense, etc. markings. At the same time, some important semantic information is conveyed by function words, such as prepositions (for example, "I'm afraid for him" vs. "I'm afraid of him"), or the choice between a gerund and an infinitive ("I regret to tell you that" vs. "I regret telling you that"), so the borderline between grammar and vocabulary is not very strict.

As the present author's study on L3 comprehension (Wlosowicz, 2011) shows, the correct identification of words is not enough for adequate comprehension. In fact, even if the subjects recognized a word form as belonging to a particular lexeme (for example, "recyclait" as a form of the verb "recycler" ("recycle" or "retrain") in French), they sometimes failed to recognize the tense, person or number, thus changing the past to the present or the plural to the singular.

This observation provides evidence in favour of distributed representations, as illustrated by Herwig's (2001) model of the multilingual lexicon. According to Herwig (2001: 121-123), lexical entries are distributed over a number of nodes containing such properties as semantic quality, metaphorical meaning, extended meaning, semantic roles, morphological specification, word order specification, etc. As the present author's (Wlosowicz, 2011) study indicates, some of those nodes may be more accessible than others. For example, such basic forms as the infinitive or the Simple Present Tense form may be readily available, but less frequent forms, like the subjunctive (especially in French as L3) or irregular past tense forms may not reach a sufficient level of activation to be recognized correctly.

Certainly, syntactic parsing and morphological analysis are not the only sources of difficulty in L3 comprehension. Other frequent sources of problems include, quite predictably, false friends and "synforms", as well as idioms, which, when decomposed and interpreted literally, often resulted in non-target interpretations (Wlosowicz, 2011). However, unlike the L3 comprehension study, which used texts consisting of well-formed sentences, the present study involves the evaluation of both correct and anomalous sentences.

4. The Studies

4.1. The Grammaticality Judgement Task

The study aimed to investigate cross-linguistic interaction between Polish (L1), English (L2) and French (L3) in the recognition of correct as well as erroneous structures in French. It was assumed that the participants' correction of errors and their acceptance of well-formed sentences would reflect, on the one hand, their underlying competence in L3 French and, on the other hand, the interaction between the coactivated structures, where the identification of the errors required not only accessing the structures but also discriminating between the languages to which those structures belonged and controlling interference from the non-target languages. However, as interference is dynamic and non-reducible to a single language and, at the same time, multicompetence presupposes a certain degree of interconnection, the rejection of erroneous structures and the acceptance of correct ones where the difference between the languages is very subtle can be assumed to be very difficult.

4.2. Participants

The task was carried out with 21 subjects whose L1 was Polish, whose L2 was English and whose L3 was French. As students of applied foreign languages at the University of Silesia, they were quite advanced in L2 (approximately C1) and slightly less advanced in L3 (B1-B2), also due to longer learning times. (One of them was not a student, but a doctor of English philology, also relatively fluent in French.)

4.3. Method

The task consisted in judging the correctness of 15 French sentences, nine of which contained errors based on transfer from English and/or Polish, or the use of anomalous French structures (sentences 1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 9, 11, 13, 15), whereas six (sentences 3, 6, 7, 10, 12 and 14) were correct. The study focused on the choice of infinitival, gerundive and subjunctive clauses and prepositional constructions after particular verbs. The list of the sentences is presented in Appendix 1. The well-formed sentences and the possibilities of correcting the ill-formed ones had been consulted with a native speaker of French.

However, apart from classifying the sentences as correct or not, the subjects were asked to correct the incorrect ones. Still, even though some students felt that certain structures were ill-formed, they did not know the correct forms to use in those contexts. Indeed, avoiding a response was often accompanied by a comment indicating that the subject regarded a given structure as incorrect, but he or she did not know how to correct it.

What counted as a correct response was either the non-correction of a well-formed sentence (however, in sentence 7, changing the sentence to an equally correct one had to be accepted, see below) or the appropriate correction of an ill-formed one. On the other hand, replacing a lexical item (for example, from "poster" (to post) to "envoyer" (to send)), or slightly changing the word order (in a way more or less irrelevant to the grammatical correctness of the sentence) was classified as a non-target response.

Furthermore, transfer from L1, L2 or both was defined as the use of a Polish-like or an English-like structure (or "doubly supported interference", Näf & Pfander, 2001) in the "corrected" version of a sentence. However, in some cases, the acceptance of an erroneous sentence was evidence of transfer or interference, as in the example described above. Therefore, some of the responses could fall into two categories, "Error acceptance" and "L2 transfer" (or "L1 transfer", or "L1 or L2 transfer", depending on its possible source), yet in order to avoid confusion and response numbers higher than the number of subjects in the group, the acceptance of L2-based structures as correct was classified as "Error acceptance", whereas changing a French sentence into an English-like one was classified as "L2 transfer".

As for errors in French, those are errors non-attributable to the influence of Polish or English, but rather to overgeneralization or the creation of structures not existing in French. Finally, avoidance was manifested either by no reaction to a sentence or by leaving a sentence uncorrected, albeit with a comment indicating uncertainty, such as: "This sentence is incorrect, but I do not know how to correct it." Part of the results have already been presented in Włosowicz (2012: 138-140), but the focus there was rather on interference at the grammatical level.

4.4. Results

As the results show, the error sources were varied and attributable to several sources, including transfer from L1, from L2 or from L1 and L2 at the same time, as well as intralingual interference between French L3 structures. However, the proportions of correct, incorrect or non-target answers varied from one sentence to another, depending on the structure involved.

The percentages of responses attributable to different information sources are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. The percentages of responses attributable to different information sources

Sentence	Correct Responses (%)	Error acceptance (%)	Non-target (%)	Errors in French (%)	Avoidance (%)	L1 transfer (%)	L2 transfer (%)	L1 and L2 transfer (%)
1		33.33	4.76	38.1	19.05			4.76
2	57.14	19.05	19.05	4.76				
3	47.62		33.33	4.76	14.29			
4		66.67	14.29	14.29	4.76			
5		61.9	28.57		9.52			
6	71.43		14.29	9.52	4.76			
7	90.48		4.76		4.76			
8	4.76	52.38	23.8	9.52	9.52			
9	4.76	19.05	19.05	19.05			38.1	
10	33.33		52.38	4.76	4.76			4.76
11		38.1	9.52	28.57	23.8			
12	71.43		14.29	4.76	9.52			
13	52.38		14.29		9.52		23.8	
14	19.05		9.52	52.38	4.76	4.76	9.52	
15	52.38	4.76	14.29		9.52		19.05	

As the results show, transfer and/or interference were reflected both in the acceptance of structures based on negative transfer (for example, "*Elle a fait ses élèves écrire un conte de fees", instead of "Elle a fait à ses élèves écrire un conte de fées", compare: "She made her pupils write a fairy tale") and in the inappropriate "correction" of the test sentences. The structures with the highest numbers of correct responses were sentences 7 (19 correct responses, 90.48%), 6, 12 (15 correct responses, or 74.43%, in both cases), 2 (12, or 57.14%), 13 and 15 (11, or 52.38%, in both cases). By contrast, the sentences which were the most prone to error acceptance were sentences 4 (14 (66.67%) subjects accepted it), 5 (13, or 61.9%), 8 (11, or 52.38%) and 11 (8, or 38.1%).

Interestingly enough, sentence 7 (Fumer est interdit ici), was often replaced by the sentence: "Il est interdit de fumer ici" (It is forbidden to smoke here.). Even though the stimulus sentence is acceptable in French, it probably seemed to the participants to be too much like English (Smoking is forbidden here).

Transfer from English was particularly visible in sentences 4, 9, 11, 13 and 15. In sentences 9, 13 and 15, it resulted in the creation of sentences similar to their English translations, whereas in 11 it led to the acceptance of the calque "*Je ne m'attendais pas à lui de refuser mon invitation" (I did not expect him to reject my invitation), instead of correcting it to: "Je ne m'attendais pas à ce qu'il refuse mon invitation". In fact, in sentence 9, the English-like collocation "remercier pour" (to thank for) would have been as correct as the target one, "remercier de", but rather in a context in which the preposition had been followed by a noun (for example, "je te remercie pour ta lettre" – "[I] thank you for your letter"). On the other hand, the target sentence here was: "Je voudrais vous remercier d'avoir traduit ce document" (I would like to thank you for having translated this document). Similarly, the acceptance of sentence 4 (*Elle a fait ses élèves écrire un conte de fées – She made her pupils write a fairy tale; target: Elle a fait à ses élèves écrire un conte de fées) can be assumed to have been caused by the assumption of identity between the French and the English grammatical structures.

In sentence 13, in turn, five subjects retained the structure "*responsable pour" ("responsible for", target: "responsable de"), changing only the verb to a noun (responsable pour ce projet), or adding another noun for stylistic reasons (responsable pour la réalisation de ce projet). Yet, in the same sentence, eleven participants noticed the negative transfer from English and corrected it. One of them even wrote that it was too much like "for".

In 15, eleven participants noticed the negative transfer, whereas four failed to do so, accepting the English-like form "*La prof a dit à Agnès à corriger sa redaction" (The teacher told Agnes to correct her essay) instead of correcting it as: "La prof a dit à Agnès de corriger sa redaction".

On the other hand, transfer from Polish proved quite infrequent and was observable mainly in sentence 5 ("*Je n'ai rien contre laver la vaisselle"; target: "Cela ne me dérange pas de laver la vaisselle" (I do not mind washing the dishes)). In fact, the stimulus sentence was a literal translation from Polish (Nie mam nic przeciwko myciu naczyń). At the same time, four participants thought that the error was lexical (“faire la vaisselle” would have been more idiomatic) and one of them called it an Anglicism (“to wash the dishes”).

In general, the results indicate that the subjects were using both implicit competence and conscious rules. However, in some cases their L3 competence was still not fully internalized or accessible, as the subjects felt there was an error, but they were unable to correct it. At the same time, the results show that L3 processing cannot be isolated from L1 and L2 processing. Even though the grammaticality judgements were expected to concern L3 structures, parsing the sentences and lexical item recognition resulted in the activation of their L1 and L2 lexical and structural equivalents. As the present author has remarked elsewhere, the prevalence of L2 influence on both transfer and the rejection of structures which seemed “too much like English” was probably due to the structures used in the study, which were often deliberately based on similarities or subtle differences between English and French (Włosowicz, 2012: 140), whereas in Polish such structures were inexistent or rare. However, the L2 transfer observed here can also be regarded as evidence in support of De Angelis’s (2005) notion of “association of foreignness”.

Finally, on the basis of many of the non-target responses it can be supposed that it is easier to notice lexical errors and acceptable (though less frequent or less idiomatic) forms than grammatical errors, including negative transfer based on the syntactic properties of L2 lexical items. For example, in the sentence “*Je me suis rappelé à poster la lettre”, even though the verb “poster” (to post) exists in French, one person wrote that it was an Anglicism and changed it to “envoyer” (to send). Similar examples include “faire la vaisselle” (see above) and the replacement of a verb by a noun, for instance, “*Charlotte pense de voyager en Espagne” (target: “Charlotte pense à voyager/pense voyager en Espagne” – Charlotte is thinking of travelling to Spain) changed to: “Charlotte pense au voyage en Espagne” (Charlotte is thinking about the journey to Spain).

Moreover, it can also be supposed that, despite the existence of a lexical-syntactic interface, there are some qualitative differences between lexical and grammatical competence, and lexical competence seems to be more easily available as well. Especially, such lexical properties as spelling and collocations seem to be more readily available than morphosyntactic properties and perhaps more so than grammatical rules, which might be attributed to the fact that lexical properties are more salient (Włosowicz, 2012: 140). On the other hand, even though all grammatical representations are constrained by UG, those of L3 can be more or less influenced by L1 and L2, which participate in processing, as their processing is inseparable.

The numbers of correct, incorrect and non-target responses, as well as instances of avoidance in the case of the well-formed sentences have been compared by means of a chi-square test.

Table 2. The contingency table of correct, incorrect and non-target responses, as well as cases of avoidance in the case of well-formed and ill-formed sentences

	Well-formed sentences	Ill-formed sentences	
Correct responses	70	36	106
Incorrect responses	20	104	124
Non-target responses	27	31	58
Avoidance	9	18	27
	126	189	315

df = 3, $p < 0.001$, $\chi^2_{obs} = 60.921$, $\chi^2_{crit} = 16.266$ (Brown, 1988: 192), $\chi^2_{obs} > \chi^2_{crit}$

As the results show, not only were there more correct answers in the case of the well-formed sentences and more incorrect and non-target ones, as well as more avoidance in the case of the ill-formed sentences, but the difference actually proved to be statistically significant at p<0.001.

This suggests that recognising a correct structure is easier than identifying an error and correcting it. It is possible that this kind of task reflects multilingual grammatical competence even better than a simple grammaticality judgement test, where participants only have to decide whether a sentence is well-formed or ill-formed, without having to correct it. Not only does one have to tap one's competence to find the L3 structure used in a correct sentence or the L2 structure used in an incorrect L3 sentence, but also to find the target L3 structure if a correction is necessary. This offers therefore an insight into both comprehension and production. Even though the competence underlying comprehension and production is the same, production requires retrieving the target structure, which may not be so easily available, as was visible in the case of the incorrect and the non-target responses to the ill-formed sentences used as stimuli. In fact, such comments as "I don't know how to correct it" suggest that the participant was able to access his or her competence and identify the sentence as incorrect, but he or she was not able to retrieve the correct structure. However, this may also be evidence of access to unconscious, acquired competence: instead of retrieving a consciously learnt rule, the participant intuitively felt that there was something wrong with the sentence. Even so, such intuitions did not have to be correct. For example, in sentence 6 (which was correct), "Pierre rêve de partir enfin en vacances" (Peter is dreaming of going on holiday at last), a participant underlined "enfin" (at last) and wrote: "coś tu nie pasuje" (something seems wrong to me here). This indicates that multilingual competence is indeed dynamic and may contain structures which are not the target L3 structures, but rather an unpredictable result of interaction between L1, L2 and L3. On the other hand, in the case of the well-formed sentences, it was enough to activate the rule or the structure (for example, only the syntactic properties of the main verb) from the stimulus sentence in long-term memory.

As for the participants' strategies, transfer from Polish and English, as well as the search for the target French structures, must have been to some extent strategic. Especially the rejection of non-finite clauses and their replacement by finite ones (for example, "*La prof a dit à Agnès à corriger sa redaction", changed to: "La prof a dit à Agnès qu'elle doit corriger sa redaction") suggests reliance on L1 Polish as a point of reference, or even L3-L1 translation as a comprehension strategy before correcting the sentence. However, as the students were aware of the fact that some of the L3 sentences contained literal translations of L2 English structures, some of them adopted the strategy of looking for and rejecting everything that seemed "too English" to them.

5. The Lexical Error Recognition Study

The purpose of this study was similar to that of the previous one, as it involved identifying correct and incorrect sentences, yet in this case the errors were lexical and not grammatical. Therefore, the participants were expected to rely on their lexical competence, but it could be assumed that the spread of activation in the multilingual mental lexicon could lead to the coactivation of different lexical entries (for example, a word could activate its false friend in another language, and activation could be spread farther on to words related to the false friend and strengthen the non-target interpretation), thus resulting in interference and, consequently, errors. Moreover, it could be supposed that, in the case of idioms, their meanings would not only be retrieved in the target language, but their constituent words could sent activation to their L1 and/or L2 equivalents, and thus, as in Blair and Harris's (1981) study, the literal English translations of French idioms could be understood and, under the influence of the constantly activated French expressions, the participants could assume that an identical expression existed in English.

5.1. Participants

The recognition of lexical errors in L3 sentences has been tested with twenty-seven participants whose language combination was Polish-English-French at the University of Silesia. The students were considerably advanced in both L2 and L3, though more advanced in L2, as in the grammaticality judgement study (it can be assumed that their L2 levels were B2-C1, and their L3 levels were B1 or B2.

5.2. Method

The task consisted in identifying L3 lexical errors, especially false friends and the literal translations of L2 idioms, correcting them and then translating each sentence into Polish, in order to reveal the subjects' comprehension of the sentences. It was assumed that failure to correct an error could be due to incorrect comprehension and translation into L1 could clarify the sources of such errors (for example, failure to recognize an L2-L3 false friend could be revealed by the use of the non-target equivalent in Polish, see Wlosowicz, 2011).

The task used twenty sentences in each case, five of which (sentences 3, 8, 10, 15 and 18) were correct and fifteen were anomalous. Sentences 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 14 and 19 contained French-English false friends, sentences 2, 11, 16 and 20 contained literal translations of English collocations into French, and sentences 12, 13 and 17 contained literal translations of English idioms. The sentences are listed in Appendix 2.

Unlike in the previous study, the emphasis was on lexis and, as the results indicate, the use of false friends, idioms and some language-specific collocations renders the choice of the right lexical items more difficult. This indicates that similarity of form may lead to stronger coactivation of competing items (Green, 1993), thus increasing the risk of selecting a non-target item. However, depending on the subjects' attention to form, while some subjects may readily accept false friends, others may reject correct L3 words which too strongly resemble their L2 equivalents.

The responses were classified as follows: The "correct" category included sentences which were correctly identified as correct or incorrect and, if incorrect, properly corrected, and the translation into L1 was acceptable. 'Partly correct' meant, for example, that an error was identified but not corrected, or a sentence was identified as incorrect and corrected, but there was a small mistake in the translation into Polish. The incorrect responses, in turn, either involved accepting an error as a correct expression, or rejecting a correct sentence. Even if a sentence was not marked as correct (e.g. by ticking it or putting "O.K." next to it), a translation which treated a false friend as an equivalent or the literal translation of an English idiom (literally translated into French in the stimulus sentence) revealed that the response was incorrect. Also in the "incorrect" category, some of the subjects' responses were non-target ones which were due to a misinterpretation of the test sentences or the replacement of one correct item by another. For example, nine subjects replaced the verb form "requiert" (requires) by "exige" in sentence 3, probably because "requiert" looked too much like its English counterpart. On the other hand, responses where the subjects underlined some words but added such comments as "I am not sure" or a question mark were classified as "unsure". Finally, "avoidance" was not only the fact of not attempting to find the error and correct the sentence, but also translating the sentence only partly into Polish, which indicated that the target word or expression had not been understood, for example. "*La grand-mère regardait ses petits-enfants avec un sourire bénévole" (target: "La grand-mère regardait ses petits-enfants avec un sourire bienveillant"- 'The grandmother was looking at her grandchildren with a kind-hearted/benevolent smile'), translated as: "Babcia patrzyła na swoje wnuki z uśmiechem" (The grandmother was looking at her grandchildren with a smile). In fact, some of the responses were difficult to classify because, for example, underlining a word could mean the subject's uncertainty as to its correctness or meaning. Therefore, underlined words left without any correction or comment were classified as "avoidance", unless there was evidence to the contrary (for example, the subject's translation indicated the acceptance of a false friend, in which case the response was classified as 'incorrect'). The results are presented in Table 3 below.

5.3. Results

As can be seen in Table 3 below, the participants' responses varied considerably, but, in fact, they were often incorrect. In fact, while correct answers were not always given in response to a sentence, incorrect ones occurred in response to all the sentences, which suggests that cross-linguistic interaction in the multilingual mental lexicon is inevitable and can indeed be very complex.

Table 3. The results of the lexical correctness judgement and translation task

Sentence	Correct (%)	Incorrect (%)	Partly correct (%)	Unsure (%)	Avoidance (%)
1		66.67	25.93	7.4	
2	3.7	70.37	7.4	11.11	7.4
3	40.74	55.56		3.7	
4	55.56	29.63		7.4	7.4
5		66.67	3.7	3.7	25.93
6	25.93	51.85	22.22		
7	3.7	48.15	14.81	3.7	29.63
8	22.22	62.96	3.7		11.11
9	25.93	59.26	11.11		3.7
10	62.96	22.22	7.4		7.4
11	11.11	85.19			3.7
12		62.96	29.63		7.4
13		40.74	11.11	3.7	44.44
14	48.15	33.33	14.81		3.7
15	37.04	40.74	3.7		18.52

16	59.26	14.81	14.81	3.7	7.4
17	14.81	29.63	33.33	11.11	11.11
18	55.56	11.11	7.4	3.7	22.22
19	18.52	51.85	18.52		11.11
20	18.52	77.78			3.7

As the results show, the most correct responses were provided in the case of sentences 10 (62.96%), 16 (59.26%), 4 (55.56%) and 18 (55.56%). Sentence 10 ("Madame Labonne est très cultivée. Elle lit beaucoup et participe à de nombreuses manifestations culturelles." – "Mrs Labonne is [very] cultured. She reads a lot and participates in numerous cultural events") proved to be quite easy. Even though it could be supposed that the students would reject "manifestations culturelles" as incorrect or translate it as "manifestacje kulturalne" (literally: cultural manifestations), but that was not the case, as the majority of them translated the expression as "wydarzenia kulturalne" (cultural events). On the other hand, the negative L2 transfer in sentences 16 ("*Le patient est déjà au théâtre d'opérations", target: "Le patient est déjà à la sale d'opérations" – "The patient is already in the operating theatre") and 4 ("*Cet exercice est très aisé: il faut juste rajouter quelques terminaisons", target: "Cet exercice est très facile…" – "This exercise is very easy: one only has to add a few endings") was fairly easy to detect, as the French expression "salle d'opérations" is like its Polish equivalent (sala operacyjna), while the equivalents of "easy", "facile" and "aisé", differ clearly in meaning ("easy to do" is "facile", while "aisé" means "relaxed, natural" or "well-off"). In fact, the expression "théâtre d'opérations" exists in French too, but it means "a theatre of war". Similarly, "aisé" as a synonym of "facile" theoretically exists, but it is an archaic, literary use and it was assumed that it could be treated, first, as unknown to the students at their proficiency level, and, second, as already a false friend, just as a test in contemporary English would not include, for example, the verb "to ejaculate" in its nineteenth-century sense, "to cry out". Like sentence 10, sentence 18 was also correct and was mostly recognised as such, but it also gave rise to considerable avoidance (22.22%) and students who rejected it insisted on changing "une centrale hydroeléctrique" (a hydroelectric power station) to "une station hydroeléctrique" (probably under the influence of English) or "un point hydroeléctrique".

By contrast, the biggest numbers of errors were observed in sentences 11 (85.19%), 20 (77.78%), 2 (70.37%) 1 and 5 (66.67% each). In 11 ("*Les gens reviennent des vacances et toutes les routes majeures sont bloquées par des embouteillages", – "People are returning from the holidays and all the major roads are blocked by traffic jams"), "les routes majeures" seemed semantically correct ; the difference lay in the collocation, which, in French, is "les routes principales" ("the main roads"). Another difficult collocation occurred in sentence 20 ("*Les étudiants du lycée vont bientôt *passer leur bac*", target : "Les élèves du lycée/ Les lycéens vont bientôt passer leur bac" – "The secondary school students will soon take their A-level exams"). Here, the calque of the English expression 'secondary school students' seemed quite natural to the participants. By contrast, they often found erroneous the expression "passer leur bac" and changed it either to "prendre leur bac" (a literal translation of "take their A-level exams") or "réussir à leur bac" ("to pass their A-level exams"). Sentence 2 ("*Comme le montre un nombre d'études, le lexique mental est très complexe") was a literal translation of the English: "As a number of studies show, the mental lexicon is very complex", while in French the noun "nombre" (number) had to be modified by an adjective (un grand nombre/ un bon nombre) or replaced by the adjective "nombreux" (numerous): "Comme le montrent de nombreuses *études, le l*exique mental est très complexe". However, the students tended to regard the English-like structure as correct and to look for errors somewhere else, for example, in the expression "le lexique mental". These results indicate that detecting collocations as belonging to a non-target language may be more difficult than detecting false friends or literal translations of idioms. Still, false friends also pose considerable difficulty, as in sentences 1 ("*C'est un nouveau paragraphe, il faut donc le commencer par une indentation," target: "…par un alinéa" – "This is a new paragraph, so it has to be started with an indentation") and 5 ("*Saint François était ascète : il pratiquait le faste et il se déplaçait uniquement à pied", target : "… il pratiquait le jeûn/ il jeûnait et il se déplaçait uniquement à pied" – "Saint Francis was an ascetic: he practised fasting and travelled only on foot"). In fact, sentence 5 proved to be particularly difficult, as no correct response was supplied. Even though "le faste" formally resembles "fasting", it means the opposite (luxury, extravagance).

The numbers of correct, incorrect, partly correct and 'unsure' responses, as well as cases of avoidance for the four types of sentences (correct ones and those containing false friends and literal translations of English idioms and collocations) were then compared by means of a chi-square test to find out whether the correctness of the responses depended on the sentence type.

Table 4. The contingency table for the chi-square analysis of the correctness of responses according to sentence types

	Correct sentences	False friends	L2 collocations	L2 idioms	
Correct	59	38	25	4	126
Incorrect	52	124	67	36	279
Partly correct	6	26	6	20	58
Unsure	2	6	4	4	16
Avoidance	16	22	6	17	61
	135	216	108	81	540

df = 12, $p < 0.001$, $\chi^2_{obs} = 82.91809$, $\chi^2_{crit} = 32.909$ (Brown, 1988, p. 192), $\chi^2_{obs} > \chi^2_{crit}$

The difference is statistically significant at p<0.001, which proves that the correctness of the responses depended on the sentence type. As in the grammaticality judgement task, it was apparently easier to identify a correct than an incorrect sentence and, in the latter case, to correct the error.

Moreover, as in the grammaticality judgement task, L3 processing could not be separated from that of L1 and L2 and, moreover, L2 influence was more visible than L1 influence, probably due to the stimuli used. As in Blair and Harris's (1981) study, some literal translations of idioms were understood and accepted as correct. For example, seventeen subjects accepted the phrase “les cochons voleront” (target: “quand les poules auront des dents”) as correct under the influence of the English idiom “pigs will fly”, either marking the sentence as acceptable or changing another element, for example, from “si jamais tu arrives” to “si tu arrives jamais”. Even their translations show that they regarded the idiom as possible in French, for example: “Prędzej świnie zaczną latać niż nauczysz się grać na pianinie” (“Sooner pigs will start to fly than you will learn to play the piano”), or: “Jeśli ty nauczysz się grać kiedykolwiek na pianinie, to kaktus mi na ręce wyrośnie” (“If you ever learn to play the piano, pigs will fly”, literally: “a cactus will grow on my hand”). The translations indicate that the literal translation of the English idiom seemed quite natural to the students, that is why they either translated it by an equivalent Polish idiom (“kaktus mi na ręce wyrośnie”) or even assumed that the same idiom, “świnie zaczną/ będą latać” existed in Polish and in English. The next idiom, “to keep the wolf from the door” (used in a literal translation, “pour tenir le loup loin de leur porte”, while the French equivalent would have been “pour se mettre à l'abri du besoin”), was even more problematic. It gave rise to a lot of avoidance (44.44%) and to no correct response (though three students gave partly correct responses, as they at least spotted the negative transfer from English), while nine subjects accepted the expression as possible in French, translating it, for example, as: "Żyją oszczędnie, aby związać jakoś koniec z końcem" ("They live economically in order to make ends meet somehow"), or: "Dużo oszczędzają, by bieda nie wkradała się do nich" ("They save a lot to prevent poverty from sneaking into their home"). However, literal translations (for example, "Oszczędzają wiele, żeby utrzymać wilka daleko od drzwi" – '"They save a lot to keep the wolf far away from the door") were also observed, which suggests that they students regarded this idiom as possible in Polish too.

Some interesting information is also provided by the subjects' corrections. As has been mentioned above, some participants tended to avoid L3 words which resembled their L2 equivalents. However, avoidance of interference sometimes led to even greater interference. For instance, two subjects changed the phrase "passer leur bac" ("take their A-level exam", without specifying whether they will pass it or not) to "prendre leur bac", which is a literal translation of the English expression "take their A-level exam" (see above). Similarly, in sentence 9 ("*Le pêcheur s'est assis sur la banque de la rivière", target: "Le pêcheur s'est assis au bord de la rivière" – "The fisherman sat down on the river bank"), two participants found the word "rivière" dubious or incorrect and suggested replacing it by "fleuve" (a large river which flows into the sea). Apparently, they focused on correcting what seemed "too English" to them, even though "river" and "rivière" are cognates, while they assumed that "bank" and "banque" were polysemous in the same way in English and French.

Furthermore, some of the subjects' interpretations were completely idiosyncratic, for example, in sentence 4, one participant changed "terminaisons" to "explications" and translated the sentence as: "To ćwiczenie jest bardzo trudne, dlatego powinno zawierać kilka wyjaśnień" (This exercise is very difficult, that is why it should contain a few explanations). It is quite puzzling why the students understood "easy" (despite the false friend, the context indicated this interpretation) as "difficult". It is possible that the spread of activation in the mental lexicon failed to activate the meaning of the target word (and its form, "facile"), but activated that of its antonym. Another interesting example is the translation of sentence 15 ("*À la réception, Sylvie a porté un tailleur vert foncé*" – "At the party/ reception, Sylvia wore a dark green suit") as: "Na weselu Sylvie mia*ła na sobie dopasowany zielony kostium*" (At the wedding, Sylvie wore a tight green suit). While "wedding" may have been activated by the context (a kind of party), instead of retrieving the meaning of "vert foncé" as "dark green", the student analysed "foncé" as the past participle of the verb "foncer" (to push, to charge at) and interpreted it as a tight suit into which Sylvie had "pushed" herself.

Finally, sentence 8 ("Cette librairie-papeterie se spécialise dans la vente de fournitures de bureau" – "This bookshop and stationer's shop specialises in the sale of office equipment/ supplies"), which was acceptable, was often rejected (it gave rise to seventeen erroneous responses, 62.96%) because of the activation of the English word "furniture". Indeed, four students changed "fournitures" to "meubles" (furniture) and one crossed out the plural morpheme "s" in "fournitures" to make it singular, as in English. On the other hand, three subjects underlined "librairie-papeterie" as incorrect, and two of them remarked that it was strange because a bookshop did not sell furniture.

