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**Title:** Polish and english diminutives in literary translation : pragmatic and cross-cultural perspectives = Polskie i angielskie zdrobnienia w przekładzie literackim : perspektywa pragmatyczna i międzykulturowa

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**UNIWERSYTET ŚLĄSKI W KATOWICACH  
WYDZIAŁ FILOLOGICZNY**

**PAULINA BIAŁY**

**PRACA DOKTORSKA**

**POLISH AND ENGLISH DIMINUTIVES  
IN LITERARY TRANSLATION:  
PRAGMATIC AND CROSS-CULTURAL  
PERSPECTIVES**

**POLSKIE I ANGIELSKIE ZDROBNIENIA  
W PRZEKŁADZIE LITERACKIM.  
PERSPEKTYWA PRAGMATYCZNA  
I MIĘDZYKULTUROWA**

**Promotor: DR HAB. BOŻENA CETNAROWSKA**

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## 1. Introduction

Contrary to English, Polish is characterized by a considerable frequency of the occurrence of diminutives. They may be used in numerous linguistic contexts, expressing speaker's attitude towards issues being raised. The multiplicity of meanings presented by diminutive forms constitutes absorbing material for research, as one can detail specific linguistic situations in which they occur most frequently.

Due to the multiplicity of diminutive meanings, the process of diminutivization may be investigated in various areas of study. Different aspects of diminutives and the relevant fields of linguistic study are presented in the form of a graph provided by Schneider (2003: 59):

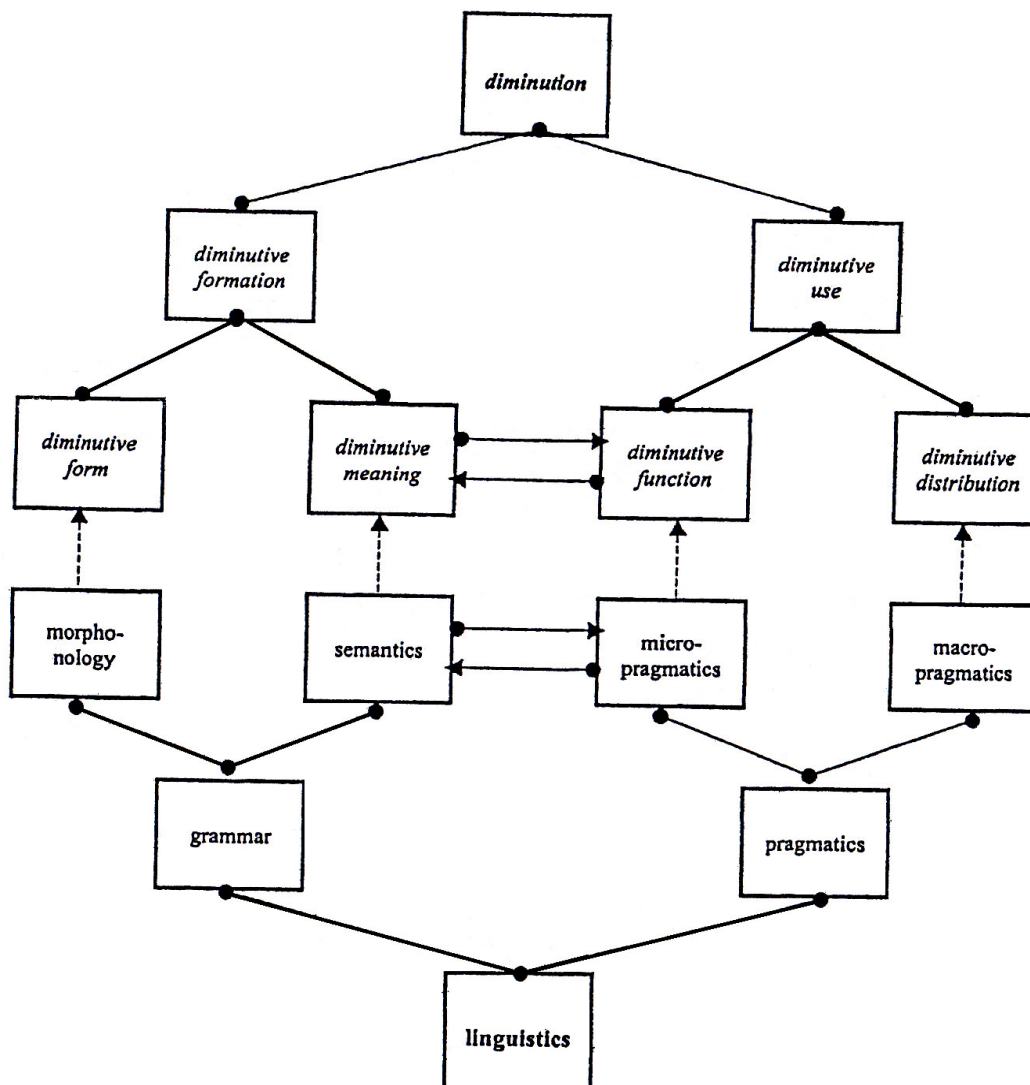


Figure 1. Schneider's (2003: 59) illustration of different aspects of diminutives and the relevant disciplines in linguistics

Diminutives are often described as the morphological means used for expressive purposes such as communicating different sorts of emotions, attitudes, connotations, and evaluations (Szymanek, 2010: 202). That is why diminutivization is often treated as a separate area of morphology, referred to as expressive/evaluative/affective morphology (see Bauer, 1997; Volek, 1987). On the other hand, Dressler and Barbaresi (1994: 55) introduce the term ‘morphopragmatics’ (characterized as morphologized pragmatics), which can be defined as “the area of the general pragmatic meanings of morphological rules, that is, of the regular pragmatic effects produced when moving from the input to the output of a morphological rule”. They also explain that “a morphological rule is relevant for morphopragmatics if it contains a pragmatic variable which cannot be suppressed in the description of its meaning” (Dressler and Barbaresi, 1994: 55).

When discussing diminutive forms, it is essential to underline the correlation between semantics, which deals with the meaning of diminutives without the context, and pragmatics, which deals with the use and function of diminutives within context. Dressler and Barbaresi (1994: 4) support a pragmaticist view, which includes semantics within pragmatics as meaning in context. Nevertheless, as they do not want to investigate areas of morphological meaning which can be discussed within morphosemantics only, they believe that “despite the pragmatic basis of semantics and the impossibility of drawing sharp boundaries – pragmatics and semantics can be treated as separate disciplines which complement and enrich each other (see Leech, 1983: 6-7; Levinson, 1979: 217-218). They are of the opinion that semantics is “what remains of meaning if all pragmatic variables (...) are ignored”, whereas pragmatics deals with all the aspects of meaning determined by the introduction of such variables” (Dressler and Barbaresi, 1994: 4). Thus, they claim that “pragmatic meaning (...) is global meaning (meaning as use) minus semantic meaning” (Dressler and Barbaresi, 1994: 4). It may be stated that a particular meaning of a given diminutive form depends on the circumstances in which it is applied in conversation. Therefore, when it comes to diminutives, pragmatics is of prime importance, since it is important to understand how interlocutors use diminutive forms in their language. Following Dressler and Barbaresi (1994: 1), it should also be underlined that the meaning of such morphological devices as diminutive suffixes “appears to be primarily located in pragmatics”, as they “exhibit no stable semantic value and their meaning seems to be often elusive” (Dressler and Barbaresi, 1994: 1).

Nevertheless, because of the fact that diminutives almost never express only their fundamental meaning of smallness, as usually they are accompanied by some emotional tinge (see Gawroński, 1928; Zarębina, 1954; Wierzbicka, 1999; Handke, 1995: 93-94), each area of

study underlines the fact that diminutives are by all means linked with the speaker's positive or negative emotions (see Foolen, 1997; Gąsiorek, 2000), when, by using a particular language, he/she wants to a) express his/her attitude towards the reality or the present state of affairs, or b) he/she wants to achieve something (Data, 2000: 246). As mentioned before, diminutives belong to the group of expressive linguistic forms, which are most often used in colloquial language (Zgólkowa, 1991: 49; Skubalanka, 1973: 180-181; Dunaj, Przybylska, and Sikora, 1999: 236; Podracki, 2012: 180; Liseling Nilsson, 2012: 123)<sup>1</sup>. Grabias (1988: 37) writes that a linguistic expression may be defined as the mechanism in which the speaker becomes apparent in a given utterance. Emotions, which accompany this process, constitute a particular type of expression, which consists in the manifestation of feelings. Therefore, expressive linguistic forms are the ones with the use of which the speaker expresses his/her emotional attitude towards the world he/she lives in, or the features of his/her personality are revealed (Lubaś, 2003: 181; Przybyła, 2001: 188). Kaproń-Charzyńska (2007: 149) adds that they also help the speaker judge particular phenomena 'as to value' (Dressler and Barbaresi, 1994: 153; Bartmiński, 2007: 103; see also Puzynina, 1992; Laskowska, 1992), and signal a given way of speaking.

Kryk-Kastovsky (1997: 155) defines emotions as "spontaneous human reactions to reality" and points out that the understanding of the term 'emotion' differs from culture to culture and from language to language, thus, the labels for particular emotions are language-specific and difficult to compare cross-linguistically.

Nevertheless, the following paper constitutes an attempt to examine the ways in which diminutives may express emotions in both Polish and English by comparing English and Polish diminutives, their formation, frequency of usage, their functions and meanings in language and language communication, and sociolinguistic contexts in which they occur in both languages.

Chapter 2 of this paper discusses issues concerning Polish and English culture and its influence on the use of diminutives by Poles and the English. In chapter 3 particular linguistic means used to create diminutives in Polish and English are presented, as diminutive forms may be formed both analytically and synthetically. Chapter 4 discusses the most significant theories concerning the meanings of Polish and English diminutives, as well as the distinction between the denotative and connotative meanings of diminutive forms. The author of this

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<sup>1</sup> Dąbrowska (1992: 151) underlines the fact that diminutives in many cases function as euphemisms in colloquial language, expressing positive attitude of the speaker towards the designatum.



thesis depends on the maximalist view, which attributes the denotative meanings of diminutives to semantics and the connotative meanings of diminutive forms to pragmatics, due to the fact that the semantic connotations can be derived from pragmatics (see Dressler and Barbaresi, 1994: 141)<sup>2</sup>. Chapter 5 aims at analyzing diminutives from the point of view of pragmatics, as diminutive forms may be used in various types of speech acts. In chapter 6 particular sociolinguistic contexts of using diminutives by Poles and the English are presented, and in chapter 7 some methods of translating diminutives into English and Polish are discussed. The theoretical part of the thesis is illustrated by examples of non-literary data, that is, spontaneous spoken utterances taken from authentic dialogues which the author of this paper and her friend witnessed in such places as the restaurant, bus or market and from everyday conversations of parents with their children aged 2-10.

As it is worth checking with the use of which means English translators provide equivalents for Polish diminutives (e.g. in the case of multiple diminutives such as Polish *mamusieńka* when referring to a mother), chapter 8 aims at analyzing chosen examples of Polish and English literary works, trying to confirm two hypotheses. Firstly, it is assumed that there are more diminutives in Polish translations of English books than in the original version, as Polish translators tend to enrich their translations with diminutive forms. Secondly, that English translations of Polish literature are deprived of many diminutives, as it may be difficult for English translators to render all the meanings and contexts of Polish diminutive forms. The analytical part of the thesis is based on literary works<sup>3</sup>, as literary style is considered to be “the only complete usage of the means of language” (Dressler and Barbaresi, 1994: 380). Moreover, the author of the thesis agrees with Dressler and Barbaresi (1994: 393) that the pragmatics of diminutives in literary style is the same as in the general use of diminutives.

It seems necessary to analyze diminutives comprehensively, as mostly only the morphology of diminutive forms was thoroughly discussed (Adams, 2001; Plag, 2003; Quirk, 1979 – in English, Szymanek, 2010; Grzegorzczkova, 1984; Dobrzyński, 1988 – in Polish), whereas the issues concerning the influence of culture on the presence of diminutives in a given language, pragmatic functions of diminutives in language communication or

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<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, it should be underlined that, in the case of diminutives, linguists’ approach to the terminology differs significantly, as each linguist provides his/her own, often dissimilar, proposal for classifying diminutive forms.

<sup>3</sup> The author of the thesis analysed chosen literary works in their entirety.

translation equivalence of diminutives were not given much attention. Thus, the author of the paper will attempt to answer the following questions:

- What is the most common way of forming diminutives in Polish and English in the texts examined in chapter 8?
- Are diminutives used in all types of speech acts and in all sociolinguistic contexts? In which types of speech acts and sociolinguistic contexts are they used most often?
- Do the corpus data confirm the hypothesis that the use of diminutives in English and Polish is related to culture?
- In which types of meanings are diminutives employed most frequently? Are there more denotative or connotative meanings of diminutives in English and Polish in the texts under investigation? Which meanings are applied more often?
- What are the most common strategies of translating diminutives into English and Polish? Is it possible to render the meaning of a given diminutive properly?

Chapter 9. aims at summarizing most important issues and answering the above-mentioned questions.

## **2. Cultural influence on the usage of diminutives by the English and the Poles**

The use of diminutives by the speakers of a particular language is strictly related to their culture. It reflects their cultural values, views and patterns of behaviour, as, according to Lockyer (2012: 21), “at the core of diminutives lies a deeply embedded cultural worldview”.

