12 Polish

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1 Introduction

Polish is the native language of most of the 38 million inhabitants of Poland and of some of the estimated 10 million Poles who live beyond the borders of Poland (including perhaps 1 million in the former Soviet Union).

Polish belongs to the Lechitic branch of the West Slavonic group, together with the extinct dialects of the Slavs who once inhabited the area between the lower and mid Oder and Elbe Rivers (see chapter 14). The recorded history of the Polish language is usually taken to begin with a papal bull to the Archbishop of Gniezno, dated 1136 but apparently forged some time between 1139 and 1146, the Latin text of which contains 410 Polish geographical and personal names. The oldest recorded Polish sentence dates from the thirteenth century and the oldest continuous text from the fourteenth century. By the beginning of the sixteenth century it is possible to speak of a more or less standardized literary language.

The literary language of the sixteenth century contained some features characteristic of the Wielkopolska dialect area of western Poland and others from the Małopolska area of south-eastern Poland, and the early history of the Polish state was connected with political–cultural–religious centres in both regions (Gniezno/Poznań and Cracow, respectively). Polish linguists therefore long argued about the dialect base of the literary language. Of late many have accepted the view, first fully articulated by Zdzisław Stieber in 1948, that both dialect areas contributed to the formation of the literary language, with conflicts between different variants resolved by the selection of that variant that was closer to Czech. The hypothesis of Czech as linguistic arbiter for Polish is connected with the strong influence of Czech language and culture starting in the tenth century, when Christianity came to Poland from Bohemia.

The Polish literary language has had a continuous development since its earliest period, although it had to compete with Latin in many functions until as late as the end of the eighteenth century. During the period of the partitions of Poland (1772–1918), the Poles resisted attempts at Russification and, in the Prussian zone, Germanization. The twentieth century, and especially the period since the Second World War, has brought about a

broadening of the social base of standard Polish with a concomitant decline in regional dialects, a vast increase in technical and specialized terminology (often internationalisms) and a loosening of many traditional norms, often in the direction of 'regularization' of pronunciation or inflection.

2   Phonology

2.1   Segmental phoneme inventory

Polish has seven vowel phonemes and thirty-three consonantal phonemes, which are given in table 12.1 in their usual orthographic representation (with one exception discussed below). Palatals differ from the corresponding alveolars in having a longer constriction (which may extend from the alveolar ridge to the mediopalatum) and one that is formed by the body of the tongue rather than by its blade. Palatalized labials have a primary labial constriction with a simultaneous raising of the tongue towards the hard palate. The velar glide *ł* is actually labio-velar with two constrictions (IPA [w]).

The inventory given here reflects a set of partly interrelated decisions about some matters on which there is no firm consensus: (a) to treat the semi-high, retracted front vowel represented by orthographic y as an allophone of /i/; (b) to treat the fronted (post-palatal) variants of the velars as allophones of the latter; (c) to recognize the existence of palatalized labials rather than treating them as sequences of (allophonically palatalized) labial plus /j/ (a common realization); (d) to recognize the existence of nasal vowel phonemes rather than treating them as sequences of oral vowel plus some other segment.

The labio-velar glide /ł/ functions less like the palatal glide /j/ and more like the dental lateral it once was (and still is for a small number of speakers). Thus, unlike /j/, but like the alveolar lateral /l/, it can appear as the first element of a word-initial cluster (*łza* 'tear', *lśni* 'shines') or as the last element of a word-final cluster (*szedł* 'he was going', *myśl* 'thought'). It also alternates with /l/ while /j/ does not enter into any alternations.

The palatals /ś, ź, ć, dź, ń/ are spelled with the acute accent when not followed by vowels; before vowels they are spelled si, zi, ci, dzi, ni. If the vowel is /i/, the letter i represents the vowel and simultaneously serves this diacritic function. Thus nominative *koń* 'horse', instrumental plural *końmi*, but genitive singular *konia* [końa] and genitive plural *koni* [końi]. The palatalized labials occur only before vowels and are always spelled as digraphs (*miasto* 'city' [m'asto] or [m'jasto]). The spellings ki, gi, chi represent fronted (post-palatal) allophones of the corresponding velars, and the spelling li represents a palatalized allophone of /l/ (which only occurs before /i/).

Table 12.1 Polish segmental phonemes

Vowels

	Oral		Nasal	
High	i	u		
Lower-mid	e	o	ę	ǫ (orthographic ą)
Low		a		

Consonants

	Bilabial non-palatalized	palatalized	Labio-dental non-palatalized	palatalized	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar
Voiceless stops	p	pi			t			k
Voiced stops	b	bi			d			g
Voiceless fricatives			f	fi	s	sz	ś	ch
Voiced fricatives			w	wi	z	ż	ź	
Voiceless affricates					c	cz	ć	
Voiced affricates					dz	dż	dź	
Nasals	m	mi			n		ń	
Laterals						l		
Trills						r		
Glides							j	ł

As a vowel symbol the letter i represents the basic variant of the phoneme /i/, which can occur everywhere but after hard (non-palatal and non-palatalized) consonants; after hard consonants the allophone spelled with the letter y appears. After a vowel it represents /ji/ (genitive singular *szyi* [šyji] ‹ *szyja* 'neck'). After a consonant in words of non-Polish origin it can represent /j/ (*Maria* 'Mary', spelled *Marja* until 1936) or even /ij/ (*biologia* [b'jolog'ja] or [b'ijolog'ja] 'biology'). In less assimilated foreign words the spelling consonant plus i can represent a palatalized dental or alveolar consonant followed by [i] (*sinus* [s'inus] 'sine' versus older *synteza* 'synthesis'; *Chile* (č'ile]).

Palatalized dentals and alveolars also occur allophonically in native words at word boundary before a word-initial /i/ or /j/ (*już idziemy* [juš'idźemy] 'we're leaving right now') and at prefix boundary before a root-initial /i/ or /j/ (*zirytować* (PRFV) [z'i-] 'annoy, irritate').

In words of native origin the velar stops are replaced by their fronted variants before the vowels /e/ and /i/, giving the spellings kie, gie, ki, gi instead of ke, ge, ky, gy (compare forms of the adjectives 'new' and 'Polish': *nowy, nowe* (M, N, NOM SG) versus *polski, polskie*). The velar fricative is not affected by following vowels (compare the parallel adjective forms *cichy, ciche* 'quiet') except in verbal derivation (*przepisywać* (IMPFV) 'rewrite' versus *podsłuchiwać* 'eavesdrop'). In non-native words all three velars are replaced by post-palatal variants before /i/ but are normally preserved as velars before /e/ (*gitara* 'guitar', *kelner* 'waiter').

Most speakers pronounce orthographic ch and h identically as a voiceless velar fricative, but some distinguish h as voiced.

The letters ę and ą represent the nasal vowel phonemes /ę/ and /ǫ/, respectively. Their phonetic realization depends on the following segment. Before /l/ and /ł/ they are pronounced without nasal resonance as [e] and [o]. (They do not occur before /r/ or /j/.) Before stops and affricates they are pronounced as a sequence of oral vowel plus homorganic nasal consonant (labial in *tępy* [tempy] 'dull', palatalized labial in *rąbie* [rom'b'e] 'chops', dental in *piąty* [p'onty] 'fifth', alveolar in *pączek* [ponček] 'doughnut', pre-palatal in *pięć* [p'eńć] 'five', post-palatal in *węgiel* [veŋ'g'el] 'coal', velar in *ręka* [renka] 'hand'). It is only before a fricative (and for ǫ in word-final position) that ę and ǫ are pronounced as asynchronous nasal vowels, that is, [eŭ] and [oŭ]. Word-final ę is normally pronounced without nasal resonance [e] and there is a growing tendency to pronounce ę and ǫ before continuants and ǫ in word-final position as non-nasal diphthongs [eŭ], [oŭ].

In non-native words in position before a fricative the combination vowel plus nasal consonant can be pronounced as an asynchrous nasal vowel (*tramwaj* [traŭvaj] 'tram, streetcar', *instytut* [iŭstytut] 'institute'). In native words the palatal nasal is realized as a nasalized palatal glide before fricatives (*tańszy* [taj̃šy] 'cheaper') and as [jn] or [jɲ] before non-fricatives

(*gońca* (GEN) [gojnca] 'courier', *kończyć* [kojṇčyć] 'finish').

The digraphs au, eu represent diphthongs identical to *ał, eł* (*auto* [aŭto], *Europa* [eŭropa]). The combination rz represents the two consonants [r] plus [z] in some roots (*marznąć* 'freeze'); more frequently it spells the voiced alveolar fricative otherwise represented by ż. The spelling difference reflects the historical difference between a palatalization of /r/ (for rz) and of /g/ or /z/ (for ż). There is also a synchronic difference in behaviour with respect to assimilation (see below). The orthographic distinction of u and ó (both [u]) also reflects etymology: u ‹ /u/ versus ó ‹ /ō/. The spellings rz and ó have morphological motivation in some words but not in others. Compare *morze* 'sea' and *morski* 'maritime' or *ogród* (NOM), *ogrodu* (GEN) 'garden' versus *brzeg* 'shore' or *król* 'king' with no related forms containing /r/ or /o/, respectively.

The combinations dz, dź (or dzi) and dż can represent both unit phonemes and clusters (compare *nadzieja* [nadźeja] 'hope' and *nadziemny* [nad´źemny] or [nadźźemny] 'superterrestrial').

The letter n before /k/ and /g/ represents the velar nasal [ŋ] except in words in which the cluster /nk/ is broken up by an inserted vowel in some form. Compare *bank* [baŋk] but *szminka* [šm´inka] 'lipstick' (because of genitive plural *szminek*). The restriction does not apply in the Cracow variant of the standard language (compare Cracovian [šm´iŋka]).

Non-high vowels are raised when preceded or followed by soft (palatal or palatalized consonants), and consonants adjust their point of articulation to following consonants (dental to alveolar in *drzewo* [dževo] 'tree', dental to palatal in *zdziwić* [źdźiv´ić] 'surprise'). The vowel assimilations are not reflected in spelling; the consonant assimilations, only partially (for example s › ś in *ściskać* 'squeeze'). See also the comments on voicing assimilation below.

In word-final position before pause neither palatalized consonants nor the post-palatal variants of velar consonants occur. Voiced obstruents are replaced by their voiceless counterparts. In other environments the voicing of obstruents can depend on the following segment(s). In an obstruent cluster (within a single word or not) regressive assimilation applies: *wódka* [vutka] 'vodka', *las brzozowy* [lazbžozovy] 'birch forest'. The two consonants spelled rz and w behave exceptionally by assimilating – within a morpheme – to a preceding voiceless obstruent: *przez* [pšes] 'through', *kwaśny* [kfaśny] 'sour'. In the case of /w/ the unassimilated version also occurs (as a normative variant in the Wielkopolska region, for example Poznań): [kvaśny]. Beyond the boundaries of a single morpheme rz and w cause normal regressive assimilation: *członek rządu* [čuonegžondu] 'government member', *jak wicher* [jagv´ixer] 'like a whirlwind'.

When a word ending in an obstruent is followed by a word beginning with a vowel or resonant, the result depends on geography. In Warsaw the obstruent is voiceless, while in Cracow and Poznań it is voiced: *brat/sąsiad*

ojca (*Ryśka*) 'my father's (Rysiek's) brother/neighbour' is pronounced [brat]/[sǫśat] (Warsaw) or [brad]/[sǫśad] (Cracow/Poznań). A preposition is part of the same phonological word as the following noun, thus *bez ojca* 'without my father' or *bez Ryśka* 'without Rysiek' are pronounced as written in both areas. Various verbal clitics, including the imperative clitics and – in dialects – the personal clitics (see sections 3.2.1 and 4.1), are not part of the phonological word, so there is a geographic split, for example, between two versions of *chodźmy* 'let's go': [xoćmy] (Warsaw) and [xodźmy] (Cracow/Poznań).

The two short **nasal vowels** of Proto-Slavonic (front and back) coalesced in Old Polish into a single short nasal vowel, spelled ø; the two long nasal vowels similarly gave a single long nasal vowel, spelled øø. Old Polish also acquired new long vowels through contraction and compensation for lost syllables. In the contemporary standard language the reflex of the short nasal vowel is /ę/; the reflex of the long nasal vowel is /ǫ/ (orthographic ą). The Proto-Slavonic distinction of front versus back nasals is reflected in the character of the preceding consonant. Compare

OCS	mǫžь	bǫdǫ	vъzęti	pętь
Polish	mąż	będę	wziąć	pięć
	'husband'	'I will be'	'to take'	'five'

Proto-Slavonic reduced vowels (**jers**) in weak position were lost, while strong *jers* gave /e/; the character of the preceding consonant reflects the difference between a front *jer* (*pies* (NOM), *psa* (GEN) 'dog') and a back *jer* (*sen* (NOM), *sna* (GEN) 'sleep; dream'). The development of Proto-Slavonic syllabic liquids, on the other hand, was extremely complicated in Polish (together with Sorbian and Polabian) since the nature of the preceding and following consonant (designated C) affected the results:

1   CrC › CarC: *targ* 'market';
2   ClC and C$l̑$C › CluC when C$_1$ is a dental: *tłusty* 'fat';
3   C$ȓ$C was affected by the second consonant, other ClC groups were affected by the first consonant, and other C$l̑$C groups were affected by both consonants.

   (a)   C$ȓ$C › CarC when C$_2$ is a hard dental: *martwy* 'dead';
   (b)   C$ȓ$C › CirC › CerC when C$_2$ is a soft dental: *śmierć* 'death';
   (c)   C$ȓ$C › CirzC › CerzC when C$_2$ is a non-dental: *wierzba* 'willow';
   (d)   ClC › C$eł$C when C$_1$ is a velar: *kiełbasa* 'sausage';
   (e)   ClC › C$eł$C, C$uł$C or C$oł$C when C$_1$ is a labial: *Świętopełk* (personal name), *pułk* 'regiment'; *mołwa* › *mowa* 'speech';
   (f)   C$l̑$C › C$eł$C when C$_1$ is a labial, C$_2$ is a hard dental: *wełna*

'wool', *CłC* › *CilC* when C_1 is a labial, C_2 is some other consonant: *wilk* 'wolf';

(g) *CłC* › *CełC* › *CołC* (› *CółC*) when C_1 is *č* or *ž*: *żółty* 'yellow'.

The Proto-Slavonic **liquid diphthongs** simply metathesized in Polish: *droga* (‹ *dorga) 'road', *głowa* (‹ *golva) 'head', *drzewo* (‹ *dervo) 'tree', *mleko* (‹ *melko) 'milk'. Exceptions are due to later Polish developments, for example *ō* › *ó* in *wróg* (‹ *vorgŭ) 'enemy (poetic)', or to borrowings from Czech (*straż* 'guard' beside native *stróż* 'watchman') or from East Slavonic (*czereśnia* 'cherry' beside Old Polish *trześnia*). Word-initial liquid diphthongs with an acute intonation gave *ra-*, *ła-* (*radło* 'plow', *łabędź* 'swan'), while such diphthongs with a circumflex intonation gave *ro-*, *ło-* (*robota* 'work', *łokieć* 'elbow').

Polish does not make phonemic use of pitch accent, and word stress is normally fixed on the penultimate syllable. Secondary stress is initial in non-compounds (*stòwarzyszénie* 'society') but in compounds it falls on the penultimate syllable of the first half of the compound (*powièściopisarz* 'novelist'). Orthoepic norms recognize several categories of exceptions to the principle of penultimate main stress, including antepenultimate stress in some noun forms (*gramátyka* (NOM SG) but regular *gramatykámi* (INST PL) 'grammar') and plural past verb forms (*czytáliśmy* 'we were reading'), and ante-antepenultimate stress in plural conditional forms (*czytálibyśmy* 'we would have read').

Since at least the immediate post-war period, however, there has been an ever-growing tendency to eliminate these exceptions by generalizing penultimate stress. Pronunciations of the type *czytaliśmy* and *gramatýka* have become dominant among speakers born since the Second World War. At the same time a competing tendency to word-initial stress, first observed in emotional–rhetorical style in the 1930s, has made such inroads that for many speakers the penultimate stress has become a secondary stress.

The Old Polish phonemic opposition of **long and short vowels** persisted until about the first quarter of the sixteenth century. It survives in rudimentary form in northern Cassubian. Many other dialects, however, show qualitative oppositions as reflexes of the earlier quantitative opposition. In the literary language the opposition of back and front nasal vowels continues the Old Polish opposition of long and short nasals, respectively, and the grapheme *ó* for /u/ represents the reflex of an earlier /ō/. The nineteenth-century literary language also had a reflex of /ē/, spelled *é* and pronounced [y].

2.2 Morphophonemic alternations inherited from Proto-Slavonic

Table 12.2 shows Polish consonant alternations (represented in normal orthography). Column I shows the reflexes of the second velar palatalization; column II, the reflexes of consonant plus front vowel. The vowels

that caused the second velar palatalization had the same effect on non-velars as any other front vowel, so column II is identical to column I for non-velars (and for *ch*, since in West Slavonic the first and second palatalizations of *x* gave the same result). Column III shows the reflexes of consonant plus *j*, which differ from those of column II only for dentals. (Note the possible relics of an epenthetic *l* from labial plus *j* in such words as *kropla* 'drop'.)

The table defines alternations with respect to roots rather than in terms of 'surface' alternations. Thus, for example, the alternation *płacić* 'to pay' versus *płacę* 'I pay' represents the two alternations *t/ć* and *t/c* rather than *ć/c* (compare *płata* 'payment'). This is only a problem where the root form is absent from the contemporary language, as in a number of cases in which the surface alternation is *c/cz* or *dz/ż* and there is no extant form with a final velar (*chłopiec* 'boy'/ *chłopczyk* (DIMIN)).

In what follows consonant alternations will be referred to in terms of 'hard' and 'soft' consonants, meaning the consonants that are found as left-hand or right-hand members, respectively, of pairs in table 12.2. This traditional terminology is convenient, but the reader should remember that the class of morphophonemically soft consonants includes both synchronically soft (palatal and palatalized) consonants and synchronically hard consonants that were once soft.

Hard consonants represent root consonants. Soft consonants from column I appear in noun declension (masculine and neuter locative singular, feminine dative/locative singular and masculine-personal nominative plural) as well as in adjective declension (masculine-personal nominative plural). The alternation *k/c* appears in the derivation of three adverbs; otherwise adverb derivation could be associated with column II.

Soft consonants from column II appear in masculine vocative forms and exceptionally in three locative plural forms: *we Włoszech* 'in Italy', *w Niemczech* 'in Germany' and *na Węgrzech* 'in Hungary'. They also appear in adjectival and adverbial comparison and in derivation. In conjugation they appear in the second and third person singular and first and second person plural non-past of the first and second conjugation (see section 3.2.2) and in the passive participle of the second conjugation.

Soft consonants from column III appear in derivation (including the derivation of imperfectives from first-conjugation perfectives) and in conjugation: in the entire non-past of the third conjugation, in the first person singular and third person plural non-past and the passive participle of the first conjugation, and in the masculine-personal form of the passive participle of the second conjugation (for some verbs).