6. Conclusions

In general, the results of the study reflect the complexity of trilingual systems at the levels of both representation and processing. Despite focus on form, quite a lot of negative transfer and interference errors, especially from L2, were observed. It can thus be assumed that all three languages were coactivated and consulted by the subjects, which provides some evidence in favour of the dynamic character (Herdina & Jessner, 2002) of holistic multicompetence (Cook, 1992: 1996).

Indeed, overlooking negative transfer from English in the stimulus sentences (false friends and literal translations of idioms, collocations and grammatical structures) indicates that, as in Blair and Harris's (1981) study, both languages are activated (here, L2 and L3, rather than L1 and L2, though L1 also had to be activated to allow L1-L3 translation) and, if the underlying meaning of a word or an idiom in the non-target language reaches a sufficient activation level, it can seem acceptable to the multilingual learner in the context available to him or her. Still, as in the case of "synforms" (Laufer, 1997), even though the participants integrated such interpretations into the contexts formed in their minds, the errors distorted the context and puzzled them, as in the example of the office supplies taken to be furniture. Therefore, the results of cross-linguistic interaction were negative rather than positive, but this may also be due to the study design, which deliberately included false friends and structures different in English and French.

Secondly, as the chi-square tests have shown, the correctness of the responses depended on the stimulus sentences, and accepting well-formed sentences as correct was easier than finding the errors in ill-formed sentences and correcting them. This applied to both grammatical and lexical errors. It can thus be supposed that, while in the case of correct structures and expressions it was easier to retrieve the rule or the lexical entry and also identify it in the stimulus sentence (although errors involving the rejection of correct sentences occurred too), encountering a sentence that seemed intuitively anomalous triggered a search for the error, which involved the more or less conscious use of strategies, such as the rejection of English-like elements, even though the result was not necessarily the target response.

Indeed, on the basis of the participants' performance, it can be assumed that at least some of them used strategies actively in order to understand the sentences (also by deducing the meanings of unknown words from context) and to evaluate their correctness. The study thus reveals not only linguistic but also strategic competence. In fact, transfer was not the only strategy and, in some cases, the participants' strategies focused on avoiding transfer and/or interference, which could lead to the rejection of correct words or structures if they seemed "too English". Moreover, as in the example of "vert foncé", they used comprehension strategies, such as morphological analysis. This sum of different competencies can be regarded as what Tarone (1983) describes as capability underlying language behaviour and what Herdina and Jessner (2002) define as multilingual proficiency.

Moreover, as the subjects were still learning their L2 and L3, the competence revealed by such studies as the present one must be regarded as variable, constantly changing under the influence of new input, processing constraints or even task demands (Tarone, 1979). Thus, in order to get better insight into multilingual proficiency, more research is needed, including longitudinal studies analysing the linguistic development of multilingual subjects, reflected to their linguistic and strategic behaviour in various contexts.

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Appendix 1: Sentences used in the grammaticality judgement study
1. Je me suis rappelé à poster la lettre.
2. Charlotte pense de voyager en Espagne.
3. Est-ce que ça te dérange si j'ouvre la fenêtre ?
4. Elle a fait ses élèves écrire un conte de fées.
5. Je n'ai rien contre laver la vaisselle.
6. Pierre rêve de partir enfin en vacances.
7. Fumer est interdit ici.
8. Je ne me souviens pas d'aller chercher ta tante à l'aéroport l'année dernière à Noël.
9. Je voudrais vous remercier pour traduire ce document.
10. En faisant beaucoup d'exercices, on peut très bien apprendre la grammaire.
11. Je ne m'attendais pas à lui de refuser mon invitation.
12. Catherine est très déçue d'avoir perdu la compétition.
13. Jeanne est responsable pour réaliser ce projet.
14. Henri préfère skier plutôt que de patiner.
15. La prof a dit à Agnès à corriger sa rédaction.

Appendix 2: Sentences used in the lexical correctness judgement test
1. C'est un nouveau paragraphe, il faut donc le commencer par une indentation.
2. Comme le montre un nombre d'études, le lexique mental est très complexe.
3. L'apprentissage d'une langue étrangère requiert beaucoup d'effort.
4. Cet exercice est très aisé : il faut juste rajouter quelques terminaisons.
5. Saint François était ascète : il pratiquait le faste et il se déplaçait uniquement à pied.
6. La prof est très contente des achèvements de ses élèves.
7. La grand-mère regardait ses petits-enfants avec un sourire bénévole.
8. Cette librairie-papeterie se spécialise dans la vente de fournitures de bureau.
9. Le pêcheur s'est assis sur la banque de la rivière.
10. Madame Labonne est très cultivée. Elle lit beaucoup et participe à de nombreuses manifestations culturelles.
11. Les gens reviennent des vacances et toutes les routes majeures sont bloquées par des embouteillages.
12. Si jamais tu arrives à apprendre à jouer du piano, les cochons voleront.
13. Ils économisent beaucoup pour tenir le loup loin de leur porte.
14. Actuellement, Anton n'est pas Allemand, mais Autrichien.
15. *À la réception, Sylvie a porté un tailleur vert foncé.*
16. Le patient est déjà au théâtre d'opérations.
17. Arrête de me tirer par la jambe ! Je sais que tu n'as jamais été en Australie !
18. Une nouvelle centrale hydroélectrique a été construite sur cette rivière.
19. Cette pipe transporte l'eau de la conduite à notre cuisine.
20. Les étudiants du lycée vont bientôt passer leur bac.

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The influence of L2 English on learning of L3 German structures – different examples of cross-linguistic influence

Abstract
The paper focuses on multilingual learning experiences and language transfer between L2 English and L3 German. The purpose of the following pilot study is to present how L2 English influences classroom learning of L3 German regarding selected structures, e.g. lexical, morphological and orthographic. The study was carried out with 50 high school learners whose L1 was Polish, L2 English and L3 German. In its theoretical part, the paper discusses crucial notions such as multilingualism and language transfer and elaborates on their role in foreign language acquisition process. Its concluding part reflects upon the similarities and differences between languages and obstacles resulting from this phenomenon. It also focuses on Third Language Acquisition (TLA) process as a challenge both for students and teachers referring to languages typologically close as English and German are.

Keywords: multilingualism; L3 German; L2 English; cross-linguistic influence; lexical transfer

1. Multilingualism

In the words of Aronin and Singleton (2008) the phenomenon of globalization refers to inevitable development of multilingualism emphasizing the rise in foreign language acquisition (Aronin and Singleton (2009:170). Gabryś – Barker (2005:17) defines multilingualism as 'the ability to use or function in more than two languages'. The linguist adds that at present multilingualism is not unusual any more, but it is the norm. A multilingual person, according to Singleton and Aronin (2009:171) can be characterized as possessing "a wider range of affordances available for them". What is more, multilinguals not only have the knowledge, but also improved language awareness. Another crucial notion is introduced by Singleton and Aronin (2009:171) which is multilinguality. This term is the phenomenon of being able to communicate and function in particular languages, and enables a multilingual person to cope with language on his own and any other problems connected with this process (Aronin and O Laoire, 2004). In addition, multilingual people are aware of their possibilities and usefulness which are carried by possessed knowledge. This is known as theory of affordances discussed by Singleton and Aronin (2007), introduced by Gibson (1977; 1979/1986) as quoted in Chłopek (2011:123).

Another pivotal issue referring to the knowledge of multilingual person in comparison to a monolingual one, is *multicompetence* (Chłopek, 2011:66). This term is defined as 'a complex state of mind that acquired two grammars' (translation is mine, after Cook, 1991:112). Cook redefined this notion in the following way: 'a knowledge of more than one language in one mind' (translation is mine, after Cook, 2001:12). The above-mentioned definitions draw our attention to *complexity* referring to multicompetence. Chłopek (2002:67) explains that foreign language acquisition process is not the same as acquiring first language (L1). Learning a new foreign language is very much grounded on languages which have already been acquired. Languages and interlanguages result from this phenomenon – they function in mind in a complex and dynamic way.

As Chłopek (2011:67) writes, another feature of multicompetence is *dynamism*. Both the development and regression occur in a multilingual mind at the same time, and are much more visible than in a monolingual one (Jessner, 1998:155; Herdina, Jessner, 2000; 2002; Dewaele, Pavlenko, 2003:137). Multilingual competence is the outcome of dynamic relations occurring between the following variables:

- the systems of L1, L2 and L3;
- cross-linguistic interaction;
- multilingualism-factor.

Without the interaction of the above-mentioned factors multilingualism would hardly be possible, because thanks to them our brain has knowledge, can process various languages and draw new conclusions and as a result is able to use a new language. The more dynamic these elements interact with each other, the more effective language learning and production are.

2. Foreign Language Learning and Working Memory

It is worth emphasizing that foreign language learning has an influence on the development of working memory. But first it is necessary to introduce the term working memory. As Mizera (2006:1) writes, working memory is 'the ability to simultaneously maintain and manipulate information in the performance of cognitive tasks' as well as in tasks developing L2 skills, e.g. listening or speaking (Fortkamp, Bergsleithner, 2007:41) – the definition is based on the working memory model introduced by Baddeley (1986, 1999, 2003; Gathercole & Baddeley, 1993; Baddeley & Hitch, 1974). In the beginning, working memory was divided into three components: the Phonological Loop, the Visuo-Spatial Sketchpad and the Central Executive (Baddeley, 1986). In 2000, the researcher included the fourth component which is the Episodic Buffer of working memory. Their main functions can briefly described as follow:

- Central Executive – the most essential component in working memory model which controls the work of the entire working memory; it gives attentional resources to other sub-components (Baddeley and Logie, 1999; Piotrowski 2004; Orzechowski, Piotrowski, Balas, Stettner, 2009:28);

- Phonological Loop – is used for phonological information; it is subdivided into: phonological store which stores information and articulatory loop responsible for information processing (Orzechowski, Piotrowski, Balas, Stettner, 2009:28)
- Visuo-Spatial Sketchpad – its function refers to storage and rehearsal of visual and spatial information (shape, size, colour as well as spatial location) (Piotrowski, 2004);
- Episodic Buffer – is responsible for temporary storage of complex information which can be linked, although they are of various origins (Piotrowski, 2004:25;35).

The role of foreign language learning in working memory improvement was proved on the basis of research conducted by monolingual and bilingual children. The study carried out by Morales, Calvo and Bialystok, (2013) compared the tasks measuring working memory of monolingual and bilingual children. The study revealed that bilingual pupils responded much faster than monolingual ones and, what is more their answers were more detailed than those provided by monolingual children. This confirmed that bilinguals' central executive is very efficient. In the second task measuring other functions of central executive component, bilingual learners again outperformed monolinguals. The above-mentioned tasks revealed that bilingual children use their working memory better than monolinguals.

Working memory is strongly connected with language aptitude which in general is understood as "a knack for learning a foreign language" (Gardner and Lambert, 1972:2). Working memory is the component of language aptitude and it enables us to store and process linguistic information, e.g. identifying and distinguishing sounds, recognizing grammatical structures or inductive language learning (Carroll, 1981). Cross-linguistic influence is possible, because linguistic information which is stored in long-term memory can be dynamically processed in our working memory system. This is one important reason why we can function in multilingual environment.

3. Cross-linguistic influence

As Chłopek writes psychological processes occurring both during studying and using foreign language are implicit rather than explicit. Their quality and frequency can be observed on the basis of cross-linguistic influence (Chłopek 2011:139). They occur because linguistic systems of a multilingual person are stored in one structure of memory and in addition are connected with one system of term representations. When we use a particular target language, elements coming from a non-target language are activated. Chłopek (2011:141) explains that a cross-linguistic influence 'is any type influence of at least one language (or interlanguage) on any other language (or interlanguage)'. Gabryś-Barker (2009:155) explains that when we observe foreign language learning process, we focus not only on 'the present state' 'but also on what comes before and after'. The phenomena which refer to *before* are named *transfer of learning*, and the second group concerning *after – proactive interference*. Gabryś-Barker adds that it is difficult to separate these phenomena, and this is the reason why many researchers treat them as homogenous. The linguist explains that transfer of learning is strongly connected with the knowledge previously possessed and proactive interference focuses on transfer effects. Knowledge which learners have already acquired may make learning process easier, which is called positive transfer, or more difficult – negative transfer. Moreover, there are two more types of transfer of learning as Gabryś-Barker notices (2009:155): a general transfer concerning the entire context of learning and specific transfer referring to particular area of knowledge that can be transferred because of some similarities.

Chłopek (2011:142) writes that the above-mentioned phenomena can be intentional or unintentional. Researchers are usually interested in the examples and effects of the negative transfer which is named interference, due to the fact that they can be easily observed. These instances can occur by mistake (Corder, 1967/1981) or constantly, and are known as mistakes or competence mistakes (James, 1998; Ecke, Hall, 2000). Seifert sums up that transfer can occur 'when students apply moderately general principles to new problems or situations' (Seifert 1991:183 quoted in Gabryś-Barker 2009:156).

4. Types of transfer

Cross-linguistic influence regarding lexis is the most popular type of transfer, because it can be easily observed, e.g. when a learner uses inappropriate word in an utterance, it can ruin the meaning of the entire sentence. What is more, there group of lexical items in a language is much more numerous than a grammatical one (Chłopek, 2011:197).

Undoubtedly, studies focusing on the lexical transfer are quite numerous (Ringbom 2005, De Angelis 2007, Gabryś-Barker 2005, 2006, Chłopek 2011, Targońska 2004), but there are fewer works on cross-linguistic influence at the morphological and orthographic level. Cross-linguistic influence occurs because the system of the target language is not acquired in a sufficient way.

Ringbom (1987 as quoted in Chłopek, 2011:198)) analysed 11 thousand essays which were written in English, produced by students whose L1 was Swedish, L2 Finnish or L1 Finnish, L2 Swedish and L3 English. On the basis of the research, it turned out that it was Swedish which influenced L3 English no matter if it was students' mother tongue or not. Furthermore, the researcher carried out another study referring to translation of lexical units with learners who knew the same languages as above-mentioned. The main source of transfer of form was Swedish. However, semantic transfer was caused by mother tongue (both Finnish and Swedish), and there was no transfer on the basis of L2.

The research conducted by Targońska (2004) revealed that L2 English can be helpful in learning L3 German (the instance of positive transfer), because of the fact that students can notice some similarities between these two languages. On the other side, students learn German on the basis of L2 English filter, which can lead to negative transfer, e.g. they write *Tafle* instead of correct German form *Tafel,* because English *-le* ending is deeply rooted in their mind.

Chłopek (2011:147-150) enumerates and explains types of transfer regarding the research conducted with students from German Department whose task was a written production in L3 English. For the purposes of this paper, the most meaningful transfer types are briefly discussed below:

- "totally or partially deceptive cognates - false friends" (Chłopek, 2011:147; Ringbom, 2007:78-88) – similarity of equivalents in two particular languages is the reason for transfer, e.g. *at the time he works in a fabrik* (Swedish *fabrik* = English *factory,* English *fabric* means *cloth*);
- semantic extension of single lexical units – transfer of meaning of a particular lexical unit, e.g. *He bit himself in a language* (Finnish *kieli* = English *language);*
- nonce borrowing, nonce loan – a borrowing used ad hoc; refers to using lexical unit from a source language which is adapted concerning its morphology, phonology as well as orthography in the target language; a non-existing form is the result of this process;
- morphological transfer – a non-target morphological rule or a morpheme influences production in a target language (Chłopek, 2011:149);
- orthographic transfer – using an orthographic rule or transferring particular orthographic examples into the target language.

As far as lexical transfer is concerned, it is a very important type of cross-linguistic influence, because it deals with vocabulary, which enables us to communicate. On the basis of similarities between languages students can build and enrich their vocabulary range and this can make communication easier and more effective. Morphological and orthographic types of transfer seem to be more difficult to acquire, because they deal with grammar which is specific for each language. Sometimes it is possible to look for similar patterns and make use of them in another foreign language, especially in languages from the same language family or even from different families, e.g. a necessity to inflect verbs in German and French.

5. Research design

The study focuses on the process of foreign language learning in Poland, mainly on two obligatory foreign languages in high school curriculum. In the words of De Angelis and Selinker (2001), transfer of learning is more likely to occur between languages typologically close. It has been designed to reveal the role of L2 English in L3 German acquisition. The study was conducted with 50 Polish learners from high school in Silesia (Gliwice) whose L1 is Polish, L2 English and L3 German. Their level of proficiency in English is upper - intermediate and in German is intermediate. The main aim of the study was to see if learners transfer particular lexical, grammatical and orthographic structures from L2 English to L3 German.

The study was conducted from May to June 2014 and subdivided into two parts. In the first part, students wrote an essay on their best holidays (see Appendix 1). The word limit was up to 200 words. The task took learners about 45 minutes. The second part of the study was a translation task, which aimed at translating twelve sentences from L1 Polish into L3 German (see Appendix 2). The sentences forced students to write particular German structures in translation task which revealed the role of L2 English in L3 German production. The sentences to translate contained the use of words, prepositions, articles and one example of grades of adjectives. Both the translation task and long written production revealed the examples of negative transfer between English and German.

The papers, 50 essays and 50 translation tasks, were collected and corrected referring to Cross-Linguistic Influence (CLI) between L2 English and L3 German. The results are presented and discussed in the tables below.

6. Results analysis

The first group of results to analyse refers to lexical transfer between L2 English and L3 German. The outcomes occurred in students' written production about their best holiday. The examples are visible in *Table 1*, in column *The example of error.* In the words of the first example, an erroneous use of English word *gift* in L3 German can be seen. Students transferred the meaning *present* to L3 German, but they should have written *Geschenk*. The word *Gift* exists in German, but means *a poison.* There are two more similar examples: students used L2 *Olympics* in L3 German instead of correct term *Wettkämpfe*, and English adjective *fast* instead of *schnell*. The situation is the same with the use of verbs. In English we usually say *to go by bus*, and learners transferred the meaning of the verb *go* into German, which is *gehen*. The problem to note is that, in German we must say *mit dem Bus fahren*, not *mit dem Bus gehen*.

Students make use of their L2 knowledge and transfer it into L3 German, on the basis of which they try to function in new linguistic situations. The consequences of this phenomenon can develop in two directions. On the one hand, it can cause misunderstandings in communication, e.g. with a word *gift* – it is a huge difference if we have a present (English meaning) or poison (*der Gift* – German meaning). On the other hand, transfer of particular structures can be very imprecise, but it can still be communicative, e.g. erroneous form *mit dem Bus gehen* still means that *we travel by bus*, although the correct form is with different verb *mit dem Bus fahren*.

Table 1. Lexical transfer between L2 English and L3 German

Type of CLI	Number of incorrect sentences	The example of error	Correct L3 German form	Intended meaning	Source of error
False friends	4	Ich habe ein Gift für dich.	Ich habe ein Geschenk für dich.	I have a gift for you.	L2 gift = L3 Geschenk
False friends	3	Sie bekam eine schlanke Frau.	Sie ist eine schlanke Frau geworden.	She became a fit woman.	L2 become = L3 werden
False friends	12	Mein Freund kann sehr fast laufen.	Mein Freund kann sehr schnell laufen.	My friend can run very fast.	L2 fast = L3 schnell
False friends	14	Dorthin kann ich mit dem Bus gehen.	Dorthin kann ich mit dem Bus fahren.	I can go there by bus.	L2 go by bus = L3 mit dem Bus fahren
Ad hoc borrowing	11	Mein Freund nimmt in dem Olympics teil.	Mein Freund nimmt an den Wettkämpfe teil.	My friend takes part in the Olympics.	L2 Olympics = L3 Wettkämpfe

The second group to discuss (*Table 2*) refers to the use of prepositions and their transfer. The errors concerning them can occur because of similarities of form between English and German. In English, if we *prepare for* a particular event, we have to use a preposition *for*. German equivalent of the above-mentioned phrase is *sich vorbereiten auf / für*. Nearly 50 per cent of students identified the similarity between English *for* and German *für* and used this preposition correctly (positive trasnfer). The rest of the group used German preposition *auf*, which is correct as well, or did not translated the sentence correctly.

Another example concerning prepositions in English *to take part in*. German equivalent is *teilnehmen an*, and definitely not *teilnehmen in*. Translation task revealed that about the half of the learners noticed similarity in the form between English *in* and German *in*, and this was the reason of error and negative transfer as well.

It is obvious that languages differ in their prepositional systems. Prepositions are difficult to learn for students, and although they are "small words", they carry crucial meaning. In the examples presented they do not change the meaning of the whole utterance, but they refer to linguistic precision.

Table 2. Transfer of prepositions from L2 English into L3 German

Verb + preposition	Number of incorrect sentences	%	The example of error	Correct form in L3 German	Intended meaning	The source of error
sich vorbereiten auf/für	21/50	42	Ich bereite mich für Abitur vor.	Ich bereite mich für/ auf Abitur vor.	I prepare for the matura exam.	L2 I prepare for Matura exam. = L3 Ich bereite für Abitur vor.
teilnehmen an	23/50	46	Ich nehme in dem Wettkampf teil.	Ich nehme an dem Wettkampf teil.	I take part in the contests.	L2 take part in = L3 teilnehmen an
warten auf	20/50	40	Ich warte für dich.	Ich warte auf dich.	I wait for you.	L2 wait for = L3 warten auf
auf diese Weise	3/50	6	In diese Weise werden wir nicht sprechen.	Auf diese Weise werden wir nicht sprechen.	In this way we will not talk.	L2 in this way = L3 Auf diese Weise

Adjectives and transfer between English and German were also observed in the study (Table 3). A comparative grade of the adjective *interesting* in English is formed by adding the word *more*: *more interesting*. In German, we do not use any additional words in adjectives, but add the ending *-er.* 28 per cent of students produced the comparative form in German *mehr interresant* instead of *interessanter*. The erroneous German form *mehr interessant,* can have its roots in the correct English form *more interesting*. The situation is similar with the superlative form. 20 per cent of students used the erroneous German form *am meisten luxuriös* instead of *am luxuriösten.* The source of error can be seen both in L1 Polish and L2 English. In these two languages we use additional words in superlative and comparative degrees before the adjective.

Table 3. Comparative and superlative forms of adjectives

Type of CLI	The number of incorrect sentences	%	The example of error	Correct form in L3 German	Intended meaning	Source of error
Transfer of the comparative from L2 into L3	14/50	28	Diese Buch ist mehr interessant als früher.	Diese Buch ist interessanter als früher.	This book is more interesting than the previous one.	L2 more interesting = L3 interessanter
Transfer of the superlative from L2 into L3	10/50	20	Wir haben die Nacht in am meisten luxuriös Hotel verbracht.	Wir haben die Nacht in am luxuriösten Hotel verbracht.	We spent the night in the most luxurious hotel.	L2 the most luxurious = L3 am luxuriösten

One example concerning transfer of articles is presented in Table 4. It can be noticed that in English sentence *I want to be a doctor*, indefinite article *a* is necessary. German translation of this sentence is: *Ich möchte Arzt werden* (without any articles). In 36 per cent of students‘ papers, the translation contained a definite or an indefinite article: *Ich möchte ein/der Arzt werden*. The source of error can be L2 English. One reason for this phenomenon can be that the students have been learning English longer than German. This means that English article system is deeply rooted in their mind and it is transferred into L3 German. This type of error highlights the need to differentiate article systems between particular examples in various foreign languages.

Table 4. Transfer of articles form L2 English into L3 German

Type of CLI	Number of incorrect sentences	%	The example of error	Correct L3 German form	Intended meaning	Source of error
Transfer of articles	18/50	36	Ich möchte ein/der Arzt werden.	Ich möchte Arzt werden.	I want to be a doctor.	L2 I want to be a doctor. = L3 Ich möchte Arzt werden.

Plural forms in English can be a source of error in L3 German as it is presented in Table 5. In English, after the word *glasses* we are obliged to use a verb in plural, e.g. *My glasses are red*. The equivalent of English glasses in German is *Brille*, and after *Brille* we use a singular verb, e.g . *Meine Brille ist rot*. German construction *Meine Brille sind rot is* the example of the negative transfer from English into German.

Another example concerning the plural form is German noun *Polizei* after which we should only use a verb in singular form, e.g. *Die Polizei sucht nach die Tätern*. 12 per cent of learners used the verb in plural, which can be explained on the basis of English – here after the equivalent *police* the plural verb should be used: *The Police look for the perpetrators*.

The source of transfer can be not only L2 English, but also students' mother tongue Polish, because the word *glasses* in Polish is plural and needs a verb in plural as well. A good learning aid would be a comparative list of particular nouns in English and German which would emphasize the differences between singular and plural forms and make studying easier.

Table 5. Transfer of plural forms form L2 English into L3 German

Type of CLI	Number of incorrect sentences	%	The example of error	Correct L3 German form	Intended meaning	Source of error
Transfer of L2 plural form of a verb after a noun in plural	12/50	24	Meine Brille sind rot.	Meine Brille ist rot.	My glasses are red.	L1 Moje okulary są czerwone. = L2 My glasses are red. = L3 Meine Brille ist rot.
Transfer of L2 plural form of a verb after a noun in plural	6/50	12	Die Polizei suchen nach die Tätern.	Die Polizei sucht nach die Tätern.	The Police look for the perpetrators.	L2 The Police look for the perpetrators. = L3 Die Polizei sucht nach die Tätern.

Last, but not least issue to discuss is orthographic transfer between English and German. The equivalent of English noun *apple*, is German *Apfel*. As it can be easily observed, in the former the noun's ending is *-le*, and the latter *-el*. English ending *-le* can be transferred into German, and this is the reason why 8 students used the erroneous form *Apfle* in German. The example with English *uncle* is analogical: *Oncle* instead of *Onkel* in German.

Orthographic transfer is based on similarities of written form of the words between English and German. Students who have been learning English longer than German got accustomed to writing patterns in English and as a result need to practice German spelling more. This type of transfer does not impede communication very much and proves that it is still possible, although the words do differ, but in small extent.

Table 6. Orthographic transfer between L2 English and L3 German

Type of CLI	Number of incorrect sentences	The example of error	Correct L3 German spelling	Intended meaning	Source of error
Transfer of order of letters	Sentences found in 7 essays	Mein Oncle ist sehr nett.	Mein Onkel ist sehr nett.	My uncle is very nice.	L2 uncle = L3 Onkel
Transfer of order of letters	8	Ich habe eine Apfle in meinem Rücksack.	Ich habe einen Apfel in meinem Rücksack.	I have an apple in my backpack.	L2 apple = L3 Apfel
Transfer of order of letters	16	Hundret	Hundert	hundred	L2 hundred = L3 Hundert

Summary of findings

1. Transfer of prepositions from L2 English into L3 German is the strongest – it occurs nearly in the half of papers. Almost a half of students transfer prepositions from L2 English into L3 German, especially these which are physically similar to each other in both languages, e.g. L2 *for* → L3 *für*; L2 *in* → L3 *in*. Prepositions have smaller semantic weight. Moreover, they are redundant elements – at this level of language acquisition, learners can communicate successfully without them. Transfer of function words can be caused by the fact that they usually are shorter and less noticeable for learners than lexical words (Ringbom 1987).

2. The instance of transfer of nouns is mostly visible within the scope of false friends between L2 English and L3 German. There is the example of ad hoc borrowing as well.

3. Approximately 23 per cent of students transfer the comparative and superlative forms of adjectives from English into German, e.g. L2 *more interesting* → L3 *mehr interessant*.

4. Nearly 40 per cent of learners write articles in German sentences when it is not needed because of the influence of L2 English, e.g. *I want to be a doctor*. → L3 *Ich möchte ein/der Arzt werden*.

5. Plural nouns in L2 English seem to be plural too in L3 German for 24 per cent of learners.

6. English spelling is deeply rooted in learners' knowledge, because they transfer it into German words, e.g. L2 *apple* → L3 *Apfle*. Transfer at the orthographic level occurs because of similarities between languages (Targońska, 2004). High proficiency level of the source language and low proficiency level in the target language can create favourable conditions for orthographic transfer (Chłopek 2011).

Summarizing the above-mentioned research findings, it can be observed that similarities at the level of lexis, grammar and spelling between L2 English and L3 German can influence acquisition process of the German language. In some examples the transfer of similar words or forms does not change the meaning of the utterance very much, but this phenomenon refers to linguistic precision. But sometimes, using an erroneous form can impede the whole communication. Although, transfer errors do occur, learners are still able to communicate and prove that they try to function not only in the new language, but also in multilingual environment. It is a challenge both for teachers and students to be aware of the similarities and differences between languages typologically close. It is worth to draw learners' attention to this problem and endeavour to facilitate teaching program in order to make their speech and written production less erroneous.

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Appendix 1

Napisz esej opisujący Twoje najlepsze wakacje. Limit słów: 200.

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Appendix 2

Przetłumacz zdania z języka polskiego na język niemiecki.

1. W ten sposób nie będziemy rozmawiać.
2. Mój kolega bierze udział w zawodach.
3. Chciałbym zostać lekarzem.
4. Jadę autobusem.
5. Ta książka jest bardziej interesująca niż poprzednia.
6. Mam dla ciebie prezent.
7. Przygotowuję się do matury.
8. Czekam na ciebie.
9. Moje okulary są czerwone.
10. Mój wujek jest miły.
11. Jestem Polką/Polakiem.
12. Jutro idziemy do parku.