### **2.1. The problem of the definition of culture**

Bednarczyk (2002: 5) defines culture as all things which are the results of the collective activity of societies. It is everything that was acquired, learnt and produced by people in contrast with everything that was biologically inherited. Originally, the term was used to refer to farming, later, metaphorically, to other spheres of man’s activity. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century the term “culture” was synonymous with the term “civilization”. Later, “civilization” began to mean the financial achievements of a society, whereas “culture” – the spiritual ones. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century “culture” was considered to be a system of patterns of behaviour characteristic of a given society.

Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov (2010: 6) provide even more modern definition of culture, which is described by them as “the collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from others”, whereas national culture is defined as “the collective programming of the mind acquired by growing up in a particular country” (Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov, 2010: 520). Following Singelis and Brown, Bogdanowska-Jakubowska (2010: 262) explains that “culture affects the development of an individual’s psychological make-up, which, in turn, affects communication behavior”.

### **2.2. The interrelationship between culture and language**

Language is a creation of culture and, at the same time, one of culture’s most important elements, as it contains the most essential features of culture. Language is a record, established in a given culture, of methods of conceptualizing, categorizing and evaluating the reality (Anusiewicz, 1994: 12). Sapir (1978: 62) believes that language is a reflection of a given culture. Wierzbicka (2007: 23) adds that language not only reflects culture, but also shapes it, as, according to the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (also called the theory of linguistic relativity), the structure of a given language influences the way one thinks and behaves.

Nevertheless, as Kramersch (2000: 14) notices, we are “not prisoners of the cultural meanings offered to us by our language, but can enrich them in our pragmatic interactions with other language users”. He also adds that language expresses, embodies and symbolizes cultural reality, as it “is a system of signs that is seen as having itself a cultural value. Speakers identify themselves and others through their use of language; they view their language as a symbol of their social identity” (Kramersch, 2000: 3).

Following Boas, Anusiewicz (1994: 18) believes that language is one of the most essential manifestations of a given culture. Following Krapiec, he claims that language explains culture (Anusiewicz, 1994: 14). He is also of the opinion that language is a fundamental source of knowledge on the culture of a given community (Anusiewicz, 1994: 8).

Taking into account the above-mentioned assumptions, it could be stated that language is culturally-determined. According to Wierzbicka (2007: 21) and Anusiewicz (1994: 14) this is clearly reflected in the semantics of a particular language. Therefore, the use of diminutives is culturally-determined as well.

### **2.3. Translating languages – translating cultures**

More specifically concerned with language and translation, Newmark defines culture as “the way of life and its manifestations that are peculiar to a community that uses a particular language as its means of expression” (Newmark, 1988: 94). Thus, he acknowledges that each language group has its own culturally specific features. Later on, he clearly states that he does not “regard language as a component or feature of culture” (Newmark, 1988: 95), which is in direct opposition to the Vermeer’s view, who claims that “language is a part of culture” (Vermeer, 1989: 222). Lotman and Uspensky (1978: 212) share Vermeer’s opinion and claim that “no language can exist unless it is steeped in the context of culture; and no culture can exist which does not have at its center the structure of natural language.”

Bassnett (1991: 13-14) also elaborates on this subject and underlines the importance of this coexistence by stating that language is “the heart within the body of culture”, with the survival of both aspects being interdependent. While transferring meaning, linguistic notions are seen as being only a part of the translation process and “a whole set of extra-linguistic criteria” must also be considered. Later on, he points out that “the translator must tackle the SL text in such a way that the TL version will correspond to the SL version” (Bassnett, 1991:

23). An attempt to impose the value system of the SL culture onto the TL culture is a dangerous matter. Thus, while translating, the translator should consider not only the lexical impact on the TL reader, but also the manner in which cultural aspects are perceived, and make decisions concerning translation accordingly.

According to Bednarczyk (2002: 21), when translating a text, which is read by people belonging to the target culture, the translator is at the same time the member of an audience belonging to the source culture. Consequently, the translation is influenced both by the source and target culture. The source culture influences the author of a particular text in many ways – his/her language, its structure and idioms, metaphors he/she uses, references to the literature and reality in which he/she lives. The references may concern not only the native literature but also the foreign one. Good examples would be *The Bible* or ancient Greek myths. As far as the reality is concerned, the references may concern the political and social issues which influence the author and he/she is not always aware of this influence. The issues may be very traditional or even historical but also up-to-the-minute (Bednarczyk, 2002: 21). The same happens to the translator. His/her translation is a part of his/her native literature as he/she is influenced by the target culture in the same way as the author is influenced by the source culture. Moreover, the translator enriches the target culture with translated literature (Bednarczyk, 2002: 18).

Tabakowska (2002: 25) agrees that ‘cultural barriers’, which often pose significant problems for translators, result, among other things, from differences in the lexicon and pragmatic conventions (such as polite formulas or addressative forms) of two given languages. She emphasizes the fact that culturally-determined categorization of non-linguistic reality is reflected in the lack of vocabulary equivalence, and the use of diminutives is “one of the obvious examples” of this (Tabakowska, 2002: 25, 27-28). As a cognitivist, she is of the opinion that interlingual translation involves a clash between two cultures rather than two languages, and the translator becomes a mediator between them (Tabakowska, 2002: 26).

Translation of diminutives is considered by many linguists as problematic and questionable. Nevertheless, even though diminutive forms may be perceived as untranslatable linguistic means, it is possible to render at least a part of their meaning in the target language (see chapter 7.5.).

## **2.4. The English and the Poles – two different cultures, two different approaches to the use of diminutives**

Both English and Polish cultures are currently under the influence of globalization, Americanisation and marketisation (Diniejko, 2008: 70; Bogdanowska-Jakubowska, 2010: 179-181). Nevertheless, some aspects of these cultures remain unchanged. Poles living in English-speaking country very often complain about English insincerity or insincere friendliness, while they themselves are considered over-polite and servile (Jakubowska, 1999: 55). Polite norms differ from one culture to another, as every culture has its own patterns of behaviour. As already mentioned, every culture influences the language of its members. Therefore, it could be stated that both English and Polish culture influence the use of diminutives by their members.

### **2.4.1. The individualistic culture of Englishmen and its influence on the presence of diminutives in their language**

There has always been a distinction between Englishness and Britishness. According to Diniejko (2008: 60-61), Englishness has always had to compete with Britishness. He writes that “in the Victorian times a serious threat to the notion of Englishness was the emerging British identity. The notion of Britishness was associated with the imperial idea. Since that time the notion of Englishness has undergone a series of crises”.

English culture can be traced back to Anglo-Saxon origin (Diniejko, 2008: 58) and is perceived as vertical individualistic one (*kultura indywidualizująca*), in which people tend to stand out from others and value freedom (Bogdanowska-Jakubowska, 2010: 155; Wierzbicka, 1985: 150; Linde-Usiekniewicz, 2007: 29; Biel, 2007: 514; see also Paxman, 2007 and Lubecka, 2000). According to Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov (2010: 92), individualism refers to “societies in which the ties between individuals are loose: everyone is expected to look after him- or herself and his or her immediate family”. As Miall and Milsted (2011: 10) write, “English island mentality takes the form of a well-developed sense of individual personal freedom. They are fond of their rights, especially the right to privacy and the right to preserve one’s personal space. This is an area surrounding each individual, which it is not good manners to invade”.

When it comes to express emotions, “the English find a display of emotion disconcerting” (Miall and Milsted, 2011: 11). Diniejko (2008: 61) mentions Charles Dickens

who, in his opinion, is very much concerned with the representation of an Englishman. He writes that “Dickens’ constructions of Englishness include a number of overlapping qualities, such as industriousness, individuality, practicality or pragmatic ingenuity, personal independence, moral courage blended with the gentlemanly ideal and a certain degree of eccentricity”. That is why English society has an orientation towards negative politeness (Jakubowska, 1999: 33; Stewart, 2005: 118). Nevertheless, the English are very polite and have good manners (Kleparski, 2000: 34; Wierzbicka, 1985).

From Polish point of view, English culture may be perceived as lacking warmth, spontaneity or directness, and the English themselves as restrained and matter-of-fact (Szostkiewicz, 2005: 88-89; 90-91; Wierzbicka, 1999: 215, 217; Tomczak, 2005: 330-331). In her book *Lost in Translation: A Life in a New language*, Polish emigrant, Eva Hoffman, writes (1989: 146):

My mother says I’m becoming ‘English’. This hurts me, because I know she means I’m becoming cold. I’m no colder than I’ve ever been, but I’m learning to be less demonstrative. I learn this from a teacher who, after contemplating the gesticulations with which I help myself describe the digestive system of a frog, tells me to ‘sit on my hands and then try talking’. I learn my new reserve from people who take a step back when we talk, because I’m standing too close, crowding them. Cultural distances are different, I later learn in a sociology class, but I know it already. I learn restraint from Penny, who looks offended when I shake her by the arm in excitement, as if my gesture had been one of aggression instead of friendliness. I learn it from a girl who pulls away when I hook my arm through hers as we walk down the street – this movement of friendly intimacy is an embarrassment to her.

Hoffman differentiates between English coldness and Polish warmth; between English lack in feelings and Polish intensity and spontaneity of expressing emotions, which she describes as “storminess of emotion” (Hoffman, 1989: 146-147).

Wierzbicka (1985: 166) is of the opinion that the productive diminutive derivation, which, in her opinion, in English “hardly exist at all”, can serve as a good example which proves this belief. In general, English society seems to be more reserved than any other European nation (Kleparski, 2000: 34; Mikes, 1987: 30-31). Jespersen (1972: 8) is of the opinion that

an Englishman does not like to commit himself by being too enthusiastic or too distressed, and his language accordingly grows sober, too sober perhaps, and even barren when the object is to express emotions. There is in this trait a curious mixture of something praise-worthy, the desire

to be strictly true without exaggerating anything or promising more than you can perform, and on the other hand of something blame-worthy, the idea that it is affected, or childish and effeminate, to give vent to one's feelings, and the fear of appearing ridiculous by showing strong emotions.

Possibly this is the reason for using few diminutives in everyday conversations, even if they refer to small children, as Fox (2005: 361) observes that “the English as a rule do not go in for too much excited goo-ing and coo-ing over infants”. She adds that “as a culture we do not seem to value children as highly as other cultures do<sup>4</sup>” (Fox, 2005: 361).

#### **2.4.2. The collectivistic culture of Poles as a determinant of rich diminutive derivation in their language**

Polish culture, on the other hand, is perceived as collectivistic one (*kultura wspólnotowa*), in which people are integrated into their ingroups, which protect them in return for loyalty (Bogdanowska-Jakubowska, 2010: 154, 178-179; Linde-Usiekniewicz, 2007: 29; Lewicka, 2005: 21; see also Lubecka, 2000). According to Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov (2010: 92), collectivism refers to “societies in which people from birth onward are integrated into strong, cohesive in-groups, which throughout people's lifetime continue to protect them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty”. Nevertheless, the character of Polish society nowadays is hard to define as Poland is undergoing significant social, economic and cultural transformations (Bogdanowska-Jakubowska, 2010: 179-181; Biel, 2007: 514). Inglehart and Welzel (2000: 22) write that “there was a gradual intergenerational shift toward growing emphasis on autonomy and self-expression among the publics of Poland (...) during the decades before 1989”<sup>5</sup>.

Irrespective of these changes, as Marcjanik (2001: 79) notices that socio-political transformations after 1989 did not influence Polish verbal etiquette in a significant way, Poles still seem to externalize their feelings. According to Wierzbicka (1999: 258), “Polish culture encourages uninhibited expression of emotions in general”. Poles are very emotional, interested in the interlocutor's life, direct and spontaneous. Lewandowski (2008: 123) refers

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<sup>4</sup> Cultures such as Polish (Wierzbicka, 1990: 77; Lipniacka, 2011: 27).

<sup>5</sup> Due to these changes, nowadays Polish culture becomes more individualistic than collectivistic, as, according to Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov (2010: 95-96), individualism index for Poland in 2010 was 60 (whereas for Great Britain it was 89).



to them as an “infantile nation”. The highly developed system of diminutive formation reflects this theory in the language (Wierzbicka, 1985; Bogdanowska-Jakubowska, 2010: 184-185). In Polish culture, the need for acceptance and appreciation is more important than the need for autonomy. Thus, Poles have an orientation towards positive politeness (Jakubowska, 1999: 33).

However, it must be stated that Poles cannot treat themselves as superior to the English. Being more emotional than others does not necessarily have to be perceived as a virtue (Gawroński, 1928: 217). From English point of view, Polish culture may seem to be exaggerated, too direct and impolite (Duszak, 1998: 272). When it comes to the language of Poles, in comparison with English which is considered to be “positively and expressly masculine” (Jespersen, 1972: 2), it may be perceived as childish or feminine. Every culture is different and has its own norms and patterns, which should be respected. It seems obvious, that there is no point in evaluating which culture has better values and beliefs.

#### **2.4.2.1. The exaggerated use of diminutives in Polish – its reasons and consequences**

While listening to everyday conversations of Poles, it could be assumed that diminutives are more frequently used to express speaker’s emotional attitude towards the world he/she lives in rather than to denote the smallness of a physical entity (which is considered by most scholars as the prototypical meaning of diminutives, see also chapter 4.1.). It was for the first time observed in 1928 by Gawroński (1928: 199, 208), who writes that diminutive meanings concerning emotions are prevalent in languages rich in expressive forms. As an example he gives the expression *ani grosika* (*not even a single penny*) – here the diminutive form does not express smallness but rather intensification of the speaker’s emotions. On account of significant emotional value of diminutives, Gawroński (1928: 209-211) lists some situations, in which the use of them is most common:

- ✓ conversations with children;
- ✓ men’s attitude towards women;
- ✓ mutual relations between lovers;
- ✓ people’s everyday conversations.