Some alternations that are not listed in the table (*ch/ś, sz/ś* and the exceptional *ż/ź* and *dx/dź*) are the result of later analogies (see section 2.3). There are also some inherited alternations that are less general: *t/s, d/s, k/c, g/c* in forming infinitives (*plotę* 'I braid'/*pleść* 'to braid', *piekę* 'I

Table 12.2   Polish consonant alternations

I	II	III
t/ć d/dź s/ś z/ż st/śc zd/źdź		t/c d/dz s/sz z/ż st/szcz zd/żdż
	p/pi b/bi f/fi w/wi m/mi n/ń ł/l r/rz ch/sz	
k/c g/dz sk/sc zg/zdz	k/cz g/ż sk/szcz zg/żdż	

bake'/*piec* 'to bake'); *h/ż* in declension and derivation involving three roots; and the alternation between nasal consonants and nasal vowels in conjugation (*zacznę* 'I will begin'/*zacząć* 'to begin').

Polish inherited **vowel–zero alternations** as the result of the loss of weak *jers* and the vocalization of strong *jers*. These alternations show up in noun declension: masculine nominative singular versus other cases (*pies* (NOM SG)/*psa* (GEN SG) 'dog'), feminine genitive plural versus other cases (*matek* (GEN PL)/*matka* (NOM SG) 'mother'), feminine *i*-stem nominative/ accusative singular versus other cases (*marchew* (NOM SG)/*marchwi* (GEN SG) 'carrot'), neuter genitive plural versus other cases (*den* (GEN PL)/*dno* (NOM SG) 'bottom'); in some adjectival and numeral forms (masculine singular predicative form *godzien*/masculine nominative singular attributive form *godny* 'worthy', *jeden* (M NOM SG)/*jedna* (F NOM SG) 'one', non-masculine personal *osiem*/masculine personal *ośmiu* '8'); in verbal prefixes (*odesłać* (PRFV)/*odsyłać* (IMPFV) 'send away'); in prepositions (*ze szkła* 'from glass'/*z szeregu* 'from the line'); in past-tense forms of verbs (*byłem* (1 M) (*był* + (*e*)*m*)/*byłam* (1 F) (*była* + *m*)) 'I was', (*wysechł* (3 M)/ *wyschła* (3 F) '(it) dried up'); and in derivation (diminutive *bluzeczka*/ *bluzka* 'blouse', *jabłecznik* 'apple cake'/*jabłko* 'apple').

Historical reflexes have sometimes been modified by analogy: *szewc* (NOM)/*szewca* (GEN) 'shoemaker' for historically 'correct' **szwec/szewca*

and, in the opposite direction, *szmer* (NOM)/*szmeru* (GEN) 'murmur' for *szmer*/*szemru*. In some forms an ahistorical vowel–zero alternation has been introduced, as in the following nominative/genitive singular pairs: *ogień*/*ognia* 'fire' for *ogń*/*ognia*, *Luter*/*Lutra* '(Martin) Luther'. Alternations of zero with /o/ and /i/ are a result of later changes (see section 2.3).

Another kind of vowel–zero alternation is the reflex of a Proto-Slavonic quantitative alternation in verbal derivation. Compare the following perfective and imperfective forms: *umrę* 'I will die'/*umieram* 'I am dying', *zapcham* 'I will fill'/*zapycham* 'I am filling', *przetnę* 'I will cut'/*przecinam* 'I am cutting'. The same quantitative alternation gave rise to the perfective/imperfective o(ó)/a alternation in *zarobić*/*zarabiać* 'earn' or *wrócić*/*wracać* 'return'.

2.3   Morphophonemic alternations resulting from changes after Proto-Slavonic

Some additional (but limited) **consonantal alternations** have been introduced into Polish as a result of analogy. Presumably on the basis of the s/ś alternation in masculine-personal nominative plural forms of nouns and adjectives, *sz* (whether original or from *ch*) was replaced in those forms by ś: *nasz* (M NOM SG)/*nasi* (M-PERS NOM PL) (‹ *naszy*) 'our', similarly *starszy* (and all other synthetic comparatives)/*starsi* (‹ *starszy*) 'older', *cichy*/*cisi* (‹ *ciszy*) 'quiet', *mnich* (NOM SG)/*mnisi* (NOM PL) (‹ *mniszy*) 'monk'. The new sz/ś alternation also occurs in derivation (*mysz* 'mouse'/*mysi* 'mouse's'), as does the ch/ś alternation, albeit inconsistently (*mnich*/*mnisi* or *mniszy* 'monk's'). The alternations ż/ź, dz/dź and g/ź occur in single words.

Certain vowel alternations characteristic of Polish appeared as a consequence of earlier quantitative alternations, as a result of the Lechitic backing of non-high front vowels before hard dentals, or as the effect of contractions. In standard Polish the **opposition of long and short vowels** was preserved only as a qualitative opposition and only in two pairs. The result is a potential alternation between closed syllables containing ą or ó (from the long nasal vowel and long ō, respectively) and open syllables containing ę or o (from the corresponding short vowels). This alternation shows up both in inflection *mąż* (NOM SG)/*męża* (GEN SG) 'husband', *rąk* (GEN PL)/*ręka* (NOM SG) 'hand', *zajął* (3 M PAST)/*zajęła* (3 F PAST) 'occupied') and in derivation (*rączka* (DIMIN) ‹ *ręka*, *dąb* 'oak' › *dębowy* 'made of oak'). Examples for ó/o include *nóż* (NOM SG)/*noża* (GEN SG) 'knife', *szkół* (GEN PL)/*szkoła* (NOM SG) 'school', *niósł* (3 M PAST)/*niosła* (3 F PAST) 'carried', *nóżka* (DIMIN) ‹ *noga* 'foot'. Both alternations are far from regular, with many examples of ą and ó in open syllables (*świątynia* 'shrine', *ogródek* 'garden') and of ę and o in closed syllables (*gęś* 'goose', *dozorca* 'caretaker').

The prehistoric Lechitic change of *e* to *o* and *ě* to *a* before what were then hard dentals has left Modern Polish with alternations of *o(ó)* or *a* before *t, d, s, z, n, r, ł* versus *e* before *ć, dź, ś, ź, ń, rz, l*. The alternations are present both in inflection *świat* ((NOM)/*świecie* (LOC) 'world', *kościół* (NOM)/*kościele* (LOC) 'church', *wiozę* (1 SG PRS)/*wieziesz* (2 SG PRS) 'transport', *siedziały* (3 NON-M-PERS PAST)/*siedzieli* (3 M-PERS PAST)) and in derivation (*miara* 'measure'/*mierzyć* 'measure', *zielony* 'green'/*zieleń* 'vegetation'). The alternations are fairly regular in verbal inflection and derivation, much less so elsewhere.

In some words the alternation occurs even though the historically soft dental that 'preserved' the front vowel was subsequently depalatalized: *wiatr* (NOM)/*wietrze* (LOC) 'wind'. The alternation was introduced by analogy in some cases (*wlokę* (1 SG PRS)/*wleczesz* (2 SG) 'drag') and lost in many more (*rozdział* (NOM)/*rozdziale* (LOC) 'chapter' but *rozdzielić* 'divide'). Sometimes alternative forms exist (*kwiaciarnia* (Warsaw)/*kwieciarnia* (Cracow) 'flower shop' ‹ *kwiat/kwiecie* (LOC) 'flower').

The historical development of a class of borrowed words in which a shift in stress led to the loss of a syllable ([marýja] › [màryja] › current [màrja], orthographic *Maria*) introduced a new alternation between zero and *i/y*, which appears mostly in derivation: *Rosja* 'Russia'/*rosyjski* 'Russian', but also *lekcja* (NOM SG)/*lekcyj* (GEN PL) (more commonly: *lekcji*).

3   Morphology

3.1   Nominal morphology

3.1.1   Nominal categories

The modern **number system** distinguishes singular and plural, with relics of the Old Polish dual preserved in the declension of *ręka* 'hand', *ucho* 'ear', *oko* 'eye' and *dwa* '2'. A few dialects preserve dual forms with dual meaning (mostly in conjugation); much more common are remnants of dual endings with plural meaning.

Polish has preserved the full inherited **case system**, including the vocative, but there is a growing tendency to use the nominative instead of the vocative for personal names. The vocative is consistently used with titles and with personal names when they are used as part of a vocative phrase (*panie Janku* 'Janek (less familiar than first name alone)', *kochana Basiu* 'dear Basia').

The nominal **gender system** distinguishes as its primary categories masculine, feminine and neuter, with masculine nouns further divided on the basis of two semantically based categories into animate/inanimate and personal/non-personal. The basic three-way distinction is manifested primarily through syntactic means (agreement and anaphora), although

particular declensional paradigms are associated with each gender. Animacy is manifested both paradigmatically and syntactically. The accusative singular of animate masculine nouns belonging to the 'typically masculine' paradigm is the same as the genitive. This is seconded by agreeing adjectives; this syncretism by agreement is the only manifestation of animacy for masculine nouns with nominative in -a (*znam tego psychiatrę.* 'I know that psychiatrist'). Animacy is relevant only in the singular, and the distinction of (masculine) personal and non-personal nouns is relevant only in the plural, where it has both syntactic (agreement, anaphora) and paradigmatic manifestations (accusative/genitive syncretism, special nominative plural endings). (Feminine and neuter nouns are grammatically non-personal.) Adjectives and third-person pronouns distinguish masculine, feminine and neuter paradigms in the singular and personal versus non-personal paradigms in the plural.

Although animacy is semantically based, there are several classes of semantically inanimate nouns (including units of money, names of dances and sports, brand names of cigarettes and automobiles) and some individual nouns that show the accusative/genitive syncretism in the singular (*grać w tenisa* 'play tennis', *kupić fiata* 'buy a Fiat', *zapalić giewonta* 'light up a Giewont'). This is a growing category; any masculine count noun with genitive singular in *a* is a potential member.

Within the class of masculine-personal nouns there are some pejorative terms (*łobuz* 'scoundrel', *cham* 'boor') that normally have non-personal endings and agreement but maintain accusative/genitive syncretism in the plural. Mixed agreement is also possible, with verbs and anaphoric pronouns showing personal forms but the noun itself and modifying determiners or adjectives showing non-personal forms:

Te łajdaki nie chcieli włączyć klimatyzacji.
Those good-for-nothings didn't want to turn the air conditioner on.

Most personal nouns can be 'depersonalized' for emotional effect, usually pejorative (*te inżyniery* 'those (lousy) engineers'), but occasionally positive (*te Warszawiaki* 'those (great) Warsaw guys').

Polish also has two types of common-gender nouns. The traditional type (*gaduła* 'chatterbox') takes agreement according to the sex of the person referred to (although emotionally marked feminine agreement is possible when the person is male). A newer type includes traditionally masculine nouns referring to professions (*profesor*). They can (but need not) show feminine agreement when referring to a woman. For the newer type referential agreement is more common for verbal forms and anaphoric pronouns, less common with adjectives. Nouns of this class become indeclinable when referring to women, regardless of agreement patterns.

Aside from *jeden* 'one', which displays adjective-like declension and

agreement, and its compounds, which are indeclinable, numerals all distinguish masculine-personal and non-masculine-personal forms (*dziesięciu/ dziesięć* '10'). The numeral '2' and its compounds make more distinctions: *dwaj* or *dwóch* (M PERS), *dwie* (F), *dwa* (N and M NON-PERS).

3.1.2 Noun morphology

Masculine *o*-stems can be represented by *gród* 'medieval castle':

NOM	gród	grody
VOC	grodzie	grody
ACC	gród	grody
GEN	grodu	grodów
DAT	grodowi	grodom
INST	grodem	grodami
LOC	grodzie	grodach

The accusative singular of inanimate nouns is identical to the nominative; for animate nouns it is identical to the genitive. (But see section 3.1.1.) The genitive singular ending is *-a* for all animate nouns (except *wół* 'ox' and *bawół* 'buffalo', which take *-u*) and for many inanimate nouns. Most inanimate nouns take *-u*. There are some rules of thumb, for example Polish city names normally take *-a*, while abstract nouns and mass nouns take *-u*. The dative singular ending for almost all nouns is *-owi*; thirteen animate nouns (including *ojciec* 'father' and *pies* 'dog') take *-u*. The locative and vocative singular partially reflect the historical distinction of hard and soft stems: stems in hard consonants (except for velars) take the ending *-e*, which causes the column I alternation; stems in soft consonants and velars add *-u* (*mąż, mężu* 'husband'; *rok, roku* 'year'). A few nouns distinguish locative and vocative singular (*ojciec, ojcu* (LOC), *ojcze* (VOC)).

The nominative plural has the greatest variety of endings: *-e* for most nouns in soft consonants (*hotel, hotele*), masculine-personal nouns in *-anin* (*Rosjanin, Rosjanie* 'Russian' – note the loss of *-in* in such nouns throughout the plural) and a few non-native nouns in *-ans* (*awans, awanse* 'advance'); *-owie* for some masculine-personal nouns (*król, królowie* 'king'); *-a* for a few nouns (*cud, cuda* 'miracle'); and *-i/-y* for all the rest (*kruk, kruki*, 'raven'; *kot, koty* 'cat') with masculine-personal nouns replacing a hard consonant with the corresponding soft consonant from column I (*student, studenci*).

The accusative plural of masculine-personal nouns is identical to the genitive; for other nouns it is identical to the nominative. The genitive plural ending for nouns ending in hard consonants is *-ów*. Nouns ending in soft consonants take *-ów* or *-i/-y*, sometimes both (*król, królów*; *nauczyciel, nauczycieli* 'teacher'; *tłuszcz, tłuszczów/tłuszczy* 'fat'). Nouns in *-anin* drop *-in* and add *-ów* or zero (*Amerykanin, Amerykanów*;

Rosjanin, Rosjan – note hard stem-final *n* rather than *ń* in all plural forms but the nominative). The instrumental plural ending for almost all nouns, irrespective of declension class, is *-ami*; twelve nouns take *-mi* (*koń, końmi* 'horse').

This declension type also includes: (a) expressive personal names in *-ko* and *-cho* (*Jaśko, Zdzicho*); (b) some nouns that are semantically and syntactically pluralia tantum but follow the animate singular version of this paradigm (*państwo* 'couple', accusative (*tych*) *państwa*, but dative (*tym*) *państwu*, locative (*tych*) *państwu*); and (c) miscellaneous morphological and syntactic *pluralia tantum* (*nudy*, genitive *nudów* 'boredom').

Vowel–zero alternations in this paradigm and those below are mentioned in section 2.2 above; the *ę/ą* and *o/ó* alternations and the much less common *e/o* and *e/a* alternations, in section 2.3. One additional alternation involves labials: stems in a palatalized labial replace it with a plain labial in word-final position (*paw* (NOM), *pawia* (GEN) 'peacock') since palatalized labials occur only before vowels.

Neuter *o*-stems can be represented by *miasto* 'city':

NOM	miasto	miasta
VOC	miasto	miasta
ACC	miasto	miasta
GEN	miasta	miast
DAT	miastu	miastom
INST	miastem	miastami
LOC	mieście	miastach

The nominative, accusative and vocative singular partially reflect the historical distinction of hard and soft stems: stems in hard consonants end in *-o*; stems in soft consonants, in *-e* (*serce* 'heart'). Similarly in the locative singular: stems in hard consonants (except for velars) take the ending *-e*, which causes the column I alternation; stems in soft consonants and velars add *-u* (*serce, sercu; biurko, biurku* 'desk'). The genitive plural ending for nouns ending in hard consonants is zero. Nouns ending in soft consonants take zero or *-i/-y* (*serce, serc; narzędzie, narzędzi* 'tool'). The instrumental plural ending is *-ami* for all nouns but *dziecko* 'child' (*dziećmi*).

This paradigm also includes nouns in *-um* derived from Latin, which are indeclinable in the singular but follow the above paradigm (except for genitive plural in *-ów*) in the plural (*muzeum*, nominative plural *muzea*, genitive plural *muzeów*). Some *pluralia tantum* have the same *-ów* genitive (*cracoviana, cracovianów*); others have a zero ending (*usta, ust* 'mouth'). The two nouns *oko* 'eye' and *ucho* 'ear' have preserved their dual stems and some dual endings in their plural paradigm (nominative/accusative *oczy, uszy*; genitive *oczu, uszu*; instrumental *oczyma, uszyma* (beside

instrumental *oczami* and more common *uszami*)). Nouns of the types *jagnię* 'lamb' and *imię* 'name' follow the paradigm above but have alternating stems (*jagnięć-, imień-* in oblique cases in the singular and *jagnięt-, imion-* in all cases in the plural).

Feminine *a*-stems can be represented by *żona* 'wife':

NOM	żona	żony
VOC	żono	żony
ACC	żonę	żony
GEN	żony	żon
DAT	żonie	żonom
INST	żoną	żonami
LOC	żonie	żonach

The dative and locative singular partially reflect the historical distinction of hard and soft stems: stems in hard consonants (including velars) take the ending *-e*, which causes the column I alternation; stems in soft consonants add *-i/-y* (*dusza, duszy* 'soul'). The vocative singular ending is *-o* for all nouns except hypocoristics with stem ending in a palatal, which take *-u* (*Kasia, Kasiu*) or (optionally for bisyllabic stems) zero (*mamusia, mamuś/ mamusiu* 'mum').

The nominative plural ending for stems in hard consonants is *-i/-y*; for stems in soft consonants it is *e* (*dusze*). The accusative plural is identical to the nominative plural for both types of stems. The genitive plural ending for stems in hard consonants is zero; for stems in soft consonants it is *-i/-y* (*rzeźnia, rzeźni* 'slaughterhouse') or zero (*ciocia, cioć*) or both (*kawiarnia, kawiarni/kawiarń* 'cafe'); the ending *-i/-y* is expanding and zero is often felt to be archaic or bookish.

The locative plural for almost all nouns is *-ach*. Three *pluralia tantum* – usually assigned along with some others to this paradigm because of their zero ending in the genitive plural – take *-ech* (*Niemcy, Niemczech* 'Germany').

In addition to the vowel alternations mentioned previously, there is also a *ń/n* alternation in a few nouns that have optional zero-ending forms in the genitive plural (*suknia, sukien/sukni* 'dress').

Masculine *a*-stems, which designate (at least potentially) human males, are declined like feminine *a*-stems, except that the nominative plural shows column I alternations (*poeta, poeci* 'poet') or, for family names and some common nouns, the ending *-owie*. Some stems in soft consonants, like the corresponding feminines, taking the ending *-e* (*cieśla, cieśle* 'carpenter'). The type is productive because of the productivity of suffixes like *-ista* (*baasista* 'member of the Arabic Ba'ath party'). Polish family names in *-o* (*Fredro*) belong to this class, although in contemporary practice they are often not declined.

A special subclass consists of pejorative terms like *oferma* 'schlemiel', which have accusative plural identical to genitive plural like all masculine-personal nouns but have non-personal agreement and nominative plural forms (*te ofermy*). They also behave like feminine *a*-stems when referring to women and can do so when referring to men.