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The influence of L2 status on L3 pronunciation

Abstract
Third Language Acquisition is a certainly more complex process than Second Language Acquisition due to the number of previously acquired languages which can create more opportunities of linguistic interference (Chłopek, 2011). Numerous studies suggest that it is mainly L2 that frequently serves as a predominant source of transfer (e.g. Hammarberg, 2001; Treichler et al., 2009). Although there may be a lot of explanations for this phenomenon, such as typological distance between languages or the order of language acquisition (e.g. Chłopek, 2011; Letica and Mardešić, 2007), one of the cognitive processes affecting TLA seems to be very influential and worth analysing. According to De Angelis (2005) non-native languages are usually classified as "foreign language" category in learners' minds thus simply creating a cognitive association between them. As one's L1 does not sound "foreign" it is usually excluded and blocked from this association. De Angelis (2005: 11) called this process an "association of foreignness". It should favour non-native transfer giving L2 a privileged status. Hence the name of this variable: "L2 status". L2 privileged status was observed as having a strong impact on L3 in TLA lexical and pronunciation studies (Llama et al., 2007; Lipińska, 2014a).
The aim of this study was to assess L3 speech in terms of foreign accentedness. A group of university students from Poland participated in the study. They were advanced speakers of English (L2) and upper-intermediate users of German (L3). They performed speaking and reading tasks which were recorded. The utterances were subsequently analysed by three German teachers from Poland and two native speakers of German who teach English as an L2, paying special attention to foreign accentedness resulting from either L1 or L2 influence. The results confirmed that L2 had privileged status in L3 speech production in comparison to subjects' L1.

Keywords: L3 acquisition, L3 pronunciation, L2 status, language transfer

1. Introduction

For many years, second/foreign languages have been in the centre of attention as a crucial tool for communication. It worth noticing that L2 teachers often focus on vocabulary, correct grammar and some speaking activities, however one element tends to be forgotten. One must not forget that in order to communicate successfully, a language user needs to be understood correctly and their speech must be intelligible enough to convey the intended message (e.g. Komorowska, 2011). And, since all language users are not only speakers but also listeners, they need to be capable of understanding other people. In order to achieve it, they have to obey a set of rules (e.g. grammatical, lexical, but also pronunciation ones). It is really crucial, especially when the speakers are from different countries and thus do not share the same language backgrounds (e.g. a native speaker of a given language and a non-native speaker or two non-native speakers from various countries) and they are not characterized by the same or similar factors affecting their speech in a language they are using to communicate (e.g. Littlewood, 1994). It can be observed that L2 learners care a lot about grammatical (syntactic) norms and errors at all stages of proficiency, however they frequently forget that grammatical norm is not the only type of norm which needs to be considered if they want to approximate the native, e.g. English, models, and, moreover, they often disregard pragmatic, morphological, orthographic and phonetic norms (Sobkowiak, 2004). It is also a quite common situation when L2 learners care less for proper articulation and pay more attention to comprehension skills and grammatical rules. It is especially true when they have not been trained to discriminate major phonetic differences since the early stages of learning an L2 (Eddine, 2011).

2. Acquisition of a phonetic system of an L2

Although some scholars compare acquisition of phonetic systems of an L1 and an L2, both processes are considerably different. It must be highlighted that unlike L2 learners, native speakers of a given language are equipped with the knowledge concerning all the necessary phonological rules of this language. This knowledge is reflected in both sound recognition and sound production. Language learners, on the other hand, if they wish to be successful L2 users, can only acquire this kind of knowledge in the process of SLA (Gass and Selinker, 2008). However, it must be said that sound systems of various languages differ to a great extent and thus this task frequently may turn out to be very problematic, especially for adult language learners (e.g. Rojczyk, 2009; Rojczyk, 2010). It has been reported that some learners never master target language pronunciation at the satisfactory level (Littlewood, 1994).

Moreover, one must not forget that there is no ready phonological representation of an L2 automatically which could be available to a language learner, and hence, every L2 learner must construct their own phonological representation of a target language. There is also another problem here, namely the fact that the representation which learners construct could differ from the one constructed by native speakers of a given language (Ard, 1990).

What is more, there are some L2 sounds which turn out to be considerably more difficult to acquire than other sounds. This fact has been confirmed by numerous SLA studies. It is thought that a lot of difficulties which L2 learners encounter while learning some L2 sounds can be connected with the influence of their L1 phonology. Although there is a popular assumption shared by non-linguists that learning a given L2 segment is easier when it is similar to a corresponding L1 sound, former research on L2 speech perception and production has shown the complex nature of the phenomenon of the sound perception. It has been observed that perceiving L2 sounds is not as simple as just deciding whether given segments in L1 and L2 are similar to one another or not. What is more, there are other linguistic and psychological factors which can contribute to the process of L2 segmental perception and production (Pilus, 2005).

3. PAM and SLM

Two models of speech production and speech perception are most popular in the context of difficulties that may be encountered by language learners who acquire a new language. The first of them is the *Speech Learning Model* by Flege (e.g. Flege, 1995) and the other one worth mentioning is the *Perceptual Assimilation Model* by Best (e.g. Best, 1994).

The first of the aforementioned models is the Speech Learning Model proposed and developed by Flege (1995). It is concentrated on the ultimate attainment of L2 production. It focuses on those L2 users who have been learning their L2 for a considerably long period of time and predicts that phonetic similarities and dissimilarities between a learner's mother tongue and their TL segments will affect the degree of success in production and perception of non-native sounds (Flege, 1995 reported in Rojczyk, 2009). It should happen as bilinguals are actually never able to fully separate their L1 and L2 phonetic subsystems (Flege, 2003). According to the SLM, the sounds in L2 are divided into two categories, that is *new* and *similar*. The "new" category means those sounds which are not identified by learners with any native sound. The "similar" category contains those sounds which are regarded to be the same as some of the L1 sounds (Brown, 2000). In this model phonetic similarity and dissimilarity are defined in terms of the acoustic and articulatory characteristics of the linguistically relevant speech sounds. Thus it can be said that the attainment of native-like production and perception of given L2 sounds is tightly linked to the phonetic distance between L1 and L2 segments (Flege, 1995; Rojczyk, 2010). According to the Speech Learning Model, L2 learners tend to be less successful in learning those L2 sounds which are "similar" to L1 sounds simply because the segmental similarity usually blocks the formation of a new phonetic category by means of the equivalence classification. On the other hand, those L2 sounds which are "different" or "new" in comparison to earlier formed L1 categories, encourage L2 learners to create new, separate L2 categories (Flege, 1995; Rojczyk, 2010).

Another aforementioned model is the Perceptual Assimilation Model by Best (e.g. Best, 1994; Best, 1995). This model explains that the difficulties which can be encountered by L2 learners who are acquiring non-native speech sounds are simply determined by their perceptual limitations. The PAM says that L2 learners usually tend to classify sound contrasts in L2 into various categories, but depending on the degree of similarity between their native and new segments (Pilus, 2005). Similarity in this case is understood as the spatial proximity of constriction location and active articulators (Brown, 2000). Such classification of L2 contrasts determines how they will be assimilated to learners' native categories (Best, 1995; Pilus, 2005).

4. Third Language Acquisition

The process of Second Language Acquisition is very complex itself, however, learning (or acquiring) more than one foreign language is even more complicated. Although for many years acquisition of third or any additional language was classified as a part of SLA (e.g. Cenoz, 2000; Jessner, 2006), for the last twenty years Third Language Acquisition (TLA) has been described as a separate process, in some aspects clearly different from SLA (Chłopek, 2011). Even though in some areas the processes are very similar one to another, there are numerous differences between them. The greatest and most influential one is the number of previously acquired languages (or interlanguages), as they will probably create a lot of instances of noticeable linguistic interactions. Also the order of language acquisition in TLA plays a crucial role. It seems obvious that while during SLA the number of such configurations is rather limited (an L2 learner can acquire either two languages simultaneously or just one language after another), in the case of learning three various languages there are more possible configurations (for instance: all languages simultaneously, three languages one after another, L1+L2 first and then L3 or L1 first and then L2 + L3). Another important factor is the fluency in each of the acquired languages, as it also affects TLA to a great extent. All these factors combined together make third language acquisition a phenomenon more complicated and much more dynamic than second language acquisition (Chłopek, 2011).

5. Language transfer

Transfer between one's native language and their target language in the process of SLA is an obvious and thoroughly examined factor (e.g. Arabski, 2006). A lot of studies proved that transfer of linguistic properties from a learner's L1 into their L2 is one of pervasive features of the process of second language acquisition (Towell and Hawkins, 1994). Nevertheless, while in the case of SLA it is possible to encounter a rather limited number of possibilities of linguistic interactions (it can be either L1→L2 transfer or L2 intralingual interference; naturally, L2→L1 transfer is also possible, but this phenomenon is not as frequent as the two previous variants), in TLA, as the languages are likely to affect one another in any plausible configuration, the number of transfer possibilities increases dramatically. For instance, for three languages the following configurations could appear: L1→L2, L1→L3, L2→L3, L2→L1, L3→L2 or L3→L1 (Chłopek, 2011; Ionin et al., 2011). What is more, although it is not a frequent phenomenon, also combinations of various languages can influence other ones (e.g. L1+L2→L3, L1+L3→L2 or even L2+L3→L1) (Chłopek, 2011). What is also very important, it has been shown that different languages may influence the other ones in completely various ways and, for instance, it is a frequent case that L2 affects L3 in ways that L1 will never do (Odlin, 2005).

The aforementioned factors suggest that L3 in its various aspects may be under the influence of both L1 and L2 and that this influence may be great. In numerous different studies the researchers have described various results in this matter. Depending on a research project, the language combinations used and language aspects analysed, they have proved that in the case of L3 acquisition, it is one's L2 that may serves as a predominant source of linguistic transfer (e.g. Hammarberg, 2001; Treichler et al., 2009) but in some instances it may also be a learner's mother tongue (e.g. Chumbow, 1981). Nevertheless, one must not forget that the order of language acquisition cannot be considered as an exclusive explanation in this case. Among vital factors in TLA one should remember about a typological distance between the analysed languages, as in some situations it may be even more influential than the very order of language acquisition (Letica and Mardešić, 2007; Chłopek, 2011). Typological distance is based on classifying languages according to their structural characteristics (Lammiman, 2010). In other words, the closer two languages are to one another, the more similarities they should share. This, in turn, can create significant difficulties to learners. What is more, De Angelis and Selinker (2001) discovered in their study that typological similarity between non-native languages is likely to provoke non-native transfer in non-native production. It has been proved by e.g. Lipińska's (2014a) study on lexical transfer in L3 production. This project confirmed that typologically closer L2 English affected L3 German more than L1 Polish did. The same happened in the case of L3 segmental production (Lipińska, 2014b; Lipińska, 2015) when subjects' L3 (German) vowels were acoustically close to their L2 (English) vowels and did not share so many similarities with their corresponding L1 (Polish) sounds.

6. The problem of L2 status

While explaining why one and not the other language is transferred to an L3 in a given context, numerous factors have been discussed. One usually names here: fluency and proficiency in both L2 and L3 (e.g. Bardel and Lindqvist, 2007; De Angelis, 2007; Lindqvist, 2010), recency of use of a particular language, degree of formality and age of onset (for overviews see, e.g. De Angelis, 2007; Falk and Bardel, 2010). Nevertheless, one factor seems to be very influential here. A lot of recent studies show that L2 can have a stronger effect on L3 than on L1 (e.g. Bardel and Falk, 2007; Bohnacker, 2006; Falk and Bardel, 2011; Leung, 2005; Rothman and Cabrelli Amaro, 2010). One of the most probable explanations in this situation is the so-called *L2 status factor*. It is defined by Hammarberg (2001) as "a desire to suppress L1 as being 'non-foreign' and to rely rather on an orientation towards a prior L2 as a strategy to approach the L3" (Hammarberg, 2001: 36–37). De Angelis (2005) says that non-native languages are classified as "foreign language" category in learners' minds who create a cognitive association between them. Since a learner's L1 does not sound "foreign" at all, it tends to be excluded and blocked from this association. This process has been called by De Angelis an "association of foreigness" (De Angelis, 2005: 11). It usually favours non-native transfer, giving L2 a privileged status. This phenomenon was observed quite early by Meisel (1983), who named it a *foreign language effect* (cf. also Ecke and Hall, 2000, where it is called *Fremdspracheneffekt*). Since then the L2 status has been perceived as one of the most influential factors that can determine the source of the transfer (L1 or L2) in studies on L3 vocabulary and pronunciation (e.g. Cenoz, 2001; De Angelis, 2007; Llama et al., 2007; Lipińska, 2014b).

7. Acquisition of a phonetic system of an L3

Regrettably, in comparison to L2 phonetic research, L3 pronunciation studies constitute a relatively new area of research and their number is comparatively limited (see e.g. Tremblay, 2008; Wrembel, 2010). However, this situation has started to change and since the beginning of 2000s there have been some attempts to explore the area of third language pronunciation in a greater depth. Obviously, the first branch which was assessed was mainly L3 learners' production or perception in L3 (e.g. Tremblay, 2008; Wrembel, 2011; Lipińska, 2015) as well as examining to what extent L2 may influence the process of L3 acquisition (e.g. Tremblay, 2006; Wrembel, 2010). Nevertheless, as cross-linguistic influence in the case of acquisition of third language pronunciation is very complex, it has been proved that it is a much more complicated factor (Wrembel, 2011). However, more research is needed in order to explain how L1 and/or L2 may affect L3 pronunciation (Llama et al., 2007). Consequently, since acquisition of more than one foreign language is very common nowadays, L3 research needs to be extended in theory and provide clear further implications for classroom practice.

The first hypothesis states that a learner's mother tongue serves as a predominant source of transfer in TLA (e.g. Ringbom, 1987). Research by Llisteri and Poch (1987) clearly confirms this hypothesis. In their study they made an acoustic analysis of L3 vowels produced by native speakers of Catalan and L2-Spanish. The results revealed that in that case L1 affected L3 production exclusively. One of Wrembel's studies on L3 pronunciation (2013) lead to alike conclusions. The subjects in her study were native speakers of Polish, proficient users of L2-English and different-level speakers of L3-French. The study participants' speech samples were recorded and rated online by a group of experts. They evaluated informants' accent, intelligibility, acceptability and confidence level. The results showed that the participants' mother tongue was the dominant source of transfer, however L2's influence was also detectable.

However, other case studies suggested that especially at early stages of L3 acquisition, L2 wields a substantial influence on the L3 pronunciation (e.g. Marx, 2002; Williams and Hammarberg, 1998). Still, one ought to take into account the fact that the aforementioned studies were based on the speakers' impressions or on the judgements of a group of listeners who assessed speakers' overall accent (as being affected either by their L1 or their L2) and did not include an acoustic analysis of the produced sounds. Wrembel (2010) in her other study proved that in third language speech production, L2 mechanisms are frequently reactivated and in this way the transfer from one's mother tongue may be impeded. A group of native speakers of Polish, with L2-German and L3-English participated in her study. Their speech production was recorded and evaluated perceptually by 27 linguists. The subjects varied according to their proficiency in L3-English. The study results proved that one's second language exerted a more considerable influence on L3 speech production at the initial stages of third language acquisition, but became less prominent as L3 developed. Wrembel remarked, however, that the typological similarity between English and German could possibly affect the subjects' L3 speech production.

Another intriguing study was carried out by Tremblay (2008). This piece of research concentrated on an acoustic analysis of the VOT parameter in L3-Japanese speech of L1-English and L2-French users. The results revealed that one could observe noticeable evidence for L2 influence on L3. Another study on VOT in L3 was conducted by Wrembel (2011). She analysed the VOT in the L3-French speech of L1-Polish and L2-English users. Her piece of research suggested that there was a combined cross-linguistic influence of both L1-Polish and L2-English on study participants' L3 production. She highlighted that it offered a further evidence for a significant L2 presence in L3 phonological acquisition.

8. Current study

The aim of this study was to assess the degree of foreign-accentedness and the acceptability of L3 speech by Polish learners of English (L2) and German (L3) in a reading task. The main question was whether the subjects' L2 would affect their L3 speech production to a greater extent than their mother tongue and whether their L3 speech would be acceptable for native speakers and advanced users of German. The author's previous studies (Lipińska, 2014b; Lipińska, 2015) have shown that in the case of segmental production, the acoustic analysis revealed that English (L2) and German (L3) categories of "problematic" vowels (such as /y/ and /œ/) tend to merge completely thus giving an impression of foreign, English-accentedness in German speech production.

9. Subjects

Fifteen fifth-year English philology students attending the Polish-English-German translation and interpretation programme were recruited at the Institute of English, University of Silesia, to participate in this study. The number of the study participants was rather limited as the aforementioned programme is the only one of this kind at the universities in the area, and hence is the only one which includes formal instruction in L2 English and L3 German pronunciation (and the number of students in the group is strictly limited). They were all female students and their age ranged between 23 and 25 years old (mean: 24, median: 24). All study participants were advanced speakers of English (C1/C2) and upper-intermediate users of German (B2). Thanks to a regular administration of tests in the practical use of English and German, a group of subjects characterised by a uniform level of proficiency in both languages could be selected. None of the informants reported any difficulties in communication with native speakers of English or German. Prior to the study, they had completed the whole university course in English pronunciation (2 years; 4 semesters) and the whole university course in German pronunciation (1 year, 2 semesters). That was the main difference between this project and the previous studies done by other researchers, in which study participants had not been formally trained in phonetics and phonology of their both L2s and L3s. All study participants volunteered and were not paid for their participation. None of them reported any speech or hearing disorders.

10. Procedures

The informants were asked to read short text passages in their L1, L2 and L3 (see Appendices 1 – 3). The passages were presented to them in a written form on a computer screen and the subjects' utterances were recorded in a phonetic laboratory with the use of Praat 5.3.12 speech-analysis software package (Boersma, 2001) in order to ensure the highest quality of the recording. The files were stored in a computer's memory, ready for further inspection. Between the text passages, the study participants saw questions in their L1, L2 and L3 which served as distracters and had to be answered in the same language as asked. They were supposed to change the subjects' "language settings" (before the text passage in Polish, the speakers answered the questions in Polish, before the text passage in English, the speakers answered the questions in English etc.).

Subsequently the utterances in German were analysed by five experts. They consisted of two native speakers of German (working at German universities as English teachers; one holding a PhD and another one – a doctoral candidate) and three Polish teachers of German (L2) and English (L3). They were asked to rate the utterances according to their:

- English-accentedness,
- Polish-accentedness,
- acceptability
- intelligibility.

The experts' ratings were surprisingly similar – in most cases they agreed to a great extent.

11. Results

The assessment sheets for experts included four statements. The experts rated only the utterances produced in German. They had to mark the statements using a 5-point Likert scale with the response options: *(Definitely true)* 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 – 5 (*Not at all true)*. They were also asked to provide any comments about the study participants' pronunciation that may have come to their mind. The number of ratings was: 15 speakers x 5 raters = 75. The following figures show the results of the rating part of the study.

Figure 1. The English-accentedness in German speech production

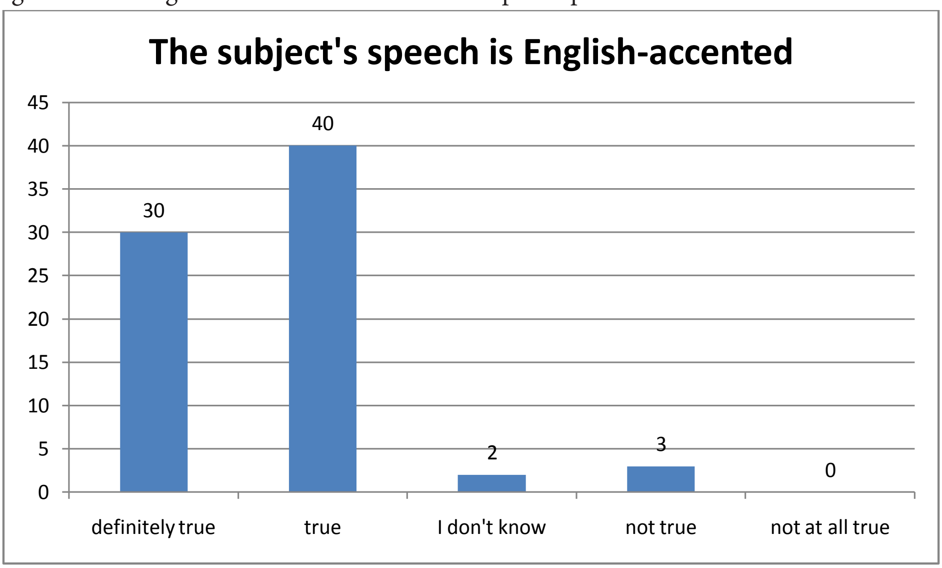


Figure 2. The Polish-accentedness in German speech production

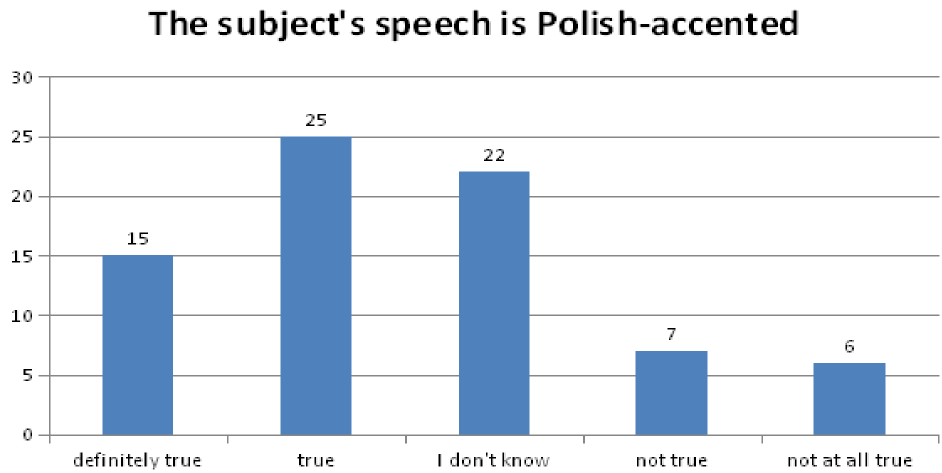


Figure 3. The acceptability of subjects' pronunciation in German

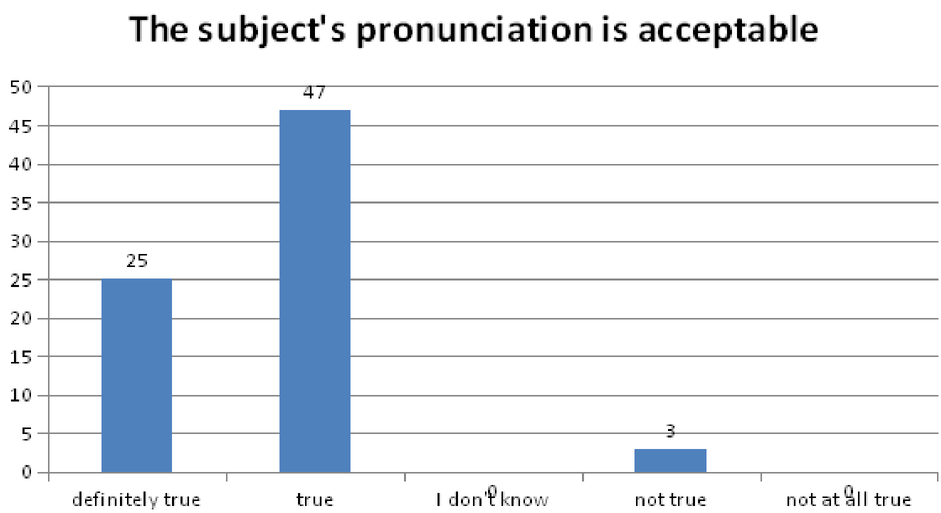
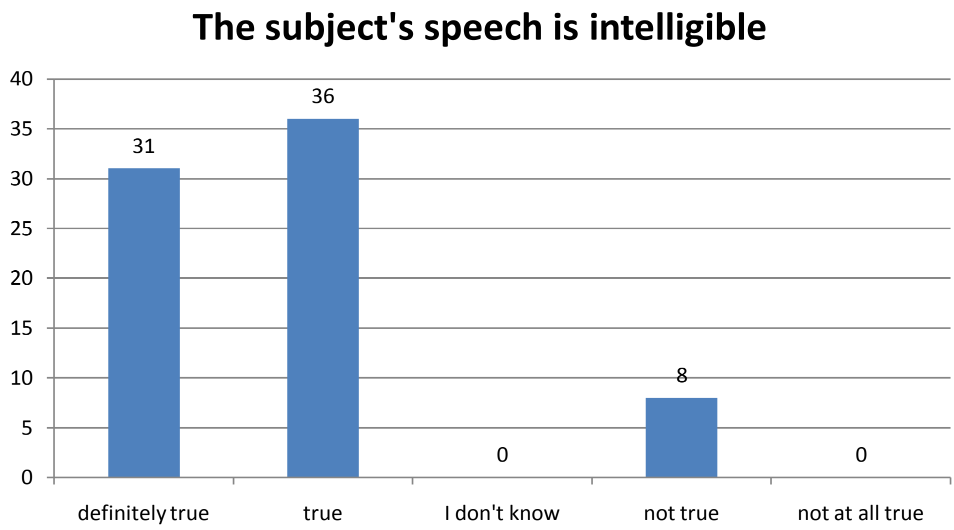


Figure 4. The intelligibility of subjects' speech in German



As can be easily noticed in the figures above, in most cases the raters were of similar opinions about the subjects' pronunciation. They also often agreed that their German pronunciation was more English-accented than under the influence of Polish. However, they were very tolerant and accepted the speakers' mistakes, rating their speech as acceptable and intelligible.

Moreover, the experts provided a set of comments concerning the subjects' pronunciation. Some of them are listed below.

- *A lot of speakers used a retroflex /r/ instead of German and /r/ which made them sound like Americans speaking German.*
- *The vowels were English-like (especially they couldn't pronounce correctly /y/).*
- *The speech was not very German in quality, but quite understandable.*
- *Some people used Polish /r/, but I could understand what they were saying.*
- *Sometimes they used correct sounds, but often turned to English consonants and vowels.*
- *They tried to sound "foreign" and "professional" but it wasn't German.*

It all suggests that the study participants in most cases wanted to avoid Polish-accentedness and tried to sound "foreign". It is also a proof of the influence of one of the cognitive processes affecting TLA, namely the *L2 status*. Naturally, some of the study participants were evaluated better than the others and their pronunciation was much more correct than the other speakers' utterances.

12. Conclusions

This is one of the new studies which contribute to the developing area of third language phonology by assessing production of L3 speech from the auditory perspective and by focusing on the influence of *L2 status* on L3 pronunciation. It was observed that the multilingual subjects involved in the study encountered difficulties in separating their L2 and L3 phonetic subsystems, as expected by e.g. SLM (Flege, 1995) while their L1 did not serve as the most influential source of phonetic transfer. It was especially detectable in the case of segments – vowels and consonants – which were usually English-like. In 70 cases the raters marked that the subjects' speech was influenced by L2-English, while only in 40 cases they were able to observe the influence of L1-Polish on L3-German (of course it was possible to choose both options as different aspects of speech could be affected by either Polish or English). There can be various explanations for this situation. The obtained results may naturally be connected to the impaired sound perception suggesting a kind of "similarity" between "new" and "old" sound categories or the insufficient phonetic training, but they are more likely to be attributed to the subjects' attempts to sound "foreign" (see: L2 status). Since they had started learning English much before they began to study German and were characterized by a higher proficiency in the first of those languages, it was English that was their prototypical foreign language. What is more, the course in English pronunciation lasted considerably longer that the course in German phonetics (4 semesters vs. 2 semesters) giving English the privileged status. And in speech production there is no time for the analysis of the utterance being produced and speakers automatically turn to their dominant languages and language habits.

However, it has to be added that although the subjects' pronunciation was not perfect, they were still intelligible to the raters who found their speech both acceptable and understandable. In 72 cases the specialists marked the subjects' pronunciation as acceptable and in 67 cases they decided it was intelligible. This suggests that even though foreign-accentedness may sound funny or awkward, it does not necessarily impair communication between native and non-native users of a particular language. Moreover, it is worth mentioning that even though the study participants had completed university courses in English and German pronunciation prior to the study, they all agreed that it was the first formal pronunciation training in their lives, and they had been learning English for an average of 11 years and German for an average of 7 years. And as numerous studies have already shown, phonetic training is actually absent in foreign language classes (e.g. Szpyra Kozłowska et al., 2002; Szpyra-Kozłowska, 2008; Wrembel, 2002) and the situation of L3 phonetic training is in an even worse condition (Czajka and Lipińska, 2013). This might have contributed to the lack of stability in the new phonetic categories, encouraging the use of more prevailing phonetic forms.

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Appendix 1

The passage in German which the study participants were supposed to read.

Richtige Auswahl von Medien zu Unterrichtszwecken ermöglicht, dass sie gewisse Unterrichtsfunktionen erfüllen und dadurch auch den ganzen Lernprozess steuern und unterstützen. Das Lernen wird beispielsweise durch den Einsatz von elektronischen Medien intensiviert und seine Interaktivität wird dann gesteigert. Wenn die Lernumgebung multimedial ist, ermöglicht das den Lernenden offenes und kreatives Weiterlernen, sie werden dazu angeregt und motiviert. Neben der Motivationssteigerung unterstützen die Medien auch pädagogische Maßnahmen:

- *sie sind unabdingbare Voraussetzungen für Differenzierung wie auch Individualisierung des Unterrichts,*
- *wenn sie verwendet werden, werden die Schüler zu handelnden Personen, der Unterricht ist dann handlungsorientiert,*
- *selbstgesteuertes Lernen wird erfolgreicher, wenn die Lernenden eigene Spiel- und Arbeitsmittel herstellen.*

(from: http://blog.tyczkowski.com/2014/12/funktionen-der-medien-im-fremdsprachenunterricht/#ixzz3sskzQZNO, access: 15.03.2015)

Appendix 2

The passage in English which the study participants were supposed to read.