Polish belongs to the group of languages which are very productive as far as the formation and use of diminutives is concerned (Liseling Nilsson, 2012: 122), as it is one of Slavonic languages, which, as Gawroński (1928: 202) writes, contain numerous diminutives

(see also Wędkiewicz, 1929). According to Anna Wierzbicka (1999: 164), the reason for this is that Polish culture is very “emotional” (see also Lubecka, 2000: 47; Bogdanowska-Jakubowska, 2010: 184-185). Using innumerable amount of diminutives and hypocorisms signifies considerable “impulsiveness and intensiveness of emotional life of Poles”, their greater cordiality and directness (Gawroński, 1928: 217).

Poles openly show their emotions in language. The hospitality of hosts serves as a good example here (Wierzbicka, 1985: 166-167; Wierzbicka, 1984: 128), as Torr and Chłopicki (2000: 277) claim that encouraging to eat is one of the most characteristic features of Polish culture. Kryk-Kastovsky (2000: 165), following Wierzbicka, emphasizes the fact that Polish culture has a significant influence on the use of diminutives in a language. Polish culture is perceived by her as full of warmth and affection, which explains the excessive use of expressive forms such as diminutives. To prove her point, she gives an example of diminutives referring to food which are signs of Polish hospitality. According to Marcjanik (2007: 24-25), Polish hospitality is well-known all around the world. She claims that encouraging people to eat and drink (also by using diminutives), as a realization of the rule “gość w dom, Bóg w dom” (meaning that to receive a guest is to receive God), reflects the importance Polish culture places on hospitality (see also Bartmiński, 2007: 99; Dąbrowska, 1998: 285; Lipniacka, 2011: 23; Torr and Chłopicki, 2000: 278; Tomczak, 2005: 331). What is even more interesting, an Englishman will treat Polish hospitality as infringing his social autonomy or even personal liberty (Marcjanik, 2007: 24-25) (see also chapter 5.4.1.).

Conversations between sellers and buyers at the market or a waiter and guests at the restaurant when sellers and waiters use diminutive forms are as well typical of Poles and discussed by many linguists, such as Bralczyk or Huszcza (see chapter 5.4.1.). According to Dunaj, Przybylska, and Sikora (1999: 236), diminutives are overused in Polish shops, restaurants, cafés, or repair shops when people use the so-called polite diminutives such as *pieniążki* (*money-DIM.*).

Nicgorska (2007: 64) stresses the fact that foreigners who learn Polish often find it difficult to understand all contexts of using diminutive forms, especially when Poles apply them in formal situations. A foreigner is confused, as he/she does not know what diminutives express in fact.

#### 2.4.2.2. Diminutives as signs of infantilization of Polish

It is difficult to define explicitly whether the exaggerated use of diminutives in Polish is a positive or negative linguistic phenomenon. On the one hand, it may indicate considerable linguistic richness of Polish, but, on the other one, it can reflect the infantilization of language (Zgólkowa, 1991: 47, Dunaj, Przybylska, and Sikora, 1999: 236) and serve as an act of threatening the hearer's positive face.

Poles seem to use diminutives in their everyday conversations more often than the English. Some linguists even claim that the native speakers of Polish overuse them (sometimes customarily or unconsciously) in their speech (Sarnowski, 1991: 47; Lipniacka, 2011: 92; Handke, 2008: 303). The omnipresence of diminutives in everyday speech may offend us since due to their excess "we can feel too sweet and too nauseous" (Bralczyk, 2009: 94). Some scholars criticize such a common use of diminutives. Although usually diminutives express favourable attitude of the speaker, sometimes they irritate the addressee, especially when they are overused (Boniecka, 2012: 147). Dunaj, Przybylska, and Sikora (1999: 236) are of the opinion that the excessive use of diminutives is a sign of insincere and false liking. An addressee may even feel offended and treated as an overgrown child when someone uses diminutives when talking to him/her (Nicgorska, 2007: 65).

Bralczyk (2009: 96) stresses the fact that the use of diminutives when referring to things such as an expensive car or an impressive house may be a sign of certain pretentiousness of the speaker. Furthermore, using the form *pieniężki* (*money-DIM.*) instead of *pieniądze* (*money*), especially when referring to a large sum, is considered frivolous.

Witold Mańczak is of a similar opinion. In his two articles published in *Język Polski* he called for refraining from the abuse of diminutive forms. He expressed his irritation caused by this phenomenon by providing numerous situations in which he heard a diminutive, even though there was no reason for using it. He wrote about *bileciki do kontroli* (*tickets-DIM. for inspection*), *pomyłeczka* (*wrong number-DIM.*) while using the telephone and *koreczki* (*traffic jams-DIM.*) on the road (Mańczak, 2011: 218). He also emphasizes the fact that Poles more and more often use double or even multiple diminutives in order to "outbid" other speakers, e.g. *ser – serek – sereczek* (*cheese – cheese-DIM. – cheese-DIM.DIM.*) (Mańczak, 2011: 218). To conclude, according to Mańczak (1980: 71), this peculiar "fashion for diminutives" may be considered an unaesthetic phenomenon which is not desirable in a language.

### 3. Comparison of linguistic means used to create diminutives in English and Polish

Following Schneider (2003: 1), it is assumed that the term ‘diminutive’ does not refer only to the morphological category, but to all expressions of diminution. The diminution itself is a universal concept, which is expressed in all languages. Nevertheless, it is expressed with the use of particular linguistic devices, which vary from language to language.

#### 3.1. Formation of diminutives in Polish

Diminutive formation is a type of modification, rather than derivation proper, as diminutives are considered to be “variants of existing words” due to the fact that they “can be replaced by their base forms in many contexts”. They are “nouns formed from nouns” (Schneider, 2003: 2). In Polish, diminutive forms are considered to be the most productive modification category of nouns (Długosz, 2009: 11). Polish diminutives are obtained mainly synthetically by adding diminutive suffixes (Lubecka, 1993: 47). They may also be obtained analytically by using lexical elements such as *mały* or *niewielki* (meaning *small* in both cases), but usually, regardless of the occurrence of one of these adjectives (or even a diminutive form of this adjective), the nouns are diminutivized by means of suffixation or truncation - two most common ways of forming diminutives<sup>6</sup>.

Truncation, namely deleting a part of the base word (e.g. *Magdalena* – *Lena*), is the most common way of forming diminutives from proper names (see Domin, 1982), which then function as hypocoristics (Stankiewicz, 2002: 465). Truncation, as Stankiewicz (2002: 466) writes, is the primary device which is intensified by other accompanying devices, such as “the alternation of consonants, vowels or syllables of the derived forms, by their distinctive grammatical endings and by their use of a set of derivational suffixes<sup>7</sup>” (see also Kuryłowicz, 1968: 176). These additional devices are language specific as they depend on the phonological and grammatical possibilities of a particular language. Moreover, they vary in

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<sup>6</sup> One may come across the diminutive *mały dom* ‘small house’, but the form *mały domek* ‘small house-DIM.’ or even *malutki domek* ‘small-DIM. house-DIM.’ will be encountered more often and will sound more natural for Poles (Łobos, 2003: 65-66).

<sup>7</sup> In some cases, a diminutive suffix is attached to a truncated fragment of the base, e.g. *Stanisław* - *Staś* (Szymanek, 2010: 207).

the degree of intimacy and according to the age, sex, region and individual preferences of the speaker.

The second most common way of forming diminutives is suffixation. Diminutive suffixes can be attached to countable nouns, inanimate and animate ones, and to some human nouns (Stefanescu, 1992: 349). There are, however, uncountable nouns that occur with a diminutive suffix, but “the derived words containing the diminutive suffix have some of the syntactic properties of countable nouns [...] which indicate that such uses represent cases of recategorization of the bases from uncountables to countables” (Stefanescu, 1992: 350). Diminutive suffixes are described as category neutral suffixes as they “inherit the lexical category of the base to which they are attached, or they are transparent to the lexical category of the base” (Stefanescu, 1992: 341)<sup>8</sup>. What is even more, they “allow for a consecutive application of the diminutive formation rule, and [...] the result is an existent word” (Stefanescu, 1992: 342). Besides, unlike other suffixes, diminutives “allow repeated application of the same suffix formation rule [...] and at each point in the application of the rule the derived word is a possible word” (Stefanescu, 1992: 343). Following Stefanescu (1992: 343), it is also worth mentioning that diminutive suffixes are applied after all the other derivational suffixes and before the inflectional ones. Furthermore, “one and the same base allows several possible diminutive suffixes” (Stefanescu; 1992: 351).

Following Długosz (2009: 19-29), the main Polish diminutive suffixes are introduced:

- for the nouns of masculine gender:
  - ✓ suffix *-ak* (*pies – psiak* ‘dog – dog-DIM.’)
  - ✓ suffix *-ek* (*dom – domek* ‘house – house-DIM.’)
  - ✓ suffix *-uszek* (*placek – placuszek* ‘pie – pie-DIM.’)
  - ✓ suffix *-aszek* (*kij – kijaszek* ‘stick – stick-DIM.’)
  - ✓ suffix *-ątek* (*kawałek – kawałatek* ‘piece – piece-DIM.’)
  - ✓ suffix *-ik/-yk* (*but – bucik* ‘shoe – shoe-DIM.’)
  - ✓ suffix *-czyk* (*ślusarz – ślusarczyk* ‘locksmith – locksmith-DIM.’)

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<sup>8</sup> With the exception of the suffixes *-ę* (which is attached to the nouns of masculine or feminine gender and forms the noun of neuter gender) and *-ątko* (which is usually attached to the nouns of masculine gender and forms the noun of neuter gender). Other examples of changing the gender include some isolated instances such as *gardło – gardziółek* ‘throat – throat-DIM.’ (where the neuter gender is changed into the masculine one) or *kartka – karteluszek* ‘piece of paper – piece of paper-DIM.’ (where the feminine gender is changed into the masculine one) (Długosz, 2009: 48-50).

- for the nouns of feminine gender:
  - ✓ suffix *-ka* (*kokarda – kokardka* ‘bow – bow-DIM.’)
  - ✓ suffix *-eczka* (*usta – usteczka* ‘mouth – mouth-DIM.’)
  - ✓ suffix *-yczka* (*twarz – twarzyćka* ‘face – face-DIM.’)
  - ✓ suffix *-ułka* (*beczka – beczułka* ‘barrel – barrel-DIM.’)
  - ✓ suffix *-uszka* (*paczka – paczuszka* ‘package – package-DIM.’)
  - ✓ suffix *-etka* (*opera – operetka* ‘opera – opera-DIM.’)
  - ✓ suffix *-eńka* (*chwila – chwileńka* ‘moment – moment-DIM.’)
- for the nouns of neuter gender:
  - ✓ suffix *-ko* ( *błoto – błotko* ‘mud – mud-DIM.’)
  - ✓ suffix *-eczko* (*miasto – miasteczko* ‘town – town-DIM.’)
  - ✓ suffix *-eńko* (*cudo – cudeńko* ‘wonder – wonder-DIM.’)
  - ✓ suffix *-etko* (*pole – poletko* ‘field – field-DIM.’)
  - ✓ suffix *-uszko* (*jabłko – jabłuszko* ‘apple – apple-DIM.’)
  - ✓ suffix *-onko* (*strzemię – strzemionko* ‘stirrup – stirrup-DIM.’)
  - ✓ suffix *-ątko* (*pisklę – pisklątko* ‘chick – chick-DIM.’)
  - ✓ suffix *-ączko* (*strzemię – strzemiączko* ‘stirrup – stirrup-DIM.’)
- for the nouns in the plural and plurale tantum nouns:
  - ✓ suffix *-ki* (*plecy – plecki* ‘back – back-DIM.’)
  - ✓ suffix *-iki/yki* (*kleszcze – kleszczyki* ‘tick - tick-DIM.’)
  - ✓ suffix *-iczki* (*drzwi – drzwiczki* ‘door – door-DIM.’)
  - ✓ suffix *-uszki* (*majtki – majtuszki* ‘panties – panties-DIM.’)
  - ✓ suffix *-ka* (*powidła – powidelka* ‘plum jam – plum jam-DIM.’)
  - ✓ suffix *-eczka* (*usta – usteczka* ‘lips – lips-DIM.’)
- other suffixes:
  - ✓ suffix *-ę* (*kot – kocię* ‘cat – cat-DIM.’)
  - ✓ suffix *-iszek* (*brat – braciszek* ‘brother – brother-DIM.’)

Dobrzyński (1988: 11-101), Grzegorzczkowska and Puzynina (1979: 167-168) and Kaczorowska (1993: 77) provide also the following suffixes:

- suffix *-a* (*ciotka – ciocia* ‘aunt – aunt-DIM./auntie’, *noga – nóżka* ‘leg – leg-DIM.’)
- suffix *-aś* (*chłopiec – chłoptaś* ‘boy – boy-DIM.’)
- suffix *-cia* (*babka – babcia* ‘grandmother – grandmother-DIM./granny’, *ryba – rybica* ‘fish – fish-DIM./sweetheart’)
- suffix *-cio* (*wuj – wujcio* ‘uncle – uncle-DIM.’)