Feminine *ja*-stems with nominative singular in *-i* can be represented by *bogini* 'goddess':

NOM	bogini	boginie
VOC	bogini	boginie
ACC	boginię	boginie
GEN	bogini	bogiń
DAT	bogini	boginiom
INST	boginią	boginiami
LOC	bogini	boginiach

Polish has no cognate for OCS *rabynji*. The most common word declined according to this paradigm, *pani* 'you; Ms; woman', has the anomalous accusative singular *panią*.

Feminine *i*-stems can be represented by *kość* 'bone':

NOM	kość	kości
VOC	kości	kości
ACC	kość	kości
GEN	kości	kości
DAT	kości	kościom
INST	kością	kośćmi (versus regular *nocami* 'nights')
LOC	kości	kościach

The only variations in this paradigm involve the nominative plural, where most nouns (except for those in *-ość*) take the ending *-e* (*noc, noce* 'night'), and the instrumental plural, where a few nouns replace the regular ending *-ami* with *-mi*. *Pluralia tantum* in this declension class include *drzwi* 'door' and *dzieci* 'children' (the plural of the otherwise regular neuter *dziecko*). A few stems in soft labials end in a plain labial in the nominative/accusative singular (*brew*, genitive *brwi* 'eyebrow').

As can be seen from the above paradigms, Polish masculine nouns are found in the declensions corresponding to those of the historical *o*-, *jo*-, *a*- and *ja*-stems. Feminine nouns are found in the declensions corresponding to those of the historical *a*-, *ja*- (with nominative singular in *-a* or *-i*) and *i*-stems. Neuter nouns are found in those corresponding to *o*- and *jo*-stems.

Nouns representing the Old Church Slavonic minor declension types have joined major types. Masculine *i*-stems and consonant-stems have become *o*-stems (*gość* 'guest', *kamy* › *kamień* 'stone'), as have *u*-stems

(*syn* 'son'), which contributed endings to that declension (genitive singular *-u*, dative singular *-owi*, locative singular *-u*, nominative plural *-owie*, genitive plural *-ów*). Feminine consonant-stems have become *a-* or *i*-stems (*mati* › *mać* › *matka* 'mother', *kry* › *krew*, genitive *krwi* 'blood'). Neuter consonant-stems have become *o*-stems, leaving relics, however, in the form of the two types with nominative singular *-ę* and in derivation (*ciało* 'body' versus *cielesny* 'bodily').

3.1.3   Pronominal morphology

The **personal and reflexive/reciprocal pronouns** have the paradigms shown in table 12.3. Where more than one form is listed, the forms beginning with *n-* are used only after prepositions; the bisyllabic forms are the orthotonic variants (used only for contrast, emphasis and so forth); and the monosyllabic forms are the enclitic variants (used most frequently). The first person singular accusative/genitive *mię* is rare, being replaced by *mnie* even in enclitic use; the distinction between dative *mi* and *mnie* seems also to be breaking down, with both enclitic use of *mnie* and orthotonic use of *mi* being reported. The reflexive *se* is common in speech but is non-normative. The enclitic *się* is multifunctional; only rarely is it used in literal reflexive meaning, while its reciprocal meaning is less rare (see sections 3.2.1, 3.3.3 and 4.8).

The pronouns of non-familiar address follow noun paradigms: *pan*, plural *panowie* (to a man/men); *pani*, plural *panie* (to a woman/women); *państwo* (to a mixed group).

The **demonstrative** *tŭ › *ten* 'this, that' has joined the adjectival declension as one member of a small closed subset that includes some Proto-Slavonic pronominals as well as other elements. Its paradigm is as follows:

| | S | | | PL | |
	M	N	F	M-PERS	NON-M-PERS
NOM	ten	to	ta	ci	te
ACC	ten/tego	to	tę	tych	te
GEN	tego	tego	tej	tych	tych
DAT	temu	temu	tej	tym	tym
INST	tym	tym	tą	tymi	tymi
LOC	tym	tym	tej	tych	tych

In the masculine accusative singular inanimate nouns take *ten* and animate, *tego*. The subset of adjectives represented by *ten* is characterized by a zero ending in the masculine nominative singular: *tamten* and *ów* 'that', *sam* 'alone', *jeden* 'one', *niejeden* 'more than one', *wszystek* 'all' (in singular usually replaced by *cały* 'whole'), *pewien* 'a certain', *żaden* 'not a single', and the possessives *mój* 'my', *twój* 'your (SG)', *nasz* 'our', *wasz* 'your (PL)', *swój* (REFL), *czyj* 'whose' and *niczyj* 'no-one's'. The first six

Table 12.3 Personal and reflexive/reciprocal pronouns

NOM	ja 'I'	ty 'you (SG)'	on 'he, it'	ono 'it'	ona 'she, it'
ACC	(mię)/mnie	cię/ciebie	go/jego/niego	je/nie	ją/nią
GEN	(mię)/mnie	cię/ciebie	go/jego/niego	go/jego/niego	jej/niej
DAT	mi/mnie	ci/tobie	mu/jemu/niemu	mu/jemu/niemu	jej/niej
INST	mną	tobą	nim	nim	nią
LOC	mnie	tobie	nim	nim	niej

NOM	my 'we'	wy 'you (PL)'	oni 'they (M-PERS)'	one 'they (NON-M-PERS)'	(REFL)
ACC	nas	was	ich/nich	je/nie	się/siebie
GEN	nas	was	ich/nich	ich/nich	się/siebie
DAT	nam	wam	im/nim	im/nim	(se)/sobie
INST	nami	wami	nimi	nimi	sobą
LOC	nas	was	nich	nich	sobie

listed also have the ending *-o* for neuter nominative/accusative singular, while the rest have the usual adjectival ending *-e* (a remnant of the historical difference between hard- and soft-stem pronouns (OCS *to* versus *se*); see also section 3.1.4). Feminine accusative singular *tę* is anomalous; all other adjectives (including *tamten* and even *ten* in spoken Polish) have the normal adjectival ending *-ą*. The three possessives *mój, twój* and *swój*, which replace *ó* with *o* in all forms with endings, also have (bookish) shortened forms without the syllable *-oj-* in all cases but the nominative singular and masculine-personal nominative plural (*mej* (F LOC SG), *mych* (GEN PL)).

Three items from this subset also function syntactically as pronouns: *to* 'this, that' (with the neuter singular paradigm of *ten*), *wszystko* 'everything' (with the neuter singular paradigm of *wszystek*) and *wszyscy* 'everyone' (with the masculine-personal plural paradigm of *wszystek*).

The **interrogative and negative pronouns** *kto* 'who', *nikt* 'no-one', *co* 'what' and *nic* 'nothing' deviate from the adjectival declension in their nonoblique forms and in the preservation by *kto* and *nikt* of old hard-stem genitive and dative endings:

NOM	kto	nikt	co	nic
ACC	kogo	nikogo	co	nic
GEN	kogo	nikogo	czego	niczego/nic
DAT	komu	nikomu	czemu	niczemu
INST	kim	nikim	czym	niczym
LOC	kim	nikim	czym	niczym

The traditional use of *nic* as genitive of negation with verbs that govern the accusative versus *niczego* with verbs that govern the genitive has broken down and *niczego* is now often used in place of *nic.*

Other surviving Proto-Slavonic pronouns have simply become adjectives: *taki* 'such a', *inny* 'other', *cudzy* 'someone else's', *każdy* 'each'; *wszelki* 'all kinds of'.

Polish has three sets of **indefinite pronouns**. Adding *-ś* to an interrogative pronoun or other interrogative gives the meaning of lack of identification (through the speaker's ignorance or choice): *ktoś* 'someone', *gdzieś* 'somewhere'. Adding *-kolwiek, bądź* or *-kolwiek bądź* indicates that the speaker is indifferent – any X will do: *ktokolwiek* 'anyone at all', *gdzie bądź* 'anywhere at all'. Preposing *byle* or *lada* gives a meaning like the previous one but with a negative emotional connotation: *byle kto* 'any old person', *lada gdzie* 'in any old place'. (*Lada* is also used with time expressions: *lada chwila* 'any second now'.)

3.1.4 Adjectival morphology
Because of the contractions that took place in West Slavonic and the subse-

quent loss of length in Polish, reflexes of **long and short adjectival forms** are not always distinct in the modern language, for example feminine nominative singular *nowa* 'new' could be from either. Identifiable short forms were already rare in Old Polish and exist only as relics in the contemporary language. Masculine nominative singular forms are preserved in a few predicatives that have no corresponding long forms (*rad* 'glad', *wart* 'worth'); in some that alternate with more common long forms (*ciekaw* 'curious, inquisitive', *pewien* 'certain, convinced', and, as attributive with no long form, 'a certain'); and in some that are archaic or stylistically limited variants of long forms (*zdrów* 'healthy', *świadom* 'aware'). The two forms *winien* 'owe' and *powinien* 'ought' are part of verb-like paradigms: *winienem* or *jestem winien* 'I owe', *powinienem* 'I ought to', *powienien byłem* 'I should have' and so forth.

Neuter nominative singular forms are preserved as impersonal predicates: *warto* 'it's worth ...', *pełno* 'there are lots of ...' Relics of oblique cases can be found in adverbials: *po polsku* 'in Polish', *z lekka* 'slightly'. The two major adverb formations are also based on neuter short forms: *cicho* 'quietly', *źle* 'badly'. Many of these can be used as impersonal predicates: *zimno* 'it's cold'.

Polish comparatives and participles follow normal adjectival paradigms.

The historical distinction of **hard- and soft-stem adjectives** has been neutralized. The differences between the paradigms of *nowy* 'new' and *tani* 'cheap' involve only the allophonic (and orthographic) alternation of *y* and *i*:

	S			PL	
	M	N	F	M-PERS	NON-M-PERS
NOM	nowy/tani	nowe/tanie	nowa/tania	nowi/tani	nowe/tanie
ACC	= NOM/GEN	nowe/tanie	nową/tanią	nowych/tanich	nowe/tanie
GEN	nowego/taniego		nowej/taniej	nowych/tanich	
DAT	nowemu/taniemu		nowej/taniej	nowym/tanim	
INST	nowym/tanim		nową/tanią	nowymi/tanimi	
LOC	nowym/tanim		nowej/taniej	nowych/tanich	

Stems in *k* and *g* have the fronted velar before endings beginning with *i* or *e* (*krótki* (M NOM SG), *krótkiego* (GEN) and so on 'short').

The masculine-personal nominative plural is characterized by the column I alternation; by analogy *sz/ś*, *ch/ś*, and – in one word – *ż/ź* also occur (see section 2.3). This may be accompanied by the *o/e* alternation (*wesoły*, *weseli* 'merry', but *zielony*, *zieloni* 'green'); it is regular in passive participles, which follow the adjectival paradigm (*gryziony*, *gryzieni* 'bitten').

Comparative forms of adjective are built with the suffix -(*ej*)*szy* or analytically with *bardziej*. The superlative is formed by adding the prefix

naj- to either kind of comparative: *nowszy/najnowszy* 'newer/newest', *smutniejszy/najsmutniejszy* 'sadder/saddest', *bardziej chory/najbardziej chory* 'sicker/sickest'. Analytic comparatives can be formed in principle from any adjective, but are normal with deverbal adjectives (*interesujący* 'interesting', *opalony* 'suntanned'), relational adjectives used qualitatively (*żelazny* 'iron(clad), firm'), and some others. The suffix *-szy* is normally used with stems in a single consonant (*nowy, nowszy*) or with the suffixes *-k-, -ek-, -ok-*, which drop in the comparative (*słodki, słodszy* 'sweet'); otherwise *-ejszy* is normally used (but note *prosty, protszy* 'simple; *twardy, twardszy* 'hard'). For some adjectives both forms exist (*czysty, czystszy/ czyściejszy* 'clean'). The suffix *-ejszy* causes column II alternations; *-szy* causes only *g/ż, ł/l,* and *n/ń* plus potential vowel alternations (*wesoły, weselszy*). There are also isolated alternations (*lekki, lżejszy* 'light') and suppletive comparatives (*dobry, lepszy* 'good').

Analytic comparatives and superlatives of inferiority are formed with (*naj*)*mniej*: *mniej/najmniej zdolny* 'less/least talented'.

Those adjectives from which **adverbs** can be derived form them with the suffixes *-e* or *-o*. The suffix *-o* occurs with stems in soft consonants, with most unsuffixed stems, with stems in velars and with stems in certain suffixes (*-aty, -owaty, -owy*). The suffix *-e* is added to stems in *-ny* (whether a suffix or part of one), *-ły, -liwy.* It causes column I alternations. Variants in *-o* and *-e* sometimes coexist, often with different functions: *smutno* used as an impersonal predicate (*smutno mi* (DAT) 'I'm sad') versus *smutnie* as a verb modifier (*smutnie śpiewasz* 'you're singing sadly').

Some adjectives have related 'phraseological' adverbs consisting of a preposition plus the appropriate case form, often (historically speaking) of the short declension (*po staremu* 'in the old way', *z angielska* 'with an English accent').

Adverb comparatives and superlatives are formed analytically with (*naj*)*bardziej* or synthetically with the suffix *-ej* (and the prefix *naj-* for the superlative). The suffix causes column II alternations and causes the suffixes *-k-, -ek-* and *-ok-* to drop: *łatwo, łatwiej* 'easily'; *rzadko, rzadziej* 'rarely'. There are numerous irregular comparatives (*krótko, krócej* 'briefly') and some suppletive forms (*dobrze, lepiej* 'well').

In **comparative constructions**, with adjectives or adverbs, the terms of comparison can be joined by *niż* 'than':

Janek jest milszy niż Piotr.
'Janek is nicer than Piotr.'
Piotr pływa lepiej niż Janek.
'Piotr swims better than Janek.'

Such sentences, however, are more bookish than their equivalents with *od* plus genitive:

Janek jest milszy od Piotra.
Piotr pływa lepiej od Janka.

The construction with *od* is possible only when (a) the terms of comparison are noun phrases and (b) the first term is either the grammatical subject of the sentence or the logical subject of the comparative. Thus *niż* cannot be replaced with *od* in

Bardziej lubię czytać niż rozmawiać.
'I like to read more than to talk.'
Basia jest lepszą tancerką niż śpiewaczką.
'Basia is a better dancer than a singer.'

In the former the terms of comparison are infinitives, while in the latter the terms of comparison are *dancer* and *singer*, but *better* is predicated of *Basia* (as a dancer). In the following sentence the terms of comparison are *city* and *Cracow*, with *smaller* predicated of *city*:

Mieszkałem w mieście mniejszym od Krakowa.
'I lived in a city smaller than Cracow.'

The *niż* that alternates with *od* takes the nominative, while non-alternating *niż* occurs in various syntactic contexts.

Superlative constructions use the preposition *z* or, less commonly, *spośród* to specify the universe of discourse: *najpiękniejsza ze/spośród wszystkich płyt gramofonowych* 'the most beautiful of all gramophone records'. Both superlative and comparative forms can also be used absolutely: *bez większego powodzenia* 'without much success', *najwyższy czas* '(it's) high time'. In such use the comparative form can refer to a point on the scale between those occupied by the positive form and its antonym. *Starsza kobieta* 'an older woman' is younger than *stara kobieta* 'old woman' but older than *młoda kobieta* 'young woman'.

3.1.5   Numeral morphology

In addition to ordinal numerals, which follow the standard adjectival paradigm, Polish has cardinal and collective numerals as well as some miscellaneous types. The basic forms of the cardinal and ordinal numbers are given in table 12.4. (see section 4.10 for the syntax of numerals).

The cardinal numeral *jeden* 'one' is declined like an adjective and shows adjective-like agreement. When used as the last element of a compound numeral, however, it becomes an invariable form which does not agree with the noun in gender or case. The other cardinal numerals distinguish forms for masculine personal and non-masculine personal in the nominative and accusative. Only *dwa* '2' has a separate feminine form, *dwie*. The numerals '2'–'4' have full paradigms:

Table 12.4   Polish numerals

	Cardinal numerals	Ordinal numerals
1	jeden/jedna/jedno	pierwszy
2	dwa/dwie	drugi
3	trzy	trzeci
4	cztery	czwarty
5	pięć	piąty
6	sześć	szósty
7	siedem	siódmy
8	osiem	ósmy
9	dziewięć	dziewiąty
10	dziesięć	dziesiąty
11	jedenaście	jedenasty
12	dwanaście	dwunasty
13	trzynaście	trzynasty
14	czternaście	czternasty
15	piętnaście	piętnasty
16	szesnaście	szesnasty
17	siedemnaście	siedemnasty
18	osiemnaście	osiemnasty
19	dziewiętnaście	dziewiętnasty
20	dwadzieścia	dwudziesty
21	dwadzieścia jeden	dwudziesty pierwszy
22	dwadzieścia dwa/dwie	dwudziesty drugi
23	dwadzieścia trzy	dwudziesty trzeci
30	trzydzieści	trzydziesty
40	czterdzieści	czterdziesty
50	pięćdziesiąt	pięćdziesiąty
60	sześćdziesiąt	sześćdziesiąty
70	siedemdziesiąt	siedemdziesiąty
80	osiemdziesiąt	osiemdziesiąty
90	dziewięćdziesiąt	dziewięćdziesiąty
100	sto	setny
200	dwieście	dwusetny (dwóchsetny)
300	trzysta	trzechsetny
400	czterysta	czterechsetny
500	pięćset	pięćsetny
600	sześćset	sześćsetny
700	siedemset	siedemsetny
800	osiemset	osiemsetny
900	dziewięćset	dziewięćsetny
1,000	tysiąc	tysięczny
2,000	dwa tysiące	dwutysięczny
5,000	pięć tysięcy	pięciotysięczny
10,000	dziesięć tysięcy	dziesięciotysięczny
100,000	sto tysięcy	stotysięczny
1,000,000	milion	milionowy
1,000,000,000	miliard	miliardowy
1,000,000,000,000	bilion	bilionowy

	M-PERS	N *and other* M	F
NOM	dwaj, dwu/dwóch	dwa	dwie
ACC	dwu/dwóch	dwa	dwie
GEN/LOC	dwu/dwóch	dwu/dwóch	dwu/dwóch
DAT	dwu/dwom	dwu/dwom	dwu/dwom
INST	dwoma	dwoma	dwiema/dwoma

	M-PERS	N, F *and other* M
NOM	trzej, trzech	trzy
ACC	trzech	trzy
GEN/LOC	trzech	trzech
DAT	trzem	trzem
INST	trzema	trzema

The forms *dwu* and *dwóch* are variants, as are *dwu* and *dwom*. Some speakers distinguish a feminine instrumental form *dwiema*. On the difference between *dwaj, trzej* and *dwu/dwóch, trzech* see section 4.10. The numeral *cztery* '4' is declined like *trzy* '3'. The two variants for 'both', *oba* and *obydwa*, are declined like *dwa*, except that their masculine-personal nominative forms are *obaj* and *obydwaj*, and *oba* has only the form *obu* in the genitive, dative and locative.

Numerals above '4' have a reduced paradigm, of which *pięć* 'five' is typical: *pięć* for non-masculine-personal nominative and accusative, *pięciu* for masculine-personal nominative and accusative and for all oblique cases of all genders, *pięcioma* as an alternative instrumental form for all genders. Some other miscellaneous numerals have a similar paradigm: *parę* 'a few' (*paru, paroma*); *kilka* 'several'; and so forth.