Reassessing the Impacts of Brain Drain on Developing Countries

Brain drain, which is the action of having highly skilled and educated people leaving their country to work abroad, has become one of the developing countries concern. Brain drain is also referred to as human capital flight. More and more third world science and technology educated people are heading for more prosperous countries seeking higher wages and better

working conditions. This has of course serious consequences on the sending countries.
While many people believe that immigration is a personal choice that must be understood and respected, others look at the phenomenon from a different perspective. What makes those educated people leave their countries should be seriously considered and a distinction between push and pull factors must be made. The push factors include low wages and lack of satisfactory working and living conditions. Social unrest, political conflicts and wars may also be determining causes. The pull factors, however, include intellectual freedom and substantial funds for research.

(from: http://www.myenglishpages.com/site_php_files/reading_brain_drain.php, access: 15.03.2015)

Appendix 3
The passage in Polish which the study participants were supposed to read.

Stanisław Tym, Skrzyżowanie

Pół wieku temu w Warszawie życie wieczorne aktorów, reżyserów i pisarzy było uregulowane. Najpierw szło się do Spatifu w Al. Ujazdowskich, gdzie o północy szatniarz Franciszek Król zamykał lokal. Towarzystwo na ulicy kończyło rozmowy. Antoni Słonimski żegnany przez grupę Śliwonika i Brychta życzliwie kiwał im dłonią. Pewnego wieczoru westchnął głośno: – Panom to dobrze. Pójdziecie do domów, położycie się spać. – Czy mistrzowi dokucza bezsenność? – z troską zapytał ktoś z grupy. – Nie, ale ja się jeszcze przedtem muszę rozebrać, wykąpać… Prawie zawsze kilka osób szło jeszcze na Trębacką do piwnicy filmowców zwanej Ściekiem, skąd przed trzecią rano też trzeba było się ewakuować. I wtedy ci najdzielniejsi szli przez pl. Dzierżyńskiego (dziś Bankowy) do Teatru STS, gdzie bufet teatralny prowadziła niezmordowana Katarzyna Wicherkowska. Bezterminowo, czyli do ostatniego gościa. My, ludzie z zespołu, byliśmy u siebie. Ale pojawiali się też przyjaciele, znajomi. Pewnej nocy ktoś taki właśnie potknął się z nadmiaru wrażeń i łukiem brwiowym bęc w posadzkę. Nastrój się zwarzył.

(from: http://www.polityka.pl/tygodnikpolityka/spoleczenstwo/1605423,1,pies-czyli-kot.read, access: 15.03.2015)

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To Know *you know* or not to Know: a Comparative Analysis of a Commonly Occurring Discourse Marker from the Perspective of Polish, English and Russian

Abstract
Multidimensional and complex, discourse markers still remain an under-theorized area of linguistics leaving the same much space for further research activities. Until the present day, there seems to be very little conformity when it comes to adequately defining the concept; notwithstanding the fact that scholars have examined the phenomenon of discourse markers in terms of their functions, contexts, languages, frequency, influence, and categorization, to mention but a few. By no means does the above list exhaust the topic and linguists still keep conducting studies of discourse markers; however, the body of research concerning this domain is mainly in and about the English language. In course of the analysis, the author discusses the multifunctional character of *you know* and on the basis of this conspicuous example demonstrates how complex and intrinsic is the phenomenon of discourse markers. Last but not least, the paper also attempts to determine certain common functions of *you know* in Polish, English, and Russian in order to reveal the existing differences and/or similarities occurring among the particular languages.

Keywords: contrastive analysis, discourse markers, *you know*

1. Introduction

Interdisciplinary approaches and comparative analyses are not so common in the existing literature of the field, which calls for an attempt to consider discourse markers (DMs) from the focal lens of different languages. The paper constitutes an attempt to provide a comprehensive comparative analysis of selected discourse markers occurring in English, Polish and Russian. As a point of departure, the author presents a concise overview of the definitions of discourse markers discussing the evolution of the terminology concerning the said phenomenon. This is intended to partially explain why one deals with such diverse terms as discourse particles (Schoroup, 1985); pragmatic formatives (Fraser, 1987); discourse markers (Schiffrin, 1987); discourse connectives (Blakemore, 1987, 1992); pragmatic markers (Fraser, 1988, 1990, 1996, 1999); or discourse operators (Redeker, 1991). Among the wide spectrum of discourse markers *you know* stands out as an interesting subject of an analysis. The overarching objective of this paper is to systematically investigate the said discourse marker *you know* in English, Polish, and Russian, especially focussing on its multifunctionality.

1.1 Classification of discourse markers

To begin with, it must be reiterated that there is no generally agreed upon definition of the term 'discourse marker' (Jucker and Ziv, 1998b: 1). The lack of a unified classification and categorization in the area of DMs results from the fact that different scholars apply diversified levels of quantitative and qualitative analyses and, which is inextricably connected with the above, the research methodology represents various aspects of DMs application. The body of current research in the field comprises studies carried out from various analytical perspectives as the phenomenon of discourse markers can be approached from the angle of their categorization, functions, influence, contexts, frequency and languages. Therefore, as it was said before, the terms are varied and occur in a variety of labels including the following: sentence connectives (Halliday and Hassan, 1976) discourse markers (Schiffrin, 1987; Jucker and Ziv, 1998; Lenk, 1998) discourse operators (Redeker, 1991) pragmatic markers (Fraser, 1996) and discourse particles (Aijmer, 2002).

The most general and most frequently quoted definition was coined by Schiffrin (1987), according to whom DMs are 'sequentially dependent elements which bracket units of talk' (Schiffrin, 1987: 31). Another broadly understood and generally applied explanation is the one authored by Redeker (1991) who classifies a discourse operator as a word or phrase – for instance: a conjunction, adverbial, comment clause, or interjection – that is uttered with the primary function of bringing the listener's attention to a particular kind of linkage of the upcoming utterances with the immediate discourse context (Redeker, 1991: 116). Lenk's definition is quite similar in its nature and approach for it is rather focused on the pragmatic aspects of discourse. According to Lenk (1998), DMs are 'short lexical items, used with pragmatic meaning on a meta - lingual level of discourse in order to signal for the hearer how the speaker intends the present contribution to be related to preceding and/or following parts of the discourse' (Lenk, 1998: 2). From the perspective of another DMs scholar, namely Barbara Kryk-Kastovsky (2002), the classification particularly indicates the meaninglessness of discourse markers which, by definition, constitute pragmatic notions; putting it more specifically, their nature is pragmatic rather than semantic (Kryk-Kastovsky, 2002: 177). Despite the lack of consensus regarding a unified terminology, which stems from the fact that discourse markers are researched from the angle of different conceptual approaches, generally, scholars explore the same concept. However, these scholars investigate the problem through the prism of different linguistic theories and within diverse contextual environments.

1.2 Functions of discourse markers

Moving on to discuss different functions of DMs, it can be said that the spectrum includes a wide array of roles they perform in oral communication. They 'include discourse connectors, turn-takers, confirmation-seekers, intimacy signals, topic switchers, hesitation markers, boundary markers, fillers, prompters, repair markers, attitude markers and hedging devices' (Jucker and Ziv, 1998, 2f). Regardless the use of DMs in various languages, they basically may perform similar functions, which can be easily proven by a comparative analysis of a particular DM use, for example: the expression *you know* across Polish, English and Russian. Within the framework of human communication, DMs are applied in order to initiate discourse, to mark a boundary in discourse, to preface a response or a reaction, to serve as a filler or delaying tactic, to aid the speaker in holding the floor, to effect an interaction or share interaction between speaker and hearer, or, finally, to mark either foregrounded or backgrounded information.

2. Discourse marker you know in English

It is generally agreed by scholars working within the field of discourse markers that defining DMs functions is problematic and subject to a wide spectrum of interpretations and approaches. There is more than one view but Schiffrin's (1987) pioneering and detailed work sheds much light on the interpretation of DMs as she manages to analyze 12 specific markers and contexts in which they appear from a variety of perspectives. Schiffrin (1987) claims that language is always communicative either because (a) it is directed toward a recipient (immediate or eventual), (b) because language as such is intended to be so directed, and /or (c) because it is attended by a recipient. (Schiffrin, 1987: 6)

Y'know is one of DMs presented by Schiffrin (1987) in her studies and it is placed within the information state of talk due to its literal meaning which directly has an impact on discourse use; but on the other hand, it may also perform less directed literal meaning in reference to attention gained from the hearer to initiate an interaction focusing on information provided by the speaker. *Y'know* plays the role of a marker of shared knowledge between the speaker and the hearer. Schiffrin (1987) then elaborates on the phenomenon in a more detailed terms of meta-knowledge of speaker/hearer shared knowledge. The initial challenge concerns the fact that the speaker is not always aware whether the hearer shares knowledge concerning the speaker's subject of the conversation. Schiffrin (1987) explains the above by means of a matrix in which she demonstrates four knowledge settings. Each setting constitutes a different arrangement of what the speaker knows about the hearer's knowledge as well as what the hearer is actually familiar with; see the table below.

Table 1. Four knowledge settings, source: Schiffrin 1987: 268

Does speaker know of hearer's knowledge?

	YES	NO	
Does hearer know of X?	YES	(a)	(b)
	NO	(c)	(d)

The interpretation of the matrix is as follows:

In setting (a) both the hearer and the speaker know the background information and the speaker is aware of the fact that the hearer knows it; in setting (b) the speaker is not aware of the fact that the hearer knows the background; in setting (c) the hearer does not have the knowledge of the background and the speaker knows that; in setting (d) the speaker does not know that the hearer does not have the knowledge of the background. The usage of *y'know* enables to reach setting (a) in the matrix of meta-knowledge, in particular, to generate a setting where the speaker knows about the shared/common knowledge with the hearer. Schiffrin concludes that *y'know* applied as an information state marker indicates transition to meta knowledge about common/shared knowledge. In conclusion, whenever the speaker resorts to the use of *y'know*, he/she places himself in the position in which his/her role as information provider depends on the hearer's reception. Due to the fact that the speaker may need various kinds of reception, from attention through confirmation to relinquishment of the floor, it does not come as a surprise that *y'know* appears in such a wide spectrum of contexts. Interestingly, *y'know* constitutes a marker which is frequently put under social scrutiny and sanctioned negatively due to its excessive use, especially in American English. Some researchers claim that the excessive use of *y'know* can be considered as over-reliance on the hearer, and this, in turn, leads to the stigmatization of its use.

Discourse marker *you know* appears to be ambiguous and multidimensional with diverse definitions and approaches undertaken by scholars in the field. For example, Müller (2005) raises the issue of DMs as used not only by native speakers but non-native speakers as well, videlicet investigating the use of discourse makers by the Americans and the Germans. Müller (2005) provides meticulous analyses of several functional categories of *you know* and their distribution between the American and the German group of speakers. The most striking feature is that the Americans use *you know* approximately more than five times as much as the Germans, which emphasizes the fact that DMs are rarely applied by non-native language speakers. Her explanation is that the application of DMs does not appear as a regular part of school curricula within the framework of second language acquisition. In her review of the contemporary research findings, she arrives at a conclusion that a mastery in the accurate use of DMs can be achieved by L2 speakers only when they are exposed to a frequent contact with native speakers, or, when they are exposed to foreign language while living abroad. Furthermore, Müller (2005) makes an interesting observation that an informal language learning context enables the learner to approximate native speaker's language competence, including an accurate and natural use of discourse markers. Müller (2005) follows Richards and Schmidt (1983) in the opinion that native speaker language competence is extremely difficult to achieve in a typical classroom environment; she reiterates the fact that it is only attainable when the learner is seriously treated as an equal partner in a conversation. Therefore, informal interactions with native speakers are of crucial importance in case of second language acquisition. In light of the above, the critical contributor to the appropriate acquisition and application of DMs by language learners is the exposure to natural language environment. The findings of a survey conducted by Müller (2005) among the German speakers of English confirmed her thesis that the time spent by the learner in an English speaking environment substantially influenced the learners' ability to use DMs and the frequency of their use.

The thorough account of DMs functions, including the functions of *you know*, Müller (2005) provides goes in line with the findings of other researchers of the area (see Östman 1981, Schiffrin 1997, Schourup 1985, Holmes 1986). Having narrowed her research of *you know* to its use by German and American speakers, Müller (2005) makes a distinction into a textual and interactional level. The table below demonstrates the functions of *you know* broken into the two aforementioned levels.

Table 2. Functions of *you know* used by German and American speakers of English, modelled after Müller 2005

Textual level	Interactional level
introducing an explanation	appeal for understanding
quotative *you know*	reference to shared knowledge
marking approximation	acknowledge that the speaker is right
marking false starts and repair	'imagine the scene'
marking content or lexical search	'see the implication'

Undoubtedly, the examples of textual and interactional uses of *you know* juxtaposed in the table prove the multifunctional character of the said discourse marker. As concerns the textual level, *you know* frequently denotes the user's search for lexical expressions. Furthermore, the marker appears after the utterance has been truncated when the speaker reiterates an element of the utterance with a corrected word. Another use indicates that certain element of the utterance lacks substance and, therefore, is only an approximation of the speaker's line of thinking. Last but not least, *you know* most frequent application is to introduce the explanation. While discussing the interactional level, Müller (2005) gives a very detailed explanation of its particular functions emphasizing that *you know* is applied in varied manners and various extents. In other words, the meaning of *you know* translates into the expressions 'imagine the scene' and 'see the implications.' At the same time, Müller (2005) emphasizes the fact that 'imagine the scene' is the most frequently occurring function at the interactional level. Müller's discussion of *you know* is not confined merely to descriptions; she concludes her work with graphic presentations of statistical data which reflect the striking discrepancy between native and non - native speakers.

3. Discourse marker you know in Polish

Next section of the paper, gives a systematic investigation of the discourse marker *you know* in Polish, especially focusing on its multifunctionality. Within the course of the following discussion, an attempt is made to determine certain common functions of *you know* in order to later highlight the existing differences and/or similarities occurring among the languages in question. In Nowy Słownik Języka Polskiego (2005: 776) edited by B. Dunajec, *wiesz,* which is the Polish equivalent of *you know*, is defined as a filled pause intended to provide the speaker with an appropriate amount of time to think and to find adequate words or phrases, to conclude the speech, or, to divide the process of communication into units/parts. Further features which are pointed out in the above mentioned definition characterize this particular filled pause as a signal of contact between speakers, as an introduction of a new subject, or, eventually, as a demonstration of willingness to speak.

It is worth noting that one of the major obstacles which scholars examining this area of linguistics encounter is that the literature on spoken discourse is still quite limited in comparison to works devoted to the field of written discourse. This is why, among the few early accounts in the field, Pisarkowa's (1975) Składnia rozmowy telefonicznej is a pioneering research on spoken discourse which provides an insightful, detailed study of telephone conversation structures and which may serve as an introduction to the current analysis. Pisarkowa (1975) attempts to show certain patterns governing the syntax structure in spoken texts. The said patterns regulate the syntax and differentiate the spoken text from the written one mainly by maintaining the contact between the speaker and the hearer and by indicating the close correlation between what is uttered and what is thought and felt as well as the connection between the subject of the conversation and the conversation itself (Pisarkowa, 1975: 156). Pisarkowa (1975) stresses that spoken discourse i.e. the communication between the speaker and the hearer constitutes the most natural language usage and language existence due to the fact that the essence stems from the relation of verification and perception of the spoken text which is immediately performed and simultaneously reflected in the recipient's reaction to given language output. Within the framework of the phone conversations she analyzed, Pisarkowa (1975) directs considerable attention to the occurrence of *wiesz* performing the function of a filled pause/discourse marker.

According to Pisarkowa (1975), the *you know* type of a filled pause characterizes of high usage frequency and the resulting variety of its likely positions within the sentence structure. The remaining variations include *Pan wie*, *No wiesz*, or *Wiesz co* and should be understood in very general terms. Nowy Słownik Języka Polskiego (2005) defines the scope of this type as all kinds of expressions, for example: insertions, emphases or tools drawing attention to a particular element of the utterance. The conative and vocative signal *wiesz*, as well as the variation *słuchaj*, are deprived of semantic meaning and content. Nota bene, a conative function constitutes a kind of a stimulus influencing the recipient's reaction by means of language expressions and utterances. Ideally, it should affect the recipient's feelings and emotions eliciting his or her desirable reaction. That what results from a secondary semantic feature is strictly connected with the context, whereas a question cannot be considered a context. Interestingly, the discourse marker *wiesz* appears solely in the context of affirmatives or rhetorical questions which, parenthetically speaking, may perform the function of expressive affirmatives. Furthermore, *wiesz* frequently assumes the shade of meaning which could be labeled as a motivating factor; it can be found in justifications and explanations rationalizing demands while giving them a semblance of a kind request. Whether the intonation of the very signal is affirmative or interrogative is not relevant. The initial or final location of the discourse marker denotes an announcement of a future fact or states a past action with a shade of bragging or boasting, as reflected in the following examples: "Wiesz, podziwiaj, że zrobiłem lub zrobię to a to". „Wiesz, dziewczyn to jest jak mrówek, ale ja w ogóle ostatnio zapomniałem jak to wygląda" (Pisarkowa: p. 23).

The final location often indicates the shade of exculpation where the speaker attempts to excuse him or herself; this function can be illustrated by the following: 'Tylko ja bym na piątek chciał mieć z powrotem oryginał, wiesz.' In addition, *wiesz* accompanied by another word or expression may perform the function of preparing the hearer to a lexical surprise, for instance a curse or a dirty word. This results from the fact that the speakers find it difficult to express themselves clearly or have difficulty expressing or clarifying their thoughts as in the example: "Tak, no wiesz, bo cholera, ja się prawie, bo ja się prawie w tej chwili zaczynam bać, wiesz" in which the said function is manifested.

The discourse marker *wiesz* which embodies a conative function may also perform a structural function. *Wiesz* introduces meaning as a component of a meta-textual framework in a hypotactic mode by means of an objective sentence; this phenomenon takes place when *wiesz* replaces a whole quotation or a broader explanation which in the opinion of the speaker is redundant as it is like reminding about something obvious to both the speaker and the hearer. See the following example: „I wiesz, przychodzę do Z z dzienniczkiem, a Z wiesz, mówi: zdrowa jesteś? A ja mówię, no wiesz. I tak się zaczęła wściekać, powiedziała: do domu! Nie chcę cię tu w ogóle widzieć, jesteś chora! Wiesz, wywaliła mnie na zbity łeb" (Pisarkowa, 1975: 25)

The sentence above aptly illustrates the wide variety of functions which *wiesz* may perform within spoken discourse. One more significant phenomenon occurs when in certain contexts one *wiesz* is neighboring another *wiesz* performing a semantic function; the first one displays semantic emptiness. 'Wiesz, czy wiesz, że 15. jest spotkanie z Klasą.' Finally, in case of longer monologues *wiesz* performs the function of an interruption and reminds the hearer of his or her duty to pay careful attention to what is being said:

> To nawet nie to, wiesz, ale po prostu żeby toto przyszło jakoś bliżej człowieka. Ale łazić tak? Tak patrzę na tych bubków, co tak tańczą, tak stoją, patrzą na siebie, wiesz, piją tę kawę, no trują wiesz, puszą te ogony, tak wiesz, jak głuszce, no i to takie nudne jest potwornie, no wiesz, bo te dziewczynki to nawet tak zerkają tam do nas, bo my niby tacy ważni jesteśmy, w […], wiesz, rozumiesz. (Pisarkowa, 1975: 25)

Ożóg's (1991) work *Studia nad polszczyzną mówioną Krakowa* represents another contribution to the studies of discourse markers. In his approach Ożóg (1991) analyses spoken discourse in terms of incipits understood as a few initial words opening the utterance. He distinguishes lexemes performing conative functions as a group of characteristic signals located at the beginning of hearer's responses. Ożóg (1991) makes an observation that such lexemes constitute also the function of announcing an explication. One of the lexemes that belongs to the group is *you know* which accounts for a conative signal and which announces an informative field semantically connected with previous hearer's responses. Interestingly, discourse marker *you know* may perform the function of the incipit, i.e. a phrase opening an informative field, but it may also play the role of a discourse frame like in the following example: "Wiesz, czytałam ostatnio nową powieść Fabera, on jest wdowcem, wiesz?". Ożóg's (1991) reasoning goes in line with other scholars in that besides opening and framing functions *you know* may assume the role of an operator which signals various endeavours undertaken by the speaker in order to convey the required message.

Yet another attempt on defining determinants occurring in the spoken language is undertaken by Krieger (1983) who focuses on the segmentation analysis of substantial functions of the spoken language as considered from functional-semantic and prosodic perspectives. According to Krieger (1983), several investigated determinants of spoken text segmentation such as predicative versions *wie pani, wie pan, widzisz,* *rozumiesz* as well as verbs used in the second personal form: *wiesz, słuchaj* constitute 8.2% of filled pauses deprived of semantic meaning. Krieger (1983) stresses that the above mentioned discourse markers predominantly perform the role of filled pauses which appear in the dialogue in order to separate elements of hypotactic and paratactic sentences (Kreger, 1983: 40). It is worth noting that the role of the said lexemes and their variants *wie pani, wie pan* were initially described by Pisarkowa (1975).

Within this context, it should be reiterated that some language users who speak very fast usually make a smaller or insignificant number of pauses; on the other hand, those who express their thoughts rather slowly, need much more time to reflect their ideas, and, in consequence of their mode of speaking, they produce a substantial number of pauses. However, Krieger (1983) clearly asserts that all pauses which are the effect of breath taking should be excluded from the sentence structure investigations as they merely constitute the result of a physiological process not a linguistic one. The scholar highlights the intrinsic correlation between the interruption occurring in spontaneous speech and pauses elucidating the fact that spoken language is abundant in pauses which are indispensable elements and characteristic phenomena of every speech. Thus, complete elimination of pauses would make the speaker incomprehensible for the hearer.

In the analyzed material, Krieger (1983) distinguishes periods of silence (unfilled pauses) which definitely excess the number of filled pauses accounting in her study for mere 30.64% of all defined pauses. Krieger (1983) emphasizes the fact that spontaneous speech is seldom absolutely fluent due to the fact that it is interrupted by periods of silence or other types of pauses. As one may observe, the pauses occurring in spoken discourse contribute to its segmentation, and, consequently, their functions and positions cannot be neglected. Krieger (1983) refers to Goldman-Eisler (1968) who was the original scholar in the field of defining pauses and finding correlation between pause location and sentence structure. Moreover, according to Krieger (1983), the process of defining pauses in spoken texts is extremely difficult due to the fact that pause occurrence and frequency constitute an individual feature of the speaker and the number of pauses depends on speech rates. Krieger (1983) also ascribes paralinguistic sounds such as *e, y, a*, repetitions, false starts and lexemes such as *wiesz,* and *słuchaj* to the category of filled pauses. The last subcategory may be considered to be of significant importance for this study. Further, Krieger (1983) claims that *wiesz* and its variants are not only an empty interruption signal to maintain the contact with the hearer but they may also serve as structural signals and co-create modal frameworks by means of introducing a quotation or, in indirect speech, subordinate object clauses (Krieger, 1983, p. 32). Let us consider the following examples:

NS- nie byłem przygotowany WIESZ / tak duchowo/ (v.1: 73)

NS- […] / i ja przyszedłem WIESZ na drugi termin (v.1: 295)

In the analyzed texts, the position/location of *wiesz* in predicative-argumentative structure is between a predicate and an argument; but it must be emphasized that the usage of *wiesz* may be a characteristic feature of a given speaker who has a tendency to use *wiesz* almost in every position within a sentence. Nevertheless, the function remains unchangeable, namely, the speaker employs *wiesz* to manifest the willingness to sustain the contact with the hearer.

4. Discourse marker you know in Russian

As far as Russian is concerned, the occurrence of the discourse marker *you know* – *знаешь* also reveals clear similarities in its usage in comparison to Polish and English. The above seems to be an interesting feature in light of the fact that Polish and Russian belong to the Slavic family of languages whereas English is a typical Germanic one. Despite that typological difference, it goes beyond any question that they share common features. Charciarek (2010) makes an effort to review the usage of meta-textual expressions, including *you know*, in Slavic languages in his work Polskie wyrażenia metatekstowe o funkcji fatycznej i ich odpowiedniki czeskie i rosyjskie (2010). In Russian linguistic studies, the analysis of lexem *знаешь* was originally carried by Winogradow in the early 1970s. In his research, Winogradow (1972) labels the lexem *знаешь* and its variations as *modalnyje sława* arguing that they are characteristic features occurring in dialogues. According to Winogradow (1972), *modalnyje sława* constitute certain kind of an appeal to the interlocutor; they can also be described as a speaker's desire to stimulate the hearer's attention to any given element of the utterance (Winogradow, 1972: 580). In addition, *modalnyje sława* play in Russian spoken discourse the role of a tool to emphasize certain facts or to evoke in the hearer an emotional reaction to the ideas communicated by the speaker. In a similar vein, Kolesnikow (2001) claims that *modalnyje sława* perform the function of focus drawing and maintaining the interlocutor's attention to the subject of the conversation. Besides analyzing the approaches of the above mentioned Russian linguists, Charciarek (2010) also provides numerous samples of *you know* derived from the works of other Russian authors, such as Wampilow, Rozow and Dombrowskij. The following set of examples illustrates the various functions of the lexeme *you know*:

Знаешь, сегодня я получила писмо, Совсем неожиданно. И, думаешь от кого? [You know, I received a letter today. Quite unexpectedly. Who do you think from?] (Wampilow in Charciarek, 2010: 60)

Знаешь, ты меня не провожай. Чемодан лекки... Я возьму такси [You know don't walk me off. The suitcase is light… I will take a taxi (Wampilow in Charciarek, 2010: 60)

Ты знаешь, он вчера сделал мне предложение. [You know he proposed to me yesterday.] (Dombrowskij in Charciarek, 2010: 61)

Ты знаешь, мне даже кажется, что он тебя бъëт. [You know it seems to that he beats you.] (Rozow in Charciarek, 2010: 61)

The prevailing function of the discourse marker *you know* as it is used in the Russian and Polish languages is to maintain contact with the speaker and in doing so to bestow the dynamics of the communication process. The use of *wiesz* and *знаешь* allows the speaker to structure the transition process thereby to indicate the opening or closing of the discourse at the same time performing either the persuasive or expressive function. The study of *wiesz* and *знаешь* usage in Polish and Russian additionally implies that they act as an instrument by means of which the speaker maintains control over the communication process. An apt observation made by Winogradow (1972) was that *modalnyje sława*, as he calls the expressions, are semantically empty. Andriejewa (2006) who also analyzed the occurrence of *знаешь* concludes that it performs a prevailing phatic function which accentuates the emotional closeness and which creates a friendly conversational atmosphere (Andriejewa, 2006: 135). In contrast, Sirotinina (1974) demonstrates in her research findings that *знаешь* appears to be one of the most commonly used tools of interrupting the spoken discourse, i.e. a filled pause. (Sirotinina, 1974)

Yet another function ascribed to the use of *знаешь* was observed by Szirajewa (1982) who perceives the lexeme as a phrase stimulating the hearer to an active and attentive participation in the spoken communication (Sziriajewa, 1982). Similarly, Charciarek (2010) whose area of research interest focuses on the use of meta-textual expressions and their variations in a number of Slavic languages, points out an intriguing analogy clearly noticeable in the said languages. That analogy allows him to formulate a thesis that the contact auxiliaries, as he labels the discourse markers, are applied by the speakers in situations where they experience difficulties expressing their thoughts or intentions. Therefore, the use of *знаешь* and *wiesz* provides the speakers, in a way, with a solution to cope with their problems in communicating. The expressions ensure the speakers enough time to find an appropriate word or phrase. Moreover, according to Charciarek (2010), the use of the said discourse marker performing the role of a filled pause replaces periods of silence which are not socially acceptable. Charciarek (2010) underlines certain fact which is frequently omitted or neglected in the other studies of the subject; namely, that the semantic content which follows *wiesz* / *знаешь,* has a substantial informative value or that *wiesz* / *знаешь* result from the speaker's reflections or considerations, and, therefore, they constitute a component of subjectivization. Other conclusions stemming from Charciarek's analyses remain in the mainstream of the area of research; videlicet: they represent language tools enabling the speaker to introduce new information without resorting to additional explanations, so they may be generally understood as a kind of a communicative short cut. The speaker utilizes the mentioned tools referring to a shared knowledge of the speaker and the hearer who is supposed to receive and comprehend the given message in an appropriate way. The said phenomenon is frequently reiterated by other scholars, for example by Pisarkowa (1975) or

Müller (2005). Consequently, one may plausibly assume that the afore mentioned tools are of critical importance within the sentence structure, which, in turn, allows the speaker to convey the message in an abbreviated and concise form.

5. Conclusion

The investigation of chosen examples of the use of DM *you know* across the analyzed languages leads to a general conclusion that within the framework of various cultural and linguistic perspectives the usage of the said DM reveals numerous striking similarities. What is more, it appears that the similarities definitely outnumber the differences. What comes to the forefront of the conclusion is the fact that the marker *you know* demonstrates a major difference only in terms of the frequencies of its use within particular languages. The explorations of the use of *you know* in English, Russian and Polish allow to plausibly assume that there occur certain common features. In particular, the analyses indicate that across the said languages *you know* performs the function of initiating and maintaining an interaction between the speaker and the hearer. As for the organization of the communication process, *you know* marks the opening and closing of the information field whereas within the spoken discourse *you know* also serves as an instrument of emphasis drawing the hearer's attention to a particular element of the utterance. Furthermore*, you know* frequently performs the function of a filled pause whose purpose is to increase the fluency of speech. Finally, *you know* constitutes an idiosyncratic communicational short cut, an assumption that the hearer knows the core of the message conveyed. The analysis also displays that yet another commonly occurring feature of *you know* consists in that it may be both semantically meaningful and semantically meaningless, regardless the language in question.

