

Streszczenie

Ortografia niemiecka sprawiała kłopoty już w języku staro-wysoko-niemieckim przed ponad tysiącem lat. Są one wynikiem tego, że staro-wysoko-niemiecko-germański system głosek musiał być zapisany znakami łacińskimi, a nie germańskimi. Przykładem tego typu trudności w codziennej klasztornej praktyce piśmienniczej jest list Otfrieda von Weibenburg, w którym dedykuje on biskupowi Linbertowi z Moguncji swój egzemplarz ewangelii.

We wstępnej części artykułu zostały omówione alfabet runiczny i alfabet Wulfili, w których system graficzny jest w zasadzie zgodny z systemem fonetycznym.

LUBELSKIE MATERIAŁY NEOFILOLOGICZNE — 1983

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A Note on Pro-drop Parameter

Recent studies on Romance languages, notably Italian/Rizzi 1982/ and Spanish/Jaeeggli 1982/ carried out in the context of R/vised/E/xtended/S/tandard/T/theory/ have revealed that the apparent violations of the Empty Category Principle/ECP/ by these languages is to be attributed to the pro-drop parameter evinced by them. The pro-drop parameter is given in /1/

/1/ The pro-drop parameter /Chomsky 1981/

Avoid pronoun in subject position if possible.

Given /1/, the distinction can be drawn between languages such as Spanish and Italian on the one hand and English and French on the other precisely because the former but not the latter have the ability to drop pronominal subjects. Consider:

/2/ He visto una pellicula muy interesante /Spanish/

/I/ Have seen a very interesting film.

/3/ Abbiamo raccontato tutte le storie /Italian/

/We/ have told all the stories.

*/4/ Viendrai demain a sept heures quinze /French/

/I/ will come tomorrow at a quarter past seven.

*/5/ Has understood everything perfectly well.

It must be mentioned that the distinction in question reflects deeper structural differences underlying these two types of languages, namely that

/6/ /a/ only the pro-drop languages allow subject inversion

/b/ the pro-drop languages do not display CCF-trace effects and thus appear to flout the ECP

Consider /6a/ first. The relevant examples may be the following:

/7/ /e/ Gianni verra

G. will come

/b/ Verra Gianni

will come G.

/8/*a/ Appeared a man in the hall

/b/ There appeared a man in the hall

As remarked above, Italian, being a pro-drop language, permits subject inversion: both /7a/ and /7b/ are perfectly grammatical. In contrast, a non-pro-drop language such as English, should not, on this analysis, allow subject inversion, and this is indeed borne out: /8a/ is crashingly ungrammatical. It is interesting to note that subject inversion of this sort can take place in English only with the concomitant insertion of there, as documented by /8b/. An interesting question to be asked now is why subject inversion is possible in Italian but not in English.

The answer seems to lie with the differences in indexing procedures stipulated for these languages. In particular, it has been claimed /Chomsky 1981, Jaeggli 1982, Rizzi 1982/ that sentences such as /7b/ are grammatical in pro-drop languages because a co-indexing is possible in these languages, between the traces marking the moved /proposed/ subjects, the feature INFL/action/ and the proposed subjects themselves. In this formulation, the indexing procedure applying to /7b/ will be as shown in /9/

/9/ t₁ INFL₁ verra Gianni₁

Let us turn now to the claim made in /6b/. We have here the following examples:

/10/ S₁COMP₁ who S₁COMP₁ that S₁Mary met t₁]]]

*/11/ S₁COMP₁ who S₁did you claim S₁COMP₁ t₁ that S₁t met Mary]]]

In these sentences the wh-phrases, who have been moved from the post-verbal position in the embedded clauses to the respective COMP's of the matrix sentences, leaving traces behind. The movement has taken place from COMP to COMP in accordance with the subadjacency principle. Notice an interesting asymmetry here: /10/, which il-

illustrates extraction of wh-phrase from object position is perfectly grammatical, while /11/, exemplifying extraction from subject position is not. The asymmetry in question involving COMP-trace phenomena can be adequately captured by the ECP, the constraint on traces, which is given in /12/

/12/ The Empty Category Principle /ECP/ /Chomsky 1981, Jaeggli 1982/

e must be properly governed

where proper government involves the following configurations

/13/ V_ie
N e
A e
P e
NP₁ e₁

Observe, that, in accordance with /12/, /10/ should be grammatical because the trace is properly governed by the verb meet. In contrast, the trace in subject position of the embedded clause in /11/ is not properly governed because it is neither governed by the verb meet nor can it be governed /by virtue of being co-indexed/ with the trace in COMP. The trace in subject position, then, in /11/ does not meet the ECP and the sentence is ruled out as desired. How about a sentence like /14/?