- suffix *-eniek* (*gołąb – gołąbeniek* ‘pigeon – pigeon-DIM./turtledove’)
- suffix *-ina* (*dziecko – dziecina* ‘child – child-DIM.’)
- suffix *-isia/ysia* – (*panna – panisia* ‘young lady – young lady-DIM.’)
- suffix *-nia* (*suka – sunia* ‘bitch – bitch-DIM.’)
- suffix *-o* (*dziadek – dziadzio* ‘grandfather – grandfather-DIM./grandpa’)
- suffix *-onek* (*dzień – dzionek* ‘day – day-DIM.’)
- suffix *-sia* (*gospodyni – gosposia* ‘housekeeper – housekeeper-DIM., *poduszka – podusia* ‘pillow – pillow-DIM.’)
- suffix *-sio* (*brzuch – brzusio* ‘stomach – stomach-DIM./tummy’)
- suffix *-siu* (*miś – misiu* ‘bear – bear-DIM.’)
- suffix *-ś* (*psotnik – psotniś* ‘prankster – prankster-DIM.’)
- suffix *-uchna/-uchno/-uchny* (*matka – matuchna* ‘mother – mother-DIM./mummy’, *słodki – słodziuchny* ‘sweet – sweet-DIM.’)
- suffix *-ula/-ulek/-ulo* (*ciotka – ciotula* ‘aunt – aunt-DIM./auntie’)
- suffix *-alek* (*syn – synalek* ‘son – son-DIM.’)
- suffix *-unia/-unio/-uń* (*córka – córunia* ‘daughter – daughter-DIM.’)
- suffix *-usia/-usio/-usiek* (*kaczka – kaczusia* ‘duck – duck-DIM.’)
- suffix *-uś* (*kot – kotuś* ‘cat – cat-DIM./sweetie’)
- suffix *-inka/-ynka* (*motor – motorynka* ‘motorbike – motorbike-DIM.’)
- suffix *-aczek* (*ziemniak – ziemniaczek* ‘potato – potato-DIM.’)

Kreja (1969: 149-178) also analyses suffix *-isko* (e.g. *chłop – chłopisko* ‘man – man-DIM.’), which is commonly referred to as the augmentative one. Following historical sources, he underlines the fact that this suffix may as well be applied to express positive feelings of compassion, pity or liking. Therefore, it may also be referred to as the diminutive one (Kreja, 1969: 167-174).

What is typical of Polish is the frequent occurrence of double or even multiple diminutives where two or more different diminutive suffixes are attached to the same base. Their fundamental function is to enhance the emotional value of a given diminutive. Szymanek (2010: 255) adds that they may be used for intensification, meaning ‘very small X’ or ‘very little X’. Below, the most common types of suffix combinations are provided (Kreja, 1969: 85-88, 108, 174; Długosz, 2009: 127-128; Grzegorzczkowska and Puzynina, 1979: 104-105):

- *-ek/-ak + -(ecz)ek/-(acz)ek* (e.g. *kot – kotek – koteczek* ‘cat – cat-DIM. – cat-DIM.DIM.’),

- *-ka + -(ecz)ka* (e.g. *kropla – kropelka – kropelczka* ‘drop – drop-DIM. – drop-DIM.DIM.’),
- *-ko + -(ecz)ko* (e.g. *piwo – piwko – piweczko* ‘beer – beer-DIM. – beer-DIM.DIM.’),
- *-ik + -(icz)ek* (e.g. *but – bucik – buciczek* ‘shoe – shoe-DIM. – shoe-DIM.DIM.’),
- *-ek + -(usz)ek* (e.g. *kwiat – kwiatek – kwiatuszek* ‘flower – flower-DIM. – flower-DIM.DIM.’),
- *-ina + -ka* (e.g. *pies – psina – psinka* ‘dog – dog-DIM. – dog-DIM.DIM.’),
- *-unia + -cia* (e.g. *kawa – kawunia – kawuńcia* ‘coffee – coffee-DIM. – coffee-DIM.DIM.’)

Another typical phenomenon of Polish is the frequent occurrence of competing, or ‘rival’ (Szymanek, 2010: 207), diminutives when different suffixes can be used to form diminutives from the same base word. Usually, the choice of a particular diminutive suffix does not cause any changes in meaning (Długosz, 2009: 65). What is more, these parallel derivations are not prohibited by the principle of blocking (Szymanek, 2010: 207). There are numerous types of competing diminutive suffixes. The most common ones are provided below:

- *-ek* vs. *-ik/-yk*,
- *-ina* vs. *-isko*,
- *-ek*, vs. *-ę*, *-qtko*, or *-ak*.

According to Kreja (1969: 206-207), it may be stated that the more appropriate term for this type of diminutives is ‘parallel’ and not ‘competing’.

In Polish, expressive word-formation does not refer to nouns only, e.g. in colloquial language and baby talk there are many adjectives (and also adverbs, e.g. *czyściutko* ‘cleanly-DIM.’) which are diminutivized (Grzegorzczkova, 1984: 69-70; Szymanek, 2010: 214-215). Diminutives formed from adjectives express the meaning of intensification (*intensiva*) or weakening/attenuation (*detensiva*) (Nagórko, 2010: 211). *Intensiva* are referred to as the expressive linguistic means, as they show the speaker’s emotions (positive or negative ones), inform about his/her tendency to exaggerate or indicate a given way of speaking. The most common suffixes which form *intensiva* are (Grzegorzczkova, 1984: 70; Grzegorzczkova, 1998: 506-507):

- suffix *-utki* (*mały – malutki* ‘small – small-DIM.’),
- suffix *-uteńki* (*mały – maluteńki* ‘small – small-DIM.’),
- suffix *-usieńki* (*mały – malusieńki* ‘small – small-DIM.’),
- suffix *-uchny* (*mały – maluchny* ‘small – small-DIM.’),



- suffix *-uśki* (*mały – maluśki* ‘small – small-DIM.’),
- suffix *-eńki* (*mały – maleńki* ‘small – small-DIM.’),
- suffix *-usi* (*mały – malusi* ‘small – small-DIM.’),
- suffix *-uteczki* (*mały – maluteczki* ‘small – small-DIM.’),
- suffix *-utenieczki* (*mały – malutenieczki* ‘small – small-DIM.’),
- suffix *-usienieczki* (*mały – malusienieczki* ‘small – small-DIM.’).

The second group of diminutives formed from adjectives is referred to as ‘adjectival diminutives’ (Grzegorzczkova, 1984: 70). According to Szymanek (2010: 124), their meaning can be described as “not quite, somewhat, sort of \_\_, or approximating the quality denoted by the base-adjective”. The main suffix which forms such diminutives is the suffix *-awy* (*mały – maławy* ‘small – small-DIM.’).

As Szymanek (2010: 214-215) states, the above-listed methods of adjective intensification do not observe the principle of blocking. Thus, numerous parallel formations may be identified. Furthermore, he underlines the fact that diminutive forms of adjectives are subject to several degrees of intensification, e.g. *mały – malutki – maluteńki – malutenieczki* ‘small – small-INTENS<sub>1</sub> – small-INTENS<sub>2</sub> – small-INTENS<sub>3</sub>’.

### 3.2. Formation of diminutives in English

It is a common practice to perceive English as a language which does not have many diminutives (Dressler and Barbaresi, 1994: 112; Quirk, 1979: 994; Sokołowska, 2004: 215). The reason for that may be the fact that, according to Jespersen (1972:2), English is “positively and expressly *masculine*”. He states that English is “the language of a grown-up man and has very little childish or feminine about it”. In fact, he proves his theory by mentioning how few diminutives this language has and how sparingly it uses them (Jespersen 1972: 9). Nevertheless, diminutives do occur in English literary texts, even though their presence is not as significant as in, for instance, Polish literature.

Diminutives are considered to be nouns formed from nouns. There are two ways of forming diminutives in English (Schneider 2003:7-9, 85, 122, 124):

- synthetic formation:

✓ affixation:

a) suffixation – attaching one or more of the following suffixes to nouns: *-ie, -ette, -let, -ling, -kin, -een, -s, -er, -o, -a, -le, -poo, -pop, -peg,*

b) prefixation – attaching the derivational prefix *mini-* and *micro-* to nouns; method commonly used in colloquial speech and advertising, but also in technical terminology,

- ✓ reduplication (both repetitive – repeating the base word without any changes, and rhyming, e.g. *Georgie-Porgie*, where in most cases the right-hand component has no semantic meaning); such forms are referred to as hypocoristics or terms of endearment,
- ✓ compounding (e.g. *baby elephant*),
- ✓ truncation (e.g. *Tom*) – deleting a part of the base word<sup>9</sup>; in some cases it requires the use of suffix *-ie/-y* (e.g. *Andrew – Andy*);

- analytic formation – adjective + noun constructions where the noun is the base word and the adjective (belonging to the word field ‘small’: *small, little, tiny, teeny, teensy, teeny-weeny, teensy-weensy, wee, diminutive, minute, miniature, minimal, lilliputian, petite*) is the diminutive marker.

Schneider (2003: 85-86) distinguishes fourteen diminutive suffixes in contemporary English:

- suffixes which are considered “the most productive diminutive suffixes in English today”: *-ie, -ette, and -let*;
- originally Germanic suffixes: *-kin* and *-ling*;
- originally Irish English suffix *-een*;
- suffixes “referred to as ‘familiarity markers’”, which Schneider (108) describes as expressive, affective or evaluative, as they all denote an attitude but not smallness: *-s, -er, -o, -a, and -le*;
- suffixes rarely mentioned in the literature: *-poo, -pop, and -peg*.

In English, two or more different diminutive suffixes may be attached to a single base simultaneously. Schneider (2003: 117) claims that in this particular language, multiple diminutivisation is “particularly productive in deriving diminutives from names”. He distinguishes the following types of suffix combinations (Schneider, 2003: 118):

- *-er + -s* (e.g. *preggers*),
- *-ie + -kin + -s* (e.g. *Lizzikins*),

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<sup>9</sup> Besides names, other nouns can also be truncated, and are called clippings (e.g. *doctor – doc*). As, similarly to truncations, they often express the speaker’s familiarity with the designatum (Plag, 2007: 89), they may as well be treated as diminutives in some contexts.

- *-ie + -o* (e.g. *Stevio*),
- *-ie + -peg + -s* (e.g. *Daddypegs*),
- *-ie + -poo* (e.g. *Katiepoo*),
- *-ie + -poo + -s* (e.g. *kissypoos*),
- *-ie + -poo + -le + -s* (e.g. *Mikeypoodles*),
- *-ie + -pop + -s* (e.g. *Rosiepops*),
- *-ie + -s* (e.g. *milkie*),
- *-le + -kin + -s* (e.g. *Franglekins*),
- *-le + -s* (e.g. *Bobbles*),
- *-s + -a* (e.g. *Shazza*),
- *-s + -ie* (e.g. *Momsie*),
- *-s + -o* (e.g. *fatso*).

Schneider (2003: 118) summarises his findings about combinations of diminutive suffixes by stating: “The longer the stronger, and the stronger the rarer”.

In chapter 3 only the formation of diminutives was discussed. Chapter 4 deals with the meanings of particular diminutive suffixes in both Polish and English.

#### **4. Meanings of diminutives in English and Polish**

Because of the multiplicity of meanings which they convey, diminutives should be treated as a polysemous category.

Polish diminutives are characterized by a significant range of types of meanings (Wierzbicka, 1984: 123).

Kreja (1969: 15) distinguishes two groups of diminutive functions:

- emotional functions which indicate speaker's subjective attitude towards a given object;
- conceptual/intellectual functions which indicate an objective change in the quantity or quality of a given object.

Therefore, Polish diminutives can convey two kinds of meanings: the conceptual (or denotative) ones and the emotional (or connotative) ones. The denotative meaning "involves the relationship between a linguistic unit (especially a lexical item) and the non-linguistic entities to which it refers – it is thus equivalent to referential meaning" (Crystal, 1997: 109). The connotative (or, alternatively, affective or emotive) meaning, on the other hand, is a type of meaning which "main application is with reference to the emotional associations (personal or communal) which are suggested by, or are part of the meaning of, a linguistic unit, especially a lexical item" (Crystal, 1997: 82-83).

Schneider (2003: 1-10) emphasizes the fact that diminutives can only be properly interpreted in context, relative to the given situation. Therefore, it could be stated that the meaning of diminutives depends mainly on context<sup>10</sup>. Charleston (1960: 103) is of the same opinion as she states that:

It is usually the context that decides whether a word is used referentially or affectively. A speaker may use a word with its referential or informative (factual, objective) connotation alone, for the informative connotation with a certain amount of affective connotation, or for its affective connotation alone.

##### **4.1. Different approaches to the prototypical meaning of diminutives**

There is no agreement between scholars as to the prototypical meaning of diminutives, nevertheless, there is a tendency to associate them with the meaning of small size. Schneider

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<sup>10</sup> Polańska (1967: 117) underlines the fact that the meaning of diminutives depends also on intonation.

(2003: 1-10) claims that diminutives refer to words which denote smallness, and also express an attitude. Furthermore, he suggests that the term ‘diminutive’ is related to various concepts such as quantification, qualification, modification, gradation, intensification, and evaluation (Schneider, 2003: 4). Taylor (1995: 144-145) is of the opinion that diminutives indicate the small size of a physical entity, but they also express several other kinds of meaning. Gorzycka (2010: 147) writes that the prototypical meaning of the diminutive is that of smallness of a designatum. Nevertheless, she also claims that diminutives have two more main types of meaning: the one referring both to size and a person’s positive or negative response to a given object, and another one conveying only a personal attitude. Kryk-Kastovsky (2000: 165) believes that diminutives stem from the semantic property of smallness achieved by the process of affixation, and she adds that they often also have pragmatic connotations.