The juxtaposition of the occurrence of *you know* in the languages chosen for the analysis demonstrates that there exists a certain difference too, especially in terms of socio-cultural contexts. It arises from the fact that in Anglo-Saxon culture(s) the frequency of *you know* is decisively higher than in Slavic culture(s). Somehow, the English language seems to be particularly predisposed to reflect an approach in which the speaker's opinions and views are extremely moderately expressed, and, hence, the spoken discourse abounds in the application of tools such as, inter alia, the discourse marker *you know*.

To sum up, the comparative analysis of *you know* as used in English, Russian and Polish sheds light on the fact how it is applied in different linguistic and cultural environments. Notably, the striking difference in the frequency of its occurrence in the English language in comparison to Slavic ones does not affect the multifunctional nature of *you know* and one still can point out its numerous common features occurring across the languages analyzed.

For the purpose of scholarly honesty, one should admit that the above discussion does not entirely exhaust the topic; there is still much room left for extended research. Therefore, the arguments presented in this paper may constitute some background for further investigations incorporating both the variations of the discourse marker *you know* and other linguistic and socio-cultural contexts.

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Linguistic mechanisms as a source of humour as reflected in the use of cooperative and politeness principles

Abstract
The resent study aims at confronting the theoretical knowledge of Grice's Cooperative Principle and Leech's Politeness Principles with the functioning of humour reflected in 25 randomly selected Polish jokes. Some basic assumptions and characteristics of the abovementioned theories and principles will be discussed and, in addition, the understanding and interpretation of the selected jokes will be dealt with. Based on the findings of the study, it can be concluded that in both The Cooperative and Politeness Principle, a number of conversational maxims is disobeyed, breached and flouted with a view to achieving a goal: the formation of a number of implicatures which convey additional meanings which contribute to the occurrence of humorous effects. Apart from the violation of the maxims, one can observe violation of certain social norms as reflected in the behaviour of the protagonists and the situations described in the jokes analyzed.

Keywords: humour, principle of politeness, Cooperative Principle (CP), Politeness Principle (PP), maxims, ambiguity, implicature, violation, flouting

1. Introduction

It is common knowledge that humour plays a significant role in human life. Regardless of our age, sex, status, culture and norms, each of us can find things funny or hilarious. The only difference is that whereas for some people some things will be very funny, for others they will not be so funny (Raskin, 1985: 2).

This paper deals with humour as reflected in selected jokes. Hence, various types of jokes as well as the structure of the jokes will be discussed. The linguistic analysis of the selected jokes will be done within the frameworks of pragmatic theories – the principle of politeness which include Grice's Cooperative Principle and conversational maxims (1975), and similarly Leech's Politeness Principle and politeness maxims (1983). The analysis will be based on the functioning of the maxims – their observation and violation and the way we obtain humorous effects.

1.1. The scope of study

The study focuses on the analysis of Grice's cooperative principles and maxims, politeness principle proposed by Leech.

1.2. Research questions

In the article, the following research questions are formulated:

-What cooperative principles are observed and flouted in the selected jokes?

-What politeness principles are observed and flouted in the selected jokes?

-In what way do the observation and flouting of both cooperative and politeness principles cause laughter?

1.3. Objectives of the study

-to analyze the incidence of observing and flouting of cooperative principles

-to analyze the incidence of observing and flouting of politeness principles

-to determine the functioning of cooperative and politeness principles in the creation of humorous effects

2. Literary review

The following chapter deals with the most significant theories of humour, a joke, types of jokes, connection and disjunction and finally selected theories on politeness which will serve the basis for the analysis of the jokes analyzed.

2.1. Research on humour

The most influential theories on humour are the following: *The Superiority Theory*, advocated by Aristotle and Hobbes and based on humour which reflects our sense of superiority towards others where we make fun of others defects, shortcomings and misfortune*, The Release Theory*, advocated by Freud and based on releasing tension and achieving relaxation and pleasant mood and finally *The Incongruity Theory*, which is one of the most influential, based on the occurrence of incongruent, inconsistent parts and deliberate ambiguity of the text of the joke, two or more interpretations and the unreal nature of one of the interpretations.

The linguistic research on humour is done both semantically and pragmatically. In the field of semantic study, *The Semantic Script Theory of Humour (SSTH)* developed by Raskin (1985) with the key notion of a "script" and the combination of scripts, that is the script oppositions with an alternative interpretation of the story (Raskin, 1985).

The General Theory of Verbal Humour (GTVH), which developed from SSTH, is a linguistic theory which gives more room for other linguistic areas, such as textual linguistics, the theory of narrativity and pragmatics – all of this is achieved by the addition of 5: Knowledge Resources: The script opposition (SO), the logical mechanism (LM), the target (TA), the narrative strategy (NS), The language (LA), and the situation (SI) (Attardo, 1994: 222-223).

2.2. The notion of a joke

A joke constitutes a brief, amusing story which ends in a punch line. It consists of *a setup* and *a punch line*. Whereas the former is responsible for creating in the listener a specific set of expectations about the scenario, the latter involves a sudden, abrupt shift of the meaning unexpectedly and funnily: "The setup, which includes all but the last sentence, creates in the listener a particular set of expectations about how the situation should be interpreted. The punch line suddenly shifts the meaning in an unexpected and playful way, thus creating the perception of nonserious incongruity that is necessary for humour to occur" (Rod, 2007: 11).

Jokes are divided into: *verbal / linguistic* and *situational / referential* (Attardo, 1994: 95). Whereas the former are based on play with words, puns (humorous use of a word which evokes another meaning and interpretation) and ambiguity (lexical, structural, etc.) and the form of the structure, the latter are based on the arrangement of a particular scenario. If we substitute a word or phrase with another one and if the joke is still funny, it means that it is a referential joke. If we replace a word or phrase with another one and if the joke is not funny anymore, it is a linguistic joke as the funniness of the joke is based on a particular word or phrase which must not be replaced.

When analyzing jokes, it is necessary to distinguish between two terms – *disjunctor* and *connector*. Whereas the former pertains to both verbal and referential jokes, the latter is reserved for only verbal / linguistic jokes but is not indispensable since there are some mechanisms in verbal jokes which are not based on ambiguity or polysemy (Matuszewska, 2007: 167). *Disjunctor* enables us to pass from one interpretation to another, which functions in both types of jokes: "The basic enabling condition for the disjunctor to operate is clearly the possibility to perform a passage from the first sense to the second one" (Attardo, 1994: 96). *Connector* constitutes two or even more meanings of the same word or expression – it constitutes any segment of text that can be given two distinct readings (Raskin, 1985).

In order to demonstrate the difference between verbal and referential jokes and the disambiguation process based on the functioning of disjunction and connection, let us look at the examples given below:

Woman: "I know how to please a man."

Man: "Then please leave me alone."

Therefore, the example given above constitutes a typical verbal / linguistic joke in which the functioning is based on the lexical ambiguity of the word "please", which functions here as a connector and which in turn contributes to the funniness of the joke.

Similarly, the joke below is based on the occurrence of the phraseological expression “to pay for something” which has two distinct meanings – literal and figurative and thus functions as both a connector and disjunctor:

“Daddy,” a little boy asked his father. “How much does it cost to get married?” “I don’t know, son. I’m still paying for it!

However, the example below, which is a situational / referential joke, depicts a typical everyday situation at home where a husband gets back home and talks to his wife. The conversation is ordinary until the punch line, which is undoubtedly unusual.

A man gets home, runs into his house, slams the door and shouts: “Honey, pack your bags. I won the lottery.”The wife says: “Wow! That’s great! Should I pack for the ocean, or should I pack for the mountains?

He says: “I don’t care. Just get the fuck out.”

Similarly, the joke below is also situational / referential since “Two…or maybe three?”, which serves as a disjunctor as it allows us to obtain another interpretation, can be replaced with i.e. “four or five” and the joke will still be funny.

-My wife claims that I don’t take care of my children. I can’t stand it anymore!

-How many children have you got?

-Two…or maybe three?

In the next example, the last utterance, which is a disjunctor, provides us with another interpretation, which contrary to our expectations brings forth laughter:

W samolocie odzywa się żona do męża i mówi: Ci ludzie z powietrza wyglądają jak malutkie mrówki. Na to facet z tyłu się odzywa: Bo to są mrówki – my jeszcze nie lecimy.

On a plane a blond says to a guy:

-These people from the top look as if they were ants.

The guy responds: These are ants, we are not flying yet.

If we analyze the next joke, we will realize that it is also situational / referential. Nevertheless, the force of the swearword “spierdoliła” – “fucked up” makes the joke funnier albeit if we replaced it with another word, such as “spieprzyła”, “zniszczyła”, “spaprała” etc., the joke would still be funny. Rabbit’s last utterance serves as a disjunctor thanks to which we are provided with another, new and at the same time funny interpretation:

Przychodzi królik do apteki. – 200 prezerwatyw proszę! Pani magister wydaje towar i mówi: – E... przepraszam, ale mamy tylko 199 sztuk... Królik się zmarszczył. Spojrzał na panią magister z wyrzutem i mówi: - No dobra ... biorę ... ale oświadczam, że z lekka mi pani spierdoliła wieczór!

A rabbit comes to a pharmacy.

-200 condoms, please!

-The pharmacist gives them to him and says:

-I'm sorry, but we have only got 199 condoms.

The rabbit looked at the pharmacist with the frown and said with a remorse:

-OK, I'll take them, but I assure you that you fucked up my evening!

The joke below is also based on the incidence of a swearword which can be substituted by many other synonyms and the joke will still be equally funny. "Wszyscy czterej wypierdalać!" – "All the four get the fuck out of here!" functions as a disjunctor as it allows for a completely new interpretation:

Siedzi dziadek na bujanym fotelu, pali fajeczkę, nagle ktoś łomocze do drzwi.

- Kto tam?

- Jean Claude Van Damme.

- Nie znam! Wszyscy czterej wypierdalać!

An old man sits in an armchair, smokes a pipe and suddenly someone bangs at the door.

-Who's there?

-Jean Claud Van Damme.

-I don't know you and all the four – get the fuck out of here!

2.3. Cooperative and politeness theories and principles

It is necessary to define the term *politeness* as the analysis lies within the framework of politeness theories – more specifically Grice's Cooperative Principle (1975) and Leech's Politeness Principle (1983).

It is crude to stress that politeness depends on a context. A context determines a degree of formality on the part of the speakers from direct to indirect forms depending on who we talk to and in what circumstances. Moreover, the degree of formality is also determined by a culture – some cultures favour a more direct style, others an indirect style of communication. Finally, there are a number of other – extra-linguistic variables, such as the speaker's status, social role, age etc. Hence, when participating in a conversation, politeness becomes a question of appropriateness (Fraser, 1990). Regardless of the factors which influence the degree of formality, one cannot state that some cultures or languages are more polite than the other.

2.3.1. Grice's Cooperative Principle

The Cooperative Principle was introduced by Paul Grice who put forward 4 subprinciples referred to as maxims which guide conversation (Yule, 1996: 37):

1) *The Maxim of Quality*: make true contributions, tell the truth, be truthful:

(i) Do not say what you believe to be false

(ii) Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence

For example, on the assumption that Robert's girlfriend is fed up with him and loves someone else, if Robert asked her "Do you love me" and if she answered "Yes, I do", it would definitely constitute a violation of a maxim of quality as the contribution on the part of the girlfriend would not be truthful whatsoever.

2) *The Maxim of Quantity*: be as informative as required and do not be more informative than required; give the right amount of information when talking, don't say too little or too much

(i) Make your contribution as informative as required for the current purposes of the exchange in which you are engaged

(ii) Do not make your contribution more informative than is required

The amount of information should be adapted to the question in a particular exchange (Aitchison, 1995: 94). For instance, if someone asked me "Who's the person in the corner?", "That's my neighbour" would be a cooperative reply, as opposed to an over-brief one "Some man" or an over-long reply "That's my neighbour who used to live in the suburbs of New York for a long time and whose favourite pastime was jogging late in the evening in Central Park" which both would be regarded as uncooperative responses.

3) *The Maxim of Relation / Relevance*: be relevant

For instance, a teacher asks his student "Why didn't you prepare yourself?" and his answer is "May I open the window? It's so stuffy in here". In this example, despite the fact that the student's answer is not relevant to the teacher's question, the student might be trying to avoid answering the uncomfortable question on the part of the teacher. As a result, one can made one or more interpretations out of the utterance thanks to making inferences.

4) *The Maxim of Manner*: be perspicuous, that is avoid obscurity, ambiguity, unnecessary prolixity, be brief, clear and orderly

(i) Avoid obscurity

(ii) Avoid ambiguity

(iii) Avoid unnecessary prolixity

(iv) Be orderly

For example, one person asks the other: A: "Did you enjoy the conversation with my new girlfriend in the pub?" and B responds: "There were so many people screaming their heads off and they were so noisy that … and I couldn't concentrate on …". 'B's response, which constitutes a lengthy, protracted description, is quite obscure, chaotic and does not satisfy interlocutor A.

In a natural setting, we often communicate a lot more than say and as a result contribute to the formation of implicatures. If the meaning of the utterance is understood linguistically and pragmatically, that is if all the extralexical information, such as implicatures, indirect speech acts, inference rules etc. are internalized (Raskin, 1985: 75), communication between the speakers is effective and unimpeded. It is common knowledge that communication is successful due to the cooperation which occurs amongst interlocutors. Moreover, even though a particular utterance is somewhat vague, each of us is able to make adequate interpretations and find a hidden meaning albeit it is not given on the surface. If a maxim is broken and we are still assuming that the cooperation is in progress, the violation can be taken as a sign that another message is being conveyed indirectly and forms the basis for inferences – this is referred to as an *implicature*. "In brief, listeners interpret what people say as conforming to the cooperative principle, even when this principle is overtly broken. They draw implications from the utterance which are not strictly there in the linguistic meanings" (Aitchison, 1995: 95).

A: Come over – we'll have some beer and chat a little.

B: I'd love to, but I need to get it done as soon as possible.

On making appropriate interpretations, we obtain an expression of refusal albeit it is clear that in the utterance in which 'no' did not appear: "Something that isn't said nevertheless gets communicated" (Yule, 1996: 81).

According to Grice's assumptions, there are two circumstances under which implicatures appear. Firstly, in order to interpret implicatures, one must observe the cooperative principle: "Implicatures are primarily examples of more being communicated than said, but in order for them to be interpreted, some basic cooperative principle must first be assumed to be in operation" (Yule, 1996: 36). As a result, even though the speaker follows the Cooperative Principle (CP), the hearer might be confused. Secondly, an implicature might be caused by a purposeful, deliberate breaching or flouting of one (or more) of the maxims (Cruse, 2011:420). Admittedly, both the cooperative principle and the maxims should be observed to avoid confusion, misunderstandings and be successful in communication. If we violate any of them, communication might be hampered (Stilwell Peccei, 1999: 27). "These maxims can be flouted, that is, not obeyed. When they are, they typically entail or imply another meaning. Thus meaning is affected both by adherence to the maxims ad by their being flouted" (Chaika, 1994: 159).

Breaking or violating one of the maxims might result in making a conversation unclear, fuzzy and muddled which cannot be successful. However, violation of the maxims might also cause humorous effects and laughter. One type of humour is a joke which is based on the violation of Grice's co-operative principle in which case one or some of the maxims are not abided by. Due to the ambiguities and incongruities which impede communication, one contributes to the occurrence of humour – that is humour occurs through the violation of the maxims: «*Language, despite being rule-governed, is replete with ambiguities and incongruities, which operate at the different levels of linguistic organization – phonological, morphological, lexical, syntactical and semantic,…*» (McLoughlin, 1997). In other words, non-observances of the maxims gives rise to the creation of new, additional, hidden meanings which are not given on the surface.

Thus, Raskin (1985) put forward his own Cooperation Principle based on four maxims: -*maxim of quantity:* give exactly as much information as necessary for the joke

-*maxim of quality*: say only what is compatible with the world of the joke

-*maxim of relation*: say only what is relevant to the joke

-*maxim of manner*: tell a joke efficiently (Raskin, 1985: 103).

2.3.2. Leech's Politeness Principle

Politeness constitutes a very important aspect in obtaining, maintaining and enhancing the interpersonal relationship with other interlocutors. Leech's proposal of the Politeness Principle must not be ignored since it plays a very crucial role in communication amongst human beings. It is based on two main general assumptions:

1) Minimize the expression of impolite beliefs

2) Choose expressions which minimally belittle the hearer's status (Cruse, 2011: 426).

For Leech, politeness pertains to such forms of behaviour that facilitate personal and social interaction and enable interlocutors to maintain an atmosphere of harmony. It is also important to stress the distinction between positive politeness (attempt to avoid discord) and negative politeness (attempt to seek concord). Whereas the former is associated with making compliments and being gracious, the latter is based on mitigating an imposition via hedging, being pessimistic, demonstrating deference, expressing an apology or impersonalizing.

Similarly to Grice's maxims, Leech puts forward another set of maxims pertaining to the Politeness Principle:

1) The Tact Maxim:

(i) Minimize cost to the hearer

(ii) Maximize benefit to the hearer

There are a number of utterances which function as a request or a command. According to The Tact Maxim, the impositive which we order is associated with the cost and benefit of the hearer and depending on the speaker's politeness, the effect or force of the imposition might either be softened or strengthened. The softening of the imposition is based on facilitating the refusal on the part of the hearer, as in "Open the window", "Could you open the window?", "I was wondering if you could possibly open the window". Whereas it is more polite to soften cost to the hearer, it is more polite to strengthen benefit (beneficial impositives) to the hearer, as in "Have a whale of a time at the party" vs "I was wondering if you could possibly have a whale of a time at the party".

2) *The Generosity Maxim*:

(i) Minimize benefit to self

(ii) Maximize cost to self

According to politeness principles, in case of offers, benefit to the hearer and cost to the speaker are made and in case of requests, benefit to the speaker should be softened, as in the following utterances: “Let me carry the luggage for you”, “I was wondering if I could carry the luggage for you” (offer), “I want to smoke”, “Could I possibly smoke?” (request)

3) *The Approbation Maxim*:

(i) Minimize dispraise of the hearer

(ii) Maximize praise of the hearer

4) *The Modesty Maxim*:

(i) Minimize praise of oneself

(ii) Maximize dispraise of oneself

Both the Maxims of Approbation and Modesty pertain to expressing positive or negative opinions about the speaker or the hearer, as in:

A: Do you like my new shirt? B: No, I don’t. vs. B: Well, yes, but it’s not my favourite colour

A: I am so absent-minded at times! B: Yes, you are vs. B: Not at all – you are exaggerating!

A: You did an outstanding job! B: Yes, I did – there’s no question about that, right?! vs. B: Well, it’s not a big deal, is it?.

A: What a nice shirt you’re wearing! B: It is nice, isn’t it? vs. B: Well, it’s quite old – I’ve had it for ages.

5) *The Agreement Maxim*:

(i) Minimize disagreement with the hearer

(ii) Maximize agreement with the hearer

Before expressing any kind of disagreement, it is advisable to begin with agreement partially (Cruse, 2011:430), as in the following utterance:

A: He should be punished – we cannot put up with such inappropriate behaviour.

B: I disagree with you, Sir. vs. B: Generally yes, but I’m afraid that in this particular case …

6) *The Sympathy Maxim*:

(i) Maximize sympathy (expression of positive feelings) towards the hearer

(ii) Minimize antipathy (expression of negative feelings) towards the hearer

This maxim can be observed when expressing congratulations, condolences, etc.

7) *The Consideration Maxim* (as a separate principle – the Pollyanna Principle):

(i) Minimize the hearer’s discomfort / displeasure

(ii) Maximize the hearer’s comfort / pleasure

The Consideration Maxim refers to weakening or softening the force of an utterance by means of various devices, such as indirectness, using euphemisms etc, as in the following instances:

"What you are saying is a load of crap!" vs. "What you are saying is nonsense!"
"Your uncle kicked the bucket! vs. "Your uncle passed away!"

Apart from the 7 maxims discussed above, there are two more principles proposed by Leech:

-*The Irony Principle*, i.e. "Thank you so much" (said to someone who spilled beer on you)

-*The Banter Principle*, i.e. "You lucky bastard" (said to someone close who got through the exam although he did not study much).

"There are two basic possibilities here; one can be superficially polite, but patently insincere, leading to rudeness by implicature, or one can be superficially rude, but patently insincere, leading to politeness by implicature" (Cruse, 2011: 431).

3. Data analysis and discussion

We intend to analyze 25 selected Polish jokes taken from the Internet. The jokes – both verbal and situational, have been selected randomly and vary thematically as they are about men, women, students, secretaries, bosses, teachers, friends, lovers, and describe various forms of behaviour in a number of situations. The analysis pertains to the conversational maxims and politeness principles discussed above.

1) Siedzi kilku informatyków i cały czas rozmawiają o komputerach. W końcu jeden mówi:
-Słuchajcie, pogadajmy o czymś innym, np. o dupach...
Nastąpiła chwila ciszy i konsternacja. Po czym jeden się odzywa:
-Moja karta graficzna jest do dupy.

There are some computer scientists talking about computers. One of them says:
-Listen, let's talk about something else, for example about cunts.
After a moment of silence and consternation, one of them says:
-My graphic card sucks.

This verbal joke provokes laughter due to the ambiguous meaning of the word „dupy" – "cunts / sucks". Thus "dupy" constitutes a connector which provides us with two distinct interpretations. Whereas the first meaning refers to girls used in an offensive way ("cunt"), the second interpretation pertains to a bad quality of something ("sucks"). The last response is not relevant to what has been said above (and thus the maxim of relevance is violated) and gives way to the formation of an implicature and a new meaning. Similarly, on the assumption that the utterance "pogadajmy o dupach" – "let's talk about cunts" is ambiguous, one can state that the maxim of quantity is violated since the interlocutor did not provide sufficient information as to what in fact he is referring to. Undoubtedly, the communication is not effective due to the misunderstanding. Taking into account Leech's maxims, one can state that the consideration maxim is flouted due to the use of the offensive word "dupy".

2) Do firmy przyszedł hydraulik naprawić WC. Wszedł do kancelarii i pyta sekretarkę:

-No to gdzie jest ten sracz?

Sekretarka nieśmiało odpowiada:

-Pan dyrektor jest właśnie na obiedzie.

-Ale pani mnie źle zrozumiała – mam na myśli te dwa zera.

-Zastępcy dyrektora mają naradę.

-Ale pani złota, ja się pytam, gdzie tu się gówno robi?

-Aha... rachunkowość jest piętro niżej...

A plumber comes to a plant to fix the toilet. He enters the office and asks the secretary:

-Where is this shit?

-The boss is currently having dinner.

-You misunderstood me – I mean these two zeros.

-The executives are at a meeting.

-Darling, I am asking you where you take a crap here.

-Aaahhh … accounting is upstairs.

This is another linguistic joke which is based on ambiguity. The plumbers offensive words "sracz" – "shit", and "dwa zera" – "two zeros" refer to the toilet for ladies. The secretary is apparently confused and the communication is a total failure. The secretary did probably not see plumbers in the workers and was convinced that they were referring to her managers and colleagues in a derogatory, disrespectful, offensive way. In terms of Leech's politeness principle – based on the plumbers' way of referring to the toilet, the consideration maxim is violated as it causes displeasure and might make the secretary feel uncomfortable if not disgusted by the plumber's language – both the directness and the choice of words.

3) Przychodzi chłopak do szkoły i mówi do swoich kolegów:

-Byłem u dziewczyny...

-I co, i co???

-Waliłem caaaaaałą noc!!

-Łooo!!!!!!

-...i nikt nie otworzył!

A boy comes to school and says to his friends, bragging:

-I was at my girlfriend's place.

-And what, and what?

-I was banging all night long!

-Wwwooowww!!!

-And nobody opened the door!

„Waliłem" – "I banged" is ambiguous since in this context it has two different meanings – "to knock at the door" and in slang "to have sex". The expectations which we form before make us think that the protagonist had a great time making love to his girlfriend. However, the last utterance –"...i nikt nie otworzył!" – "and nobody opened the door!" provides us with another interpretation – that he was unable to enter. This provokes laughter as the action of making love is definitely much more pleasant than knocking at the door all night. Similarly, the violation of the consideration maxim can be observed by the use of the verb "waliłem" – "I banged" with reference to a sexual activity, as opposed to more polite synonymous expressions "uprawiałem miłość / seks" or "kochałem się" – "I made love" or "I had sex". However, the use of the word is also justified taking into consideration the protagonist's interlocutors who are his friends. Moreover, linguistically, this word is obligatory for the joke to be funny. Thanks to the disjunctor "i nikt nie otworzył" – "And nobody opened the door" we obtain the other meaning of the connector "waliłem" – "I banged" – that is "to have sex".

4) Sekretarka odbiera telefon:

- Niestety szef jest na naradzie, ale jeśli ma pan bardzo pilną sprawę, to go obudzę...

A secretary answers the phone:

-Unfortunately boss is at a meeting, but if it's urgent, I will wake him up…

Thanks to the secretary's utterance, we infer that she is not telling the truth. Thus she violates the maxim of quality by making a false contribution. This makes the communication uncooperative as "to go obudzę" – "I will wake him up", which is a disjunctor in this respect, does not fit to what has been said before.

5) Przychodzi szczęśliwy mąż do domu i mówi do żony:

-Kochanie wygrałem w totka, pakuj się.

-Och to wspaniale – gdzie wyjeżdżamy?

-Nie, wypierdalaj!!!

A happy husband comes back home and says to his wife:

-Honey, I won the lottery – pack yourself!

-Oh, that's great! Where are we going anywhere?

-No, just get the fuck out of here!

The swearword used at the end of the joke (in a punch line) functions as a disjunctor – a segment which gives us a new interpretation and at the same time provides us with a humorous effect. It seems that the utterance "nie, wypierdalaj" – "just get the fuck out of here!" violates the maxim of relation as it is not relevant to the wife's question "gdzie wyjeżdżamy?" – "Where are we going?". It gives rise to an implicature that the husband is tired of his wife and due to the money which he won in a lottery, he does not need her any more. It also shows that he was financially dependent on her. Through the the imperative form, which is a command, the husband violates the maxim of tact by maximizing benefit to himself. By the use of the swearword "wypierdalaj" – "get the fuck out of here", he violates the maxim of consideration maximizing his wife's discomfort – offending her and referring o her very rudely and thus making her feel uncomfortable.

6) Na egzamin w sesji letniej spóźniła się studentka. Wpada zdyszana i od progu błagalnym głosem woła:

-Panie profesorze, przepraszam za spóźnienie, ale zapomniałam wyłączyć żelazko.

-A czy przypadkiem nie zapomniała pani bielizny?

-Nie, w lecie nie noszę, panie profesorze...

A student shows up late for the exam. She runs into the classroom, panting and begs the professor:

-Professor, I'm sorry for being late, but I forgot to turn off the iron.

-And did you happen to forget your underwear too?

-No, professor, I don't wear underwear in the summer.

This is a conversation between a professor and his student. The questions which he asks her seems to violate the maxim of relation – especially taking into consideration the situation. However, in this context it is sarcastic and humorous and this is the professor's intention. The response given by the student lets us think that she understood the professor's question literally and thus came up with such a response. Nevertheless, the response is not relevant in this respect and is caused by the fact that the student did not understand the real intention in the question asked by the professor jokingly. With the student's misinterpretation, the sexual innuendo in the punch line, the confusion and embarrassment on the part of the professor, we obtain a humorous effect.

7) Ona do niego:
-Kochanie, koledzy z biura powiedzieli, że mam bardzo zgrabne nogi.
-Naprawdę? A nie wspomnieli nic o wielkiej dupie?
-Nie, o tobie nie rozmawialiśmy.

Two married people are talking:
-Honey, your colleagues from the office said that I had well-shaped legs.
-Really? Didn't they say anything about your big ass?
-No, we didn't talk about you.

In this joke, a wife is talking to her husband. The husband's question is misunderstood by her as according to his wife's interpretation – the word "dupa" – "ass" refers to him. It can be stated that the husband violates the maxim of quantity and manner by not providing enough information and thus being unclear (he did not specify which ass he was referring to). Additionally, the consideration maxim is also violated due to the use of "dupa" – "ass" instead of many other, more polite synonyms. The husband also flouts the approbation maxim since by the use of "wielka dupa" – "big ass" he does not minimize dispraise of his wife – in fact he expresses his opinion about her appearance negatively and scornfully.

8) W klasie pierwszej, prowadzonej przez bardzo seksowną i młodziutką nauczycielkę, w ostatniej ławce, tuż za Jasiem, zasiadł jaśnie pan dyrektor szkoły. Postanowił przeprowadzić wizytację na lekcji "najświeższej" w szkole nauczycielki. Pani, bardzo przejęta, odwróciła do klasy swe apetyczne, opięte krótką spódniczką pośladki, pisząc na tablicy: "Ala ma kota." Nawrót i pytanie do klasy: - Co ja napisałam? Martwota i przerażenie... Jedynie Jaś wyrywa się jak szalony. No...., no..., Jasiu? Pani, z ogromnym wahaniem, dobrze już znając wyskoki tego łobuziaka, wezwała go do odpowiedzi.
-Ale ma dupę! – mówi Jaś.
-Pała! – wybuchła pani, czerwona na twarzy z oburzenia.
Jasio też wściekły, siadając zwrócił się do tyłu, do dyrektora:
-Jak nie umiesz czytać, to nie podpowiadaj!
A new, young and sexy teacher is observed in class by the principal who sits in the back, just behind John – one of the pupils. The teacher, concerned about the whole situation turns her back to her pupils and writes on the blackboard:
-"Ala has a cat". She asks her pupils what she has just written on the blackboard – What have I just written? No one responds – silence and consternation. John starts talking.
She says: Yes, Johny?
-What an ass!