/14/ Who did you claim S₁COMP₁ t₁ S₁ t₁ met Mary]]]

The grammaticality of /14/ should not come as a surprise to us; for notice that the trace in subject position is properly governed by the trace in COMP, due to the absence of the that complementizer. It appears, then, that the crucial difference between subject and object extraction, reflected in the COMP effects is adequately accounted for in terms of the ECP.

However, the ECP seems to make false predictions with respect to the following sentences in Spanish /15 - 16/ and Italian /17 - 18/ /cf. Jaeggli 1982 and Rizzi 1982/

/15/ Quien dijiste S₁COMP₁ que S₁María ha visto]]]

Who did you say that Mary saw t?

/16/ *Quien dijiste S_{COMP} t que S [t llego ajer]]*

'Who did you say t arrived yesterday?

/17/ *Che dici S_{COMP} che S [Grammi ha comprato t a Roma]]*

'What are you saying that John has bought t in Rome?

/18/ *Chi hai detto S_{COMP} t che S [t verra]]*

'Who do you think that t will come?

Observe that the ECP /incorrectly/ predicts that /16/ and /18/ should be bad because the traces in subject position of the respective embedded clauses are not /properly/ governed by the traces in-COMP. This is precisely where the pro-drop parameter comes in. Recall that pro-drop languages have the ability to co-index the empty subject position with the INFL. If so, then, according to this claim, the correct structures of /16/ and /18/ would look something like /19/ and /20/

/19/ *Quien dijiste S_{COMP} t que S [t_i INFL_i llego ajer]]*

/20/ *Chi hai detto S_{COMP} t che S [t_i INFL_i verra]]*

Notice that the traces in subject position of the embedded clauses in /19/ and /20/ are now governed by the respective INFL's and the sentences are grammatical as predicted. It is clear, then, that Italian and Spanish do exhibit COMP-trace effects and the violation of the ECP by these languages is only apparent.

Thus far our discussion of the ECP as a potentially universal principle has been centered around the body of data deriving from English and Romance pro-drop languages such as Spanish and Italian. It might be instructive to see, however, whether the application of the Empty Category Principle could not be extended still further and cover Slavic languages, for example, which constitute an excellent testing ground for this principle. In what follows we shall examine this claim in some detail. Consider first data from Polish, which is a pro-drop language. The following examples are relevant here:

* /21/ *Kto zapytalés Jena S_{COMP} t czy S [t chodzì do szkoły]]*

'Who did you ask John if t goes to school?

* /22/ *Kogo powiedziała Jola S_{COMP} że S [Jan widziat]]*

'Who did J. say that Jan saw t?

/23/ *Kto chciałbyś S_{COMP} t żeby S [t przyszedł]]*

'Who would you like to come?

/24/ *Kogo chciałbyś S_{COMP} żeby S [Janysia zaprosiła t]]*

'Who would you like Mary to invite?

/21/ and /22/ show that extraction from tensed że-clauses, either from subject or object position, is impossible in Polish, which also means that the ECP is not applicable here and cannot rule out the examples at hand. On the other hand, the grammaticality of both /23/ and /24/ comes as a surprise to us; for, indeed, in accordance with the ECP, /23/ should be bad because the trace in subject position of the embedded clause is not properly governed. Notice that the deletion of the complementizers will not improve the grammaticality of these sentences because, as a rule, complementizer deletion in Polish is prohibited, as documented by the following examples

* /25/ *Kto sądziłéś S_{COMP} t S [t przyszedł do mnie]]*

'Who did you think came to see me?

* /26/ *Kogo życzyłbyś sobie S_{COMP} t S [t przyszedł]]*

'Who would you like t come?

It does not take much to see, then, that no recourse to the pro-drop parameter can be made here simply because no extraction from tensed że-clauses in Polish is possible. It might be possible, though in principle, to invoke this parameter in the case of extraction from subjunctive clauses. However, it is not at all clear whether such a move is warranted in view of the fact that movement from że-clauses is prohibited anyway and no improvement of grammaticality can be achieved by deleting complementizers. The discussion of subjunctive clauses, then must be dropped, pending further investigation.

Turning to Russian data, let us first note that Russian is not a pro-drop language. Pronominal subjects can be deleted here only under some sporadic, strictly determined conditions /for a relevant discussion, see Bogusławski and Karoliak 1973/. Thus it is possible to say in Russian /27a/ but not /27b/:

/27/ /e/ ja uznal ot nevo ob etom
I learned about it from him
*/b/ uznal ot nevo ob etom

Oddly enough, however, Russian, just like Polish, does allow subject inversion. The following sentences are perfectly grammatical:

/28/ Prigel P'et'a
t came Peter
/29/ Id'et dozd'
t comes the rain
It is raining.