All the meanings mentioned above are connected with the concept of smallness. But on the other hand, diminutive meaning may also be associated with the concept of young age. Jurafsky (1996: 543) states that diminutives originate from semantic or pragmatic links with children. Grandi (2011: 15) agrees with this opinion by stating that the meaning ‘child/young of...’ is the semantic archetype resulting from the genealogical relation between father and child and/or between the adult and the young.

The views on diminutives mentioned above are not shared by Dressler and Barbaresi (2001: 51) who claim that the pragmatic meaning ‘non-serious’ emerged before the semantic meaning ‘small’.

## **4.2. The analysis of the meanings of diminutives**

This chapter presents the most significant theories concerning the meanings of diminutives by Taylor (1995), Jurafsky (1996), and Heltberg (1964).

### **4.2.1. Taylor’s classification of diminutive meaning**

According to Taylor (1995: 99), polysemy is the “association of two or more related senses with a single linguistic form”. For him, a word may denote “different types of entities, or different kinds of situation, in different contexts of its use” (1995: 264). He explains (1995: 100) that a given linguistic form is polysemous if its different uses “require, for their explication, reference to two different domains, or two different sets of domains”. He adds

(1995: 100) that a given linguistic form can still be polysemous even if “its different meanings need to be characterized against the same domain”. Here, “one and the same domain may be structured by means of alternative schemas”.

Taylor (1995: 105), following Allerton, introduces ‘the core meaning approach’, which assumes that polysemy takes place when there is a presence of a shared meaning core - all meanings of a given word share the core meaning. Within this particular core meaning all the senses are to be associated with a single lexical item.

According to him (1995: 144-149), diminutive meanings are obtained from the core meaning ‘small’ through the mechanisms of metaphor or metonymy. Traditionally, metonymy is defined as a figure of speech whereby “the name of the entity *e1* is used to refer to another entity *e2* which is contiguous to *e1*” (Taylor, 1995: 122). Taylor presents a broader understanding of metonymy as he claims that “the entities need not be contiguous, in any spatial sense. Neither is metonymy restricted to the act of reference” – it rather constitutes a process of meaning extension (1995: 124).

Below, Taylor’s classification of diminutive meaning (1995: 145-147) is presented in a graphic form:

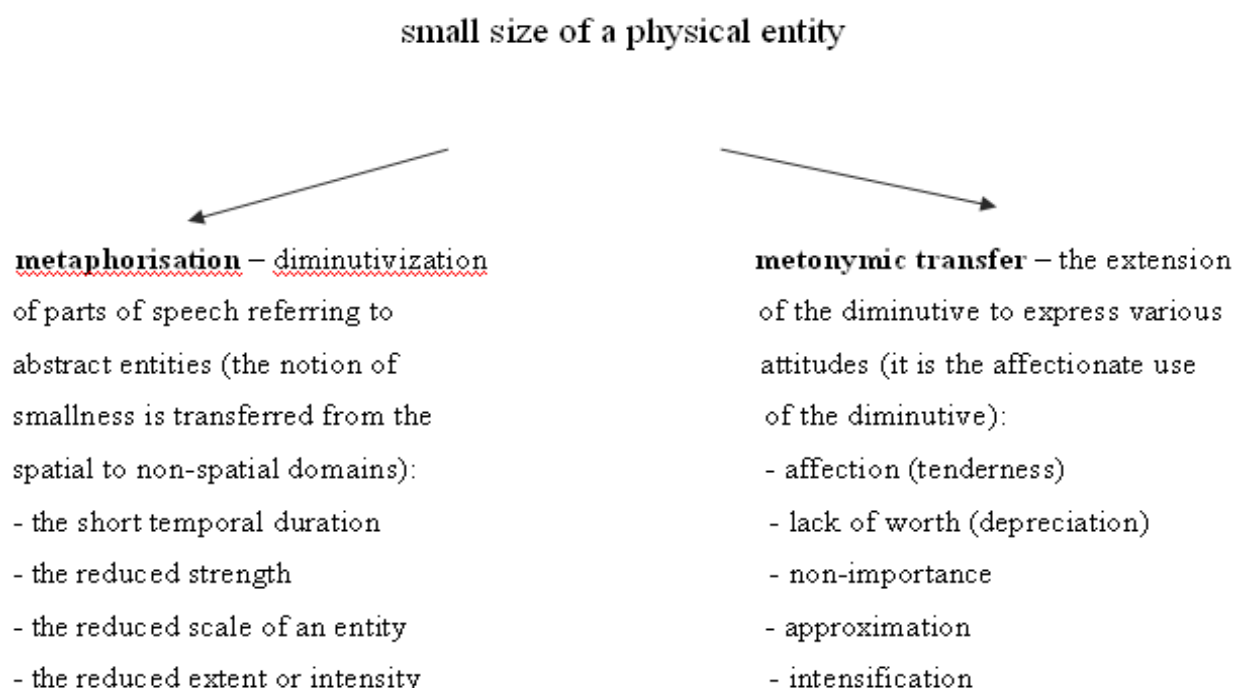


Figure 2. Taylor’s (1995: 144-149) classification of diminutive meaning

Whereas diminutive meanings obtained from metaphorisation do not need further explanation, the ones obtained from metonymic transfer should be clarified more specifically.

The association of smallness with affection is grounded in the co-occurrence of elements within an experiential frame, e.g. *mamusia* 'mummy'. Smallness can also be associated with lack of worth as superior worth correlates with increased size and decreased size with diminished worth, e.g. *romansik* 'a fling'. Moreover, in some cases small things are treated as the ones of little importance. It is the dismissive sense of the diminutive, e.g. *brzuszek* 'a paunch' – of an adult man. The meaning of approximation is connected with the opinion that the exact value is unimportant, and the speaker excuses himself for not being precise. The approximative diminutive is restricted to expressions of quantity, and especially to indicate duration, which the speaker feels free to exceed, e.g. *Chwileczkę!* 'Just a minute!'. The next meaning, of intensification, is rooted in the opinion that the centre of an entity is necessarily of smaller dimensions than the entity in its totality, thus the diminutive comes to denote the very essence of a thing, e.g. *nowiuteński rower* 'a brand-new bike'.

It should also be emphasized that Taylor (1995: 146) remarks that one and the same expression can be ambiguous between different interpretations. Due to the metonymic extension of the diminutive the incompatible, and even contradictory meanings are accommodated within a single category, e.g. *Gotowy, szefku.* 'It's ready, boss-DIM.'.

Taylor's classification of diminutive meaning forms the basis for the analysis of different diminutive meanings taken from chosen examples of Polish and English literary texts, which is presented in chapter 8 of this paper. Nevertheless, the theories introduced by Jurafsky and Heltberg are of significant importance as well.

#### **4.2.2. Jurafsky's proposal of a universal structure for the semantics of the diminutive**

In order to describe the polysemy of diminutives, Jurafsky (1996: 542) presents his universal radial category for the diminutive, which is a graphic representation of a polysemous category. The radial category describes "the motivated relations between senses of a polysemous category". It consists of a central prototypical sense together with conceptual extensions, which are represented by nodes (referring to prototypes of senses – they are labeled with names of senses) and links (referring to metaphorical extensions, image-schematic transfer, transfers to different domains, and inferences). The arcs are labeled with four mechanisms of semantic change (Jurafsky, 1996: 544) as he claims that "the core intuition of the radial category is its ability to represent multiple mechanisms for relating senses in a polysemous morpheme". In the case of the first three mechanisms, the meaning

changes from the “more physical, specific, and real-world” toward the “more abstract, general, and qualitative”. They are described by Jurafsky as follows:

- metaphor (M) – “a meaning shifts to a new domain, based on a general metaphor which maps between the old and new domains”,
- inference (I) – “a morpheme acquires a new meaning which had been an inference or implicature of its old meaning. (...) this inference gradually becomes conventionalized as the literal meaning of the morpheme”,
- generalization (G) – “a new sense is created from an old one by abstracting away specific features of meaning. The new meaning is more general and less informative than the old one”.

According to him, some meanings cannot be accounted for by any of the above-mentioned mechanisms. That is why he proposes a new mechanism, called lambda-abstraction (L), which, in general, “gives rise to quantificational and second-order meanings from propositional ones” by taking one predicate in a form and replacing it with a variable (Jurafsky, 1996: 555).

Below, Jurafsky’s graphic representation of the semantics of the diminutive (1996: 542) is presented:

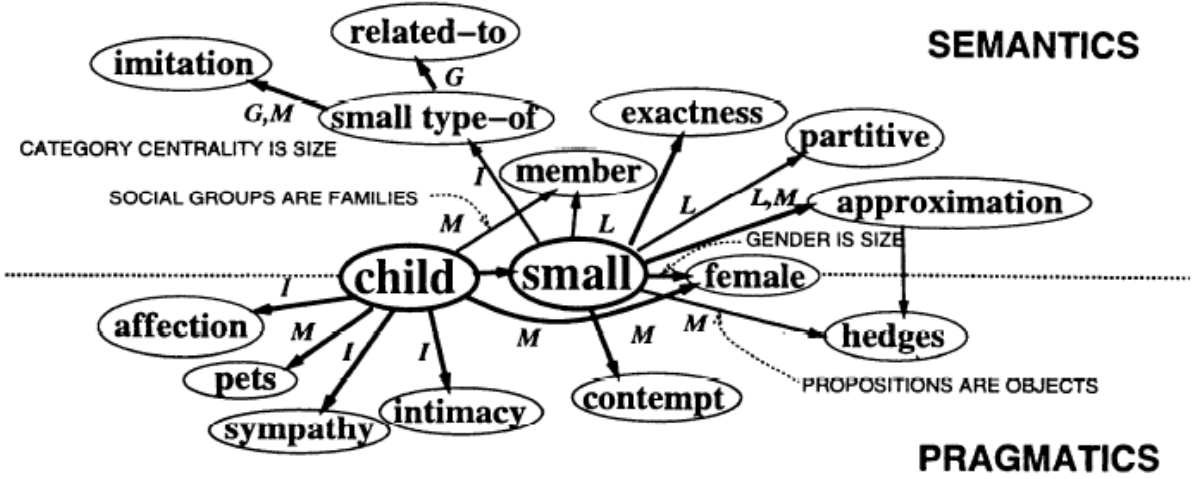


Figure 3. Jurafsky’s (1996: 542) graphic representation of the semantics of the diminutive

It needs to be observed that in the case of Polish diminutives, Jurafsky’s model seems insufficient as it does not contain all the meanings (e.g. ‘young’, ‘insignificant’ or ‘disdain’), which are commonly applied by language users.



### 4.2.3. Heltberg's view on three types of diminutives

While discussing the polysemy of diminutives, one more point of view should be taken into account. In her work, Heltberg (1964: 95-96) distinguishes three main types of diminutives:

- “pure” diminutives – they denote only the smallness of a given designatum, e.g. *nożyk* ‘knife-DIM.’;
- emotional and stylistic diminutives – they convey only the speaker’s attitude towards the designatum (they include hypocoristics, e.g. diminutives of proper names or names of family members), e.g. *mamusia* ‘mummy’;
- diminutives denoting both the smallness of a given object and the speaker’s attitude towards it, e.g. *wąsik* ‘moustache-DIM.’.

### 4.3. The meanings of Polish diminutives

Szymanek (2010: 206) agrees with Schneider and Taylor that the prototypical meaning of diminutives is ‘small’. It is a denotative meaning, and it is frequently accompanied by a connotative one, which denotes speaker’s attitude. What is more, it is believed by some scholars that the connotative meaning of Polish diminutives is superior to the denotative one.

Stankiewicz (1954: 458) asserts that each diminutive form has a “concomitant affectionate or pejorative meaning, which may become the prevailing one in a given linguistic context or situation”. Szymanek (2010: 206) supports this claim by stating that “there is a tendency for Polish diminutives to acquire the appreciative or affectionate function, so that they may be used as endearments, pet names and terms of address”, e.g. *kotku* ‘cat-DIM.’, voc., *mamusiu* ‘mummy’, voc. – here the meaning of affection dominates completely (as in the case of double diminutives (Grzegorzczkova, 1998: 426)), especially when used to address a beloved person.

Gawroński (1928: 203) believes that diminutive meanings concerning emotions are prevalent in languages rich in expressive forms, e.g. *ani grosika* ‘not even a single penny’ – here the diminutive form does not express smallness but rather intensification of the speaker’s emotions.

Siatkowska (1967: 157) divides diminutives into two groups:

- proper diminutives – which indicate the smallness of a given object;
- emphatic diminutives – which indicate speaker’s emotions (hypocorisms)

Nevertheless, she states that often the clear division into proper and emphatic diminutive forms is impossible, as there are many diminutives which belong to both groups at the same time (when a given small object evokes also some kind of emotions) (Siatkowska, 1967: 153).

Warchoł (1984: 13) distinguishes three types of diminutives: proper diminutives, expressive-hypocoristic diminutives and expressive-emphatic diminutives (which include diminutives of proper names as well as the ones of the degrees of kinship).

Staszewska (1985: 226) introduces the division of diminutives into the ones indicating the small size of a given object and the emotional tinge at the same time (including the so-called pure diminutives) and the ones of expressive-stylistic nature (diminutives of nouns which cannot occur in different sizes, diminutives of proper names and the degrees of kinship).