-You fail! – said the teacher, red on her face and furious.

Also furious, John turns back to the principal and says to him: If you can't read, don't help me!

This is a situational joke which show inappropriate behaviour on the part of the student and the principal who admired the teacher's aspects concerning her beauty. The disjunctor, which is reflected in the last utterance reveals us the fact that the offensive "Ale ma dupę!" – "What an ass!" has been uttered by the principal, not by the student.

9) W pierwszej klasie szkoły podstawowej, podczas lekcji biologii, pani pyta dzieci:

-Jakie dźwięki wydaje krowa?

Małgosia podnosi rękę:

-Muuuu, proszę pani.

-Bardzo dobrze, Gosiu. A jaki odgłos wydają koty?

Grześ podnosi rękę:

-Miauuu, proszę pani.

- Bardzo dobrze, Grzesiu, bardzo dobrze. A jaki dźwięk wydają psy?

Jasio podnosi rękę.

-No, Jasiu, powiedz - zachęca pani.

-Na ziemię skurwysynu, ręce na głowę i szeroko nogi.

A biology lesson, first form, a teacher asks her pupils:

-What sounds does a cow make?

Margaret raises her hand:

-Moo, teacher.

-Very good, Maggie. What sounds do cats make?

Greg raises his hand:

-Meow, teacher.

Very good, Greg, very good. And what sound do dogs (in English: pigs) make?

John raises his hand.

-John, come on, say it – encourages him the teacher.

-Get down on the ground, you fucking asshole and put your hands behind your back and put your legs together.

The use of the connector „psy" – "dogs / policemen", which has two different meanings, provokes laughter in the joke. Although the lesson is based on the animals and the sounds which they produce, Jaś interprets the word "psy" as policemen. The teacher's question is not ambiguous due to the context given – the classroom, the topic of animals etc. However, out of context, it would not necessarily be so clear if it refers to animals – just like cows and cats. For the sake of the joke, the double meaning of the word “psy” is justified and purposeful. The last utterance ”Na ziemię skurwysynu, ręce na głowę i szeroko nogi” – “Get down on the ground, you fucking asshole and put your hands behind your back and put your legs together” constitutes a disjunctor which opens new, unpredictable meanings and interpretations.

10) Mąż zastaje żonę z kochankiem w łóżku:
-Co ten facet robi w moim łóżku?!
-Cuda, cuda .....

A husband sees his wife with her lover in their bed:
-What is this guy doing in my bed?!
-Great things, great things!

In the situation shown above, we observe a betrayal on the part of a woman who is not preoccupied with the consequences of her action whatsoever. The answer which she gives to her husband is not relevant taking into account her husband’s feelings. It is not normal to give such an answer to such a question in such circumstances (being caught red-handed). Thus, we observe the violation of the maxim of relevance, which gives us room for a number of implicatures, such as i.e. the fact that contrary to her lover, the husband is not so good at making love or that the wife is not satisfied with her sexual life with her husband, etc. Moreover, the wife violates Leech’s consideration maxim by making him embarrassed about what he sees. Similarly, she flouts the sympathy maxim by being so honest and not feeling ashamed about what she is doing.

11) W dyskotece dziewczyna pyta chłopaka stojącego przy ścianie:
-Masz wolny następny taniec?
On odpowiada: -Tak!!! Tak!!!
Ona na to z uśmiechem: -To potrzymaj mi colę.

At a disco a girl asks a boy standing by the wall:
-Do you happen to have a free dance?
He responds: -Yes!!! Yes!!!
She responds with a smile: -So hold my coke.

In this referential joke, we observe a conversation of two young people at the disco. The question asked by the girl is ambiguous since it makes the boy confused. Therefore, we observe the violation of the maxim of manner in which the girl does not avoid ambiguity. The confusion is caused by the fact that he was convinced that the girl wanted to dance with him. The request she makes in the punch line leaves us no doubt that she is not interested in dancing with him. The disjunctor "To potrzymaj mi colę" – "So hold my coke" is a request in the form of an imperative, which is not very polite. In this way, one observes the flouting of the tact maxim in which she maximized cost to the hearer instead, not to herself. Looking at the form of the utterance, she strengthens the effect of the request. Moreover, consideration maxim is also flouted as the request she makes is far from indirect, she makes no effort to weaken or soften the force of the utterance and in this way the discomfort on the part of the boy is maximized.

12) Córeczka pyta mamę:
-Dlaczego wyszłaś za tatusia?
-Ty, dziecko, też zaczynasz się dziwić?

A daughter asks her mother:
-Why did you marry daddy?
-Honey, you are also surprised by that, right?

Mother's question is not relevant to her daughter's query. Thus, the maxim of relation is flouted. The daughter expects to receive a response from her mother and instead she obtains a question. The mother's question is very informative – it encompasses a number of implicatures as to her husband's character and behaviour. The daughter's question "Dlaczego wyszłaś za tatusia?" – "Why did you marry daddy?" is ambiguous – it can be interpreted in two distinct ways: as a literal meaning it is a question for the real reason of the marriage on the part of the daughter and the second interpretation implies the husband's alleged bad character or inappropriate behaviour (or both). The hilarity of the joke is based on the implicatures about the husband, but also on the fact that the mother expresses overt criticism of her husband to her daughter, which in fact she should not be doing in this way.

13) Córeczka budzi się o trzeciej w nocy i prosi:
-Mamo, opowiedz mi bajkę.
-Zaraz wróci tatuś i opowie nam obu...

A daughter wakes up at 3 a.m. and asks her mother:
-Mummy, tell me a fairy-tale.
-Daddy will get back soon and he will tell both of us a fairy tale…

The word „bajka" – "fairy-tale" has two distinct readings here – literal and figurative. The daughter asks for the real fairy-tale whereas her mother, who is apparently upset about the fact that her husband is not home with them, talks about a story made up by her husband. Thanks to mother's words, a number of implicatures are formed and we are provided with the information that her husband is not truthful, unreliable and even unfaithful (whatever he is doing and wherever he is at night – he is definitely not at home where he should be).

14) -Cześć stary, kopę lat, co u ciebie?
-Ożeniłem się.
-I co, lepiej?
-Lepiej to chyba nie, ale na pewno częściej...

-Hello, what's up, dude. It's been a long time. How have you been?
-I got married.
-So what, is it better?
-Maybe not, but more often.

This is another example of the exchange where communication is not successful. The protagonists are not cooperative at all since both of the violate the maxims. The first one violates the maxims of quantity and manner as he does not provide enough information to be understood well. As a result, the second protagonist does not give him a relevant answer due to the misunderstanding. Whereas the first one asks if it is better to be single or married, the second one thinks that he is being asked for sex. Thanks to the punch line, we reinterpret the whole situation and understand the humour. The word "stary" - "dude" is used in a friendly way to his friend (someone close) and functions as a polite implicature which means that politeness is not so necessary in this conversation. Hence, one observes the functioning of Leech's Banter Maxim where the word "stary" – "dude" confirms the men's strong and solid relationship.

15) -Słuchaj, czy patrzysz swojemu mężowi w oczy podczas stosunku?
-Hmm... Raz spojrzałam... Stał w drzwiach.

-Listen, do you look into your husband's eyes while you are having sex?
-Well, I looked once – he was standing in the doorway.

The protagonist's utterance „Stał w dzwiach" – "He was standing in the doorway" is very informative since thanks to that we learn that the woman makes love to someone else instead of her husband. This creates some other implicatures, pertaining to her infidelity etc. Undoubtedly, the protagonist's repulsive behaviour and disrespectful attitude towards her husband provokes laughter in us.

16) -Weź mnie - namiętnie mruczy żona.
-Oszalałaś? Przecież ja nigdzie nie wychodzę!

-Take me ! whispers the wife passionately.
-Are you out of your mind? I'm not going anywhere!

In this verbal joke, one observes play with words – double meaning of „weź" – "take". The utterance "weź mnie" – "take me" is ambiguous – the first interpretation refers to "taking someone to a place" and the second one means "to have sex with someone". Thus, "weź mnie" – "take me" serves as a connector in this respect. The disjunctor – which is reflected in the husband's utterance "Oszalałaś? Przecież ja nigdzie nie wychodzę!" – "Are you out of your mind? I'm not going anywhere!" confirms that he completely misinterpreted his wife's sexual offer. The wife flouted maxims of the cooperative principle – maxim of manner and quantity. Although she is brief, she is not clear enough in the way she offers sex to her husband. The maxim of quantity is flouted in the sense that she is not as informative as necessary in order to be understood. As far as Leech's tact maxim is concerned, the request which she makes has the form of an imperative and in this way she does not soften the imposition and does not facilitate the possible refusal on the part of the husband. However, due to the first meaning of "weź mnie" – "take me" in the sense of having sex, close relationship of the interlocutors (husband and wife), the utterance does not strengthen the impositive.

17) Wraca mężczyzna całkowicie nawalony do domu, staje przed lustrem i bekając pyta:
-Lustereczko, lustereczko powiedz przecie – kto ma największego ch**a w świecie?
-Ja! - odzywa się kwaśno małżonka.

A stoned man comes back home, stands in front of the mirror and burping asks himself:
-Mirror, mirror, tell me, please, who has the biggest dick in the world?
-I have!, responds his wife bitterly.

The swearword used in this joke has two meanings – here it refers to a penis or colloquially to a man. It functions as a connector with its two distinct interpretations. The man's question is ambiguous and violates the maxims of manner and quantity even though the context is given.

18) Świeżo poślubiona żona mówi do męża, który właśnie wrócił z pracy:
-Mam wspaniałą wiadomość. Niedługo będziemy mieszkać we trójkę!
Mąż nie posiadał się z radości. Ucałował żonę i powiedział:

-Och, kochanie, jestem najszczęśliwszym mężczyzną na świecie!
-Cieszę się, że tak czujesz, bo jutro rano wprowadza się do nas moja mamusia.

A newly married wife says to her husband who has just returned from work.
-I have great news for you. There will be three of us here soon.
The husband responds with joy. He kisses his wife and says to her:
-I'm the happiest man in the world!
-I'm happy to hear that because my mother is moving in tomorrow.

The utterance "Niedługo będziemy mieszkać we trójkę!" – "There will be three of us here soon" is ambiguous and hence violates the maxims of manner and quantity. The husband's excitement is caused by the fact that he thinks that his wife is pregnant and that hey are going to have a baby. She made herself unclear and did not provide sufficient information as to who the third person is. Admittedly, no one is so excited to live with a mother-in-law and thus the news about that cannot be "great".

19) Młody nauczyciel i stary idą razem na lekcję. Młody – mnóstwo kserówek, pełno podręczników, dziennik pod pachą. Stary idzie na luzaka, niesie tylko klucz od klasy.
Młody mówi z zachwytem:
-Bardzo ładnie, podziwiam pana., po tylu latach pracy, to pan ma to wszystko w głowie?
-Nie synu, w dupie…

A young and an old teacher are going to class together. One of them – the young one, carries a lot of course books and materials under his armpit. The other one carries only a classroom key. The young one says with admiration:
-I really admire you – after so many years of work – you have all the knowledge in your head!
-No, son - in my ass …

We observe a nice play with words thanks to which the joke is hilarious. Taking into account the question "to pan ma to wszystko w głowie?" – "you have all the knowledge in your head?", the answer „Nie synu, w dupie" – "No, son – in my ass…" is not relevant and thus pens new interpretations – in this case the fact that the teacher does not care any more. Thus, the literal meaning is eliminated as the figurative interpretation appears. In terms of Leech's maxims, the more experienced teacher flouts the consideration maxim – his colleague might feel discomfort having heard the utterance.

20) Stoi pijaczek pod murem i sobie leje. Podchodzi policjant i pyta:
-A można to tak lać na ten mur?
-A co pan się pytasz – lej pan!

A drunkard stands near the wall and takes a piss. A policeman comes up to him and asks him:
-Is taking a piss allowed here?
-What are you asking for – just take a piss!

The question which the policeman makes is ambiguous since the maxim of manner is violated and as a result obtain the response "A co pan się pytasz - lej pan!" – "What are you asking for – just take a piss!" The policeman's question functions as criticism – it is not asking permission. The disjunctor reflected in the last utterance provokes laughter because of the misinterpretation and the way the drunk man talks to the policeman. The use of the word "lać", which is not polite, contributes to the hilarity of the joke. It is a violation of consideration maxim where the force of the word is strengthened, which in turn might evoke embarrassment or discomfort in the interlocutors – both the policeman and the drunk man, especially that they are strangers to each other.

21) Przychodzi facet do lekarza, twierdząc, że jest ogólnie w złej kondycji fizycznej. Lekarz poddał go całej serii badań, po czym mówi:
- Wie pan co? W tej chwili nie mogę dokładnie stwierdzić, co panu dolega, ale myślę, że to wszystko przez alkohol.
- A jest tu jakiś trzeźwy lekarz? - zapytał z ciekawości facet.

A man comes to the doctor and complains that he is not fit. The doctor examines him and says:
-You know what? I cannot determine exactly right now what your problem is, but I think that this is due to alcohol.
-And is there a sober doctor here? – asks the man curiously.

In his joke we witness another example of how communication fails due to non-observance of the maxims and leading to the formation of implicatures and misunderstandings. The doctor's utterance "w tej chwili nie mogę dokładnie stwierdzić co panu dolega, ale myślę, że to wszystko przez alkohol" – "I cannot determine exactly right now what your problem is, but I think that this is due to alcohol" is ambiguous in the sense that the alcohol might refer to two protagonists – the patient or the doctor himself. Thus, according to Grice's maxims, the doctor was not clear enough in his utterance and thus contributed to the misinterpretation on the part of the patient, which brought forth a humorous effect. The patient's question "A jest tu jakiś trzeźwy lekarz?" – "And is there a sober doctor here?" - constitutes a disjunctor thanks to which the second interpretation which we obtain undeniably provokes laughter. .

22) -Chodźmy pogratulować Mietkowi... Dziecko mu się urodziło.
-A co ma?
-Żytnią...

-Let's congratulate Mietek. His child has just been born.
-A what does he have?
-Żytnia.

The colloquial utterance in the form of a question "A co ma?" – "And what does he have?" is ambiguous in this context as it refers to two entities: the born child and the vodka. Hence, we can observe the flouting of the maxims of manner and quantity according to Grice's cooperative principle. The question is not clear enough and thus leads to confusion and misunderstanding. In terms of the maxim of manner – the utterance is obscure and ambiguous. In terms of the maxim of quantity – the utterance is not clear as it does not contain sufficient information in order to disambiguate the connector "A co ma?" – "And what does he have?".

23) Spotyka się dwóch kumpli:
-Cześć stary, słyszałem, ze się ożeniłeś.
-Ożeniłem się...
-To musisz być szczęśliwy?
-Muszę...

Two friends meet:
-What's up, dude, I've heard that you got married.
-Yes, I did.
-So you must be happy!
-Yes, I must.

In the short exchange above, the modal verb "musieć" – "must" is used in two different functions – the first one as an assumption and the second one as an obligation. Thanks to the response, we infer that he is not very happy as a married man. The word "muszę" – "I must" forms an implicature – the information about his misfortune in a marriage. Taking into consideration the function of "musisz" – "you must" in the question, one can state that the response "muszę" – "I must" is not relevant and thus exemplifies the violation of the maxim of relation. It also constitutes a disjunctor which gives us a new interpretation – our previous expectations about the man's alleged happiness are changed. The word "stary" – "dude" is used in order to stress solidarity between the men – this is an example of a polite implicature where Leech's Banter Principle is observed.

24) Rozmowa telefoniczna:
-Kochanie, co wolisz – banany czy truskawki?
-Na bazarze jesteś, skarbie?
-Nie, w aptece.

A telephone conversation:
-Honey, which do you prefer – bananas or strawberries?
-Are you in the market?
-No, in a pharmacy.

The protagonist in his joke violates the maxi of relevance as he does not specify what in fact he is referring to. The disjunctor "Nie, w aptece" – "No, in a pharmacy" forces us to reinterpret the meaning of the words and thanks to that we learn that he is talking about condoms and not fruit which undoubtedly cannot be purchased at the pharmacy. In other words, the adjunct of place "w aptece" – "in a pharmacy" provides us with a completely different meaning of the two words "banany" – "bananas" or "truskawki – "strawberries" – that is "banana condoms" or "strawberry condoms".

25) Młode małżeństwo w hotelu:
-Pokój na dobę – mówi młody mąż.
-Ma pani szczęście – mruga portier do żony, zwykle bierze pokój na godzinę.

A young married couple in a hotel:
-A room for one night, please.
-You are lucky – winks the porter to his wife – he usually takes a room for an hour.

Thanks to the receptionist's excessive sincerity, the wife finds out about her husband's betrayals. Thanks to the disjunctor "zwykle bierze pokój na godzinę" – "he usually takes the rooms for an hour", one learns that the husband is not faithful to his wife and at the same time reveals the husband's true character and as a result causes an embarrassing situation.

5. Observations

The jokes were analyzed in terms of the politeness theories – that is Grice's Cooperative Principle and the conversational maxims and Leech's Politeness Principle and the maxims. Pragmatically, one can observe a high incidence of violation or flouting of maxims – both Grice's and Leech's. As far as the former is concerned, the highest incidence of violation pertains to the maxim of manner, relevance and quantity. The latter primarily concerns the maxim of consideration, but also maxims of tact and approbation.

The violations of the maxims serve for the creation of a number of implicatures, which is necessary to bring forth laughter and hilarity. The more maxims one violates, the more implicatures one obtains and at the same time other interpretations are in operation. The hidden meanings and the other interpretations which we obtain in the punch line cause us to laugh as we obtain them abruptly and unexpectedly and they are different to the set of expectations which we have beforehand. The violation of politeness maxims also contributes to the formation or strengthening of humorous effects.

It should also be stressed that the violation of one maxim means the violation of another one, i.e. flouting the maxim of quantity involves flouting the maxim of manner. Thus, one can state that in order to achieve humorous effects, more than one maxim is violated and as a result the force of the effect is strengthened.

One can also identify the violation of the social and cultural norms and conventions by the protagonists of the jokes, which also contributes to the funniness. The jokes presented in the article reflect a lot of information about the protagonists – their features, behaviour, way of talking, attitude towards others. Whatever is inappropriate, anti-social, against the established rules and norms – social, cultural etc. causes laughter. The protagonists are portrayed in a very negative way - as rude, offensive, insensitive, incompetent, lazy, unreliable, selfish, disrespectful, irresponsible, immature, stupid, frustrated, disappointed etc. However, apart from the pragmatic mechanisms, this is also indispensable in order to achieve humorous effects.

6. Conclusion

In this article, the humour in the form of jokes is analyzed within the framework of Grice's cooperative principle and Leech's politeness principle. The jokes analyzed are based on the violation of both conversational maxims and politeness maxims. In other words, the violation of these maxims contributed to the funniness of the given jokes.

It can be concluded that both cooperative and politeness principle are observable in the functioning of humour, but they often work together and as a result the force of the humorous effect is stronger. The nonobservance of the maxims is very important, useful and efficient in explaining or facilitating to understand the functioning and the creation of humorous effects in the material analyzed.

Based on the linguistic mechanisms of the jokes analyzed, i.e. taking into consideration the occurrence and nonobservance of the maxims and as a result creation of a number of implicatures and thus other interpretations, one cannot deny the communicative impact of the jokes – such short texts and so rich and exhaustive in the content.

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ATTITUDES AND EMOTIONS IN HUMOUR: THE IMAGE OF THE PROTAGONISTS AS PORTRAYED IN SELECTED JOKES

Abstract
The purpose of the paper is to analyze various jokes which evoke different emotions. The present study explores the relationship between jokes and feelings. The paper aims at analyzing the function of the selected jokes in Polish and indicating the occurrence of various attitudes and emotions which one can have towards the protagonists portrayed in the jokes. The feelings on the part of the reader and the protagonists will be analyzed with reference to the image of the protagonists as it is presented – the way they behave towards their interlocutors.

Keywords: humor, joke, feeling, emotion, protagonist, image, theories of humour

1. Introduction

Humour is a universal phenomenon. Regardless of the language, culture, social factors or circumstances humour is ubiquitous and observable in a number of situations: "Independently of their age, sex, social or economic status, culture, or epoch, people are capable of finding things funny, and laughing at them" (Raskin, 1985: 1-2).

It is important to stress that the content of the jokes, the description of the protagonists and their images are far from real and do not reflect real features or phenomena, while behavioral patterns are usually exaggerated. Nevertheless, the main purpose of a joke is to evoke laughter which constitutes an integral part of our everyday life. Hence, humour teaches us how to laugh at our imperfections, disadvantages, shortcomings and flaws.

The paper discusses the various attitudes, emotions and feelings which one has towards the protagonists of the jokes and the jokes themselves. The analysis of the given material is based on the image of the protagonists who are portrayed in selected Polish jokes which vary thematically. Thus, the protagonists depicted in the jokes represent various social groups. The image of the protagonists is demonstrated in connection with the feelings one can have towards them, but also the feelings one has towards the whole joke.

1.1. Theories of humour

Regardless of the non-serious nature of the area of investigation – that is humour, it constitutes a subject of interest of the research – not only on the part of linguists, but also philosophers, psychologists and other researchers. Thus, there are a number of theories of humour that have appeared. Nevertheless, it is crude to stress that none of the theories given so far gives an exhaustive account of all the aspects associated with the function of humour. "Thus, each theory accounts for some aspects or types of humor, but fails to give a complete picture. To gain a broad understanding of humor, we need to combine insights from all the different theories" (Rod, 2007: 32). As a result, the theories of humour are based on a mixture of various theories due to the complicated nature of humour.

There is a traditional classification of theories of humour into three main categories: *theories of incongruity, theories of superiority / disparagement* and *theories of release / relief*. Theories of incongruity, which are cognitive in nature, are based on the occurrence of inconsistency, contradiction, discrepancy or lack of a certain harmony. Hence, "According to incongruity theories, the funniness of a joke depends on the unexpectedness or surprisingness of the punchline (Rod 2007: 71). The sudden shift of the interpretation is usually achieved by the ambiguity, which is ubiquitous in a number of jokes based on wordplay.

Theories of superiority / disparagement, categorized as social-behavioral, are generally based on aggression, hostility, criticism, mockery or even contempt (Rod, 2007: 45). There is a lot of humour, including jokes which is intended to ridicule, mock and emphasize the negative features and ways of behaviour of particular people, nations, groups (social, political), professions / occupations. In this way, by highlighting someone's drawbacks or laughing at others' stupidity, one feels better or superior to others. Similarly, the alleged superiority might also refer to the fact that by understanding a joke, the listener of the joke feels superior as opposed to others, who are unable to understand the real depth of the joke (usually based on wordplay).

Finally, theories of release / relief / relaxation, categorized as psychoanalytic and based on psychological effects caused in the recipient of the joke.

The two most recognized theories are often used when analyzing humour:

-*The Semantic Script Theory of Humour (SSTH)* – based on the notion of a "script". According to this theory, one deals with the combination of scripts, that is the script oppositions (mutually incompatible scripts) where we receive an alternative or another interpretation of the story (Raskin 1985). The purpose of the theory is "to provide a model of a hypothetical information-processing system that is capable of making sense of a humorous text but not necessarily the way humans actually do it (Rod, 2007: 89).

-*The General Theory of Verbal Humour (GTVH)* – a broader linguistic theory developed by Raskin and Attardo, constitutes an extension of the Raskin's SSTH and is based on the addition of 5 Knowledge Resources: the script opposition (SO), the logical mechanism (LM), the target (TA), the narrative strategy (NS). The language (LA), and the situation (SI) (Attardo, 1994: 223). "Raskin's original SSTH theory corresponds to the SO component and is thus just one subset of this broader theory" (Rod, 2007: 91).

1.2 Attitudes, feelings and emotions

Whenever we are exposed to humour, there are always some feelings, attitudes and emotions which accompany us. It is important to stress that psychologists distinguish feelings from emotions dividing the former into simple – distress and pleasure, anger, fear, sadness and joy and complex – also referred to as emotions, such as greed, envy, love (Puzynina, 2000, quoted in Rubene, 2012: 103). Emotions can be positive or negative, weak or strong. According to Nowakowska-Kempna (1986, 1995), feelings are divided into: *affects*, such as surprise, anger, *dispositions*, *moods* and *attitudes*. Whereas *affects* are defined as "specific happenings in the human psyche", *dispositions, moods* such as joy, sorrow and *attitudes*, such as reluctance, friendliness, etc. (Nowakowska-Kempna, 2000, quoted in Rubene, 2012). Thus, "dispositions towards specific happenings are understood as affects" (Nowakowska-Kempna (1986: 71).

It is necessary to stress that there are a number of different emotions, such as depression, sadness, hatred, love, happiness etc., but there does not exist a name for the emotion which one gets when exposed to humour. In other words, it is difficult to define the real emotion caused by humour. However, there have been a number of proposals made by theorists, psychologists, philosophers and other researchers of how to define the feelings which one obtains and experiences when exposed to humour, such as hilarity, exhilaration, cheerfulness, amusement, etc. (Rod, 2007: 8). However, linguists identify emotions with feelings and do not distinguish between them. Hence, continues Rod (2007: 8), "Some researchers have used the word *mirth* to refer to smiling and laughter, which are facial and vocal expressions of the emotion rather than the emotion itself, and therefore should be kept distinct." In other words, laughter is a result of experiencing the emotion of mirth and is therefore considered to be a social behaviour (Rod, 2007: 9). It must also be stressed that due to the non-serious nature of jokes, regardless of how much they ridicule, mock or even offend people, their features and behaviour (as we know there are plenty of jokes based on making fun of people), the feelings which we experience are always positive. The only difference might pertain to the intensity of the abovementioned "mirth" elicited by the occurrence of humour – the alleged funniness of the joke in this respect. In other words, taking into consideration the fact that jokes are not based on a real communication and that the purpose of the jokes is to cause a humorous effect, evoke laughter, make others laugh and make them feel "good".

2. The scope of the study

The study aims at analyzing the function of jokes – more specifically, on focusing on the images of the protagonists in the jokes analyzed. It also attempts to demonstrate the connection of the selected jokes with various feelings and emotions. The jokes which have been selected are thematically varied in order to indicate the variety of emotions which they evoke. In the analysis, selected Polish jokes - both linguistic and situational – which have been selected randomly will be discussed and dealt with.

3. Research questions and objectives

The following research questions are posed in the paper:
-What feelings do the presented jokes evoke?
-What is the connection of the analyzed jokes and the feelings or emotions?

4. The structure of the joke

A joke constitutes a brief, amusing story which consists of *a setup* and *a punch line*. *The setup* is supposed to create some expectations, *the punch line* involves an unexpected and necessarily funny shift of the meaning with a view to causing incongruity which constitutes an indispensable element in the formation of a humorous effect (Rod 2007: 11).

Taking into account the ubiquity of the jokes and different types of jokes, one can classify them in terms of a different structure:

a) one – liners

I haven't spoken to my wife in years; I didn't want to interrupt her.
Marriage isn't a word… it's a sentence.
Marriage is an adventure, like going to war.
I don't want to have sex; you're my wife, for God's sake!

b) question – response

Co mówi prostytutka po obsłużeniu klienta? „Baza wirusów została zaktualizowana".

What does a prostitute say to her customer?
Your virus database has been updated.

c) dialogue

My wife claims that I don't take care of my children. I can't stand it anymore!
-How many children have you got?
-Two…or maybe three?

A woman was telling her friend , "It was I who made my husband a millionaire." "And what was he before you married him?" asked the friend. The woman replied, "A multi-millionaire".

Man: I want to share everything with you.
Woman: Let's start with your bank account.

Mother: "Why are you home from school so early?"
Son: "I was the only one who could answer a question."
Mother: "Oh, really? What was the question?"
Son: "Who threw the eraser at the principal?"

Jokes are divided into: *linguistic / verbal and situational / referential* (Raskin, 1985, quoted in Brzozowska, 2000). It is not difficult to distinguish between those two types of jokes. A linguistic joke is based on the occurrence of a particular key word or phrase which must not be replaced with another one. Hence, whenever the function of jokes is analyzed, two disambiguation processes are taken into account: *disjunction* and *connection*. Whereas *disjunctor* (Raskin's script-switch trigger) pertains to both *referential / situational* and *verbal / linguistic jokes, connector* (which is usually defined as *any segment of text that can be given two distinct readings*, Attardo 1994: 96) appears in *linguistic / verbal jokes*: In other words, whereas *the connector* indicates two or more different meanings of the same word or phrase, *the disjunctor* –which is based on *script-switch trigger* introduced by Raskin refers to "the element of the text that brings forth the passage from the first to the second script actualized in the text" (Attardo, 1994: 203) and thus the passage from one isotopy to another causing a change in the interpretation.

The three jokes given below are examples of situational / referential jokes.

Małżeństwo siedzi przy obiedzie. Żona do męża: - Wiesz Stasiu, kiedy pomyślę, że nasze małżeństwo trwa już 25 lat, to ciepło mi się robi przy sercu. Mąż odpowiada: - Daj spokój Helena, po prostu cycek wpadł ci do zupy.

A married coupe is sitting by the table. A wife says to her husband: -You know, Staś, the very thought of having been married for 25 years makes me elated. The husband responds: Give me a break, Helena – the thing is that your tit ended up in the soup.

Mother: “Why are you home from school so early?”
Son: “I was the only one who could answer a question.”
Mother: “Oh, really? What was the question?”
Son: “Who threw the eraser at the principal?”

Teacher: Did your father help you with your homework?
Student: No, he did it all by himself.