Consider now examples involving extraction of wh-phrases:

*/30/ Kto on skazal S[COMP t kto S[It vid'el Sof'ju]]
Who did he say that t saw Sophie?
*/31/ Kavo on govoril S[COMP kto S[Marta vstr'etila]]
Who did he say that M. met t?

These sentences demonstrate clearly that, just like in the case of Polish, extraction from tensed clauses in Russian is prohibited. On the contrary, movement from Russian subjunctive clauses does not lead to ungrammaticality, as shown in /32/:

/32/ Kavo vy kolt'e S[COMP tioby S[Jur'a prigl'osil k s'ab'e t]]
Who would you like J. to invite to himself?
Who would you like J. to invite t to his place?

In view of the above, we tentatively conclude that Russian and Polish data do not lend support to the claim that the pro-drop and the ECP are related in a significantly interesting manner.

In conclusion, neither Polish nor Russian displays the COMP trace effects despite the fact that Polish, being a pro-drop language should, just like Spanish or Italian, behave in a similar manner in regard to extraction processes from embedded clauses. On the other hand, both Russian and Spanish do allow subject inversion although Spanish, but not Russian, is a pro-drop language. It appears then that the ungrammaticality of sentences involving extraction from

tensed clauses in Polish and Russian should be accounted for in terms of principles other than the ECP and the pro-drop parameter.

Notes

1. For an in-depth discussion of the subjacency principle, see, for example, Chomsky 1975.
2. More precisely, the trace cannot be governed by the INFL - the feature on the verb expressing person, gender and number agreement. This, among other things, differentiates English from, say, Spanish /see below/.
3. A natural account of the sentences in question can be provided by the subjacency principle. See, for example, Glejso 1981, Kardela forthcoming.

References

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"artykule omówiono zastosowanie tzw. parametru pro-drop w porównaniu z zasadą pułtej kategorii /3CP/ na materiale języków romańskich /hiszpański i włoski/ oraz języków słowiańskich takich jak polski i rosyjski. Analiza języka włoskiego i hiszpańskiego wykazuje, że istnieje ścisła korelacja między zasadą pułtej kategorii a parametrem pro-drop. Przejawia się ona tym, iż języki, które dopuszczają elizję zaimków osobowych w pozycji podmiotowej /są to tzw. języki pro-drop /pro-drop languages//, a takimi są włoski i hiszpański, pozwalają również na przesunięcie elementu pytającego z pozycji podmiotowej zdania zamrzonego osobowego do zdania głównego. Jak jednak wykazaliśmy, nie stanowi to reguły, bowiem ani w języku polskim /pro-drop/, ani rosyjskim, który nie dopuszcza elizji zaimków osobowych, wyżej wymieniona operacja nie jest możliwa.

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Zum theoretischen Modell
 des Tempussystems im Deutschen

§ 1. Zum Modell der Sprechbeschreibung

Unter "Modell" versteht man allgemein den Entwurf einer Einrichtung oder eines Werkes, der zu einem näher bestimmten Zweck funktionieren soll. Es sei betont, daß im folgenden nur von dem sogenannten theoretischen Modell gesprochen werden soll; es ist also mit dem Begriff des semantischen Modells nicht zu verwechseln, wie er etwa in der referentiellen Semantik^{1/} verwendet wird.

Das von der generativen Grammatik vorgeführte Modell soll beispielsweise imstande sein, logisch und grammatisch richtige Sätze zu erzeugen. Abgesehen davon, daß die auf solche Weise gewonnenen Sätze eines verhältnismäßig komplizierten Mechanismus bedürfen, dessen Umfang heute kaum zu überschauen ist^{2/}, muß hervorgehoben werden, daß diese Sätze zur Sprache nicht gehören können, weil sie u. a. nicht zum Zweck der Kommunikation oder Information verwendet werden. Sie sind und bleiben einfach Produkt einer übertriebenen Sprachauffassung, die in ihrer Beschreibung, Sprache und deren Beschreibung auf einen gemeinsamen Nenner zu bringen, zu einer Art perpetuum mobile gelangt.

Eine Sprachbeschreibung aber ist nur als Nebenprodukt der Sprache zu betrachten, die den Kommunikationszwecken dient. Daraus resultiert, daß bei der Sprachbeschreibung von keinem "Modell" der Sprache die Rede sein kann. Von einem Modell der Sprache dürfte man nur dann sprechen, wenn eine neue Sprache gebaut werden sollte. Da es sich aber aktuell nicht