Collective numerals are rare except for '2'–'10' and *kilkoro* 'several'. (In compound numerals only the last element can be a collective numeral.) The numerals *dwoje* and *troje* follow one paradigm, *czworo* and all others follow another:

NOM	dwoje	czworo
ACC	dwoje	czworo
GEN	dwojga	czworga
DAT/LOC	dwojgu	czworgu
INST	dwojgiem	czworgiem

The numeral for 'one-and-a-half' has only two forms: *półtora* (M/N) and *półtorej* (F).

In contemporary Polish, especially in the spoken language, there are several tendencies towards simplification of the numeral system: (a) cardinal numerals are often used instead of collectives; (b) speakers sometimes do not decline numerals or – for compound numerals – decline only

the last two digits; (c) cardinal numbers are sometimes used to replace ordinals, for example in dates.

One contrary tendency is that of using instrumental forms in *-oma* instead of the general oblique-case forms in *-u.*

3.2   Verbal morphology

3.2.1   Verbal categories
Most verbs distinguish all three persons in singular and plural in the present, past and future tenses and in the conditional mood. Gender is distinguished only in the past, the conditional and one variant of the imperfective future. Some verbs used without any subject (*wypada* 'it's appropriate') have only third person singular forms, and in general third person singular (neuter) is the default verb form if no nominative grammatical subject is present or understood.

Third-person forms are used in the meaning of second person in non-familiar address (with *pan, pani, państwo, panowie, panie* and occasionally with other words (*mamusia* 'mum')), although in non-familiar address to a group second person plural forms are also possible (*państwo wiedzą* or (*państwo*) *wiecie* 'you know').

Perfective verbs have finite forms for past and non-past. In independent clauses the latter normally express future, but can express modality as well or instead (*nie powiem* 'I can't say'). In subordinate clauses perfective verbs can express future, non-actual present

Kiedy pisklęta nauczą się (PRFV) fruwać, matka odlatuje.
'When the baby birds learn how to fly, the mother flies away.'

or modality

Koń ma cztery nogi, a potknie się (PRFV).
'A horse has four legs and can/will stumble.'

Imperfective verbs have finite forms for past, present and future. The future forms are analytic, consisting of a finite form of the future of *być* 'be' (the only verb that has synthetic forms for all three tenses) plus either the infinitive (*będę czytać* 'I will read') or a form of what was historically the *l*-participle (*będę czytał(a)*). Like perfective non-past forms, imperfective future forms can express modality rather than futurity:

Tacy ludzie będą pracowali przez całe życie.
'Such people will work their whole life long.'

The imperfective present and the perfective non-past follow the conjugations described in section 3.2.2. The past-tense forms of both aspects

show traces of their origin as a compound tense consisting of auxiliary verb plus *l*-participle: the personal endings of the first and second person (singular and plural) are movable enclitics. The paradigm with unmoved endings is as follows:

	M	F	N	M-PERS	NON-M-PERS
1	byłem	byłam		byliśmy	byłyśmy
2	byłeś	byłaś		byliście	byłyście
3	był	była	było	byli	były

The enclitic appears in second position in

Gdzieście byli?
'Where have you (PL) been?'

The personal enclitics are obligatorily attached to any clause-initial word containing the element *by* and to the conjunction *byle*. Otherwise attachment is optional, being more likely with the plural forms, especially if the verb is polysyllabic.

Pluperfect forms are not mentioned in current grammatical descriptions of Polish, but they can be found in written texts as archaisms. They are formed by adding third-person forms of the past tense of *być* to normal past-tense forms (*pisałem był* 'I had been writing', *powiedzieliśmy byli* 'we had said').

Polish is more like Russian than like Slovak or Czech in its use of **perfective and imperfective verbs**, although it employs the perfective with greater freedom (in the context of repetition and in non-future meanings of non-past forms). Polish also lies between Russian and Czech and Slovak in its use of frequentatives (*jadać* 'eat (often)', *czytywać* 'read (often)'). Like Russian, Polish has few such verbs (about fourteen), but unlike Russian frequentatives, which are used only in the past tense, the Polish verbs have full paradigms. They are also used more often than their Russian counterparts, but are not regular formations as in Slovak and Czech.

Most unprefixed verbs are imperfective, although there are unprefixed perfectives (*paść* 'fall', *krzyknąć* 'yell'). Prefixed verbs with infinitives in *-ić/-yć, -eć, -nąć, -ować* and prefixed verbs formed from unsuffixed stems are normally perfective. Prefixed verbs with infinitives in *-iwać/-ywać* are normally imperfective. Prefixed verbs in *-ać* can be imperfective or perfective. Bi-aspectual verbs are mostly internationalisms (*abdykować* 'abdicate') but there are also some native examples (*kazać* 'order', *ranić* 'wound'). Concerning imperfective derivation see section 3.3.3.

The opposition of determinate and indeterminate **verbs of motion** is relatively well preserved in Polish. There are nine clear pairs: *iść/chodzić* 'go (on foot)'; *jechać/jeździć* 'go (not on foot)'; *biec/biegać* 'run'; *lecieć/*

latać 'fly'; *nieść/nosić* 'carry'; *wieźć/wozić* 'transport'; *płynąć/pływać* 'swim, float, sail'; *pełznąć/pełzać* 'crawl'; and *leźć/łazić* 'move slowly; climb'. Other pairs are mentioned in the literature, but are either rare in non-figurative use (*wieść/wodzić* 'lead', normally replaced in literal use by *prowadzić*, a simple imperfective) or participate only marginally in the opposition, having diverged semantically and/or stylistically.

The **imperative mood** expresses a command or request directed to a single addressee (*śpiewaj* 'sing!') or to a group (*śpiewajcie* '(you people) sing!'). The speaker may be included as a co-performer of the desired action (*śpiewajmy* 'let's sing'). Formal (non-familiar) address requires an analytic construction in place of the first two types above: *niech pan/pani śpiewa* in the singular and *niech państwo/panowie/panie śpiewają* in the plural. A similar analytic construction is used to express a command or request addressed to a third person or persons: *niech Basia śpiewa* 'have/ let Basia sing' and to express the 'deliberative' first person imperative: *niech zobaczę* 'let me see, why don't I see'.

Traces of an earlier synthetic third person imperative can be found in fixed phrases like *broń Boże*, 'God forbid'. Singular imperative forms are used as military commands even when addressed to a group (*spocznij* 'at ease' (literally 'rest')).

Polish traditionally distinguished 'present' and 'past' (or 'hypothetical' and 'counterfactual') **conditional** forms (*poszedłbym* 'I would go' versus *byłbym poszedł* 'I would have gone'). Speakers nowadays tend to employ the shorter form in both meanings.

The reflex of the Proto-Slavonic enclitic accusative reflexive pronoun (*się*) serves to form verbs and verbal constructions that are traditionally called '**reflexive**'. (The particle *się* can also occur with verbal nouns.) Many of the resulting meanings are shared with the other Slavonic languages, but one is peculiar to Polish (and to some Croatian and Slovene dialects): the use of *się* with a third person (neuter) verbal form to express a generalized human subject (like the French *on* or the German *man*) with the verb maintaining its normal (even accusative) government:

Tu się pije wódkę (ACC).
'One drinks vodka here.'

Like its French analogue, the Polish construction can imply the speaker or addressee as subject:

Miewało się różne przygody.
'One has (I have) had various adventures.'
Jak się spało?
'How did one (you) sleep?'

The subject position is also eliminated in a second construction, which

Polish shares only with Ukrainian. The construction is active (that is, a direct object or other governed case is possible) even though the verbal form is related to the passive participle and the most natural English translation is usually a passive construction:

Wypito całą butelkę (ACC).
'A whole bottle was drunk.'

Although not all verbs have this form, it occurs with many verbs that do not otherwise form a passive participle (for example, intransitive and 'reflexive' verbs). The construction has the value of past tense and the unspecified subject (singular or plural) is understood to be human and definite.

Passive constructions are formed with both perfective and imperfective transitive verbs by combining the passive participle with an auxiliary:

Dom był/jest/będzie budowany.
'The house was/is/will be (being) built.'
Dom został/zostanie zbudowany.
'The house was/will be built.'

The combination of a perfective passive participle with a present-tense auxiliary (*dom zostaje zbudowany*) occurs only in the historical or narrative present and in performative use:

Niniejszym zostaje pan zwolniony z pracy.
'You are herewith relieved of (your) job.'

The perfective participle is also used with all three tenses of *być* to form a passive of state:

Obraz był skradziony.
'The picture was stolen.' (that is, could not legally be sold)

A passive of state can also be formed from some verbs that do not form an ordinary passive (*jestem wypoczęty* 'I'm rested', from the intransitive verb *wypocząć*).

   In ordinary passive sentences the agent can be expressed in a prepositional phrase (*przez* + accusative). No agent can be expressed, however, in the less common passive construction with *się*, which is limited to imperfective verbs with inanimate patients. Compare

Dom jest budowany przez spółdzielców.
'The building is being built by cooperative members.'
Dom się buduje pięć lat (*przez spółdzielców).
'The building has been under construction for five years.'

An instrumental phrase normally expresses means or material rather than agent. This is most common with an inanimate noun:

Przechodzień został potrącony samochodem.
'A pedestrian was hit by a car.' (that is, by someone using a car)

but is possible with animate or human nouns as well:

Wzgórza zostały obsadzone żołnierzami/przez żołnierzy.
'The hills were manned by soldiers.'

The version with *przez* presents the soldiers as agents; the instrumental version presents them as the instruments of someone's tactics (Saloni 1976: 101). Inanimate nouns can also get a more agentive interpretation when used with *przez* and a less agentive one when used in the instrumental:

Jego twórczość została przecięta przez śmierć/śmiercią.
'His output was cut short by death.'

All Polish verbs form an **infinitive** in -*ć* (or in -*c* if the stem ends in a velar or velar + *n*): *czytać* 'read', *robić* 'do', but *piec* (first person singular *piekę*) 'bake', *biec* (first person singular *biegnę*) 'run'; almost all form a verbal noun in -*nie* or -*cie* (see section 3.3.1).

Perfective verbs form a **verbal adverb** in -*wszy* or -*łszy* that expresses an action prior or subordinate to the action of the main verb. Imperfective verbs form a verbal adverb in -*ąc* that expresses an action simultaneous to the action of the main verb. (But see also section 4.5.1).

Imperfective verbs form a **verbal adjective** (participle) in -*ący* that expresses an action simultaneous to the action of the main verb. There is no regularly formed 'past' participle. Some perfective intransitive verbs, often expressing change of state, do form an adjective in -*ły* that can serve as a past participle (*zgniły* 'rotten'). Pseudo-passive participles from change-of-state verbs function in the same way (*wyschnięty* 'dried up').

Perfective and imperfective verbs form **passive participles** in -*ny* or -*ty*. (Traces of an older, distinct imperfective passive participle can be found in adjectives like *ruchomy* 'movable'.) Consonant alternations occur in two conjugations (section 3.2.2.): from column III in conjugation 1 (*zaprosić, zaproszony* 'invited') and from column II in conjugation 2 (*pryznieść, przyniesiony* 'brought'). Conjugation 2 verb stems in *t* and *d* unexpectedly introduce the soft consonant from column III into the masculine-personal participle form: *okradziony*, but *okradzeni* 'robbed'.

Colloquial Polish has long had a type of **perfect** involving forms of *mieć* 'have' and perfective passive participles. Unlike perfect constructions in other languages, the subject need not be identical to the agent. Compare

Mam już wszystkie egzaminy pozdawane.
'I've taken all my exams.' (subject identical to agent)
Ewa ma przyznane stypendium.
'Ewa has been awarded a scholarship' (subject not identical to agent)
Mam nos zatkany.
'My nose is stuffed up.' (no agent)

The subject is usually understood to be the beneficiary or, as in the last example, the anti-beneficiary of the action or state, but another beneficiary can be made explicit:

Pańskie podanie mamy rozpatrzone.
'We've reviewed your application.' (literally, 'We have your application reviewed')

There is now a tendency to generalize the neuter singular form of the participle, as in the following sentence, where the understood object is feminine accusative singular (*herbatę/kawę*):

Mam już posłodzone.
'I've already sweetened (my tea/coffee).'

3.2.2 Conjugation

The five Proto-Slavonic conjugation types have coalesced into four in Polish, distinguished on the basis of non-past forms. One of the four, continuing Proto-Slavonic themes in -*i*, has the theme vowel -*i*/-*y*. Two conjugations have theme vowel -*e*; the one with a consonant alternation in the non-past (first person singular and third person plural versus other forms) continues Proto-Slavonic themes in -*e*/-*o* and -*ne*, while the one with no consonant alternation continues themes in -*je* (except for the *děla-* and *umě-* types). The fourth conjugation, with theme vowel -*a* (or, for a few verbs, -*e*), is a West Slavonic innovation and continues Proto-Slavonic *je-* themes of the *děla-* and *umě-* types, as well as the athematic types (except for *by-*/*jes-*) that influenced them. The four contemporary conjugations can be represented by the following verbs (given in the infinitive and third person singular non-past, with first person singular added to show the presence or absence of consonant alternations):

1	modlić się	'pray'	modli się (modlę się)
	chodzić	'go'	chodzi (chodzę)
	woleć	'prefer'	woli (wolę) (not a reflex of *velě-*, which is not continued in Polish)
	słyszeć	'hear'	słyszy (słyszę)
	spać	'sleep'	śpi (śpię)
2	nieść	'carry'	niesie (niosę)
	wieść	'lead'	wiedzie (wiodę)

pleść	'braid'	plecie (plotę) (compare Old Polish *czyść, cztę* 'read')
iść	'go'	idziesz (idę) (suppletive past: *szedł, szła* and so on)
jechać	'ride'	jedziesz (jadę) (irregular infinitive)

(Polish has no verbs of this type with roots in a labial; those that have survived have moved to other conjugations, for example *grzebać* (Old Polish *grześć*), *grzebie* 'dig'; *żyć, żyje* 'live'.)

| piec | 'bake' | piecze (piekę) (compare archaic *rzec, rzecze* › *rzeknie* 'say') |
| zacząć | 'begin' | zacznie (zacznę) |

(Note the regularization of the Proto-Slavonic athematic verb **jęti/ jїme* 'take' in prefixed perfectives like *zająć, zajmie* 'occupy'. The only verb of this provenance that deviates from the pattern is *wziąć, weźmie* 'take'.)

umrzeć	'die'	umrze (umrę)
stać się	'become'	stanie się (stanę się)
ssać	'suck'	ssie (ssę)
nazwać	'name'	nazwie (nazwę) (compare archaic *zwać, zwie/ zowie* 'call')
brać	'take'	bierze (biorę)
dźwignąć	'lift'	dźwignie (dźwignę)
minąć	'pass'	minie (minę)

(A number of very common verbs shifted from the *nieść* type to the *dźwignąć* type, with or without change of infinitive, for example *kwitnąć, kwitnie* 'blossom'; *kraść, kradnie* 'steal'.)

3   czuć   'feel'   czuje (czuję)

(PSl. *pě-/poje-* › Polish *piać/pieje* 'crow' (compare *siać* below).)

| kryć | 'conceal' | kryje (kryję) |
| bić | 'beat' | bije (biję) |

(PSl. **bor-/borje-* › Old Polish and dialectal *bróć się* 'fight'. The parallel stems were reworked: **kol-/kolje-* › Old Polish *kłóć, kole* › *kłuć, kłuje* (but also *kole*) 'stab'; **por-/porje-* › Old Polish *próć, porze* › *pruć, pruje* 'rip'.)

mleć   'grind'   miele (mielę) (infinitive often *mielić*)

(The Proto-Slavonic type *děla-/dělaje-* shifted to a new conjugation, 4 below.)

niemieć	'grow mute'	niemieje (niemieję) (PSl. *umě-/uměje-* and its compounds shifted to a new conjugation, 4 below.)
kazać	'order'	każe (każę)
pisać	'write'	pisze (piszę)

(PSl. *jĭma-/jemlje* › Old Polish *jimać, jimie*, which then shifted to conjugation 4 (third person singular *jima*) and was later eliminated. Its role in deriving imperfectives from perfectives in *-jąć* was taken over by *-jmować*.)

| darować | 'present' | daruje (daruję) (verbs in *-ywać* also belong here.) |
| siać | 'sow' | sieje (sieję) (‹ Old Polish *siejać*) |

4	działać	'act'	działa (działam) (‹ PSl. *děla-/dělaje* by analogy to *dać* after contraction *aje* › *a*)
	dać	'give'	da (dam) (irregular third person plural *dadzą*)
	mieć	'have'	ma (mam) (irregular infinitive)
	umieć	'know how'	umie (umiem) (by analogy to *jeść, wiedzieć*)
	jeść	'eat'	je (jem) (irregular third person plural *jedzą*; compare *wiedzieć, wie* 'know' with irregular infinitive and third person plural *wiedzą*)

In addition to the four regular conjugations above Polish has both inherited and new irregular verbs. The most anomalous verb is *być* 'be' with its unique present: *jestem, jesteś, jest, jesteśmy, jesteście, są*. (Its future forms are regular according to conjugation 2: *będę, będziesz* and so on.) The present tense of *chcieć* 'want' (‹ PSl. *xotě-/xotje-*) would be regular in the third conjugation (*chcę, chcesz* and so on) if the infinitive were **chtać*. Other irregularities involve stem suppletion, as in *znaleźć, znajdzie* (*znajdę*) 'find'.

The four conjugations can be represented by the four paradigms in table 12.5, each for a verb with root ending in *s* (to show parallels and differences). All four verbs are imperfective. For the past verbal adverb, which is not formed from imperfective verbs, perfective forms are shown.

The infinitive stem for **conjugation 1** consists of the root plus *i/y* or *e*. The final root consonant appears as the soft consonant from column II (table 12.2, p. 694). The present shows an alternation of soft consonants from columns III (first person singular and third person plural) and II (all other forms). This represents a reworking of the third person plural to make it correspond to the first person singular (expected **prosią* › *proszą*), as it did in other conjugations.

Conjugation 2 is the most heterogeneous. The infinitive stem for unsuf-

Table 12.5   Polish conjugations

	1 *'request'*	2 *'carry'*	3 *'write'*	4 *'hew'*
Infinitive	prosić	nieść	pisać	ciosać
3 SG M PAST	prosił	niósł	pisał	ciosał
Past verbal adverb	(po)prosiwszy	(za)niósłszy	(na)pisawszy	(ob)ciosawszy
Passive participle	proszony	niesiony	pisany	ciosany
Present (non-past	proszę	niosę	piszę	ciosam
for perfectives)	prosisz	niesiesz	piszesz	ciosasz
	prosi	niesie	pisze	ciosa
	prosimy	niesiemy	piszemy	ciosamy
	prosicie	niesiecie	piszecie	ciosacie
	proszą	niosą	piszą	ciosają
Present verbal				
adverb	prosząc	niosąc	pisząc	ciosając
adjective	proszący	niosący	piszący	ciosający
Imperative	proś	nieś	pisz	ciosaj

fixed stems depends on the final root consonant: dentals give *ś* (spelled *ż* if from *z*), velars give *c* (which subsumes the infinitive ending), nasals give *ą* (except *stać się ‹ stanę się*), *r* gives *rze*. Some originally unsuffixed stems in dentals and velars have acquired the suffix *n* in the non-past, but their infinitive stem is formed as just specified (*padnę, paść* like *idę, iść; biegnę, biec* like *strzygę, strzyc*). Otherwise the infinitive stem consists of root plus *a* (four verbs: *ssać, zwać, brać, prać* 'launder') or root plus *ną*. The present shows an alternation of root consonant or *n* (first person singular, third person plural) versus the corresponding soft consonant from column II (all other forms).