Długosz (2009: 13) identifies two groups of diminutives:

- proper diminutives – indicating the smallness of a given object (*dom – domek* ‘house – house-DIM.’);
- formal diminutives – consisting of three subgroups:
  - ✓ diminutives which are similar in meaning to the designatum (*młyn – młynek* ‘mill – mill-DIM./grinder’);
  - ✓ diminutives of singulative and partitive meaning (*słoma – słomka* ‘straw – straw-DIM./one piece of straw’);
  - ✓ emphatic diminutives which concern:
    - designata which possess only one size (*słońce – słoneczko* ‘sun – sun-DIM.’),
    - abstract nouns (*ambicja – ambicyjka* ‘ambition – ambition-DIM.’),
    - names of young beings (nomina juvenium) (*gęś – gęsię* ‘goose – gosling’).

The hypothesis of the priority of the connotative meaning over the denotative one of diminutives in general is propagated not only by Polish linguists. As mentioned in section 5.1., Dressler and Barbaresi (1994: 51-53) claim that the pragmatic meaning of diminutives is superior to the semantic one. In order to support their claim, they mention the example of first-language acquisition of diminutives. They believe that at the beginning, diminutives are used by children without any reference to smallness but rather to fictiveness and emotive meanings, as early diminutives are especially concentrated in areas of use where pragmatic meanings are most likely, such as body parts, pet animals, food and family members.

Among the most common connotative meanings one can distinguish the appreciative and depreciative ones (Szymanek, 2010: 208–210; Hejwowski, 2009: 119; Sokołowska, 2004: 215–219; Tabakowska, 2001: 134–140; Heltberg, 1964: 97–98; Wierzbicka, 1984: 123–130; Kreja, 1969: 15–23):

- appreciative connotative meanings of diminutives:
  - ✓ affection/tenderness/endearment,
  - ✓ familiarity/friendliness,
  - ✓ intimacy,
  - ✓ informality,
  - ✓ sympathy/pity/compassion/care/self-pity,
  - ✓ hospitality/politeness,
  - ✓ joy/amusement/pleasure/playfulness,
  - ✓ satisfaction/content/approval/admiration;
- depreciative connotative meanings of diminutives:
  - ✓ irony/sarcasm,
  - ✓ contempt/disdain/disrespect/mockery/maliciousness,
  - ✓ lack of worth/belittlement/derogation,
  - ✓ pitifulness/insincere compassion,
  - ✓ condescension/insincere politeness/excessive obsequiousness,
  - ✓ criticism/suspicion,
  - ✓ insult/annoyance/anger,
  - ✓ distance/aversion.

Together with Taylor's classification of diminutive meaning, the connotative meanings listed above form the basis for the analysis of different diminutive meanings taken from chosen examples of Polish and English literary texts, which is presented in chapter 8 of this paper.

Diverse meanings of diminutives are obtained with the use of different methods. As mentioned in chapter 3.1., the most common method of diminutive formation is suffixation, where each suffix carries a particular semantic meaning (therefore, it has semantic function). Nevertheless, it must be underlined that the words obtained with the use of one of the following suffixes do not always have to mean the diminutives of their base form, as in many cases these words are independent formations with specialized meaning, e.g. *spis* – *spisek* 'a list – a plot' (see Kreja, 1969: 12-13), or sometimes they have no counterpart without the diminutive suffix, even though they may be analyzed as consisting of a base form plus suffix, e.g. *bazia* 'catkin'. Gillis (1997: 167) refers to such formations as 'frozen diminutives'.

In the table below, the most common meanings of Polish diminutive suffixes are provided (Długosz, 2009: 54-107, 58-59, 63-64, 74-75, 79, 80-82; Dobrzyński, 1988: 11-101, Kreja, 1969: 92-107, 187; Grzegorzczkowska and Puzynina, 1979: 135, 167; Lubaś, 2003: 273-275, 286-292; Nagórko, 2007: 240; Nagórko, 2003: 223-224):

<b>Suffix</b>	<b>The meaning of smallness</b>	<b>Hypocorism<sup>11</sup></b>	<b>Affectonyme<sup>12</sup></b>	<b>Description, additional meaning</b>
<i>-ek</i>	X	X	X	Commonly employed in proper names; the meaning of familiarity but also disdain or irony.
<i>-uszek</i>	X	X	X	
<i>-aszek</i>		X	X	Concerns mainly the rural life.
<i>-iszek/-yszek</i>		X	X	Originates from folk dialect.
<i>-ik/yk</i>	X	X	X	The meaning of understanding.
<i>-czyk</i>		X		The meaning of disdain.
<i>-ak</i>		X	X	Expresses young age of a designatum and both positive and negative feelings.
<i>-ka</i>	X	X	X	The meaning of pretentiousness; commonly employed in abstract nouns and names of places (nomina loci)
<i>-eczka/-aczek</i>	X	X	X	

<sup>11</sup> Hypocorisms are diminutives (Trask, 1993: 130). Stankiewicz (2002: 465) describes them as the derivatives of proper names, kinship terms and nouns “pertaining to the nursery”, which main function is to convey the meaning of proximity, familiarity or intimacy.

<sup>12</sup> Affectonymes are words or expressions used in intimate situations, usually in the relationships between lovers or parents and their children. Most often they are in diminutive forms, which in turn are usually doubled or even multiplied (Perlin and Milewska, 2000: 165-166, see also Bańko and Zygmunt, 2011 and Morton, 2003).

<i>-yczka/-iczka</i>	X	X	X	Originates from Silesian dialect.
<i>-ulka</i>	X	X	X	
<i>-uszka</i>	X	X	X	
<i>-etka</i>	X			
<i>-eńka</i>		X	X	Originates from folk dialect; commonly employed in proper names and kinship terms; expresses only positive attitude.
<i>-ko</i>	X	X	X	
<i>-eczko</i>		X	X	
<i>-eńko</i>		X	X	The meaning of cordiality.
<i>-etko</i>		X	X	
<i>-uszko</i>	X	X	X	
<i>-onko</i>		X	X	
<i>-ączko</i>				Employed in diminutives which are similar in meaning to the designatum.
<i>-ątko</i>		X	X	The meaning of understanding and pitifulness, but also irony, disdain or playfulness; commonly employed in names of animals or children.
<i>-ki</i>	X	X	X	
<i>-iki/yki</i>	X	X	X	
<i>-iczki</i>	X	X	X	
<i>-uszki</i>	X	X	X	
<i>-ę</i>		X	X	Commonly employed in names of animals.
<i>-ęta</i>				Commonly employed in names of animals.
<i>-a</i>		X	X	

<i>-aś/- iś/-yś</i>		X	X	Belongs to colloquial language; the meaning of understanding but also disapproval or disdain.
<i>-cia</i>		X	X	Commonly employed in proper names.
<i>-cio</i>		X	X	The meaning of familiarity but also disdain.
<i>-eniek</i>		X	X	Originates from folk dialect.
<i>-ina</i>		X	X	The meaning of understanding, compassion, pitifulness, liking or playfulness, but also disapproval or disdain.
<i>-isia/- ysia</i>		X	X	Humorous meaning.
<i>-nia/- nio</i>		X	X	Commonly employed in proper names.
<i>-o</i>		X	X	Usually employed in proper names.
<i>-onek</i>		X	X	
<i>-sia</i>		X	X	Commonly employed in proper names.
<i>-sio</i>		X	X	The meaning of familiarity.
<i>-siu</i>		X	X	
<i>-ś</i>		X	X	Commonly employed in proper names.
<i>-uchna/ -uchno/ -uchny</i>		X	X	The meaning of joy and happiness; employed also in adjectives.
<i>-ula/- ulek/- ulo/- uleńka</i>		X	X	

<i>-unia/- unio/- uńcia/- uń</i>		X	X	The meaning of genuine affection.
<i>-usia/- usio/- usiek</i>		X	X	Humorous, but also ironic meaning.
<i>-uś</i>	X	X	X	Commonly employed in proper names.
<i>-inka/- ynka</i>		X	X	Singulative meaning.
<i>-alek</i>		X	X	

Table 1. Most common meanings of Polish diminutive suffixes

In his work, Kreja (1969: 15-23) discusses the meanings of suffixes *-ek*, *-ko*, *-ka*, and *-ik/-yk* (see also Szymanek, 1998: 111-113). He underlines the fact that the emotional function of these suffixes often occurs when the intellectual function cannot be applied, e.g. in the cases of abstract nouns or nouns which have only one size that cannot be changed (*dzień – dzionek* ‘day – day-DIM.’, *matka – mateczka* ‘mother – mother-DIM./mummy’). Nevertheless, diminutives of these types may express numerous kinds of emotions, such as:

- tenderness,
- compassion,
- joy,
- satisfaction,
- pleasure.

Sometimes the emotional function is closely connected with the intellectual one, e.g. in the cases of diminutive forms of nouns referring to a child. Diminutives of abstract nouns also convey emotions, but rather the negative ones. Diminutives of personal nouns can as well express irony, disdain or deprecation, but, on the other hand, also young age. Nevertheless, the above-mentioned suffixes are applied mainly to express intellectual function, that is, the one of the smallness of a given object. They may as well create singulative or partitive formations, and also formations indicating that a given object in its diminutive form is made of the designatum (e.g. *ciasto – ciastko* ‘dough – a cookie’, *karmel – karmelek* ‘caramel – caramel drop’). What is more, these particular suffixes may even emphasize that a given

object is better or more delicate than its designatum, so that there is difference in quality between these words. This function of suffixes may be referred to as the meliorative one.

Grzegorzczkova and Puzynina (1979: 115-117, 165, 168) emphasize the fact that in some groups of words the occurrence of suffix *-ka* or *-ek* does not refer to the process of diminutivisation but is a result of other mechanisms, in which it serves as:

- the element of a loanword (e.g. *bagietka* 'baguette', *fiólek* 'violet'),
- the element of a historical diminutive (e.g. *książka* 'book'),
- the element of the word whose base form vanished (e.g. *wycieczka* 'trip'),
- the element of a natural name (e.g. *wiewiórka* 'squirrel', *skowronek* 'lark', *rumianek* 'camomile'),
- the element of a name of fruit (e.g. *śliwka* 'plum'),
- the element of a name of chemical compounds which contain the designatum (e.g. *chlerek* 'chloride').

Nagórko (2010: 189) mentions also the example of metaphorisation when names of objects derive from names of body parts, e.g. *oko – oczko (wodne)* 'eye – small pond'.

Jurafsky (1996: 571) distinguishes one more meaning unrelated to the one of 'small size', which may be applied to Polish. It refers to names of foods, e.g. *wątroba* 'liver as a body organ' → *wątróbka* 'liver as a dish', *śledź* 'herring' → *śledzik po japońsku* 'Japanese-style herring', *serce* 'heart' → *serduszka w czekoladzie* 'chocolate-covered hearts-DIM.' (see also Kryk-Kastovsky, 2000: 170-171).

#### **4.4. The meanings of English diminutives**

Strang (1968:138) defines English diminutives as forms which "have begun by meaning 'a small one of its kind' but have undergone a development whereby they come to express not merely an assessment of size, but also, or even exclusively, the speaker's response to small things, a response ranging from affection through condescension to contempt". She believes that a diminutive is "mature" when it carries only the "'response'-meaning" (Strang 1968:138).

Claiming that the same form of a given diminutive can express a range of different, and even contradictory, meanings, Schneider (2013:144-145) provides a proposal of the conceptual space of diminutive meaning:



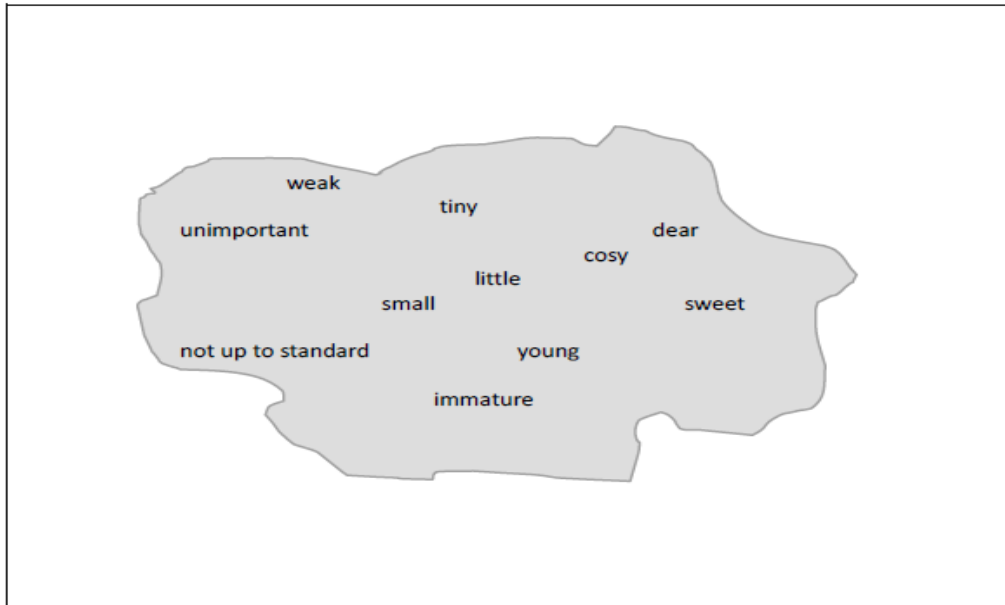


Figure 4. Schneider's (2013: 145) conceptual space of diminutive meaning

Here, the notion of 'smallness' is provided in a concrete and figurative sense, together with positive and negative evaluations. When employing a diminutive in a conversation, one meaning in the conceptual space is activated and relevant for its interpretation, depending on the context.