However, the examples of verbal / linguistic jokes where one can observe the occurrence of the expressions which are based on the ambiguity thanks to which, as a result, one also obtains two different interpretations. Moreover, the reply (the punchline) which one gets is undeniably incongruous with the setup and thus evokes laughter. These are the following examples based on ambiguity which gives rise to the formation of implicatures and thus other interpretations:

“Daddy,” a little boy asked his father. “How much does it cost to get married?”
“I don’t know, son. I’m still paying for it.”

Co mówi prostytutka po obsłużeniu klienta?
“Baza wirusów została zaktualizowana”
What does a prostitute say to her customer?
Your virus database has been updated.

5. Analysis and discussion of the selected jokes

With a view to analyzing the function of the jokes and the connection of the jokes with the emotions evoked by them, we have selected 35 Polish jokes which vary thematically. These are the following jokes which have been chosen for the analysis.

1)
Na zjeździe językoznawców:
- ... w różnych językach są pojedyncze i podwójne zaprzeczenia, które mogą oznaczać zarówno negację, jak i potwierdzenie, ale w żadnym języku nie ma podwójnego potwierdzenia, oznaczającego negację...
Głos z sali:
- Dobra, dobra!

At a linguists' symposium:

-…in many languages there are single and double negations, which can mean both a negation and a confirmation, but there's no language in which there is a double confirmation, which would be a negation…

A voice coming from behind:

-Right, right!

The protagonist's – here the linguist's argument about negation has been questioned and refuted by the utterance "dobra dobra" – "right, right" a repetition of the word „dobra" – "right", which constitutes a disjunctor and undeniably evokes laughter. It clearly indicates that the presenter is simply mistaken and thus unreliable. Although in such contextual settings fervent discussions the purpose of which is to question or refute the arguments of the presenter are common during such symposiums and conferences, here we subconsciously assume that the knowledge of the presenter is insufficient and thus his argument has been questioned so easily. The feelings which we have in this respect might be negative towards both the presenter and the listener: the former might evoke negative emotions due to the lack of knowledge or preparation, the latter might be associated with lack of respect and good manners.

2)

Panie doktorze, proszę przyjechać do mojej żony!

- A co jej dolega ?

- Nie wiem, ale jest taka słaba, że musiałem ją zanieść do kuchni, żeby mi zrobiła śniadanie.

Doctor, please come to my wife.

-And what's wrong with her?

-I don't know, but she is so weak that I had to take her to the kitchen to make breakfast for me.

This situational joke depicts a man who is unable to cope with daily duties on his own and who is dependent on his wife. His helplessness or possibly laziness evoke negative attitude towards him.

3)

Na wykładzie studentka pyta profesora seksuologii:

-Co zazwyczaj robią mężczyźni po odbytym stosunku?

-10% odwraca się na drugi bok i zasypia, 10% wychodzi do łazienki.

-A pozostałe 80%? – pyta dalej studentka.

-No cóż, ubiera się i wychodzi.

A student asks her professor of sexuology in class:
-What do men usually do after sex?
-10% turn over on their backs and fall asleep, 10% go to the bathroom.
-And the remaining 80% - asks the student.
-Well, they get dressed and leave.

In the joke given above, we observe the violation of social norms as it refers to unfaithfulness on the part of men. Thanks to the disjunctor „-No cóż, ubiera się i wychodzi" – "Well, they get dressed and leave", we learn that 80% of the men betray their partners. Thus, the feelings which we have towards the protagonists are negative – the joke evokes contempt and disrespect towards the men.

4)
Ksiądz i zakonnica przepychają się w drzwiach. Nagle zakonnica zarumieniła się i mówi:
-Hmm, proszę księdza.... ojojoj
-Nie ojojoj tylko klucz od plebanii...

A priest and a nun come accidentally push each other. Suddenly, the nun blushes and says:
-Uuu, priest, uuuuuu.
-No, that's not it – this is the church key.

Similarly, in this joke we observe the occurrence of a sexual innuendo in which socio-cultural norms are violated taking into account the protagonists of the conversation. It is simply inappropriate for the nun to behave like that. The nun's erroneous thinking is clarified by the priest, which in turn causes laughter. The feelings which we have towards the nun are negative due to her inappropriate behaviour. In fact, in this contextual setting with these interlocutors, it evokes disgust and contempt.

5)
Rozmawiają dwie koleżanki:
-Widziałaś, jak Kaśka zbrzydła?
-No, aż miło popatrzeć.

Two friends are talking to each other:
-Have you seen Kate? She became uglier.
-Well, that's right. What a nice picture!

This is a conversation between two women. They are gossiping with each other about Kate who has become uglier. The very gossiping, which usually occurs behind someone's back, is perceived negatively. Instead of sympathizing with her, the two protagonists are happy about Kate's mayhem – and the final response, which is a disjunctor implies that they are not friendly towards Kate. Thus, the feelings which a reader has towards the two protagonists talking to each other are definitely negative – it is socially inappropriate to be happy at someone's misfortune though the protagonists seem to delight in another woman's misfortune.

6)
Rozmowa małżeńska.
-Kochanie, koledzy z biura powiedzieli, że mam bardzo zgrabne nogi.
-Naprawdę? A nie wspomnieli nic o wielkiej dupie?
-Nie, o tobie nie rozmawialiśmy.

Two married people are talking:
-Honey, your colleagues from the office said that I had well-shaped legs.
-Really? Didn't they say anything about your big ass?
-No, we didn't talk about you.

In this joke a woman is talking politely to her husband and is bragging about her nice legs. Her husband is referring to her in a derogatory way trying to reduce if not eliminate her enthusiasm and excitement. In the punchline, the final "-Nie, o tobie nie rozmawialiśmy" – "No, we didn't talk about you", evokes laughter. Due to the use of the rude word „dupa" by the husband, we regard him as insensitive and unkind.

7)
-Dlaczego się smucisz?
-Bo będę ojcem…
-Ale to jest powód do radości!
-Niby tak, ale nie wiem jak powiedzieć o tym żonie?

-Why are you so sad?
-Because I will be a father.
-This is a reason to be happy.
-Maybe, but I don't know how to tell my wife about it.

In this joke a man is presented as an immature, irresponsible and unfaithful husband. We find out that his own wife is not the mother of his child. The question „Niby tak, ale nie wiem jak powiedzieć o tym żonie?" – "Maybe, but I don't know how to tell my wife about it" constitutes a disjunctor which enables us to reinterpret the message. Undeniably, although the fate of the wife due to her husband's infidelity is unavoidable, the final effect is humorous. From the point of view of the cooperation principle, the statement "Bo będę ojcem…" – "I will be a father" violates the maxim of quality and quantity and as a result it is ambiguous. The protagonist is not happy although normally everyone would be in this situation. In other words, in the setup the feelings which we have towards the protagonist are positive. Similarly, the very asking about the cause of the sorrow on the part of the first protagonist indicates interest and concern, which evokes positive feelings in a reader. However, in the punchline, which is reflected by „Niby tak, ale nie wiem jak powiedzieć o tym żonie?" – "Maybe, but I don't know how to tell my wife about it", which at the same time functions as a disjunctor, we are made to reinterpret the message and obviously, the feelings which we have towards the protagonist are undeniably negative as socially such behaviour is unacceptable. However, our feelings would be positive if he shared the pregnancy with his wife.

8)
Jeden facet mówi do drugiego:
-W zeszłym tygodniu obciąłem ogon mojemu psu, bo moja teściowa przyjeżdża.
-Tak? Ale nie widzę związku.
-Zrozum, nie chcę, żeby sobie pomyślała że ktoś się cieszy z jej wizyty.

A man says to another one:
-Last week I cut off my dog's tail because my mother-in-law is coming.
-Yes? But I don't see the point.
-Try to understand, I don't want her to think that there is someone who is happy to see her.

In this joke, one observes the absurdity of the situation. The feelings which we obtain here are negative – it would be difficult to imagine someone cutting off a dog's tail just to prevent the dog from wagging its tail due to the arrival of the mother-in-law. The mother-in-law is apparently disrespected, scorned and despised by her son-in-law. The main protagonist – the man is depicted as a crazy, fanatical, insensitive, abnormal and cruel person who hates his mother-in-law, hurts his dog and who behaves totally unpredictably. The feelings which we have towards the son-in-law are negative – his behaviour evokes contempt, disgust and pity. On the other hand, the son-in-law's behaviour might be perceived as positive since his actions are well-thought out and carefully planned. In other words, he is intelligent and thus predicts that the dog will be happy to see the mother-in-law. Hence, looking at it this way, the feelings which we have towards the main protagonist are positive

– he deserves praise and acknowledgement due to his ability to predict the consequences.

9)
Teściowa do zięcia:
-Nigdy się nie rozumiemy! Ja jestem zagorzałą katoliczką.
Zięć do teściowej:
-Ja też jestem za gorzałą.

A mother-in-law to her son-in-law:
-We never understand each other. I am a fervent Catholic.
The son-in-law to his mother-in-law:
-I am also for vodka.

In the joke, we observe the play of words – the pun, which the joke is based on. This is a conversation between a mother-in-law and her son-in law. She admits that she is a fervent, adamant Catholic while he asserts that he likes vodka. The pun is based on the ambiguity of "zagorzałą" – "fervent" and "za gorzałą" – "for vodka" which are identical in the pronunciation, but differ in spelling and meaning. The word "też" – "also", which indicates that the son-in-law agrees with his interlocutor although in fact they are talking about two different things, which undeniably contributes to the funniness of the conversation.

10)
Przychodzi blondynka do sklepu RTV:
-Poproszę telewizor z lotnikiem.
-Chyba z pilotem?
-Nie wiem, jestem w tych sprawach zupełnym lajkonikiem.

A blonde comes to a TV shop"
-Can I have a TV with a pilot.
-With a remote control – this is what you mean, right?
-I don't know, I am "a person dressed as a Tartar riding a wooden horse during a Cracow Corpus Christi Day festival".

The words which she uses have nothing to do with the context although they sound similar to those which should have been used in this respect: "lotnik" – "pilot" vs "pilot" – "remote control", "laik" – "a complete amateur" vs "lajkonik" – "a person dressed as a Tartar riding a wooden horse during a Cracow Corpus Christi Day festival". The funniness of the joke in this respect is based on the confusion of the words made by the blonde. As a result, by the wrong use of the words, the blonde is portrayed here as dumb, unintelligent and even stupid.

11)

-Dlaczego David Copperfield musiał odwołać swój występ w Polsce?

-Nikt nie był nim zainteresowany. W Polsce nie jest niczym niezwykłym, gdy coś znika.

-Why did David Copperfield have to cancel his performance in Poland?

-Nobody was interested. In Poland there is nothing unusual about things which disappear.

This joke is an example of a joke which makes use of a stereotype about Poland and Polish people. It pokes fun at Polish people and the country. It implies that in this country stealing is common and ubiquitous. It also refers to Polish people who are portrayed as potential thieves. In other words, the joke insults or at least mocks Polish people and the country by depicting them in a negative way. The act of stealing in Poland is mentioned here in an indirect way and the joke evokes laughter by comparing David Copperfield' performances in which objects disappear to the disappearance of objects in Poland due to stealing, such as cars, money, etc.

12)

-Dlaczego nie powinieneś potrącać Polaka jadącego na rowerze?

-Możliwe że to twój rower.

-Why shouldn't you jostle a Polish person riding a bicycle?

-It is possible that this is your bicycle.

Similarly, in the joke above, we also observe the reference to a stereotype about Polih people – their alleged bad features, such as stealing in this respect which is allegedly typical of Polish people. In other words, Polish people are portrayed as thieves. As a result, one must be careful and thus not associate with a Polish person as it might be dangerous. The feelings and attitudes which we have towards Polish people in this joke are definitely negative.

13)

-Zdanie z 10 wyrazami i 4 kłamstwami?

-Uczciwy Polak jedzie na trzeźwo swoim własnym samochodem do pracy.

-A statement with 10 words and 4 lies:

-An honest Polish person, sober, is driving his own car to get to work.

In the joke above, we observe that a typical Polish person is depicted in a negative way. Since all the positive features portrayed in the punchline are based on a lie, it indicates that Polish people are neither honest nor sober. Moreover, they are thieves and reluctant to work.

14)
-Gdzie kojarzą się najbardziej dobrane pary?
-W akademiku. Przed pierwszym każdego miesiąca studentka jest goła, a student ma długi...

-Where do the best relationships start?
-In a dormitory. Before the first of each month a female student is naked and a male student has debts.

This joke is based on a sexual innuendo where the protagonists – students in this respect – are presented in a negative way. They are depicted as immoral and immature whose primary concern is sex. Whereas male students pay for sex, which is immoral, antisocial and scornful, female students prostitute themselves in order to make money, which is also socially unacceptable and inappropriate.

15)
Na egzaminie profesor pyta studenta:
-Z czego się pan uczył?
-Słuchałem wykładów pana profesora.
-O, to pan nic nie umie!

During an exam a professor asks a student:
-Which materials did you use to study?
-I listened to your lectures, professor.
-Uuu, so that means that you don't know anything!

The joke presented here reflects a conversation between a student and his professor. The student's utterance „Słuchałem wykładów pana profesora" – "I listened to your lectures, professor" did not result in a good reception on the part of the professor. In fact, it provokes the professor to express a hostile, impolite remark about the student's lack of knowledge.

The professor's final remark „O, to pan nic nie umie!" – "Uuu, so you don't know anything!", which is a disjunctor, criticizes both himself and the student. It implies that the notes taken during the lecture are not even insufficient, but unnecessary as they do not contribute to increasing the student's knowledge. Hence, the emotions which we have towards the lecturer are negative – due to the fact that his lectures are worthless and that in fact he realizes that.

16)

Na egzaminie zaliczeniowym na biologii zdają student i studentka. Pytanie:

Jaki narząd u człowieka może powiększyć swoją średnicę dwukrotnie?

Student: -Źrenica.

Studentka: -Penis.

Profesor: -Panu gratuluje zdanego egzaminu, a pani wspaniałego chłopaka.

A male and female student are taking a biology exam. Question:

-What organ in a human being can double its diameter?

Male Student: -A pupil.

Female student: -A penis.

Professor says to the male student: -I wish to congratulate you on passing the exam and you lady – your boyfriend.

In the joke presented above, we observe lack of knowledge or ignorance on the part of the female student. At the same time, the words uttered by the professor in the punchline „Panu gratuluje zdanego egzaminu, a pani wspaniałego chłopaka" - indicate both politeness and impoliteness on the part of the professor. By congratulating the male student on passing the exam, the professor shows politeness and respect towards the student; however when referring to the other student, he violates social norms by interfering with the student's private life. Thus, the feelings which we have towards the professor are mixed – depending on who he refers to.

17)

Szkoła Zarządzania, prawo. Wykładowca podchodzi do studentki robiącej na drutach.

-A co pani tutaj robi?

-Sweter

-A dla kogo?

-Dla narzeczonego.

-I on będzie w tym chodził?

-Tak.

-To musi panią bardzo kochać.

School of Management, Law. A lecturer comes up to a student who is knitting:

-What are you doing here?

-I'm making a sweatshirt.

-For whom?
-For my fiancé.
-Is he going to wear it?
-Yes.
-So I guess he must love you very much.

The very thought of knitting in class evokes laughter. Due to the circumstances, the student's behaviour is unacceptable. The professor, indirectly criticizes the sweatshirt which is being knitted by the student in his class by saying "To musi Panią bardzo kochać" – "He must love you a lot". This implies that the quality of the sweatshirt is not very good. The professor's critical remark might have to do with his student's inappropriate, disrespectful and offensive behaviour. He might be furious and offended by the situation. Similarly, the very though of such a situation evokes negative emotions in a reader simply on account of the lack of manners and respect on the part of the student. Additionally, the professor's final, "innocent" remark, which is a disjunctor here can also be perceived as impolite.

18)
Na zajęciach profesor zadaje pytanie:
-Co wy będziecie robić po tych studiach jak wy nic nie potraficie?
Z sali pada odpowiedź:
-To samo co pan, wykładać.

A professor asks his students:
-What are you going to do after these studies since you know nothing?
A voice from behind:
-The same thing, just like you – to lecture.

An academic teacher or a lecturer is someone who is knowledgeable, intelligent and well-educated. In this joke, the lecturer is perceived as someone who does not know anything. Thus, this contradiction provokes laughter. In this context, the student's response is undeniably cheeky, offensive and rude and thus evokes negative feelings on the part of the reader. At the same time, it causes laughter as it implies the teacher's incompetence and ignorance – features which by no means pertain to the teacher. The impoliteness on the part of the student is also justified due to the professor's rudeness and directness.

19)
Przyjaciółka do przyjaciółki:
-Podobno twój mąż leży w szpitalu, bo coś złamał.
-Tak. Przysięgę wierności małżeńskiej.

A female friend to a female friend:

-It is rumoured that your husband is in hospital as he's broken something.

-Yes. The oath of marital fidelity.

The verb „złamać" constitutes a connector in this joke as it has two different meanings. The first interpretation which we obtain is literal and after the setup we predict that he broke his arm or leg. However, the punchline „-Tak. Przysięgę wierności małżeńskiej" – "Yes, the oath of marital fidelity" makes us change the interpretation of the message. Additionally, it implies that the woman contributed to his stay at the hospital by physical violence, i.e. beating her husband up.

20)

W samolocie stewardessa do taliba:

-Może drinka?

-Nie, dziękuję, za chwilę będę prowadził.

On the plane a flight attendant asks a jihadi:

-How about a drink?

-No, thank you. I will be flying soon.

In the joke above, we observe that a terrorist attack is pending. The flight attendant, who is polite and helpful, offers the main protagonist a drink. The response which she gets, which at the same time constitutes a disjunctor causes laughter as it implies that he is going to hijack the plane. The whole situation looks dangerous as it indicates that a lot of people will die in a plane crash. The feelings which we have towards the jihadi are both negative and positive. Our emotions are negative and provoke fear because of his insidious tactics and bad intentions the purpose of which is to kill people. On contrary, both positively and negatively, we perceive him as either honest or simply stupid when talking to the flight attendant. Both his honesty or stupidity combined with his bad intentions contribute to the funniness of the whole situation.

21)

Jedzie chłopak z dziewczyną autem. Chłopak kieruje, a dziewczyna siedzi z tyłu. Chłopak się odwraca.

Ona:

-Patrz na drogę! Patrz przed siebie, idioto! Na miłość boską, patrz, gdzie jedziesz!

On nie wytrzymuje:

Zamknij ryj, kretynko - cofam!

A boyfriend is driving a car, his girlfriend is sitting in the back of the car. The boy is turning back:

She goes: -Look out! Look ahead, you idiot! For goodness' sake – look where you're going!

He responds uncontrollably: -Shut your face, you cretin – I'm just backing back!

One of the two protagonists – the girl demonstrates concern she is scared that her boyfriend might cause an accident. However, she does not realize that they are going backwards and that, in fact, everything is under control. Hence, first our feelings towards her are positive – she is warning her interlocutor about the danger he is about to cause. Only later do we learn that he is not so careless and that she is not so bright, which changes our attitude towards her.

„Zamknij ryj, kretynko - cofam!" – "Shut your face, you cretin – I'm just backing up!" constitutes a disjunctor and makes the whole situation clear. At the same time, it forces us to reinterpret the message. After the reinterpretation, we discover that the boyfriend is not so careless as a driver and that his girlfriend is not so intelligent. The driver refers to his interlocutor in a derogatory way by using offensive words – "Zamknij ryj, kretynko" – "Shut your face, you cretin". Thus, the feelings which we have towards the protagonists might have changed – both the protagonists are perceived as negative. The disjunctor „Zamknij ryj, kretynko - cofam!" - "Shut your face, you cretin – I'm just backing up!" reflects the boyfriend's directness, a lack of sensitivity, rudeness and hostility towards his girlfriend, which provokes negative emotions and attitudes towards him.

22)

W restauracji kelner pyta:

-Jak panu smakował chłodnik?

-Dupy nie urywa.

-Cierpliwości.

A waiter asks in a restaurant:

-Did you like the gazpacho?

-Well, it doesn't turn me on.

-Be patient.

This is a verbal joke which is based on two interpretations of the connector "dupy nie urywa". There are two distinct readings of the expression – literal and figurative. The punchline "Cierpliwości" – "Be patient" causes us to reinterpret the intended meaning and undeniably provokes laughter. In this context, the first reading which we obtain is figurative – it indicates that the food was not as good as expected. Only later do we receive another meaning and interpretation of the phrase – the literal one. The feelings which we have towards the customer and the waiter are negative. It is inappropriate for a customer to use such language when talking to a waiter / waitress in such a situation. Thus, we consider the customer to be rude. Similarly, the waiter has bad intentions towards the customers since apparently he is expecting bad consequences. However, the question made by the waiter in the setup indicates that he is interested and polite.

23)
Facet jedzie samochodem i słyszy w radiu dla kierowców:
- ... Uwaga! Jakiś wariat na autostradzie A4 jedzie pod prąd...
Słysząc to, odzywa się:
-Jeden wariat? Są tu ich tysiące...

A guy is driving a car and hears a message for other drivers on the radio:
-… Attention! An idiot is going … On A4 highway.
-Hearing this, he responds:
-One idiot? There are thousands of them here!

This is another example of a referential joke which derides men as drivers. The protagonist does not realize that he is not the only one who is violating the rules of the road. In fact he is convinced that everybody is committing an offence except for him. This indicates his stupidity and carelessness. The reader's attitude towards the driver is apparently negative. However, "Jeden wariat? Są tu ich tysiące..." – "One idiot? There are thousands of them in here!" constitutes a disjunctor, which makes us laugh.

24)
Przychodzi szczęśliwy mąż do domu i mówi do żony:
-Kochanie, wygrałem w totka, pakuj się.
-Och to wspaniale, wyjeżdżamy gdzieś?
-Nie, ja tu zostaję, a ty wypierdalaj...

A happy husband comes back home and says to his wife:
-Honey, I won the lottery – pack your bags!
-Oh, that's great! Are we going anywhere?
-No, I'm staying here and you're getting the fuck out of here!

In the conversation above, we observe how disrespectful the husband is towards his wife. It implies that for the former, money is the most important thing. What is worse, he does not need his wife any more who he was probably dependent on before he won the lottery. The picture of the husband is presented here negatively – as insensitive, rude, selfish and ungrateful.

25)
Rozmawiają dwaj studenci:
-Jak mam napisać rodzicom, że znowu oblałem egzamin?
-Napisz: "Już po egzaminie, u mnie nic nowego".

Two students are talking:
-What should I write to my parents? I've failed the exam again!
-Write: "The exam is over, there's nothing new with me".

In this joke there are two students talking to each other. One of them has a problem and does not know how to inform his parents about failing the exam. The other student's advice „Napisz: "Już po egzaminie, u mnie nic nowego" – "Write: the exam is over, there's nothing new with me" constitutes a disjunctor and implies that the student keeps failing exams all the time. We infer that he is not intelligent and hardworking enough to study.

26)
Poszli studenci na egzamin.
Profesor:
-Mam dwa pytania: Jak ja się nazywam i z czego jest ten egzamin?
Studenci spojrzeli po sobie:
-Cholera! A mówili, że z niego jest taki luzak!

Two students are taking the exam.
Professor:
-I have two questions: What is my name and what exam is it?
The two students looked at each other:
-Damn it! And they say that he is so cool!

This is another joke about students who are also depicted here in a negative way – more specifically due to a lack of knowledge and carelessness, which is contrary to expectations that students should be knowledgeable and well-prepared for the exam, the two protagonists portrayed here are not only unprepared, but also disrespectful towards the examiner. The disjunctor "Cholera! A mówili, że z niego jest taki luzak!" – "Damn it. And they say he is so cool!" indicates that they do not even know what exam they are taking and what is the name of the examiner. To their astonishment, they failed the exam in spite of the professor's alleged "being cool".

27)

Siedzi dziadek na bujanym fotelu, pali fajeczkę, nagle ktoś łomocze do drzwi.

-Kto tam?

-Jean Claude Van Damme.

-Nie znam! Wszyscy czterej wypierdalać!

An old man sits in an armchair, smokes a pipe and suddenly someone bangs at the door.

-Who's there?

-Jean Claude Van Damme.

-I don't know you and all the four – get the fuck out of here!

The main protagonist – a grandfather is portrayed here as someone who does not know a famous actor – Jean Claude Van Damme. Moreover, he does not realize that this is one person, not four. Thus, he demonstrates ignorance and stupidity. The swearword used in the punchline indicates that he is also unhospitable and rude.

28)

Siedzi kilku informatyków i cały czas rozmawiają o komputerach. W końcu jeden mówi:

-Słuchajcie, pogadajmy o czymś innym, np. o dupach...

Nastąpiła chwila ciszy i konsternacja. Po czym jeden się odzywa:

-Moja karta graficzna jest do dupy.

There are some computer scientists talking about computers. One of them says:

-Listen, let's talk about something else, for example about cunts.

After a moment of silence and consternation, one of them says:

-My graphic card sucks.

The purpose of the joke is to mock and deride computer scientists. It indicates that this group of people is boring and apart from computers, they have nothing else to talk about. It implies they are shallow and boring. The feelings which this joke evoke are definitely not positive – we fell pity. Moreover, through the offensive use of language when referring to women (the derogatory word "dupy"), we learn that they are impolite.

29)

Idzie dwóch psychiatrów i jeden pyta drugiego:

-Która godzina?

A drugi odpowiada:

- Chcesz o tym porozmawiać?

Two psychiatrists, one asks the other one:
-What's the time?
-The other one responds:
-Do you want to talk about it?

Stereotypically, psychiatrists are people who cannot be normal due to the job they do. As a result, the final question, which at the same time constitutes a disjunctor confirms that. The offer made by the other psychiatrist makes us laugh - it would be difficult to imagine two people who want to talk about the time. Thus, the joke ridicules psychiatrists who are depicted as abnormal since they are going crazy.

30)
W samolocie odzywa się blondynka i mówi:
-Ci ludzie z powietrza wyglądają jak malutkie mrówki.
Na to facet z tyłu się odzywa:
-Bo to są mrówki – my jeszcze nie lecimy.

On a plane a blond says to a guy:
-These people from the top look as if they were ants.
The guy responds:
-These are ants, we are not flying yet.

This is a situational joke the purpose of which is to demonstrate stupidity on the part of the protagonist who is a blonde woman. In fact, the joke evokes laughter due to the absurdity of the whole situation. The punchline "Bo to są mrówki – my jeszcze nie lecimy" – "These are ants – we are not flying yet" which constitutes a disjunctor makes the reader reinterpret the message and as a result causes them to laugh.

31)
Rude dziecko mówi do mamy:
-Kocham cię!
A mama na to:
-Zostańmy przyjaciółmi...

A red-haired child says to his mother:
-I love you!
The mother responds:
-Let's be friends!

It is undeniable that regardless of the funniness, the joke evokes negative feelings towards the mother who is prejudiced due to the colour of her child's hair. The disjunctor "Zostańmy przyjaciółmi" – "Let's be friends" is incongruent and irrelevant with "kocham cię" – "I love you" – at least in this context where the child is expressing love to his / her mother. Nevertheless, the final response would be relevant in a conversation of a boy talking to a girl, which in fact occurs very often in everyday conversations.

32)
Dlaczego mężczyźni są jak reklamy w telewizji?
- Ani jedno słowo z tego co mówią, nie jest prawdziwe.

-Why are men like TV commercials?
-Not even one word which they utter is true.

In the joke presented above, we observe another comparison of a man to a TV commercial. The purpose of the joke is to emphasize the negative features which a typical man possesses – which are dishonesty, deception and unreliability. These features pertain to both commercials and men.

33)
Dlaczego faceci lubią mądre kobiety?
-Przeciwieństwa się przyciągają.

-Why do men like wise women?
-Oppositions attract.

„Przeciwieństwa się przyciągają" is a common utterance which is used in male-female relationships. In the question, the noun "women" is modified by an adjective "wise". As a result, due to the disjunctor "przeciwieństwa się przyciągają" – "oppositions attract" "wise women" are contrasted with "stupid men". In other words, the joke presents men as stupid as opposed to women who are wise. Thus, since wisdom on the part of women is contrasted with stupidity on the part of men, the feelings which a reader has are both positive and negative: wisdom brings forth positive feelings, such as admiration, pride and respect as opposed to stupidity which evokes negative feelings, such as disrespect, shame, humility or even scorn.

34)
Co mówi kobieta po wyjściu z łazienki?
-Ładnie wyglądam?

Co mówi mężczyzna po wyjściu z łazienki?
-Na razie tam nie wchodź.

What does a woman say leasing the bathroom?
-Do I look nice.
What does a man say leaving the bathroom?
-Don't go there for a while!

The joke given above demonstrates the behaviour of men and women after using the toilet. It is undeniable that the feelings which the joke evokes are both positive and negative: whereas the former pertain to women, the latter pertain to men. Stereotypically, women always focus on hygiene and good looks as they want to look attractive. The final statement "-Na razie tam nie wchodź" – "Don't go there for a while!", which pertains to men evokes disgust – the very thought of which is implied is unpleasant if not disgusting.

35)
Jeżeli mężczyzna przesiaduje od rana do wieczora w barze i żłopie piwo, to przyczyny tego stanu mogą być dwie:
- Nie jest żonaty.
- Jest żonaty.

If a man sits in a bar from morning till the evening and guzzles beer, there are two reasons for that:
-He isn't married.
-He is married.

In the joke the main protagonist is a man who represents all men. The men are shown here as those who drink alcohol and their only entertainment is spending time in a pub drinking beer. Thus, the image of a man is portrayed very negatively. The opposition of the two utterances "He is not married" vs "He is married" indicates that regardless of marital status, a man will always have a reason to drink beer. Thus, the feelings which it evokes are negative – the image of the man drinking beer all day in a pub is disdainful. The joke also refers to married women who allegedly contribute to men's drinking problems.