The infinitive stem for **conjugation 3** consists of root plus *a, owa* or *ywa*. There are also some stems in which an original C*eja-* has contracted to C*a-* (*siać ‹ siejać*) or in which a root-final *j* has been truncated to form the infinitive stem (*czuj- › czuć*). Such stems keep *j* throughout the present (*sieję, siejesz* and so on) as do stems with the suffixes *-owa-, -ywa-, -iwa-*, which change to *-uj-* (*darować, daruje* – but note exceptional verbs like *przemyśliwać* 'think over', which has present-tense variants *przemyśliwa* and *przemyśliwuje*). Otherwise all forms of the present have a soft consonant from column III. (The verb *mleć* is an isolated phenomenon representing only itself and the even rarer *pleć* 'weed'.)

The infinitive stem for **conjugation 4** also consists of root plus *a*. The present stem consists of root plus *a(j)*, the *j* appearing only in the third person plural and the imperative.

All **past-tense** forms are built on the masculine third person singular. In conjugations 1, 3 and 4 the stem of this form is the same as the infinitive stem. This is also true in conjugation 2 for most verbs with vocalic infinitive

stems. Conjugation 2 verbs with consonantal infinitive stems (including verbs like *piec* for stem *piek* plus the infinitive ending *-ć*) use the stem of the first person singular present (*piekę, piekł*). A suffixal *n* in the first person singular is dropped before the past ending *-ł* (*biec, biegnę, biegł*). Conjugation 2 verbs with roots in *-Cr* (infinitive stem *-Crze-*) have *-Carł* (*umrzeć, umrę, umarł*).

Conjugation 2 verbs with infinitive in *-nąć* follow one of two patterns in the past tense. Verbs of one class (mostly perfective even when unprefixed) keep the *-ną-* suffix throughout the past, changing it to *-nę-* in plural and feminine and neuter singular forms (*minąć, minął, minąłem, minęła, minęli*). Verbs of the other class (imperfective when unprefixed and generally denoting change of state) drop the suffix in all past-tense forms (*marznąć, marzł, marzła, marzli* 'freeze') or keep it as a variant in some or all forms (*brzydnąć, brzydł/brzydnął, brzydła, brzydli* 'grow ugly').

The *ą/ę* alternation in past forms like *minął* versus *minęła* is paralleled by the *ó/o* alternation in forms like *niósł* versus *niosła* (see section 2.3). The latter alternation, however, has been extended to first and second person masculine forms (*niosłem, niosłeś*), while such expansion of the *ą/ę* alternation is non-normative.

The singular **imperative** in conjugation 4 equals the third person plural non-past form minus the vocalic ending; in conjugations 1–3 it equals the third person singular form minus its stem vowel, except that *-ij/-yj* is added to prevent violations of syllable structure. This addition occurs with non-syllabic roots (*trzeć, trze, trzyj* 'rub'), with stems ending in an obstruent plus *n* (*biegnij*), and inconsistently with other clusters (with the zero form expanding: compare normative *zdejmij* from *zdjąć, zdejmie* 'take off' and frequent non-normative *zdejm*).

3.3 Derivational morphology

3.3.1 Major patterns of noun derivation
Nouns are derived primarily by suffixation (with explicit and zero suffixes, either of which may involve phonological changes), but prefixation, compounding and abbreviation also play a role.

Prefixation, especially with non-native prefixes, has become more common since the Second World War (*supergwiazda* 'superstar', *nadciśnienie* 'hypertension').

Compounding of various types has also increased in the same period. The most common type involves two noun stems (*oczodół* 'eye socket' ‹ *ocz-* 'eye' (plural stem), *dół* 'cavity'), but noun–verb and numeral–noun compounds are also common (*mrówkojad* 'anteater', *czworobok* 'rectangle'). Compounding may be combined with suffixation (*nosorożec* 'rhinoceros'). There are also increasing numbers of words whose first component is a non-native combining form (*telewidz* 'television viewer').

Other compounds are derived from prepositional phrases (*bezrobocie* 'unemployment' ‹ *bez roboty* 'without work').

Abbreviations include nouns formed by pronouncing the initial letters of a phrase (*PAN* ‹ *Polska Akademia Nauk* 'Polish Academy of Sciences') or by pronouncing the names of the initial letters (*rkm* or *erkaem* ‹ *ręczny karabin maszynowy* 'light machine-gun'). There are also abbreviation-based derivatives like *akowiec* 'member of the *Armia Krajowa* (Home Army)'.

Suffixation is used to derive nouns from nouns and from other parts of speech. The most productive types of derivation from nouns include the formation of diminutives (*kluczyk* ‹ *klucz* 'key'); of expressively marked terms (*psisko* or *psina* ‹ *pies* 'dog', *wóda* ‹ *wódka* 'vodka' – the last especially interesting because of the loss of a consonant but preservation of the phonological effect of that missing consonant (the *ó* for underlying *o* – see section 2.3); of feminine forms of titles and names of professions (*studentka* ‹ *student*, but also indeclinable feminine *profesor* ‹ declinable masculine *profesor*); of names of inhabitants of countries, cities and so forth (*Gabończyk* ‹ *Gabon*); of names of professions or jobs (*filmowiec* 'film-maker' ‹ *film*); of names of philosophies/ideologies and their adherents (*rasizm, rasista*).

Verbal nouns (nomina actionis) can be formed regularly from most Polish verbs (*czytanie* ‹ *czytać* 'read', *wyrzucenie* ‹ *wyrzucić* 'throw out'). In their primary meaning as names of states, activities or the like they preserve aspectual distinctions, can occur with *się*, and permit the expression of the subject and objects associated with the verb:

Pisanie przez Janka listu do żony trwało długo.
'John's writing of a letter to his wife took a long time.'

Many also have secondary meanings (*uzbrojenie* 'armament, armour', beside its primary meaning 'the arming of ...').

Other types of deverbal nouns show little regularity in choice of suffix or meaning(s) of the resulting noun. They do not occur with *się*, do not typically provide for the expression of subject or objects and do not consistently express aspect. For example *przebudowa* 'rebuilding' can correspond to *przebudowanie* (PRFV) or to *przebudowywanie* (IMPFV), but *budowa* 'construction' can correspond only to *budowanie* (IMPFV) and not to *zbudowanie* (PRFV). The most productive suffixes used to form the non-regular deverbal nouns are -∅ (*rozpad* 'disintegration') and -*acja* (*popularyzacja* 'popularization'). The suffix -*ka* is common in colloquial speech (*przesiadka* 'change (of trains or the like)'). Nouns are also derived from verbs to designate subjects (*badacz* 'investigator'), objects (*zguba* 'something lost'), products (*napis* 'inscription'), instruments (*obrabiarka* 'machine tool'), places (*pracownia* 'workshop') and so forth.

Nouns are derived from qualitative adjectives with great regularity by means of the suffix -*ość*. The primary meaning of such nouns is 'the state of being X' (*młodość* 'youth'); a common secondary meaning is 'something with the property X' (*piękność*, both 'beauty' and 'a beauty'). De-adjectival nouns of both meanings are also derived with other suffixes (*niechlujstwo* 'slovenliness' ‹ *niechlujny*, *starzec* 'old man' ‹ *stary*). Particularly common in colloquial Polish are nouns derived by condensation of an adjective–noun phrase (*zawodówka* 'trade school' ‹ *szkoła zawodowa*, *pomidorowa* 'tomato soup' ‹ *zupa pomidorowa*).

3.3.2 Major patterns of adjective derivation

Adjectives are derived from verbs by suffixation. Passive participles are regularly used as adjectives; often the imperfective participle is used where one might expect a perfective participle (*wędzona ryba* 'smoked fish'). Present verbal adjectives are also so used, sometimes in unpredictable meanings (*śpiący* 'sleepy' rather than 'sleeping'). Many intransitive verbs form adjectives with a resultative meaning based on their past-tense forms (*zbiegły* 'escaped') or use the form of an otherwise non-existent passive participle (*uśmiechnięty* 'smiling'). Productive suffixes in other formations include -*n*- (*podnośny* 'raisable'), -*liw*- (*łamliwy* 'breakable') and -*aln*-. The last of these regularly forms adjectives with the meaning 'X-able/-ible' (*jadalny* 'edible'). Negative deverbal adjectives can be created directly, for example *niezbadalny* 'unstudiable' does not necessarily imply the existence (other than potential) of ?*zbadalny*.

Adjectives are derived from nouns primarily by suffixation. The most productive suffixes include -*ow*- (*państwowy* 'state'); -*n*- and its compounds (*ręczny* 'manual' ‹ *ręka* 'hand'); -*sk*- and its compounds (*rentgenowski* 'x-ray'); and -*owat*- (*gruszkowaty* 'pear-shaped'). Some formations with these suffixes involve simultaneous prefixation (*antyalkoholowy* 'anti-alcohol'). There are also prefixal–suffixal adjectives that imitate passive participles (*ugałęziony* 'ramified' – there is no verb *ugałęzić*). Zero suffixation (but with phonological change) is used to derive relational adjectives from the names of animals (*lisi* ‹ *lis* 'fox').

Adjectives are derived from other adjectives both by prefixation (*nadgorliwy* 'over-eager') and by suffixation (*łysawy* 'baldish'). They can also be derived from adverbs (*tutejszy* 'local' ‹ *tutaj* 'here') and from prepositional phrases (*przedrewolucyjny* 'pre-revolutionary'). Compound adjectives can combine the stem of an adjective, noun, quantifier or adverb with an adjective, noun or verb stem (*leworęczny* 'left-handed', *krótkotrwały* 'short-lived').

3.3.3 Major patterns of verb derivation

In contemporary Polish new **unprefixed verbs** can be formed from nouns by means of the suffixes -*owa*- and (less commonly) -*i*- and -*e(j)*-, and

from adjectives by means of the suffix -e(j)- (*komputeryzować* 'computerize', *bezczelnieć* 'become arrogant'). Earlier formations made use of all verbal suffixes (see section 3.2.2). New prefixed verbs are derived from nouns and adjectives with the aid of the suffixes -*i*- and (less commonly) -*owa* (with derived imperfectives in -*aj*- and -*ywaj*-, respectively) and almost any verbal prefix (*przenaukowić* 'make too scholarly' ‹ *nauka* 'science').

Derivation of verbs from verbs can involve prefixation, suffixation, a combination of both or the addition or subtraction of *się*. Prefixation is used to create perfective counterparts to existing imperfective (*wydoktoryzować się* 'get one's doctorate') or bi-aspectual (*zaawansować* 'advance') verbs. The prefix *z*- is especially common in this function. It is not always clear whether a 'new' prefixed perfective is deverbal or denominal. Thus a supposed neologism of 1980 *zdekolonizować* 'decolonize' (PRFV) may have been derived from a non-attested *dekolonizować* 'decolonize' (IMPFV) or directly from the noun *dekolonizacja* 'decolonization', which was attested twenty years earlier. In the latter case the existence of perfective *zdekolonizować* implies a potential imperfective *dekolonizować*.

Prefixation is also used to create a wide variety of verbs (mostly perfective) with procedural (*Aktionsart*) meanings from old and new unprefixed verbs. Recent attestations include *pogłówkować* 'think something over a bit', *wypolitykować się* 'have one's fill of playing politics' (prefixation with addition of *się*). The prefixes can also carry more concrete meaning, as in *odrolować* 'taxi away (of an airplane)', *wyrejestrować* 'cancel the registration (of a car)' (with potential imperfectives in -*ywać*).

Suffixation is involved in the derivation of imperfectives, of semelfactives (*kichnąć* 'give a sneeze' ‹ *kichać* 'sneeze'), of frequentatives (*czytywać* 'read (repeatedly)' ‹ *czytać* 'read') and of some verbs of motion, but only the first two of these processes are still productive.

Imperfectives are derived by means of two main suffixes: -*aj*-, producing conjugation 4 verbs (see table 12.5, p. 718) from perfective verbs of conjugations 1 and 2 (*zaprosić/zapraszać* 'invite', *ostrzec/ostrzegać* 'warn'), and -*ywa*-, producing conjugation 3 verbs from perfective verbs of conjugations 3 and 4 (*zapisać/zapisywać* 'note', *wyciosać/wyciosywać* 'hew out'). A third suffix, -*waj*-, is used with most verbs with stems in -*j* (*nakryć, nakryje/nakrywać* (conjugation 4) 'cover', but *zabić, zabije/zabijać* 'kill'). The vowel and consonant alternations represented in the pair *zaprosić/zapraszać* (as well as the vowel–zero alternations mentioned in section 2.2.2) are typical of derivation with -*aj*-. Imperfective derivation involves numerous other subregularities and irregularities.

The **'reflexive' particle** *się* has both clearly syntactic functions (see sections 3.2.1 and 4.8) and clearly derivational ones, the latter particularly in combination with prefixes, as in the recent *zdzwonić się* 'get in touch with one another by telephone' (‹ *dzwonić* 'call, telephone'). Other

functions, such as that of making transitive verbs intransitive, could be treated as syntactic or derivational. Dropping *się* occasionally serves as a mechanism for deriving causative verbs: *wściekać* 'enrage' (‹ earlier *wściekać się* 'be/become enraged').

4   Syntax

4.1   Element order in declarative sentences

The unmarked order of the main constituents is Subject–Verb–Object, hence out of context the ambiguous sentence

Byt określa świadomość.

will more often be interpreted as 'existence determines consciousness' with *byt* read as nominative rather than accusative and *świadomość* read as accusative rather than nominative.

In context the principles of functional sentence perspective mandate theme followed by rheme in the unmarked case, with the inverse order being emphatic or otherwise emotionally marked. If the object is theme, or if there is no object and the subject and verb are both rhematic (for example, in discourse-initial position), the unmarked order is (Object)–Verb–Subject:

(Na przyjęciu spotkałem siostrę.) Basia przyprowadziła koleżankę.
'(At the party I met my sister.) Basia (my sister) had bought a friend.'
(Na przyjęciu spotkałem siostrę.) Basię przyprowadziła koleżanka.
'... Basia (my sister) had been brought by a friend.'

In the first example the theme is the subject *Basia*; in the second, the object *Basię*. If, however, both subject and object belong to the theme with the verb constituting the rheme, the order Subject–Verb–Object is common:

Sąd oczyścił go z tego zarzutu.
'The court cleared him of that accusation.'

An adverbial will occupy final position only if it constitutes the rheme:

Janek jedzie *jutro.*
'Janek is going *tomorrow.*'

If the adverbial constitutes the theme or is part of it, it will occupy initial position:

Dziś w Warszawie pada deszcz.
'Today in Warsaw is falling rain.' ('It's raining in Warsaw today.')

Most adverbials forming part of the rheme precede the verb:

Anna ładnie śpiewa.
'Anna sings nicely.'

but adverbials of means, of location and of direction normally follow the verb:

Basia jedzie samochodem do Poznania.
'Basia is going by car to Poznań.'

If a sentence contains both a direct object and a noun phrase in another case, the other phrase will normally follow the direct object, except for a dative phrase, which normally precedes:

Uczę Janka (ACC) angielskiego (GEN).
'I'm teaching Janek English.'
Piszę bratu (DAT) list (ACC).
'I'm writing a letter to my brother.'

Polish **enclitics** include the imperative enclitics (*-my*, *-cie*), which are affix-like in everything but their sandhi properties (see section 2.1); the particles *no* and *-że*; the verbal enclitics (the conditional particle *by* and the personal endings of the preterite *-(e)m*, *-(e)ś*, *-śmy*, *-ście*); and the atonic forms of the personal pronouns (including the 'reflexive' *się*).
The particles *no* (of entreaty) and *-że* (of impatience) are the most restricted in occurrence. They occupy second position following an imperative or its semantic equivalent:

Idźże do diabła!
'Go to the devil!'
Cicho no!
'Be quiet, now!'

The remaining enclitics can be divided as follows:

(I)   *by*
(II)   personal endings
(III)   dative pronouns
(IV)   *się*
(V)   accusative pronouns
(VI)   genitive pronouns
(VII)   instrumental pronouns

In a sentence enclitics generally follow the above order:

Nie chcę, żebyś (I + II) mi (III) ją (V) nim (VII) straszył.
'I don't want you to threaten her (on me) with him.'
Gdzieście (II) się (IV) go (VI) pozbyli?
'Where did you get rid of him?'

Besides their traditional position after the first stressed word or phrase in the clause, enclitics also occur after an element bearing sentence stress, or, more and more frequently, after the verb:

Ta kobieta mi przyniosła szczęście.
'That woman has brought me happiness.'
Ta kobieta *szczęście* mi przyniosła.
Ta kobieta przyniosła mi szczęście.

Pronominal enclitics (including *się*) can become proclitics (but not in sentence-initial position):

Cieszę się, że cię widzę.
'I'm glad to see you.'

Subject pronouns (first and second person in colloquial speech, third person in written style) are also used enclitically in post-verbal position, particularly when referring to someone other than the theme of the previous sentence:

Następnie wystąpił minister spraw zewnętrznych. Zaproponował on, żeby ...
'The next speaker was the foreign minister. He proposed that ...'

First- and second-person pronouns tend to precede other enclitics; third-person pronouns tend to follow them.
    The non-familiar second-person pronouns normally occur as post-verbal or post-conjunction enclitics except when given contrastive stress or when serving to introduce or re-introduce a new theme:

Pan jest zmęczony. Powinien pan odpocząć.
'You're tired. You should rest.'
Ja nie jestem zmęczony, a pan jest.
'*I'm* not tired, but *you* are.'

Within the **noun phrase** the major question is the relative order of the adjective(s) and the head noun (Topolińska 1984: 367–83). The general ordering of pre-nominal elements (assuming non-emphatic, non-contrastive order) is fairly straightforward: (1) pronominal determiners (*ten* 'this/that'); followed by (2) numerals (cardinal and collective) and other quantifiers (*kilka* 'several'); followed by (3) 'modal' adjectives

(*prawdopodobny* 'probable') and certain relational adjectives (possessives; ordinal numbers (including also adjectives like *ostatni* 'last'); certain temporal and spatial adjectives); followed by (4) qualitative adjectives; followed by (5) other relational adjectives (*te trzy moje ostatnie tutejsze nieprzyjemne wizyty,* literally: 'those three my last local unpleasant visits').

An adjective in group 5 can, however, occupy a post-nominal position. This is most likely to happen when the adjective–noun combination forms a particularly close collocation (often corresponding to a Germanic compound noun) and/or when there is more than one adjective from groups 4 and 5 modifying the noun: *włókno szklane* 'fibreglass' but *szklane drzwi* 'glass door'; *język polski* 'the Polish language, Polish' but *polski język literacki* 'literary Polish'. Qualitative adjectives can also be postposed when they lose their qualitative character by becoming terminologized: *panna młoda* 'the bride' (literally: 'young lady'). Conversely, a relational adjective used qualitatively is preposed: *attaché kulturalny* 'cultural attaché' versus *kulturalny attaché* 'cultured attaché'.