Following Haas (1972: 148), it could be stated that the meaning of diminutives ranges from endearment and tenderness through mild belittlement and deprecation to open derogation and insult.

Synthetically formed diminutives occur less often than the ones obtained analytically. Nevertheless, each suffix has its meaning and application. The most commonly used English diminutive suffix is *-ie/-y*. It causes no phonological changes in the base word. It does not change the part of speech of the base (both *pig* and *piggy* are nouns), and it causes no obvious semantic change (both *pig* and *piggy* denote the same animal, except that the form *piggy* is used in particular contexts) (Akmajian, 1990: 31; Brinton and Brinton, 2010: 96). Following Leisi, Schneider (2003: 87) claims that this is the only "native" English diminutive suffix which is also the most productive one.

There are three different spellings for this suffix: *-ie*, *-y*, and *-ey*. The form *-ie* is preferred in Scottish English and Australian English, whereas the form *-y* in English English and American English (Schneider, 2003: 86). The form *-ey* usually, but not always, appears in diminutives formed from base words which end in 'e', e.g. *goosey*. All forms of this suffix may occur in free variation, that is all of them can be attached to the same word (Schneider,

2003: 86). The usage of a particular suffix depends on individual preferences, especially when taking into account first (i.e. *Christian*) names: there may occur the form *Charlie* on one hand, but on the other one – *Johnny* and not *Johnnie*.

Diminutives of *-ie* type are bisyllabic nouns stressed on the first syllable. They may be derived from monosyllabic (e.g. *handy*, *Johnny*) or polysyllabic words and then they are truncated (e.g. *Elizabeth* – *Elsa* – *Elsie*, *William* – *Will* – *Willie*) (Plag, 2003: 87).

According to Schneider (2003: 87), the suffix *-ie* usually “indicates familiarity between speaker and hearer, and may express appreciation or deprecation, depending on the respective context”. Following Vendryes, who speaks of this suffix as “the morpheme of feeling”, Charleston (1960: 123) adds that it is often used with a hypocoristic value (see also Dressler and Barbaresi, 1994: 112). Brinton and Brinton (2010: 96) also underline the fact that this suffix is applied to express amelioration and intimacy, but also degradation. Following Leisi, he remarks that in British English the suffix *-ie* is only used in child language (Schneider, 2003: 77). Dressler and Barbaresi (1994: 112) extend this definition to include one more aspect of usage, that is in “any situation metaphorically recreating a child’s world”.

The suffix *-ie* is attached to nouns referring to persons, animals, and concrete objects. The following subclasses of nouns referring to persons may be identified:

- a) proper nouns – first names occur more frequently than last names, e.g. *Elsie Marley*, *Jerry Hall*<sup>13</sup>,
- b) kinship terms – they refer to the closest family members and relatives (e.g. *daddy*, *babby*);

There may occur nouns referring mostly to domestic animals, gaining the semantic feature [+little], meaning ‘small and sweet’, therefore they are used mainly in communication with or by children or in children’s stories (e.g. *fishy*, *piggy*, *goosey*).

Diminutives are derived from nouns referring to concrete objects in two cases:

- a) when the objects belong to children – they are “miniature versions of the adult world” which evokes positive feelings, relevant examples from the text are as follows:
  - diminutives referring to body parts, e.g. *handy*,
  - diminutives referring to food, e.g. *fishy*,
  - diminutives referring to utensils, e.g. *dishy*;

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<sup>13</sup> For more examples see Biały, 2012.

b) when “the nouns denote everyday objects, but display a complex structure” (e.g. *shoppy*) (Schneider, 2003: 89-91).

The suffix *-ie* is frequently used in rhyming reduplication, which is, according to Schneider (2003: 91), the most productive type of reduplication in English. Usually the reduplicative forms consist of two constituents: a diminutive of *-ie* type as the left-hand component and a rhyming form, which is often semantically empty, as the right-hand component, e.g. *Jenny-Penny*.

Following Jespersen, Charleston (1960: 124-125) points out that many diminutives of this type formed from Christian names are used as common names in colloquial language, e.g. *billy* (a kind of truncheon), or *bobby* (a policeman).

Charleston (1960: 126) mentions also the fact that this suffix can be added to adjectives or adverbs and, when used with reduplication, it expresses positive or negative feelings of the speaker, e.g. *goody goody*.

In the table below, the description and different kinds of meaning of the remaining diminutive suffixes are provided (see also Charleston, 1960: 121-123):

Suffix	Description and meaning
<i>-ette</i>	It is used for diminutivisation of object nouns, that is nouns referring to architecture, interior design, furnishings, and furniture (e.g. <i>balconette</i> , <i>kitchenette</i> ), which gain the feature of being small (Adams, 2001:56). Furthermore, it is used in the case of nouns referring to genre names (e.g. <i>novelette</i> , <i>letterette</i> ) which denote ‘a short specimen of the respective category’ or ‘a specimen which fails to meet the qualitative criteria of the respective genre’ (Schneider, 2003: 93-94).
<i>-let</i>	It is used for diminutivisation of object nouns. Diminutives represent entities which are smaller than prototypical members of a particular category (e.g. <i>droplet</i> ). It is also used for diminutivisation of animal nouns (Adams, 2001: 56). This particular suffix adds the component [+young], therefore, diminutives refer to non-adult members of a particular species (e.g. <i>froglet</i> ). The next case, of diminutivisation of personal nouns, concerns nouns referring to an adult person (e.g. <i>kinglet</i> , <i>wifelet</i> , <i>starlet</i> ) gaining negative, depreciative meaning of contempt, condescension, belittlement, or insult (Schneider, 2003: 97-102, Schneider and Strubel-Burgdorf, 2012: 26-28).

-kin	It carries the meaning of ‘small’ and ‘charming’ ( <i>babykin</i> ) (Adams, 2001: 58). It can also be used in ironic or jocular contexts or for diminutivisation of first names in order to form address terms (Schneider, 2003: 105-106).
-ling	It is often replaced by other diminutive suffixes in contemporary English as it is now considered old-fashioned and comical. It is attached to nouns referring to humans, animals, and plants (Adams, 2001: 57): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- diminutives referring to animals and plants mean “young one of the category denoted by the base word” (e.g. <i>catling</i>, <i>seedling</i>);</li> <li>- diminutives referring to adult humans gain negative connotations of being ‘petty, unimportant’ (e.g. <i>princeling</i>) (Schneider, 2003: 103-105).</li> </ul>
-een	It often competes with other diminutive suffixes and is considered a regional variant. Many of diminutives of this type are Irish loans which were adapted to English ( <i>colleen</i> ), but, in general, they may refer to common everyday words ( <i>girleen</i> ) (Schneider, 2003: 107).
-s	It can be attached directly to the base noun (e.g. <i>Debs</i> , <i>Moms</i> ) which retains singular reference. Following Mühlhäusler, Schneider uses the term ‘nursery -s’ as such formations occur mostly in caretaker speech (e.g. <i>milkie</i> ) <sup>14</sup> . Usually, diminutives of this type refer to persons and are used as nicknames or terms of endearment, as this suffix can be added to first names ( <i>Lyds</i> ), kinship terms ( <i>Moms</i> ), animal names used metaphorically ( <i>ducks</i> ), and adjectives denoting a property ( <i>fats</i> ) (Schneider, 2003: 108).
-er	It adds an affective component to truncated base words (e.g. <i>football – footer</i> ). It is associated with the meaning ‘rough and tough’ and is used mostly by males (Schneider, 2003: 110-111).
-o	It is often used to “derive forms competing with derivations from the same base words in which the suffix -ie is used” (e.g. <i>kiddo</i> vs. <i>kiddie</i> ). All of these forms refer to persons, but diminutives with -ie convey positive attitude, whereas diminutives with -o the negative one. It can be used to derive diminutives from male names (e.g. <i>Stevio</i> ) (Schneider, 2003: 111).

<sup>14</sup> As a hypocoristic, this suffix is also used in lovers’ speech (Mühlhäusler, 1983: 78).

-a	Usually, it is attached to “short names in which the first syllable [...] is retained as an open syllable closed by an /z/” (e.g. <i>Sharon – Shaz – Shazza</i> ). It can be used to derive diminutives either from male or female names (e.g. <i>Teresa</i> or <i>Terence – Tezza</i> ) (Schneider, 2003: 112).
-le	It is considered to have survived only in regional varieties, being used to form terms of address from male first names (short names or diminutives with other suffixes), e.g. <i>Robert – Bob – Bobbles</i> (Schneider, 2003: 112-113).
-poo	Diminutives of this type are mostly first names used as terms of endearment or nicknames ( <i>Katiepoo</i> ) (Schneider, 2003: 114).
-pop	Diminutives of this type are “derived from first names and used as terms of address in casual conversation between persons with a close relationship” ( <i>Rosiepops</i> ) (Schneider, 2003: 115).
-peg	Diminutives of this type are considered to be “nursery words” ( <i>Daddypegs</i> ), but they can be used jocularly or ironically in other contexts (Schneider, 2003: 115).

Table 2. The description and different kinds of meaning of English diminutive suffixes

In English, different suffixes can be used to form diminutives from the same base word. Schneider (2003: 119) distinguishes numerous pairs of competing diminutive suffixes. The ones involving the suffix *-ie* are listed below:

- *-ie* vs. *-er* (e.g. *footie/footer*) – the suffix *-ie* has more positive connotations and refers to children, whereas the suffix *-er* to youths and adults; forms in *-er* are “register or in-group markers”;
- *-ie* vs. *-o* (e.g. *kiddie/kiddo*) – the suffix *-ie* has more positive connotations and refers to children, whereas the suffix *-o* to youths and adults;
- *-ie* vs. *-s* (e.g. *Mommie/Moms*) – the suffix *-ie* refers to child-oriented discourse, whereas the suffix *-s* to informal adult conversation;
- *-ie* vs. *-let* or *-ling* (e.g. *piggie/piglet, pigling*) – suffixes *-let* and *-ling* add the semantic feature [+young] in derivations from animal terms; both forms may exist from the same base (then they are regional variants); the suffix *-ie* puts emphasis on the positive attitude towards the referent;
- *-ling* vs. *-let* (e.g. *princeling/princelet*) – usually when these suffixes are derived from titles, formations with the suffix *-ling* seem to be more old-fashioned, nevertheless, they both express derogation and contempt.

It is worth mentioning that, in everyday communication, synthetic diminutives are used mainly between members of family, e.g. parent – child, older child – younger child, adult/child – pet, husband – wife (Schneider, 2003: 234).

It is worth noting that the words obtained with the use of one of the above-mentioned suffixes do not always have to mean the diminutives of their base form, as in many cases these words are independent formations with specialized meaning, e.g. *book* – *booklet* (Schneider and Strubel-Burgdorf, 2012: 18), or sometimes they have no counterpart without the diminutive suffix, even though they may be analyzed as consisting of a base form plus suffix, e.g. *toilet*. Gillis (1997: 167) refers to such formations as ‘frozen diminutives’ (see also Chamonikolasova and Rambousek, 2007: 39).

The main alternative to synthetic diminutive formation when one of the above-mentioned suffixes is used is the analytic one. As it reflects the general structure of English, it occurs more frequently in all kinds of language use (Schneider, 2003: 123). Adjectives which can be used in analytic diminutives can be divided into three groups depending on the degree of formality (Schneider, 2003: 125):

- informal/colloquial/childish/used by or to children: *tiny*, *teeny*, *teensy*, *teeny-weeny*, *teensy-weensy*, *wee*;
- neutral: *small*, *little*;
- formal/literary: *minute*, *diminutive*, *lilliputian*.

Adjectives used in informal and formal styles express a higher degree of smallness and are not used with intensifiers. They are more expressive but used less often than neutral adjectives (Schneider, 2003: 125-126).

The adjective ‘petite’ refers only to females and is marked as appreciative. The meaning of ‘miniature’ is restricted to small-scale objects, e.g. children’s toys being the replications of the adult world. The meaning of ‘minimal’ is contrasted with ‘maximal’ and indicates one end of a scale, as it relates to minimum (Schneider, 2003: 124).

The neutral expressions ‘small’ and ‘little’ are the central adjectives in English. The main difference in meaning between these two adjectives is the ‘emotional implication’ which is present in the case of ‘little’ but does not take place in the case of ‘small’. ‘Little’ expresses smallness together with affective connotations, while ‘small’ refers to objective smallness and is used in comparisons (Schneider, 2003: 126). According to Charleston (1960: 112), some particular adjectives, such as ‘little’ do not have only their factual and referential meaning, but also the emotional one, as they indicate the speaker’s attitude and his/her feelings of affection, sympathy, pity, or his/her friendly amusement. On the other hand, this adjective can as well

signify unimportance, paltriness or meanness, and indicate the speaker's feelings of scorn, annoyance, or sarcasm (Charleston, 1960: 113). Schneider (2003: 128) lists four meanings of the adjective 'little':

- 'small',
- 'short',
- 'young',
- 'trivial'.