As can be observed, there are different jokes which reflect various protagonists, which are usually portrayed negatively. Hence, the feelings which accompany us are also rather negative. The situations and the protagonists' behaviour depicted in the jokes are often weird – inappropriate, socially unacceptable and disrespectful. Hence, the image of the protagonists analyzed in the material is usually portrayed in a negative way. However, it is undeniable that the feelings which we have towards the whole jokes are positive as they cause us to laugh.

6. Conclusions

The objective of the paper is the analysis of selected jokes – varied thematically with different protagonists in order to observe and evaluate them and their behaviour. Moreover, the analysis is also based on analyzing the protagonists' behaviour in connection with the feelings and emotions which are evoked by the jokes.

It is evident that the protagonists portrayed in the jokes and the way they behave are depicted in a rather negative way. The image of the protagonists and the protagonists' behaviour are usually associated with contempt, disrespect, anger, frustration, disappointment on the part of the reader. Similarly, the attitudes between the protagonists are also based on competition, envy, frustration, disrespect, malice, impoliteness, hatred, scorn and also disgust.

However, in spite of the variety of emotions, feelings and attitudes which we have towards the protagonists' behaviour and the protagonists themselves as well and which are usually negative, we must remember that jokes are based on a non-bona fide communication and the actions and people presented in them are usually exaggerated with a view to emphasizing their flaws and thus demonstrate inappropriate behaviour. Therefore, the feelings which we experience when exposed to such jokes are undeniably positive. Even though some of them might even reflect the behaviour and features of human-being in real life, it is important to distance oneself from the content of the jokes and not take it personally. In other words, regardless of the harshness depicted in the jokes which demonstrates many negative aspects and imperfections of the nature of human-beings, the feelings one has towards the protagonists are rather negative, but the feelings which one has towards the whole joke are undeniably positive due to the positive nature of humour and laughter.

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On recent trends in phonology: some developments of labials and velars in English and Polish

Abstract
This paper presents two phonological models subjectively selected by the author: Element Theory and CVCV. The presentation is based on two phenomena from English and Polish. First, we look at the phonological relationship between two articulatorily unrelated consonant classes: velars and labials in English. Then we focus on one example of glide obstruentization in Slavic, the case of the historical [w] > [v/f] shift.

Keywords: Element Theory, CVCV, labials, velars, glide obstruentization

The present paper was conceived of as, first and foremost, informative, and only secondly, analytic in nature. Its main aim is to introduce and briefly outline current phonological thought on the example of two recent theoretical models. The choice is purely subjective and was guided by the author's own preference and interests. This selective approach cannot be surprising especially in times of linguistic boom, where dozens of theories fight for dominance and develop so rapidly that one can hardly keep up with the pace. Rather sadly then, in what follows we focus on Element Theory and CVCV only, bearing in mind that there is plenty of other rival models we will not have a chance to mention let alone discuss like, for instance, Lexical Phonology or Optimality Theory. Moreover, due to space limitations the introduction of the two models is maximally reduced but frequently supplemented with information about other more comprehensive sources. The paper is organized as follows: section 1 introduces the fundamentals of two theoretical models: Element Theory and CVCV. Section 3 and 4 illustrate the practical capacity of the two models on a concrete material. Section 3 briefly discusses a close phonological relationship between labials and velars in English and section 4 looks at the obstruentization of the glide [w] in Polish. The data is not new and the discussion draws on some earlier analyses (Kijak, 2014, section 3 and Cyran, 2013, section 4). This strategy is dictated by the aforementioned informative nature of the article which focuses not only on the potential of recent models but also on their weak points still awaiting the amendment. The paper ends in a short conclusion.

1. Phonological models

1.1 CVCV

In its long history, Generative Phonology (Chomsky & Halle, 1968) witnessed, at least, two fundamental turns which left permanent imprints on later development of the theory. Unquestionably, a giant step forward was the abandonment of the linear vision of the phonological representation. It was replaced with a multi-tired or non-linear representation in which separate levels interact with one another. In the 80' and 90's the theory took another great leap forward, that is, the excessive generative power of the rewrite-rule model has been tamed. In consequence, the ordered phonological rules gave way to universal principles and language-specific constraints. Along with the revolution in syllable structure, we can observe a shift in the representation of the internal structure of phonological segments. The standard binary phonological features are gradually being supplanted by privative elements. While the former were based on articulation and, to a lesser extent, perception, the latter refer to the acoustic signal shared by both speaker and listener. The idea of the privative character of elements was accepted and developed by Dependency Phonology (Anderson & Ewen, 1987) and Particle Phonology (Schane, 1984) the immediate predecessors of Government Phonology (Kaye, Lowenstamm, & Vergnaud, 1985). It was the latter model, however, which came up with what was once known as a theory of charm and government (Kaye, Lowenstamm, & Vergnaud, 1985) and later, after numerous modifications, renamed as Element Theory (Backley, 2011). The CVCV model (also known as Strict CV) (Lowenstamm, 1996, Scheer, 2004) evolves directly from Government Phonology and as such is set, as its immediate predecessor, in generative tradition. It was devised as a non-linear and non-derivational model. CVCV dispenses with branching constituents altogether and views syllable structure as strictly alternating sequences of non-branching onsets and non-branching nuclei. There is simply no rhymes and no codas. In order to clarify the points just mentioned, consider the examples in (1) below which illustrate the CVCV representation of some traditional structures: closed syllables (1a), geminates (1b), long vowels (1c), branching onsets (1d), coda-onset contacts (1e) and word-final consonants (1f). The 'C' and 'V' on the melodic tier stand for any consonant and any vowel respectively, the 'TR' represents a typical traditional branching onset, that is, an obstruent followed by a sonorant.

(1)	a.	b.	c.
skeletal tier	C V C V	C V C V	C V C V
	| | | |	|	|
melodic tier	C V C ∅	C V	C V

	d.	e.	f.
skeletal tier	C V C V	C V C V	C V
	| | | |	| | | |	| |
melodic tier	T ∅ R V	R ∅ T V	C ∅

The representations under (1) demonstrate that the traditional branching onsets are reanalysed as two onsets separated by an empty nucleus (1d). Similarly, coda-onset clusters are represented as two onsets with an empty nucleus in between (1e)[1]. Geminates are interpreted as consisting of two consonantal positions with the intervening empty nucleus (1b). This extreme segmentation of the traditional syllabic constituents means, among many other things, that empty positions must play an indispensable role in this model. Note that each consonant cluster is separated by the empty nuclear position and word-final consonants are not final at all but followed by the empty nucleus. One of the conditions on the distribution of empty nuclei in phonological representation precludes a situation in which empty positions occur in sequences. For instance, Cyran (2010) proposes a constraint disallowing two consecutive empty nuclei (*∅–∅). Extreme segmentation is dictated by yet another principle which says that within the phonological word prosodic licensing is distributed by nuclear positions. It follows that at the skeletal level each consonantal position (C) must be licensed by a vocalic one (V).

In the CVCV model syllabification follows from the asymmetrical relations between two segments. Thus in a sequence of an obstruent (T) and a sonorant (R) both consonants contract a dependency relation where the more complex segment

[1] It is crucial for any theory of the syllable structure to recognize the difference between branching onsets and coda-onset contacts. In CVCV the difference lies in the direction and character of the governing relation which is contracted between consonants, see (Cyran, 2010).

(the governor) governs a less complex one (the governee)[2]. We should bear in mind that the governing relations between consonants are contracted across melodically empty nuclei. Such nuclei, as locked within governing relations, are not visible to phonological processes and do not violate the constraint on sequences of empty nuclei (*ø–ø). For a meticulous discussion and presentation of the CVCV model, along with the comparison with other theories (including Government Phonology) the reader is referred to, for example, Szigetvári (1999), Rowicka (1999), Cyran (2003), and Scheer (2004).

1.2 Element Theory

In Element Theory (ET) phonological segments are built out of privative cognitive units called elements. Elements differ from the traditional features in that they are linked to the acoustic signal rather than to articulation and/or perception. At the same time, however, they function as "abstract units of phonological structure which carry linguistic information about segments" (Backley, 2011:7). Another difference between elements and features is that the former, unlike the latter, are large enough to be phonetically interpretable when they occur alone in a segment. The only condition an element is required to satisfy in order to be pronounced is that it must be linked to a skeletal slot. This autonomous interpretability can be illustrated on the example of a single element |I|. When linked to a nuclear slot, it is realized as the vowel [i], but when it is attached to the consonantal position, it is pronounced as the glide [j].

Crucially, elements may combine with one another and appear together in a single segment forming complex structures. For example, the two mid vowels [e] and [o] are combinations of |AI| and |AU| respectively. In yet richer vocalic systems maintaining the opposition between lax and tense vowels, it is headedness that is utilized to mark this contrast. Thus, a single-element tense vowel [i] is represented as headed |$\underline{\text{I}}$|, while its lax counterpart [ɪ] as headless |I_|. A similar asymmetric head-operator relation is found in the phonological compounds of closed and open mid vowels, that is, [e] and [ɛ] respectively. Thus, a headless compound |AI_| defines the open mid vowel [ɛ], the same compound headed by |I|, that is, |A$\underline{\text{I}}$| refers to the closed mid vowel [e]. Note that in such a system the front open vowel [æ] can be represented by the same compound headed by the element |A|, which yields |I$\underline{\text{A}}$|. Moreover, it is generally believed that the same elements which are used to describe vocalic systems are also active in consonants. It means that the three resonance elements |I|, |A|, |U| defining vocalic segments are active place definers in consonantal systems. However, in order to describe consonants some additional primes

[2] Segments are composed of elements and complexity is gauged from the number of elements a given segment contains (see the discussion in 2.2 below).

are required and these are |L|, |H| and |ʔ|. It does not mean, however, that the latter cannot occur in a vocalic expression. Quite the contrary, in some vocalic systems they represent nasalization or tones.

The internal structure of segments may be affected by the position these segments occupy in the syllable structure. The elemental make-up of a segment may be altered by adding a locally present element or by reducing the internal composition of a segment. The latter can be illustrated by spirantisation, a process often resulting in elision and involving the lenition of a stop to a glottal fricative, usually through a fricative stage, e.g. [t] > [s] > [h] > [ø] = |AHʔ| > |AH| > |H| > |_|. Similarly, in vowel reduction the elemental material is stripped away or the element status is reduced from head to operator, e.g. [o] > [u] = |AU| > |U| and [i] > [ɪ] = |I̲| > |I_| respectively.

In a nutshell, vocalic as well as consonantal segments are composed of the same elements which may be affected by the position they occupy in the syllable structure.[3]

2. Love triangle (Kijak, 2014)

The chief aim of this section is to provide a considerable amount of data illustrating a close phonological relationship between two articulatorily unrelated segment classes: velars and labials. This intimate relationship has been made public by, among others, Backley & Nasukawa (2009:6) who point out that the UPSID database (UCLA Phonological Segment Inventory Database) records 60 languages with labialized velars but only 2 with labialized coronals. The second, not less important, aim is to find out whether new theoretical models like, for instance, Element Theory and CVCV, can cope with the presented facts any better than the traditional, SPE-like frameworks. The discussion proposed here draws heavily on the analysis put forward in Kijak (2014) who advocates the solution according to which both labials and velars contain the same resonance element |U| and hence interact phonologically on a massive scale.

It has been a long time since the phonological relationship between labials and velars was noticed – descriptions and analyses of cross-linguistic data have been accumulated in phonological literature at least since Jakobson and Halle (1956). For instance, examples of the labial-velar relationship can be found in Hickey (1984, 1985) Old Irish, Rumanian and Germanic languages, Durand (1990) Finnish, Brown (2006) Spanish dialects, Backley and Nasukawa (2009) Germanic, Bantu, Romance languages, Scheer (2004) and Huber (2007) various languages, among others. Despite the abundance of descriptions available to researchers, the efforts to formally capture this phonological similarity have yet remained unsuccessful. The inability to explain the relationship became evident quite early, especially in

[3] For more information and an ongoing discussion concerning the elemental make-up of phonological segments see, for example, Harris and Lindsey (1995), Ploch (1999), Scheer (2004), Bloch-Rozmej (2008), Cyran (2010) and Backley (2011), among others.

traditional articulation-based models of segmental structure (Chomsky & Halle, 1968). Without going into detail, the feature specification used by SPE to define velars and labials as respectively [–ant +high] and [+ant –high] makes it difficult, if not impossible, to relate the two classes. It must be noted here that well before the publication of Chomsky & Halle's (1968) seminal work, Jakobson & Halle (1956) postulated the acoustic feature [grave] which was thought to represent common acoustic properties of labials and velars. This feature simply related to a concentration of acoustic energy at the lower end of the spectrum.[4] Acoustic features, however, were systematically abandoned when a new, articulatory-oriented, model of segmental structure appeared on a phonological scene – Chomsky & Halle's (1968) SPE framework. Since then, a quest to explain the phonological intimacy between velars and labials has been undertaken by researchers working in various theoretical frameworks (Scheer, 2004:49ff). In Element Theory both categories are represented by different primes (Kaye *et al.*, 1985, 1990, Harris and Lindsey, 1995). In short, labials, together with the labio-velar glide [w] and the high back vowel [u], contain the element |U|. Velars, on the other hand, are proposed either to be represented by a neutral element (Harris & Lindsey, 1995:29) or they are simply empty-headed, i.e. they do not contain any resonance element at all (Huber, 2007, Cyran, 2010). Recently, however, these solutions have been undermined by researchers aiming to establish a direct relationship between the two categories, e.g. Broadbent (1996), Scheer (2004), Backley & Nasukawa (2009) and Backley (2011). For example, Backley & Nasukawa (2009) argue for the presence of the element |U| in the content of both velars and labials. What differentiates both categories is the status played by this element, i.e. in labials |U| functions as the head, while in velars it is an operator. This proposal is based on spectrograms which reveal the presence of a falling spectral pattern identifying both labial and velar resonance (Backley & Nasukawa, 2009:7). In what follows, we apply this solution to selected examples of the velar-to-labial changes in the history of English.

2.1 Velar-to-labial developments

In the history of English there are a multitude of processes which bring together labials, velars, the high back vowel [u] and the glide [w]. This relationship can be illustrated on the example of the *u*-glide development in front of the velar spirant in Old English (OE), e.g. *furh* > *furuh* 'furrow'. However, it is Middle English (ME) that provides us with a plethora of examples revealing the triangular relationship between velars, labials and [u, w]. For example, one of a large-scale developments operating in that period was diphthongization before the velar fricative. It was pre-

[4] Some earlier attempts to formally capture the similarity between velars and labials have been discussed in Backley & Nasukawa (2009), see also Huber (2007).

ceded, in the case of the voiced velar fricative [ɣ], by the vocalization of the fricative, e.g. OE *dragan* > ME *dragen* > *drawen* 'draw', OE *boga* > ME *bohe, bowe* 'bow', OE *nāht* > ME *nauhte* 'naught', OE *dohtor* > ME *dohter* > *douhter*, *doughter* 'daughter' and OE *dāh* > ME *dōh* > *dough* 'dough'. Interestingly, the same vowels met an identical fate in yet another context, that is, in front of the glide [w], e.g. OE *sāwol* > ME *saul* 'soul' or OE *glōwan* > ME *glowen* 'glow'. Towards the end of ME the velar fricative tends to be eliminated from the segmental inventory of the language, e.g. in the final position it is labialized to [f] as in *laughen* > *laugh*, *laffe* 'laugh', *rough* > *rouf*, *ruff* 'rough' and *ynough* > *enoff* 'enough'. Finally, the triangular relationship is also exemplified by the 15th century vocalization of the velarized lateral [ɫ]. It led to various qualitative and quantitative vocalic developments like, for example, diphthongization, e.g. *balk* > *baulke* 'baulk, balk' and *bolster* >*boulster* 'bolster'. In what follows we concentrate only on two examples of the velar-to-labial change, that is, *u*-glide development in OE and the vocalization of the velarized lateral in ME.[5]

The disappearance of the velar fricative from English was triggered by a sequence of processes dating back to Late OE (Hogg, 1992). In (2) we present some examples adopted from Wełna (1978:51) illustrating the vowel/glide development before the velar fricative. This change may be considered as a first step to the loss of the velar fricative in later forms.

(2)

furh	>	furuh	*furrow*
burh	>	buruh	*borough*
þurh	>	þuruh	*thorough*
holh	>	holuh	*hollow*
mearh	>	mearuh	*marrow*

In (2) the forms on the left contain liquid+velar fricative consonant clusters which get broken by the *u*-glide. Since the ME spelling of some of these forms is unstable, e.g. *furgh*, *forough*, *forwe* 'furrow', *burgh*, *burw* 'borough', and *thorugh*, *thorowe* 'thorough', we can hypothesize that the phonetic realization of the velar fricative fluctuated for some time between [u], [w] and [x]. Note that if we accept the solution that both velars and labials contain the element |U|, the development in (2) and the spelling variants can be given a straightforward explanation. It is the velar fricative which is a donor of the element |U| interpreted as [w] or [u] depending on the constituent affiliation. Moreover, in the CVCV model consonant clusters are always separated by the empty nuclear slot, and similarly word-final consonants are not final but followed by the empty nucleus (see 2.1 above). Since nuclei license

5 For more examples of the velar-to-labial changes see Bonebrake (1979) and Kijak (2014).

preceding consonants, it means that word-final consonants are in a weak position. They are licensed by the empty nucleus. It follows that the velar fricative in (2) occurs in a typical lenition site and as a consequence it evacuates some of its material to a preceding V_2 position. This is illustrated in (3).

(3) furh > furuh

	C_1	V_1	C_2	V_2	C_3	V_3	
					$\vert\underline{H}\vert$		
				<<<	$\vert U\vert$		
[	f	u	r	u	x		]

In order to avoid delinking and in consequence element loss, the velar fricative[6] in (3) seeks stability by spreading to the preceding nuclear slot V_2. The evacuated material is realized as a high back vowel [u] which is a typical interpretation of the element |U| in the nuclear slot. Besides the diphthongization processes before velar fricatives briefly mentioned above, ME witnessed another change leading to the appearance of new diphthongs. This process boils down to the development of a transition glide [u] between a back vowel and the velarized lateral [ɫ][7]. Consider some examples in (4) below.

(4) ME diphthongization before [ɫ] (Wełna 1978:192ff)

a.	ME [a] + [ɫ] > LME [au] + [ɫ]			b.	ME [o, u] + [ɫ] > LME [ɔu] + [ɫ]	
alter	>	aulter	*altar*	colte	> coult	*colt*
malt	>	mault	*malt*	gold	> gowlde	*gold*
falle	>	faul	*fall*	shuldre	> shoulder	*shoulder*
walke	>	w[aulk]	*walk*	yolke	> y[oulk]e	*yolk*

First note that the lateral is velarized and as such contains the resonance element |U|. The latter spreads to the preceding nuclear slot which results in the development of a glide before the liquid. Moreover, the lateral in (4) occurs in a weak position, i.e. before the empty nucleus (word-finally or pre-consonantally). Thus, the logic behind this change is the same as described above, i.e. the velarized lateral

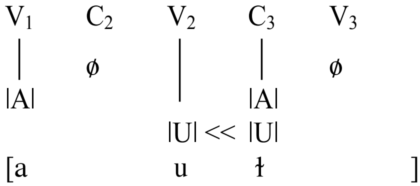
6 Apart from the element |U| defining velarity, the velar fricative in (3) contains an additional element |H| - a regular representation of English voiceless fricatives.

7 Liquid prevocalization does not occur after front vowels as they contain the element |I| and the combination of |U I| in the English vocalic system seems to be banned.

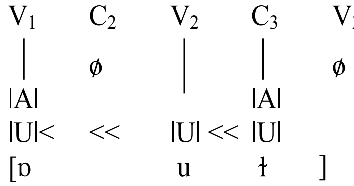
undergoes disintegration and its elements evacuate from the endangered position to a neighboring one. To be more precise, the change consists in the leftward migration of the element |U| which results in various (later) modifications such as vowel raising and lengthening via the intermediate diphthongization stages: [a] > [au] > [ɒu] > [ɔː] (4a) and diphthongization or lowering and diphthongization: [o] > [ɔu] > [əʊ] and [u] > [ɔu] > [əʊ] (4b). The former development is represented on the example of *walke* > *w*[aulk] 'walk' in (5) below.

(5)

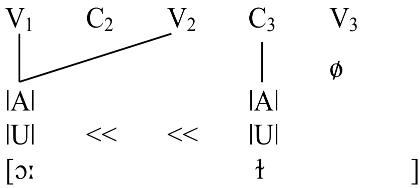
a. diphthongization: [ał] > [auł]



b. raising: [auł] > [ɒuł]



c. monophthongization: [ɒuł] > [ɔːł]



First, in (5a) the element |U| responsible for the velarization of the lateral spreads leftwards and docks onto the preceding vocalic slot V_2[8]. At this stage a new diphthong is formed. Next, in (5b) the element |U|, while still being linked to the nucleus (V_2), continues its migration to the left and becomes part of the first vowel containing |A|. In consequence both elements get fused and appear as the back mid vowel [ɒ]. Finally, in (5c) the element |U| gets delinked from V_2 and is intercepted by V_1. The whole expression, i.e. |AU|, spreads to the by now emptied V_2 and winds up as a long monophthong [ɔː]. To sum up, [ł] unloads the resonance element |U| in a prosodically weak position. This element docks onto the preceding nuclear position but this is not the end of the road, because in some cases it migrates even further left reaching the first nucleus.

[8] The glide is assigned to a newly formed nucleus which is incorporated in the representation to make room for the incoming |U| (see Kijak, 2010:420).

We hope that the analysis proposed above, brief as it was, proves conclusively that velar-to-labial changes, e.g. glide formation and diphthongization before the velarized lateral with some accompanying vocalic modifications, among many others, can be given a uniform account by postulating the element |U| in the melodic make-up of velars/velarized consonants. In what follows, we discuss one example of obstruentization found in Polish with some reference to other Slavic languages and Hungarian. The discussion in the following section is based on Cyran (2013).

3. Obstruentization in Polish (Cyran, 2013)

In this section, we discuss a proposal to explain the historical [w] > [v/f] shift in Slavic first put forward in Cyran & Nilsson (1998) and later developed in Cyran (2013). Their solution sheds new light on the peculiar behavior of the labiodental fricative [v] in voicing phenomena and phonotactic distribution not only in Polish (Kuryłowicz, 1952, Gussmann, 1981), Russian (Andersen, 1969, Hayes, 1984, Gussmann, 2002) or Slovak (Rubach, 1993), but also in other languages, e.g. Hungarian (Siptár, 1996, Szigetvári, 1998, Blaho, 2002), Irish (Cyran, 1997), Welsh (Cyran, 2010), Dutch (van der Torre, 2003, van Oostendorp, 2007) and Frisian (Visser, 1997), among others. Moreover, the analysis points to the possibility of element addition in a situation when the element is locally absent.

The point of departure for Cyran & Nilsson's (1998) analysis is the development of the Common Slavic **w* in various Modern Slavic languages. The relevant facts are illustrated in (6).

(6) Reflexes of the historical glide [w] in Slavic languages (Cyran 2013:114).

a.	b.	c.	d.	e.	
E.Ukr.	*St. Ukr.*	*St. Slovak*	*St. Czech*	*St. Polish*	
[woda]	[voda]	[voda]	[voda]	[voda]	'water'
[twij]	[tvij]	[tvoj]	[tvuːj]	[tfuj]	'your'
[wpasty]	[wpasty]	[fpadnuːc]	[fpadnowt]	[fpaɕt͡ɕ]	'fall into'
[sliw]	[sliw]	[slow]	[slof]	[swuf]	'words, gen.pl.'
[ławka]	[ławka]	[laːwka]	[laːfka]	[wafka]	'bench'

The examples in (6) demonstrate that the labial glide may be preserved in all positions, e.g. East Ukrainian, or it may evolve into an obstruent in certain contexts only, e.g. Standard Ukrainian. Being an obstruent it can alternate with its voiceless counterpart, that is, [f], while still alternating with the glide, e.g. Standard Slovak. Finally, in languages like Standard Polish or Czech the original labial glide does not appear in alternations and its voiced fricative reflex alternates with the voiceless counterpart. Furthermore, while in Standard Polish the labial fricative reflex, that is, [v] behaves like a regular obstruent in that it undergoes final devoicing and voice assimilation (progressive and regressive), in Czech it does not appear in progressive voice assimilation, e.g. [tvu:j] 'your'. These observations lead to a conclusion that *w in Standard Polish reached an extreme point, at least from the voicing point of view, as it consistently interprets [v] as an obstruent. Quite uncontroversially, the shift [w] > [v/f] has been considered as an example of fortition, and as such should consist in the addition of consonantal material[9]. However, it is not always possible to find a local donor of the material, e.g. Polish [voda] 'water', even worse, the supposed fortition occurs in both strong and weak positions, e.g. Polish [tfuj] 'your' and [swuf] 'words, gen.pl.' respectively. Accordingly, Cyran (2013) indicates that the shift [w] > [v] cannot be explained as the addition of the noise element |H| because there is no local source for this spreading. Moreover, the addition of |H| would yield |UH|, which represents a voiceless fricative rather than the desired voiced one. Therefore the analysis he proposes includes three stages. The first step is a shift in the phonetic interpretation of |U| in strong positions. Although, at this stage, both [w] and [v] are realizations of the same element |U|, in strong positions this element acquires additional interpretational feature – friction. In other words, the innovation consists in the phonetic realization of |U| with more effort. With time this purely interpretational shift reached another stage – phonologization, which consists in the assignment of phonetic details to phonological representation. It follows that the alternation [w] ~ [v] is reflected phonologically as |U| ~ |$\underline{\text{U}}$|, the former occurs in weak positions while the latter in strong ones. This step may explain the sonorant-like behaviour of [v] in many languages like, for example, Russian. In this language obstruent clusters are uniform with respect to voicing not only within words but also across word boundaries, e.g. *kni*[ʒok]*a* 'book, dim. gen. pl.' vs. *kni*[ʃk]*a* 'nom. sg.' and *bra*[t]*a* 'brother, gen. sg.' vs. *bra*[d] [g]*ovorit* 'brother speaks' respectively[10]. However, the voicing uniformity does not hold when the next word begins with a vowel, a sonorant and the labial fricative [v], e.g. *bra*[t] [r]*abotaet* 'the brother works' vs. *vku*[s] [vʲ]*ina* 'the taste of wine'. Similarly, the solution [w] > [v] = |U| > |$\underline{\text{U}}$| can be applied to languages from outside the Slavic family. In Hungarian, for example, obstruent clusters agree in voicing and their voicing property is determined by the last obstruent in the sequence, e.g. *la*[bd]*a*, 'ball', *smara*[kt], 'emerald'. Moreover, word-initial consonant clusters invariably consist of an obstruent followed by a sonorant. Both constraints, however, are violated by the labial fricative [v], e.g. *cson*[tv]*elö*, 'bone marrow', and [tv]*iszt* 'twist' or [kv]*arc* 'quartz'[11]. Such peculiarities can be solved in a straightforward way if we rep-

[9] It has been proposed that in Slavic the surface [v] is derived historically from the glide /w/, see Flier (1972). For the analysis of Polish [w] > [v/f] facts see Kuryłowicz (1952), Gussmann (1981, 1992) and Bethin (1992).
[10] The Russian examples have been collected from Gussmann (2002:194).
[11] The Hungarian data come from Blaho (2002).

resent [v] as |U̲|, that is, a headed resonance element. It means that [v] cannot undergo devoicing or propagate voicing simply because phonologically it is a sonorant, i.e. it is not specified for the laryngeal element |L|[12].

The final stage in the development [w] > [v] > [v/f] is reached when the friction and voicing included in |U̲| are assigned a phonological status, that is, |H| and |L|, hence, |U̲| > |UHL|. This step may explain the situation in Slovak which allows for two kinds of alternations [w] ~ [v] and [v] ~ [f]. Cyran & Nilsson (1998) conclude that in Slovak two representations of [v] exist side by side, i.e. |U̲| and |UHL|. The same line of reasoning is applied to Polish and Czech data. The former language is assumed to have undergone the change completely. Finally, it is worth mentioning that this proposal is able to capture the fact why obstruentization of sonorants typically results in voiced obstruents (Kenstowicz, 1994).

Summing up, the solution discussed above contributes to the explanation of some historical changes which lack a local source or trigger. Secondly, it accounts for the double nature of some consonants which fluctuate between a sonorant and an obstruent. Finally, it emphasizes the fact that what is phonetically one segment may have two different phonological representations in the same system or in two different systems. The take home lesson from the discussion here is that the internal structure of segments should follow a thorough and in-depth analysis rather than being accepted a priori.

4. Conclusions

It is our hope that some more clarity have emerged from this rather brief and general discussion concerning current phonological models. It has been demonstrated that such models can cope with traditional problems much better than previous ones or draw researchers' attention to phenomena previously overlooked. Thus, we have seen that velar-to-labial changes can be given a uniform account by postulating the element |U| in the melodic make-up of velars/velarized consonants and by explaining the trigger of the process – the weak position. Moreover, we have pointed to the explanatory power of ET which can account for cases of contextually unmotivated developments or a double nature of certain consonants. According to the view that each theoretical framework contributes to understanding of (traditional) problems and lets researchers look at phonological phenomena from a different perspective, it is unquestionably profitable to devote one's effort, time and energy to explore new theoretical solutions.

[12] The fact that sonorants do not play any active role in various voice phenomena is captured in Element Theory by a simple fact that sonorants are not specified for the laryngeal elements – they are spontaneously voiced. In other words, they lack the elements |H| and |L| from the internal composition.

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