Groups 1 and 2 are normally represented by no more than one adjective each. Within group 3, possessives and ordinals (in that order) normally precede other adjectives. Ordering principles for adjectives within groups 4 and 5 have been proposed, but there is also the possibility of distinguishing constituent structure through ordering: *zakaźna (choroba tropikalna)* 'a tropical disease that is infectious' versus *tropikalna (choroba zakaźna)* 'an infectious disease from the tropics.

Especially in written Polish a pronominal determiner (usually *ten*) may follow the noun when the phrase is used anaphorically:

Człowiek ten zawsze budził we mnie nieufność.
'That man always aroused distrust in me.'

4.2   Non-declarative sentence types
WH-questions are marked by the presence of an interrogative pronoun, adjective or adverb. Yes–no questions are marked by an initial *czy* 'is it the case that' or solely by intonation. Both kinds of questions (in neutral, non-emotional use) are marked by a rising intonation, but in WH questions it is preceded by a falling intonation, while in yes–no questions the initial intonation is high:

˹Która godzina?
'What time is it?'
Czy˺mogę zapalić?
'May I smoke (literally: 'light up')?

The fronting of a WH word does not affect the word order of remaining elements; the principles of functional sentence perspective still apply, thus:

Co Basia czyta? (neutral or contrastive stress on verb)
'What is Basia reading?'

versus

Co czyta Basia? (focus on Basia)
'What is *Basia* reading?'

An interrogative adjective often does not carry its noun along:

Jaki masz samochód?
'What kind of car do you have?'

versus

Jaką książkę czytasz?
'What kind/What book are you reading?'

(for the given verbs, *samochód* is 'more rhematic' than *książkę*).

    Yes–no questions also preserve normal declarative word order, whether
they are introduced by *czy* or not. The interrogative marker *czy* is also used
to indicate alternatives:

Co wolisz, kawę czy herbatę?
'What do you prefer, coffee or tea?'
Nie wiem, czy iść czy zostać.
'I don't know whether to go or to stay.'

    In response to a yes/no-question, *tak* 'yes' normally expresses agree-
ment and *nie* 'no', disagreement, with the assertion questioned (Fisiak,
Lipińska-Grzegorek and Zabrocki 1978: 193). Thus answers to a positive
question are as in English:

–Czy Janek zdał egzamin?
'Did Janek pass the exam?'
–Tak, zdał. (Nie, nie zdał.)
'Yes, he did. (No, he didn't.)'

but answers to a negative question are not:

–Czy Janek nie zdał egzaminu?
'Didn't Janek pass the exam?'
–Nie, zdał. (Tak, nie zdał.)
(Literally) 'No, he did. (Yes, he didn't).'

    Indirect questions are introduced by the same interrogative words as
direct questions:

Nie wiem, czy/kiedy Janek przyjdzie.
'I don't know whether/when Janek will come.'

Commands are normally expressed by imperative forms (see section 3.2.1). Perfective imperatives occur most frequently with positive commands and imperfective imperatives, with negative ones, but imperfective imperatives are also used for positive commands when the focus is on process or repetition:

Jedz powoli!
'Eat slowly.'

and perfective imperatives can be used for negative commands when the focus is on avoiding the result:

Nie zgub tego klucza!
'Don't lose that key.'

Conditional forms can express an attenuated (normally positive) command:

Zadzwoniłbyś do niej.
'Why don't you call her?' (literally: 'you would call ...')

and infinitives – less commonly – can express a very categoric command (positive or negative):

Siedzieć! Nie ruszać się!
'Sit (there)! Don't move!'

An infinitive with *proszę* 'please' (literally: 'I request'), however, is a common substitute for an ordinary imperative, especially in non-familiar speech:

Proszę poczekać (for: Niech pan(i) poczeka).
'Please wait.'

(The imperative form is somewhat more polite.)
    The perfective present is used (a) in formulaic requests like:

Pani pozwoli, że się przedstawię.
'Permit me (literally: you will permit) to introduce myself.'

(b) in attenuated commands containing the modal *może*:

Może pan napisze parę słów.
'Perhaps you would (literally: will) write a few words.'

and (c) in stylistically marked, very categoric commands meant (and expected) to be carried out immediately:

Pan mi da paczkę papierosów!
'Give me (literally: you will give me) a package of cigarettes!'

4.3   Copular sentences

The main copulas are the verb *być* 'be' and the particle *to*. The verbal copula is used primarily to describe, while *to* is used primarily to identify and define. Thus

Ten wysoki blondyn jest pilotem.
'That tall blond man is a pilot.'
Ten wysoki blondyn to mój brat.
'That tall blond man is my brother.'
Morfologia to nauka o formach.
'Morphology is the study of forms.'

To may be combined with a form of *być* (normally third person, singular or plural) in the present tense and must be so combined in the past or the future. In identification sentences the verb follows *to*, while in definitions it precedes:

Te panie to są siostry.
'Those women are sisters.'
Morfologia jest to nauka o formach.

The *to* construction is not used with predicate adjectives. Predicate nouns or pronouns are in the nominative when used with *to* but in the instrumental when used with forms of *być*. In emotional speech the instrumental may be replaced by the nominative:

Jesteś idiota!
'You're an idiot!'

Predicate adjectives are normally in the nominative. They are in the instrumental, however, when *być* is in the form of a verbal adjective, adverb or noun:

Będąc jeszcze młodym, ...
'While still (being) young, ...'

in impersonal (nominativeless) clauses:

Gdy się jest młodym, ...
'When one is young, ...'

and potentially when *być* as an infinitive implies 'become':

Postanowił być oszczędnym.
'He decided to be frugal.'

Concerning short and long forms of adjectives (*zdrów/zdrowy*) see section 3.1.4.

Besides adjectives and nouns in the nominative or instrumental, other kinds of predicates that occur with the copula include genitive and prepositional phrases and, with an infinitive as subject, adverbs:

Posąg jest średnich rozmiarów/z brązu.
'The statue is of medium size/of bronze.'
Jeść lody w zimie jest niezdrowo.
'Eating (literally: to eat) ice cream in the winter is unhealthy.'

(Neuter forms – here *niezdrowe* – are possible for some adjectives.)

Other copulas include *bywać* 'be (from time to time)' and the verbs meaning 'become': *zostać* (PRFV)/ *zostawać* (IMPFV), *stać się/stawać się* and *zrobić się/robić się*. Zero as a copula is marked: it occurs in proverbs, slogans and so forth:

Starość nie radość (NOM).
'Old age is no pleasure.'
Przyjaźń przyjaźnią (INST), a interes interesem (INST).
'Friendship is one thing but business is another.' (literally: 'friendship is friendship ...')

4.4   Coordination and Comitativity

The main conjunctions used for **coordination** are *i* 'and', *a* 'and' (with an implication of logical connection between the conjoined elements), *albo* 'or' and *ale* 'but', as well as the negative conjunction *ani*: (*ani*) X *ani* Y 'neither X nor Y'. Clauses or smaller constituents can also be coordinated intonationally (in the meanings *i* or *a*) without a conjunction. The conjunctions *a* and *ale* are normally used in binary coordination, while *i, ani* and *albo* can conjoin more than two elements and can be repeated. A single *albo* is ambiguous as between the exclusive and inclusive readings of 'or'; multiple *albo* requires the exclusive reading. Similarly, X *i* Y can (but need not) mean 'first X and then Y', while *i* X, *i* Y tends to eliminate the sequential reading.

A differs from *i* in implying a logical connection (often contrast) between the conjuncts:

Janek śpiewa, a Ewa tańczy.
'Janek is singing and Ewa is dancing.'

The connection can simply be close association: the title *Niemcy a sprawa*

polska 'Germany and the Polish question' announces the author's intention to treat the two topics in their interrelation.

The various conjunctions (including zero) can coordinate clauses, their constituents (noun phrases, verb phrases) or smaller elements (adverbials, prepositional phrases, adjectival and adverbial phrases, nouns, verbs).

Active and passive verbs can be conjoined:

Albo zostaniemy zatrudnieni na miejscu, albo nas poślą na inną budowę.
'Either we'll be hired on the spot or they'll send us to another construction site.'

Adjectives can be conjoined with simple adjectives or with adjectives modified by adverbs or even with extended participial modifiers:

Zawsze podziwiał sposób pakowania żony, typowo jego zdaniem {kobiecy}, a {polegający na tym, aby wszystko ... układać w różnych walizkach ...}.
(Misz 1981: 21)
'He always admired his wife's method of packing, (which was) in his opinion typically {feminine}, and {consisting in putting everything ... in various suitcases ...}.'

(In this rather literal translation the conjoined elements are marked by braces.) Post-nominal adjectives (in the predicate or in a reduced predication) can be conjoined with non-agreeing modifiers such as prepositional or genitive phrases:

Oni są złośliwi i bez serca.
'They are spiteful and heartless.' (literally: 'without a heart')

Different types of adjectives can be conjoined:

Odezwał się głos słaby, nie mój i drżący.
'A voice (that was) weak, not mine, and trembling spoke.'

The conjoining of a noun and an adjective is rare but possible: *wdowiec, ale bezdzietny* 'a widower but childless'.
Adverbials of different formal and semantic types can be conjoined:

Chodził elegancko, w meloniku i przy zegarku.
'He dressed (literally: walked around) elegantly, in a bowler, and with a (pocket) watch.'
Nagle a tuż przed sobą ...
'Suddenly and right in front of me ...'

Verb phrases can be conjoined without repeating a shared modal or anaphoric pronoun (unless a different case is required):

Powinnam ją (ACC) teraz ośmielić, ująć (∅) (ACC) jakoś, dać jej (DAT) zapomnieć dawnych uraz.
'I should encourage her now, win (her) over somehow, allow her to forget old resentments.'

Verbal agreement with conjoined noun phrases involves several variables. Agreement with respect to number depends on the conjunction, on the nature of the head nouns, and on the order of elements. With *albo* and its synonyms and negation (*ani* ..., *ani* ... 'neither ..., nor ...') the verb can be singular or plural; singular is more common if the verb precedes the subject.

Albo Janek, albo Basia przyjdzie (SG)/przyjdą (PL) po książkę.
'Either Janek or Basia will come for the book.'
Na obiad będzie (SG) albo ryba, albo kurczak.
'For dinner there will be either fish or chicken.'

With *i* and its synonyms the verb is normally plural, although it can be singular or plural with conjoined abstract nouns or when the verb precedes the subject:

Janek i Basia szli (PL) razem
'Janek i Basia were walking together.'
Nauka i technika ma (SG)/mają (PL) własne ministerstwo.
'Science and technology have their own ministry.'
Przy chorym czuwał (SG)/czuwali (PL) na zmianę lekarz i pielęgniarka.
'The doctor and the nurse took turns watching over the patient.'

The choice of a masculine-personal or non-masculine-personal verb form and/or predicate adjective is determined as follows, where X and Y designate the head nouns of the conjoined noun phrases:

1   If X or Y (or both) is masculine personal, the verb is normally masculine personal:

    Janek i Marysia przynieśli ciastka.
    'Janek and Marysia brought pastry.'

2   If X and Y are both masculine inanimate, or feminine, or neuter, the verb is non-masculine personal:

    Basia i Marysia przyniosły sałatę.
    'Basia and Marysia brought a salad.'

3   If X is masculine animate and Y is masculine or feminine animate or feminine personal, some speakers prefer masculine-personal agreement while others use non-masculine-personal forms:

    Pies i kot jedli/jadły w kuchni.
    'The dog and the cat were eating in the kitchen.'

Basia i pies bawili/bawiły się w ogrodzie.
'Basia and the dog were playing in the garden.'

Other combinations (including masculine personal plus inanimate) cause speakers difficulty; some choose masculine-personal forms, while others prefer to restructure the sentence. When one noun is plural or all are, the nearest one may influence the choice:

Panowie i psy szły/szli.
'The men and the dogs were walking.'

but only *szli* with the two nouns reversed.

When a noun or pronoun refers to a mixed group, neuter pronouns designate individuals of unspecified sex: *każde z rodziców* 'each of the parents', *jedno z was* 'one of you'.

When two or more adjectives specifying different types or instances of the noun that they modify are conjoined, the noun is normally singular but the verb and/or predicate adjective is plural (Topolińska 1984: 383):

Wczorajsza i dzisiejsza gazeta leżą na stole.
'Yesterday's and today's newspaper are on the table.'

Two nouns that are definite and human (or for some speakers, definite and animate) can be conjoined by the preposition *z* 'with'. In the resulting X *z* Y construction the *z* Y component can be subordinated to X, in which case it is movable, a verb will agree with X, and other syntactic properties show that X *z* Y is not a coordinated constituent:

Basia z Jankiem mieszka (SG) na Mokotowie.
'Basia and Janek live in Mokotów.'

The phrase *z Jankiem* 'with Janek' could occur after the verb or at the end of the sentence. Alternatively the X *z* Y construction can take plural agreement, in which case the construction is inseparable and it shows such properties of coordinated constituents as controlling reflexives:

Basia z Jankiem mieszkają (PL) na Mokotowie.
Basia z Jankiem kupili (M-PERS PL) sobie samochód.
'Basia and Janek bought themselves a car.'

A similar comitative construction is possible when X and/or Y are pronouns. One pronoun is subsumed in the verb, with the order of precedence being first person › second person › third person:

Pójdziemy z tobą (equals: ja/my + ty) do kina.
'You and I/we will go to the movies.'

Pójdą z Jankiem (equals: on/ona/oni/one + Janek) do kina.
'He/she/they and Janek will go to the movies.'

4.5   Subordination
Traditional taxonomies of subordinate clauses classify them in terms of their function as a constituent (or expansion of a constituent) of the main clause. Thus one distinguishes subordinate clauses functioning as subject or object noun phrases:

Dziwiło ją, skąd w tym prostym chłopie taka mądrość.
'(It) surprised her how there could be such wisdom in a simple peasant.'
Chcielibyście, aby już śnieg spadł?
'Would you like for snow to have fallen already?'

as modifiers of nouns, pronouns or adjective (relative clauses):

Zły to ptak, co własne gniazdo kala.
'It is an ill (literally: bad) bird that fouls its own nest.'

and as adverbials:

Niech idzie, dokąd chce.
'Let him/her go where he/she wants.'

An additional type functions as a 'sentential relative' and is in effect equivalent to a coordinate clause:

Powiedział mi szczerą prawdę, co mnie głęboko wzruszyło.
'He told me the plain truth, which (fact) moved me profoundly.'
Equivalent to: Powiedział . . ., i to mnie . . .
'He told me . . ., and that (fact) moved me . . .'

More detailed classifications distinguish subtypes in terms of their semantic functions, while formal taxonomies distinguish clauses subordinated by conjunctions; those subordinated by relative pronouns, adjectives or adverbs; and those without any segmental mark of subordination. The first two types are illustrated above; the third is exemplified by:

Lepiej wam na świecie niż mnie, macie choć dobre dzieci.
'Things are better for you in this world than for me (since) you at least have good children.'

Conditional clauses deserve special mention. They can contain verbs in the indicative or conditional mood and can combine with main clauses containing verbs in the indicative, conditional or imperative mood. The various possible combinations are distributed among four types as follows.

Type 1, which presents a statement of fact, combines indicative with indicative or with imperative:

Jeżeli się dowiem, to ci powiem.
'If I find out, I'll tell you.'
Jeżeli się dowiesz, to powiedz mi.
'If you find out, tell me.'

Type 2, which presents a statement of possibility, combines conditional with indicative, conditional or imperative:

Gdybym się dowiedział, to ci powiem/to bym ci powiedział.
'If I should find out, I'll tell you/I'd tell you.'
Gdybyś się dowiedział, to powiedz mi.
'If you should find out, tell me.'

Type 3, a counterfactual statement, uses conditional in both clauses:

Gdybym miał, to bym ci dał (ale nie mam).
'If I had (any), I'd give you (some) (but I don't).'
Gdyby ją zapytać, odpowiedziałaby ...
'If (you) were to ask her, she would answer ...'

In type 4, a much rarer combination of indicative (future) with conditional, the statement of fact is somewhat attenuated (in other words, if the condition obtains, the conclusion might):

Jeżeli dziś nie pójdziemy, to byśmy jutro poszli.
'If we don't (literally: won't) go today, then we could (literally: would) go
    tomorrow.'

Sentences expressing a condition can also be formed with neither a conditional conjunction nor *by*:

Łeb ci rozbiję, to będziesz cicho.
'I'll break your head; then you'll be quiet (If I ...).'

Clauses containing conditional forms occur as independent sentences:

Czy mógłbyś przyjść jutro o piątej?
'Could you come over tomorrow at five?'

and can be embedded in non-conditional constructions dominated by verbs of knowing and saying:

Zapytał, czy bym mógł (or: czy mógłbym) przyjść jutro o piątej.
'He asked whether I could come over tomorrow at five.'

A large group of verbs governs (obligatorily or optionally) a conditional-like clause, that is, a clause introduced by a conjunction containing the conditional particle *by* (*żeby*, *aby*, *by*) and including a verb in the past tense:

Chcę, żebyś przyszła jutro o piątej.
'I want you to come (literally: that you would come) tomorrow at five.'
Wątpię, żeby Janek zdążył.
'I doubt that Janek will (literally: would) make it in time.'

In sentences like the last two, as opposed to the previous two, the *by* (plus personal ending if present) cannot be separated from the conjunction, that is, both *że przyszłabyś* and *żeby przysłaś* are impossible, as is *że Janek zdążyłby*. Some verbs occur in such constructions only when negated:

Sądzę, że już wyjechał.
'I think he's already left.'

versus

Nie sądzę, żeby już wyjechał.
'I don't think he's left yet.'

Polish makes syntactic use of constructions headed by adjectival (inflected) and adverbial (uninflected) **participles**. The latter are reductions of subordinate clauses in various adverbial functions (temporal, conditional and so forth):

Szczęśliwie powróciwszy do Litwy, Kiejstut się rzucił w nowe boje. (Gdy powrócił
    ..., rzucił się ...)
'Having returned safely to Lithuania, Kiejstut threw himself into new battles.
    (When he returned ..., he threw himself ...)'

or of coordinate clauses:

Wpadł do izby ociekając wodę. (Wpadł ... i ociekał ...)
'He ran into the hut dripping water. (Ran ... and dripped ...)'

The former, which can involve active or passive participles can be inter-preted as a reduced restrictive or non-restrictive relative:

Ksiądz(,) stojący po prawej stronie kardynała(,) dał mi znak, abym się nie odzywał.
'The priest(,) who was standing to the right of the cardinal(,) signalled to me
    (literally: gave me a sign) not to speak.'

In principle participles in *-ąc* and *-ący* refer to actions simultaneous with the action of the finite verb, and participles in *-szy*, to prior actions. In

practice, participles in *-szy* can simply denote subordinate actions, including those subsequent to the finite-verb action:

Wyszedł z pokoju, zamknąwszy za sobą drzwi.
'He left the room, closing the door behind him.'

Although all active participles are much more common in written Polish than in the spoken language (except for phraseologisms like *szczerze mówiąc* 'speaking frankly'), this is especially true of the participle in *-szy*, which is becoming more and more 'literary' or even archaic. At the same time participles in *-ąc(y)* have expanded into contexts of non-simultaneity:

Zostawiając nie pogrzebane trupy, wojsko ruszyło do Torunia.
'Leaving corpses unburied, the army set off for Toruń.'

The traditional requirement that the (understood) subject of the participle be co-referential with the (nominative) subject of the main verb has also been weakened. Participial constructions are possible when the main verb occurs in a subjectless form that implies a (generalized or indefinite) human subject:

Dużo się mówi o tym, zapominając ...
'(People) talk about this a lot, forgetting ...'
Chcąc kupić bilet, trzeba stanąć w kolejce.
'If you want to (literally: wanting to) buy a ticket, you have to get in line/in the
    queue.'

Some speakers accept sentences with a dative subject ('experiencer'):

Słuchając dziewczyny, zrobiło mu (DAT) się żal.
'Listening to the girl, he began to feel sorry (for her).'

or even with an experiencer expressed in another case:

Słuchając zeznań świadków, ogarnia człowieka (ACC) przerażenie.
'Listening to the testimony of the witnesses, consternation overcomes one.'

or unspecified:

Patrząc z oddali, to danie wyglądało apetycznie.
'Looking from a distance, the dish appeared appetizing.'

Sentences in which the main verb is passive are accepted by many speakers:

Przechodząc jezdnię, został potrącony przez samochód.
'Crossing the street, he was struck by an automobile.'

The **infinitive** serves a wide variety of functions in main and subordinate clauses. It can serve as main verb in clauses with auxiliary verbs (*musieć* 'have to', *należy* 'one should') and in subjectless sentences of various types:

Co robić?
'What (can/should I) do?'
Wydać by (COND PTL) ją za mąż!
'(It would be nice to) marry her off!'
Tyle błędów zrobić!
'(How could you/he/they ...) make so many errors?'

An infinitive can serve as the equivalent of a simple noun-phrase subject or object:

Moim obowiązkiem jest prowadzić korespondencję.
'My responsibility is to conduct the correspondence.'

A **verbal noun** is often a possible equivalent for an infinitive in such sentences:

Moim obowiązkiem jest prowadzenie korespondencji.

and is the only possibility in some cases where other Slavonic languages might use an infinitive:

Zmuszasz mnie do ukrywania myśli przed tobą.
'You force me to hide my thoughts from you.'

Compare Slovak:

Nútiš ma skrývať myšlienky pred tebou.

A bare infinitive or infinitive clause can serve as the equivalent of a subordinate clause functioning as a noun phrase. The main verb may require subject–subject or object–subject co-reference:

Janek zamierza wyjechać.
'Janek intends to leave (town).'
Pozwoliłem Jankowi wyjechać.
'I allowed Janek to leave (town).'

(in both sentences only *Janek* can be the understood subject of *wyjechać*), or the choice of infinitive versus finite verb can depend on co-reference:

Chcę wyjechać.
'I want to leave.'

versus

Chcę, żeby Janek wyjechał.
'I want Janek to leave.'

When the subject of the subordinate verb is unspecified but different from the subject of the main verb, an infinitive can be used with a conjunction:

Prosił, żeby go odprowadzić.
'He asked that (someone) accompany him (home).'
Zgodziłem się, żeby postawić lampę na stole.
'I agreed that (someone) put the lamp on the table.'

Some speakers accept sentences like the last with a co-referential reading ('I agreed to put ...') and some accept sentences like

?Chcę, żeby wyjechać (for normative: Chcę, żebyśmy wyjechali).
'I want us to leave.'

(Topolińska 1984: 237)

Depending on the main verb, the infinitival construction may be paralleled by a clause with a finite verb or by a verbal noun:

Kazałem mu napalić (or: żeby napalił) w piecu.
'I told him to light the stove.'
Zabronił synowi wychodzić (or: wychodzenia) z domu.
'He forbade his son to leave the house.'

An infinitival clause introduced by a subordinating conjunction can appear in various adverbial functions, for example purpose:

Pan gubi tę dziewczynę, żeby ratować siebie!
'You are ruining that girl to save yourself!'

In principle there has to be identity of subjects or agents, although the agent can be generic or unspecified:

Robi się co nieco, żeby te nastroje poprawić.
'Some things are being done to improve the mood.'

For some speakers the subject of the infinitive can be co-referential with some other discourse participant:

(*)Wódkę stawia, żeby szefowi nic nie mówić.
'He buys (us) drinks so that (we) don't tell the boss anything.'

Bare infinitives or infinitive clauses can function as noun-phrase modifiers:

Ktoś rzucił myśl, aby świnkę hodować w piwnicy.
'Someone made the suggestion to raise the pig in the cellar.'

Extraction is generally impossible across clause boundaries, although there are some exceptions. Non-subject noun phrases can be moved from a subordinate clause introduced by *żeby* or its synonyms:

Co Janek chce, żeby Maria kupiła?
'What does Janek want Maria to buy?'

A subject noun phrase can normally not be extracted, although some speakers accept extraction when there is no intervening explicit subject of the main clause:

*Kto Janek chce, żeby kupił gazetę?
'Who does Janek want to buy the newspaper?'
?Kto chcesz, żeby kupił gazetę?
'Who do (you) want to buy the newspaper?'

Some speakers also accept extraction from *że*-clauses with particular matrix verbs:

Co Janek mówi, że Maria kupiła?
'What does Janek say that Maria bought?'

versus

*Co Janek myśli, że Maria kupiła?
'What does Janek think that Maria bought?'

(The last example is acceptable to some speakers.)
    Relativization is possible from an infinitival WH clause:

Zadanie, które (którego) nie wiesz jak rozwiązać, jest bardzo trudne.
'The problem that you don't know how to solve is very difficult.'

4.6   Negation
The negative particle *nie* is used for sentence negation and for constituent negation, as well as in word formation (*niezależny* 'independent'):

Janek dziś nie rozmawiał z Basią.
'Janek didn't talk with Basia today.' (sentence negation)
Nie Janek rozmawiał dziś z Basią, tylko Rysiek.
'It wasn't Janek who talked with Basia today, but Rysiek.'
Janek nie rozmawiał dziś z Basią, tylko zostawił dla niej wiadomość.
'Janek didn't talk ..., but left a message for her.'

Multiple negative elements can occur together with sentence negation:

Janek nigdy z nikim nie rozmawia.
'Janek never talks with anyone (literally: no-one).'

The **direct object of a negated verb** is normally genitive, even if the negation is not directly on the transitive verb but rather on an auxiliary or other verb governing a transitive infinitive:

Nie czytałem tej książki.
'I haven't read that book.'
Nie mam ochoty czytać tej książki.
'I have no desire to read that book.'

and even the older, literary:

Stary nie ma gdzie głowy (GEN) położyć.
'The old man does not have (any)where to put his head.'

versus the contemporary colloquial

Nie mam co (ACC) robić.
'I don't have anything to do.'

The last example illustrates one of two opposed tendencies affecting the genitive of negation (Buttler, Kurkowska and Satkiewicz 1971: 306–10). On the one hand, the accusative is expanding, particularly in sentences in which the negation is rhetorical and not real:

Nie wstyd ci mówić takie rzeczy?
'Aren't you ashamed to say such things?'

and in sentences in which the direct object is far from the negated predicate:

Polak nie ma obowiązku znać język francuski (języka francuskiego).
'A Pole is not obliged to know French.'

On the other hand, the genitive is expanding (as a hypercorrect form) into sentences in which the traditional accusative is used in a meaning other than direct object (for example, experiencer or accusative of time or space):

Głowa już ją (ACC) (jej (GEN)) nie boli.
'(Her) head doesn't hurt her any more.'
To nie potrwa dwie godziny (ACC) (dwóch godzin (GEN)).
'It won't last two hours.'

The genitive case replaces the nominative when *być* is negated to deny existence or presence. The verb is used in the third person singular (in the form *nie ma* in the present tense):

Kiełbasy nie ma.
'There isn't any sausage.'
Janka nie było na wykładzie.
'Janek wasn't at the lecture.'

If the focus, however, is not on absence but on presence elsewhere or on failure to go, the nominative remains:

Janek nie był na wykładzie. On był u lekarza.
'Janek wasn't at the lecture. He was at the doctor's.'
Basia nigdy nie była w Krakowie.
'Basia has never been to Cracow.'

The nominative also remains with other verbs denying existence:

To nie istnieje.
'That doesn't exist.'
Nie zaszły żadne zmiany.
'No changes occurred.'

4.7   Anaphora and pronouns

The most common device for expressing anaphora is the use of third-person pronouns (including the reflexive/reciprocal pronoun – see section 4.8). Subject pronouns are normally omitted except under conditions of emphasis, contrast and so forth. Thus in subject position zero anaphora is common; in non-subject position it is much less common:

Naprzeciwko nas idzie wysoki mężczyzna. Poznajesz (go)?
'There's a tall man heading towards us. Do you recognize (him)?'

Third-person subject pronouns are sometimes needed to resolve potential ambiguity. They are also used to mark a change of theme; in this function they often follow the verb (especially in written style):

Zadanie odbiorcy jest znacznie trudniejsze: musi on rozpoznać konkretną wartość
   każdego słowa.
                                                        (Nilsson 1982: 41–2)
'The task of the addressee is much more difficult: he must recognize the concrete
   value of each word.'

An expressive colloquial variant of the third-person subject pronoun is provided by demonstrative adjectives (Topolińska 1984: 308, 329):

O Jurka się nie martw! Ten/Taki sobie zawsze poradzi.
'Don't worry about Jurek. That one/That kind can always take care of himself.'

A generic term that can serve as a definite description for the hearer or reader is often used to refer to previously mentioned items:

Chciałbym porozmawiać z panem o pańskim synu. Chłopiec źle się uczy.
'I'd like to talk with you about your son. (The) boy is not doing well in school
(literally: is studying badly).'

as are noun phrases containing new information in a kind of quasi-anaphora (Topolińska 1984: 329):

Duszą towarzystwa był zięć Kowalskich. Młody architekt ...
'The Kowalskis' son-in-law was the life of the party. The young architect ...'

Special items used for noun-phrase anaphora include *powyższy* 'the above', *wymieniony/cytowany* 'the aforementioned', *tamten/pierwszy* 'the former', *ten/ostatni* 'the latter'. Note that a pronoun can serve as an anaphor for a non-referential noun phrase:

Chcę być prezydentem i będę nim.
'I want to be president and I will (be it).'

The deictic pronoun *to* and the relative pronoun *co* are used as sentence anaphors:

Janek nie zdał egzaminu, co mnie nie bardzo dziwi.
'Janek didn't pass the exam, which doesn't surprise me very much.'
Janek nie zdał egzaminu. To mnie nie bardzo dziwi.
'Janek didn't pass the exam. That doesn't surprise me ...'

An anaphoric element usually follows its controller (antecedent). The reverse order (cataphora) is subject to various restrictions. **Cataphora** (with explicit or zero cataphor) is possible within a single clause:

Po skończeniu studiów Tomek wyjechał do Ameryki.
'After graduating Tomek went to America.'

In coordinate clauses cataphora is impossible:

*Znam go$_i$, ale nie widzę Janka$_i$ tutaj.
'I know him$_i$ but I don't see Janek$_i$ here.'

In subordinate-clause constructions the cataphoric element must be in a clause subordinate to the one containing its controller:

Otkąd go$_i$ znam, nigdy Jurek$_i$ tu nie był.
'As long as I've known him$_i$, Jurek$_i$ has never been here.'
*Nigdy on$_i$ tu nie był, otkąd Jurka$_i$ znam.
'He$_i$ has never been here as long as I have known Jurek$_i$.'
Wydarzenie, którego ($\emptyset_i$) był świadkiem, wstrząsnęło Piotrem$_i$ do głębi.
'The event to which (he$_i$) had been a witness shook Peter$_i$ to his core.'

4.8   Reflexives and reciprocals

Reflexivity is expressed by forms of the reflexive pronoun (*siebie*), the reflexive possessive adjective (*swój*) and the emphatic pronoun (*sam*). The first two of these can also express reciprocity. What is historically the enclitic accusative form of the reflexive pronoun (*się*) only rarely has that function in the contemporary language; mostly it serves other syntactic and lexical functions. It does, however, serve as the enclitic accusative form when the reflexive pronoun is used in its reciprocal meaning (see below). Colloquial spoken Polish, but not the standard language, also has an enclitic dative form (*se*) of the reflexive/reciprocal pronoun.

In principle, reflexive elements refer back to a subject, which can be an explicit nominative subject, a zero anaphor or a generalized subject:

Janek$_i$ ciągle mówi o swoich$_i$ planach.
'Janek$_i$ is always talking about his$_i$ plans.'
Janek$_i$ się zapala, gdy ($\emptyset_i$) mówi o swoich$_i$ planach.
'Janek$_i$ gets excited when (he$_i$) talks about his$_i$ plans.'
Tak się nie mówi o swoich kolegach.
'One doesn't talk like that about one's friends.'

If the reflexive element is governed by a finite verb (or an infinitive in a subordinate clause), then the antecedent must be the subject of that verb:

Janek$_i$ kazał Piotrowi$_j$, żeby ($\emptyset_j$) przyniósł jego$_i$/swoją$_j$ książkę.
'Janek$_i$ told Piotr$_j$ ($\emptyset_j$) to bring his$_i$/his$_j$ book.'
Janek$_i$ rzucił myśl, żeby ($\emptyset_j$) wybrać go$_i$/*siebie$_i$ przewodniczącym.
'Janek$_i$ made the suggestion that ($\emptyset_j$) elect him$_i$ chairman.'

If, however, the reflexive element is governed by an infinitive not in a subordinate clause, by a verbal adjective or adverb or by a verbal noun, then the antecedent can be either the subject of that (de)verbal constituent or the subject of a higher verb:

Janek$_i$ kazał Piotrowi$_j$ ($\emptyset_j$) przynieść swoją$_{i/j}$ książkę.
'Janek$_i$ told Piotr$_j$ ($\emptyset_j$) to bring his$_{i/j}$ book.'
Syn$_i$ zmusza kolegów$_j$ do ($\emptyset_j$) sprzątania po sobie$_{i/j}$.
'(My) son$_i$ makes (his$_i$) friends$_j$ clean up after him$_i$/themselves$_j$.'

In fact, it seems that whenever a reflexive element is governed by something that can be interpreted as embodying a secondary predication, the (logical) subject of that predicate can serve as antecedent for the reflexive:

Janek$_i$ ocenia Ryśka$_j$ jako dobrego dla swojej$_{i/j}$ żony.
'Janek$_i$ views Rysiek$_j$ as kind to his$_{i/j}$ wife.'
Janek$_i$ pokłócił Basię$_j$ ze swoimi$_{i/j}$ kolegami.
'Janek$_i$ set Basia$_j$ at loggerheads with his$_i$/her$_j$ friends.'

In some sense these sentences are felt to contain the predication *Rysiek jest dobry* 'Rysiek is kind' and *Basia się kłóciła* 'Basia quarrelled'. (The verb *pokłócić* is a causative of *kłócić się*.) Compare a parallel sentence with possible reciprocal meaning:

Janek$_i$ pokłócił siostry$_j$ ze sobą$_{i/j}$.
'Janek$_i$ set the sisters$_j$ at loggerheads with him$_i$/each other$_j$.'

Anaphoric pronouns occasionally occur instead of, or as a variant to, reflexives:

(∅$_i$) Dostał tak miły dla siebie/niego$_i$ list.
'(He$_i$) got such a nice (for him$_i$) letter.'

Some speakers accept as an antecedent for a reflexive or reciprocal a non-nominative noun or pronoun that serves as the logical subject of the governing verb:

?Markowi$_i$ (DAT) brakowało swoich$_i$ przyjaciół.
'Mark$_i$ missed his$_i$ friends.'
?Ciągnie ich$_i$ (ACC) do siebie$_i$.
'They$_i$ are attracted to one another$_i$.'

The **reciprocal** reading of a reflexive pronoun or (more rarely) a reflexive possessive adjective is usually clear from context:

Często dzwonimy do siebie.
'We often call each other.'
W swoim towarzystwie czujemy się skrępowani.
'We feel ill at ease in each other's company.'

If not, the adverbs *wzajemnie* or *nawzajem* 'mutually' are sometimes used, or the reflexive/reciprocal element is replaced by the appropriate form of *jeden drugiego* 'one another':

Ciągle myślą o sobie.
'They're always thinking about themselves/one another.'
Ciągle myślą jeden o drugim.
'They're always thinking about one another.'

The pronoun *się* regularly serves as the enclitic form of reciprocal *siebie* (accusative or genitive) although it is severely restricted as the enclitic of reflexive *siebie*:

Kochamy siebie.
'We love ourselves/each other.'
Kochamy się.
'We love each other.'

but

Pocałuj się w nos!
'Go to hell! (literally: kiss yourself in the nose!)'

The antecedent of a reciprocal element must be in the same clause, but it can be a zero anaphor:

($\emptyset_i$) Przekonałem ich$_j$, że ($\emptyset_j$) nic nie wiedzą o sobie$_j$.
'(I$_i$) convinced them$_j$ that (they$_j$) don't know anything about each other$_j$/themselves$_j$.'

Reciprocals are even freer than reflexives in having non-subjects as antecedents:

($\emptyset_i$) Zapoznałem gości$_j$ ze sobą$_j$.
'(I$_i$) introduced the guests$_j$ one to another$_j$.'
Czas$_i$ spędzony razem pobudził w nich$_j$ miłość do siebie$_j$.
'The time$_i$ spent together awoke in them$_j$ love for one another$_j$.'

The **emphatic** element *sam* has both reflexive and non-reflexive functions. In its non-reflexive function it means 'X-self', 'by X-self' or 'alone' and shows normal adjectival agreement:

Napisałem do samego ministra.
'I wrote to the minister himself.'
Czy pani mieszka sama?
'Do you live alone?'

In its reflexive function it occurs in the nominative or (especially in non-finite constructions) dative, although the genitive plural is possible with a quantified antecedent and the dative (or even the masculine singular dative *samemu*) is sometimes generalized:

Zrobię to sam.
'I'll do it myself.'
Nie wypada iść tam samemu.
'One shouldn't go there oneself.'
Wielu studentów (GEN PL) idzie samych (GEN PL).
'Many students are going by themselves.'

4.9 Possession

Possession can be expressed with the verbs *mieć* 'have', *posiadać* 'possess' and *należeć* 'belong'.

The possessive adjectives of the first and second person (*mój, twój, nasz, wasz*) and the reflexive possessive *swój*, as well as *pański* (‹ *pan*) normally precede the noun they modify and agree with it in gender, number and case. Post-nominal use (*syn mój* 'my son') is expressive. The third-person possessives (*jego, jej, ich*) are indeclinable (and therefore non-agreeing) pre-nominal modifiers, as are the forms *pana* (‹ *pan*) and *pani* (‹ *pani*). These last five possessives are all identical to the genitive forms of the corresponding pronouns. The other non-familiar second-person possessives (*państwa* (for a mixed group), *panów* (for a group of men), *pań* (for a group of women)) are also genitive in origin, but they are used post-nominally like other genitive expressions of possession: *mój dom* 'my house', *pani dom* 'your (F non-familiar) house', *jego dom* 'his house' versus *dom państwa* 'your (PL non-familiar, mixed group) house', *dom naszego kolegi* 'our friend's house'. In spoken Polish genitive expressions of possession are sometimes preposed, especially when the noun refers to a person: *naszego kolegi siostra* 'our friend's sister'.

Possessive adjectives are normally omitted if the relationship is clear:

Jadę z mężem.
'I'm going with (my) husband.'

This is especially true of inalienable 'possessions' but is not limited to them:

Idę do biura.
'I'm going to (my/the) office.'

In some cases the possessive adjective is impossible. Compare

Basia złamała sobie nogę.
'Basia broke her leg.'
*Basia złamała swoją nogę.

The latter would be possible only if the leg in question were, say, a piece of sculpture (Wierzbicka 1988: 206–9).

Inalienable possessions (and some others) permit the use of a dative noun or pronoun to specify the possessor:

Józefowi (DAT) umarł ojciec.
'Józef's father died.'
Zajrzała mi (DAT) do gardła/do kieszeni.
'She looked into my throat/my pocket.'

Both possessive adjectives and genitive expressions of possession can be

used as predicates with the copula, but only when describing alienable possessions:

Ta książka jest moja/Janka.
'That book is mine/Janek's.'

but not

*Matka/Ręka jest moja/Janka.
'The mother/The hand is mine/Janek's.'

4.10   Quantification

If a noun phrase containing a cardinal number is in a position requiring the **accusative or any oblique case**, then the entire phrase is in that case:

Znam [tych trzech studentów]$_{ACC}$.
'I know those three (male) students.'
Znam [te trzy studentki]$_{ACC}$.
'I know those three (female) students.'
Byłem we [wszystkich czterdziestu dziewięciu województwach]$_{LOC}$.
'I've been in all forty-nine Polish provinces.'

(See section 3.1.5 for the forms.)

In a position requiring the **nominative** case, however, case and number assignments depend on the gender of the head noun. If it is **not masculine personal**, then the situation is as follows:

1   The numerals '2', '3', '4' and their compounds ('22', '164' and so forth) govern the nominative plural of nouns and adjectives in the noun phrase, plural forms of the verb, and nominative plural forms of predicate adjectives or passive participles:

   Te dwa duże konie są moje.
   'Those two big horses are mine.'

2   The numerals '5'–'21', '25'–'31', '35'–'41' and so forth govern the genitive plural of nouns and adjectives in the noun phrase and of adjectives or passive participles in the predicate, and govern third person singular (neuter) verb forms:

   Tych pięć nowych studentek było obecnych.
   'Those five new (female) students were present.'

   An adjective or, less commonly, a participle preceding the numeral can be in the nominative plural (*te pięć nowych studentek* ...).

When a subject/nominative noun phrase has a **masculine personal** noun as head, the situation is as follows:

1   The numerals '2', '3' and '4' enter into two constructions. In one the forms *dwaj, trzej, czterej* govern the nominative plural of nouns and adjectives in the noun phrase, plural forms of the verb and nominative plural forms of predicate adjectives or participles:

Ci dwaj nowi studenci byli obecni.
'Those two new (male) students were present.'

In the other the forms *dwóch, trzech, czterech* govern the genitive plural of nouns and adjectives in the noun phrase, third person singular (neuter) forms of the verb and genitive plural forms of predicate adjectives or participles:

Dwóch nowych studentów zostało wybranych.
'Two new (male) students were elected.'

In compounds of '2', '3', '4', only the second set of forms is used. Use of the second set is expanding even for non-compound numerals, but there is also some evidence of a semantic distinction between the two sets, with a tendency to use *dwóch, trzech, czterech* simply to specify quantity ('two' or 'two of (them)' and so forth) and *dwaj, trzej czterej* to specify quantity and mark definiteness ('the two').

2   Starting with '5' the only forms available to use with masculine-personal nouns in subject noun phrases are forms that govern the genitive plural (*pięciu, dwudziestu* and so forth):

Wszystkich pięciu studentów przyszło.
'All five (male) students came.'

The quantifiers *ile* 'how many', *tyle* 'so many', *parę* 'a couple', *kilka* 'several' (and its compounds *kilkanaście* '10–20', *kilkadziesiąt* 'several dozen', *kilkaset* 'several hundred') and *wiele* 'many' behave syntactically like cardinal numbers '5' and above. *Dużo* is a synonym of *wiele* but is used only in contexts requiring nominative or accusative.

Collective numerals (*dwoje, troje* and so forth) are used with some pluralia tantum (*dwoje drzwi* 'two doors'); with some nouns designating paired objects (*dwoje oczu* 'two eyes'); with neuter nouns in *-ę/-ęta* (*kilkoro zwierząt* 'several animals'); with certain specific nouns (*dziecko* 'child'); and to indicate a human group of mixed sex (*sześcioro studentów* versus *sześciu studentów* (all male) versus *sześć studentek* (all female); *my dwoje* or *nas dwoje* 'the two of us'). If a noun phrase containing a collective numeral is in a context requiring dative or locative, then the whole phrase will be in that case:

Zadałem to dwojgu studentom.
'I assigned that to two (male + female) students.'

Otherwise (and optionally for locative) the collective numeral governs the

genitive plural of the head noun and, in subject position, governs a verb in the third person singular (neuter). A predicate adjective or participle can be in the genitive plural or neuter singular:

Dwoje źrebiąt było uwiązane/uwiązanych u płotu.
'Two colts were tethered at the fence.'

The above statements describe the syntax of quantifiers from a normative point of view. Actual usage is more varied. A number of tendencies can be observed. (See also section 3.1.5 on changes in inflection.) (a) Collective numerals are often replaced by cardinal numerals, except where there is a difference in meaning. (b) Many speakers use third-person (neuter) verb forms even with subject noun phrases containing '2', '3', '4' and their compounds. (c) The use of genitive plural for predicate adjectives and participles is spreading. (d) Certain nouns used as quantifiers are tending to acquire numeral-like syntax:

Szereg osób wiedziało o tym.
'A number of people knew about that.'

or even *w szeregu* (LOC) *miastach* (LOC) 'in a number of cities' instead of the traditional *w szeregu miast* (GEN).

5   Lexis

5.1   General composition of the word-stock

In the mid-1930s Tadeusz Lehr-Spławiński compared data from the two existing Slavonic etymological dictionaries with his own vocabulary and concluded that the active vocabulary of the average educated speaker of Polish at that time (estimated at 8,000 words) preserved more than 1,700 Proto-Slavonic words. (He counted only words that had survived without basic changes in meaning or structure.) By comparison, the largest dictionary of Polish (Doroszewski 1958–69) contains some 125,000 words. Some of Lehr's words are no longer in active use (*świekier* 'father-in-law'); however, his list would have been much longer had he included Polish words built out of Proto-Slavonic elements.

Some forty years later Jiří Damborský analysed the 37,319 entires in the one-volume abridgement of Doroszewski's dictionary and concluded that these consisted of 28,532 'native' words and 8,787 'foreign' words. Of the foreign words, nearly 30 per cent were of Latin origin; French and Greek each provided over 14 per cent; German, over 10 per cent; and English and Italian, each around 3.5 per cent. Words of Slavonic (Russian, Ukrainian, Czech) origin constituted a little over 2 per cent. A somewhat different picture is provided by analyses of post-Second World War neologisms,

which suggest English, Russian and international (often Greco-Latin) terminology as major sources of borrowings. It has been claimed that – at least for neologisms in the press in the late 1970s – some 90 per cent of neologisms are perceived by native speakers as foreign in origin.

5.2   Patterns of borrowing

The earliest borrowings into Polish were from Czech and German, with the former sometimes serving as a conduit for the latter and both so serving for Latin. Starting in the sixteenth century, Latin became a direct source as Czech became less influential. (After its early role as a source of borrowings in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, German lost its influence until the nineteenth century.) French and Italian both started to play a role in the sixteenth century, but Italian influence declined in the seventeenth century, while French remained important until the mid-nineteenth century. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries also brought borrowings from Ukrainian and Belorussian and, through them or directly, from Turkic. In the nineteenth century Russian and English (the latter initially via French and German) appeared as source languages; their influence became especially strong in the period following the Second World War. Currently, English and international terminology are the major sources of neologisms.

Some examples of borrowings from Czech: the name *Władysław* (for Polish *Włodzisław*); from German via Czech: *żart* 'joke'; from Latin via Czech: *biskup* 'bishop'; from French: *parter* 'ground floor'; from Italian: *impreza* 'show; spectacle'; from Ukrainian: *hulać* 'make merry'; from Turkish via Ukrainian: *kaftan* 'caftan'; from German: *szwagier* 'brother-in-law'; from Russian: *nieudacznik* 'hapless person'; from English: *stres* 'stress'.

Foreign influence is also apparent in lexical, phraseological and semantic calques like *listonosz* 'letter carrier' (compare German *Briefträger*), *racja stanu* 'reason of state' (compare French *raison d'état*), *jastrzębie* '(military) hawks'.

5.3   Incorporation of borrowings

Borrowed nouns that end in a consonant or *-a* are declined regularly like the corresponding native masculine or feminine nouns. Since the category of non-suffixal native nouns ending in *-o* or *-e* is closed, borrowed nouns ending in these vowels – or in any others – are normally not declined: *dżudo, atelier* (pronounced as in French with final [e]), *alibi, menu, jury*. An indeclinable noun referring to a human being gets its gender referentially (for example, *attaché* is masculine or feminine depending on the person in question); other indeclinable nouns are normally neuter unless they take masculine or feminine gender from a generic term (*kiwi*, masculine because of *ptak* 'bird').

Borrowings may undergo adaptation to make them fit native declensional types or to make the declensional type fit referential gender, for example spelling pronunciation (*bufet* – inflected masculine – versus *foyer* – undeclined neuter pronounced [fwaje] as in French); depluralization (*fotos* 'publicity photo' – singular from English plural); gender adjustment (*girlsa* 'chorus girl').

Some borrowings in *-o* are used both with and without declension (*bistro*). This may be in keeping with the greater tendency of spoken Polish to regularize, which is also reflected in the declension of foreign geographical names not normally declined in written style: *do Tokia* 'to Tokyo'. Foreign family names in *-i, -y* or *-e* are declined like adjectives: *Kennedy,* genitive *Kennedy'ego.*

Polish has borrowed several adjectives that are not declined and are usually used post-nominally (*suknia bordo* 'bordeau dress'). Some have begun to function as combining forms (*spódniczka mini* or *minispódniczka* 'miniskirt').

Verbs based on borrowed material, usually with infinitives in *-ować,* may be bi-aspectual (*internować* 'intern'), but more often they are integrated into the Polish aspectual system through the creation of prefixed perfective form (*zaimportować* 'import'). Sometimes the verb is first attested in a prefixed perfective form, which implies the potential existence of an unprefixed imperfective (perfective *splagiatować* 'plagiarize' (TR) implies imperfective *?plagiatować*) or suffixal imperfective (perfective *przetestować* 'retest' implies imperfective *?przetestowywać*).

5.4   Lexical fields

5.4.1   Colour terms

white	biały
black	czarny
red	czerwony
green	zielony
yellow	żółty
blue	niebieski
brown	brązowy
purple	fioletowy
pink	różowy
orange	pomarańczowy
grey	szary

Eight of the above eleven names are basic; the possible exceptions are *fioletowy* (‹ *fiolet* '(the flower) violet'), *pomarańczowy* (‹ *pomarańcza* '(the fruit) orange') and *różowy* (‹ *róża* '(the flower) rose'). All three are of relatively low frequency and the first two are almost absent from

phraseological combinations (but are supported by their 'official' position in the rainbow). *Różowy* is used slightly more frequently than the other two and plays a much greater role in phraseology. English *brown* more often corresponds to Polish *brunatny* than to Polish *brązowy* (with its initial meaning 'made of bronze'), but the latter is the more basic term, with *brunatny* defined as a dark shade of *brązowy*. A second translation of *blue* is *błękitny,* a more poetic synonym of the basic *niebieski* (‹ *niebo* 'sky'). Various shades of dark blue have their own names (*modry, granatowy* and regionally *siny* (more generally 'blue-violet')), but none are basic colours. *Purpurowy* for 'purple' is on the red side of *fioletowy,* being defined as 'dark red with a violet hue'. The alternative translations of *grey, popielaty* (‹ *popiół* 'ashes') and *siwy,* are on the light side, with the latter used primarily to describe hair colour.

5.4.2   Body parts

head	głowa
eye	oko
nose	nos
ear	ucho
mouth	usta
hair	włosy
neck	szyja, kark
arm/hand	ręka, ramię, dłoń
finger	palec (u ręki)
leg/foot	noga, stopa
toe	palec (u nogi)
chest	piersi
heart	serce

The neck as a solid body is *szyja*; *kark* refers to the nape (back) of the neck. The whole back from the *kark* to the small of the back (*krzyże*) is *grzbiet.* The back from the shoulders to the waist is *plecy* or *barki.* In the singular *bark* usually means 'shoulder'. 'Shoulder' is also one of the meanings of *ramię,* which can also refer to the upper arm and, loosely, to the whole arm. The whole arm can also be called *ręka,* the primary meaning of which is 'hand'. The word *dłoń* can mean both 'palm' and 'hand'. In parallel with *ręka,* the word *noga* can mean both 'leg' and 'foot'; for the latter there is an unambiguous term *stopa.*

The term for 'mouth', *usta,* belongs to the category of pluralia tantum. The word for 'hair', *włosy,* is also plural, but its singular *włos* exists and means 'one single hair'. In the meaning 'chest' the plural form *piersi* is normal; the singular *pierś* usually means 'a breast'.

5.4.3   Kinship terms

mother	matka
father	ojciec
sister	siostra
brother	brat
aunt	ciocia (ciotka)
uncle	wujek
niece	bratanica, siostrzenica
nephew	bratanek, siostrzeniec
cousin (female)	kuzynka
cousin (male)	kuzyn
grandmother	babcia
grandfather	dziadek
wife	żona
husband	mąż
daughter	córka
son	syn

There is no single term for 'niece' or for 'nephew'; in both cases Polish distinguishes a brother's child (*bratanica, bratanek*) from a sister's child (*siostrzenica, siostrzeniec*). The terms *babcia* and *wujek*, although histori-cally hypocoristics, are more common as basic terms than *babka* and *wuj*. For 'aunt', however, *ciocia* and *ciotka* are equally frequent. The hypo-coristics *mama* (for *matka*) and *tata* (for *ojciec*) are very common.

Although most speakers use only the listed terms for 'uncle' and 'aunt' (and children use them as a form of address and to refer to miscellaneous adults, related or not), many speakers have passive knowledge of a more traditional system of kinship terminology (still used actively by some speakers), in which *wuj* is 'mother's brother' or 'aunt's husband', while 'father's brother' is *stryj*. In this same system *ciotka* is only 'mother's (father's) sister'; an aunt by marriage is *wujna/wujenka* or *stryjna/ stryjenka*. The older system also involved a more complicated taxonomy of cousins – known passively to many speakers but normally simplified in active use to *kuzyn/kuzynka* – based on which blood relative the cousin is a child of: *wuj, stryj* or *ciotka*. Thus among male cousins one distinguishes *brat wujeczny, brat stryjeczny* and *brat cioteczny*, and similarly for female cousins.

6   Dialects

The Polish linguistic territory has traditionally been divided into five major dialect areas, corresponding to the historical–geographic regions of Małopolska, Wielkopolska, Mazowsze, Śląsk (Silesia) and Kaszuby (see map 12.1). This division does not include the territories in the west and

Map 12.1   The five major dialect areas of Polish

north (approximately 25 per cent of present-day Poland) that were acquired from Germany at the end of the Second World War and which are said to be populated by speakers of 'new mixed dialects' created as a result of the population movements of the immediate post-war period. (The territories in the east lost to the Soviet Union in 1939 were generally not considered to represent a separate dialect area.)

Most present-day dialect speakers show diglossia: they speak both the dialect and the standard language or some approximation thereto, that is, an urban 'substandard' or a rural 'interdialect' (Topolińska and Vidoeski 1984: 35–53). The latter term refers to the best possible approximation of the standard language given the local linguistic resources, for example the use of a form like [kośula] to represent standard [košula] (orthographic *koszula* 'shirt') by a speaker whose native dialect has [kosula].

Two features have traditionally been used to define the five major dialect areas. The voicing of word-final obstruents before word-initial

vowels and sonorants ([bradmuj] for orthographic *brat mój* 'my brother') is characteristic of Małopolska, Wielkopolska and Silesia, and distinguishes them from Mazowsze and Kaszuby, where obstruents are voiceless in that context ([vusmuj] for orthographic *wóz mój* 'my wagon' – see section 2.1). Secondly, the repertoire of central fricatives and affricates distinguishes Małopolska and Mazowsze (where the alveolar series collapsed with the dental series, leaving only /s/, /z/, /c/ and /dz/) both from Wielkopolska (where the dentals, alveolars and palatals are all distinct, that is, /s/ versus /sz/ versus /ś/ and so forth as in the standard language) and from Kaszuby (where there are no palatals). Northern Silesian dialects show the loss of the alveolar series (like Małopolska and Mazowsze; the phenomenon is known in the literature as *mazurzenie*), while southern Silesian dialects preserve the three-way distinction (like Wielkopolska).

Other dialect features include the treatment of the historical nasal vowels and long vowels, the results of secondary palatalization of velars before front vowels, the presence or absence of a category of masculine-personal nouns, relics of the dual in declension and conjugation, the mutual interference of declension paradigms, the presence or absence of personal clitics/endings in the past tense and patterns of nominal and verbal derivation.

Some dialect features also characterize regional variants of the standard language, for example voicing sandhi; the derivation of names of young animals in *-ę* versus *-ak* (southern *cielę* versus northern *cielak* 'calf'); lexical differences ('blueberries' are *borówki* in Cracow but *czarne jagody* or simply *jagody* in Warsaw).

What most Polish linguists view as the Polish dialects of the Kaszuby area are often viewed outside Poland as dialects of a separate Cassubian language. (See chapter 13.) The Polish view is motivated, among other things, by the apparent lack of a national identity among the Cassubians, who – it is claimed – view themselves rather as an ethnic group within the Polish nation. None the less, there have been recent attempts to create a literary standard for Cassubian.

Other Polish dialects have occasionally been used for literary purposes (particularly those of Silesia and of the Podhale area in the southern mountains), but without any systematic efforts at standardization. The attempt (beginning in the 1930s) to create a literary language based on Polish–Czech transitional dialects in the Ostrava area of Czechoslovakia – the so-called 'literary laština' or 'Lekhian' – has resulted in a literary idiolect used only by the poet Óndra Łysohorský.

Acknowledgements

ideas and examples have contributed greatly to this chapter. I am indebted to them and to my native-speaker consultants, Dorota Szlenk, Kazimierz Grześlak and Dr Halina Zuchowicz.

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