The particular meaning of 'little' depends on the noun it modifies. Schneider (2003: 131-134) distinguishes three classes of nouns which are modified by 'little':

- personal nouns:

- ✓ names – the connotations are usually positive; in some cases 'little' may become a permanent constituent of a given name, e.g. *Little Joe*;
- ✓ titles – the meaning of deprecation, e.g. *little Miss*;
- ✓ neutral terms – in most cases it is the meaning of youngness and appreciation, e.g. *little boy*; but sometimes it refers to the meaning of negative evaluation such as deprecation, e.g. *little man*;
- ✓ evaluative terms – the majority of nouns from this category express negative evaluation, thus, when it refers to children, the meaning of diminutive is mitigation, e.g. *little beast*, and, when it refers to adults, it is intensification, e.g. *little bastard*<sup>15</sup>;

- object nouns: in some cases it is the meaning of smallness together with an attitude towards a given object, but usually the meaning depends on pragmatic factors, which are discussed in chapter 5 of this paper;

- abstract nouns: often the meaning depends on pragmatic factors (see chapter 5), but sometimes it is clearly ironic, e.g. *little problem*.

According to Schneider (2003: 134-135), analytic diminutives are often modified by other, usually also qualifying, adjectives, such as 'silly', 'nice' or 'poor'. It intensifies positive or negative evaluation, depending on the linguistic and situational context of particular expression. It is also worth mentioning that in some cases two ways of forming diminutives (both analytic and synthetic) can be applied simultaneously, e.g. *little drinkies*, *little wifelet* or *little mommy*. This type of double diminutivization aims at intensifying particular meaning (Schneider, 2003: 137).

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<sup>15</sup> This is why these formations are usually employed in insults, when the speaker wants to express contempt, annoyance or deprecation.

#### 4.5. Irony as one of the main meanings of diminutives

Diminutives are often associated with positive evaluations. Nevertheless, their negative connotations also play significant role in interpersonal communication. Thus, in this chapter the most common negative meaning, namely irony, is discussed, as ironic statements are usually unexpected and indirect and, therefore, more effective (Dressler and Barbaresi, 1994: 358).

When discussing irony, it is crucial to introduce Grice's notion of *conversational implicature*. Grice claims that the content expressed in an utterance constitutes only a part of what may be communicated (Zdunkiewicz 2001:272-273). The remaining meaning of the utterance consists of implied information, transmitted in either a conventional or a nonconventional way, which is described by Grice as *conversational implicature* (Grice 1975:45). He further explains that conversation is an intentional act of cooperation between the interlocutors. Therefore, he points out some principles obeyed in the course of the conversation. The general principle is defined as *the cooperative principle* and reads as follows: "make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged" (Grice 1975:45). Along with this principle, Grice proposed four maxims which supplement it (Grice 1975:45-46):

- ✓ *maxim of quantity* - where one tries to be as informative as he possibly can and gives only as much information as is needed,
- ✓ *maxim of quality* - where one tries to be truthful and does not give information that is false or that is not supported by evidence,
- ✓ *maxim of relation* - where one tries to be relevant and says things that are connected with the discussion,
- ✓ *maxim of manner* - where one tries to be as clear and brief as he can in what he says and where one avoids obscurity and ambiguity.

Conversational implicature takes place when in an open and ostentatious way the interlocutor violates one of the above-mentioned maxims (Zdunkiewicz 2001:274). Irony violates Grice's maxims of quality and manner, therefore, the use of diminutives to express irony is an example of conversational implicature.

Diminutives very often express negative assessment, as the speaker hides the real negative judgment in an ostensibly positive one (represented by a diminutive) (Sarnowski, 1991: 41). Irony is usually understood as "the use of words to convey the opposite of their



literal meaning” (Dressler and Barbaresi, 1994: 337), as it arises from a contradiction between what is said and what is intended (see also Sperber and Wilson, 2002). Following Groeben, Dressler and Barbaresi (1994: 358-359) differentiate four main types of irony:

- protective/defensive irony, which is believed to be the prototypical one – it is an indirect way used for criticizing,
- constructive-critical irony – a kind of friendly irony, which is used by a sympathetic speaker to influence the referent, here the aggressiveness is cancelled by jocularity,
- affectionate irony – a kind of friendly irony, which is always jocular and does not criticize but expresses positive attitude; it aims at humour, creates situational irony, and/or expresses or builds up group solidarity,
- arrogant/destructive irony.

Following Haverkate, Dressler and Barbaresi (1994: 349) point out that irony is the “intentional expression of insincerity, and, as far as diminutives are concerned, this occurs at the levels of the linguistic structure of the utterance and of the hearer’s interpretation”. Irony most often takes the form of praise, which implies mockery or reprimand, as diminutives can only be properly interpreted in context, relative to the given situation (Hutcheon, 2002: 168-169). It may also convey pretended empathy (Dressler and Barbaresi, 1994: 359).

Sarnowski (1991: 42) lists some groups of diminutives used in ironic or even sarcastic<sup>16</sup> contexts:

✓ abstract nouns:

(1) *To nie jest prawdziwa miłość, tylko taka miłostka. (It’s not a real love, it’s just a love-DIM.)*

(2) *Ten jej charakterek mnie irytuje. (Her character-DIM. irritates me.)*

(3) *Jej spektakularna kariera skończy się szybciej, niż zaczęła. (Her spectacular career-DIM. will end faster than it started.)*

(4) *Panowie, tylko z kulturką proszę. (Gentlemen, with culture-DIM., please.)*

✓ names of some professions, academic titles, functions and positions:

(5) *Co jest, doktorku? (What’s up, doctor-DIM.?)*

(6) *Kochany dyrektor cię wzywa. (Dear director-DIM. calls you.)*

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<sup>16</sup> There is a common belief that sarcasm is like irony, only stronger, but it must be stated that these two terms are not synonyms. The main difference is that sarcasm is always used to hurt the addressee. It also aims at criticism, but it is more like cynicism and resignation. Unlike irony, sarcasm always creates distance between the interlocutors. Diminutives used to express sarcasm are offensive and intensify the direct attack on the referent (Dressler and Barbaresi, 1994: 360-365).

- ✓ names of some social, political and religious organizations:

(7) *Proszę, jak się warszawka bawi.* (Well, well, look at Warsaw-DIM. having fun.)

(8) *Nadal pobożnie chodzisz do kościółka?* (Do you still piously go to church-DIM.?)

(9) *Ładna mi rodzinka, co jeden to lepszy.* (A fine family-DIM. indeed, each one better than the one before.)

- ✓ nouns of secondary positive assessment:

(10) *Poczekaj złotko, jeszcze z tobą nie skończyłem.* (Wait a moment, my sugar-DIM., I haven't done with you yet.) – the diminutive form strengthens the threat, and also expresses the speaker's satisfaction with the addressee's defeat.

(11) *I co aniołeczku, nadal obstawiasz na swoim?* (Well, angel-DIM., do you still stick to your opinion?)

(12) *Ale się Agnieszka dzisiaj odstawiała.* (Well, well, but Agnieszka-DIM. dressed up today.) – the diminutive form denotes the speaker's disapproving and unfriendly attitude towards the particular person, whom he/she in fact dislikes.

Diminutives denote the smallness of a given object. Being small may be treated as something positive – “small” meaning “nice”, but also as something negative – “small” meaning “unimportant”, “insignificant” or “laughable” (Sarnowski, 1991: 42-43). Diminutives used in this context express the speaker's lack of respect, his/her disdain, contempt or pitifulness towards the addressee. They indicate the speaker's standard of personal culture, his/her intellect or emotional condition. They are applied in situations of excessive obsequiousness, or deliberate and insincere politeness or compassion (Sarnowski, 1991: 44).

Diminutives used in ironic context may also deprecate a given person. With the use of them the speaker may humiliate or disqualify somebody (Sarnowski, 1991: 46). It often happens that the use of diminutives to denote irony is directly caused by their presence in the interlocutor's speech, as sometimes they are applied customarily, unconsciously, or excessively. As a result, the interlocutor may be parodied with the use of identical diminutive forms as he/she employs (Sarnowski, 1991: 47), since parody is obtained through an overuse of diminutives (Dressler and Barbaresi, 1994: 2):

(13) – *Zapakować ten staniczek i majteczki?* (Shall I pack this bra-DIM. and panties-DIM.?)

– *Tak, zapakować i staniczek i majteczki.* (Yes, pack both the bra-DIM. and the panties-DIM.)

To conclude, it is worth mentioning Dressler and Barbaresi's remark (1994: 360) who, following Oomen, write that irony is always evaluative (see also Hutcheon, 2002: 168), which “fits in well with the evaluative character of diminutives”.

## 5. Pragmatic functions of diminutives in language communication

Following Dressler and Barbaresi (1994), the author of this thesis is of the opinion that diminutives are strictly related to the pragmatics of communication, which investigates “how to analyze pragmatic phenomena that take place in the course of a communicative process” (Dressler and Barbaresi, 1994: 4). Within the pragmatics of communication Dressler and Barbaresi (1994: 5) distinguish the speech situation and the speech event. They believe that between these two dimensions there is an important interface (Dressler and Barbaresi, 1994: 6). The term ‘speech event’ is reserved to “indicate the verbal and non-verbal actions and interactions of participants as governed by social norms (...), which are defined by the social structure” (Dressler and Barbaresi, 1994: 5). Its major features are dynamic elements such as:

- volition,
- intentions,
- goals and super-goals,
- plans,
- pragmatic strategies,
- topics,
- (non-conventional) conversational implicatures,
- speech acts.

By speech situation they understand the entire communicative situation, which consists of three groups of elements, bound together by the social structure (Dressler and Barbaresi, 1994: 5):

- participant roles with their properties and interrelations,
- place, time, and general setting of communication,
- the conventional verbal and non-verbal means of communication available to the participants.

The participants of the speech situation include:

- the speaker (text producer),
- the addressee (direct destine, recipient),
- side-participants (audience considered by the speaker),
- bystanders (marginally).

Moreover, it is believed that the participants have “relevant static properties” (Dressler and Barbaresi, 1994: 5) such as:

- presuppositions,

- cognitive properties<sup>17</sup>,
- attitudes,
- interrelations.

Dressler and Barbaresi (1994: 5) also add that interlocutors “can link aspects of linguistic form to aspects of context directly, that is, pragmatically, with no mediation of semantics”.

Schneider (2003: 53-54) distinguishes five parameters which determine the use of diminutives in spoken discourse and convey social, intentional, co-textual and situational dimensions of diminutive use:

- the relationship between the interlocutors,
- the illocutionary force of the utterance,
- the relevant politeness maxims,
- the co-text of the diminutive form,
- the semantics of the base word and its social meaning.

This chapter aims at demonstrating that, even though diminutives are usually applied to express positive or negative politeness (Lubecka, 1993: 48), they may also serve as face-threatening acts done *off record* or without redressive actions, as the concepts of face and politeness are necessary in order to understand the use of diminutives in conversation.

Diminutives can be used in various types of phrases, belonging to different categories of illocutionary acts (see also Kalisz, 1993). For the purpose of this paper, the following ones are introduced<sup>18</sup>:

- assertives - when we “tell people how things are” (Searle, 1981: viii),
- directives - when we “try to get them to do things” (Searle, 1981: viii),
- commissives - when we “commit ourselves to doing things” (Searle, 1981: viii),
- expressives - when we “express our feelings and attitudes” (Searle, 1981: viii),
- vocatives – when we want to get the addressee’s attention (Wunderlich, 1978: 79).

According to Schneider (2003: 54), the general pragmatic function of diminutives is minimization, which “operates on the respective pragmatic factor relevant to a given speech act”. Nevertheless, following Dressler and Barbaresi (1994: 171), it could be stated that the pragmatics of diminutives often allow “multiple conceivable interpretations”.

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<sup>17</sup> They derive from objectively-definable factors such as biography, experiences, and previous knowledge (Dressler and Barbaresi, 1994: 19).

<sup>18</sup> The above-mentioned types of phrases form the basis for the analysis of different pragmatic functions of diminutives taken from chosen examples of Polish and English literary texts, which is presented in chapter 8 of this paper.

## 5.1. Diminutives and their relation with the concepts of 'face' and 'politeness'

In order to understand the concept of politeness, the notion of face must be first introduced. Bogdanowska-Jakubowska (2010: 32-33) treats face as a radial category which has a central subcategory and peripheral extensions which "are its variants understood via their relationship to it". Thus, face can be understood as:

- the person
  - ✓ the representation of a human visage
  - ✓ the representative
- the (person's) look
  - ✓ the look of the place/institution/phenomenon
- the person's inner self
  - ✓ the expression of emotion
  - ✓ the mirror of the mind/soul
  - ✓ the person's personality/character
    - the characteristics of the place/institution/phenomenon
- an image of self/good name/reputation
- the presence of/confrontation with somebody/something
- a mask
- a bold front/self confidence which is disrespectful or rude
- a façade/the front, outer or most important surface of something.

The first five extensions are the metonymic ones, whereas the remaining three are the metaphoric ones.

The usage of diminutives is connected with Erving Goffman's strategy of *maintaining one's 'face'*. According to him, the interlocutors in the course of the conversation try to present and maintain each others' faces, that is "the public self-image that every competent adult member of a society wants to claim for himself" (Brown and Levinson, 1990: 61). Referring to Goffman, Brown and Levinson claim that maintaining one's face is the main motive for human interactions and consists in two related aspects of *negative* and *positive face*. Negative face is connected with "the basic claim to territories, personal preserves, rights to non-distraction-i.e. to freedom of action and freedom from imposition" (Brown and Levinson, 1990: 61). Whereas positive face is about "the positive consistent self-image or 'personality' (crucially including the desire that this self-image be appreciated and approved of) claimed by interactants" (Brown and Levinson, 1990: 61).

Brown and Levinson (1990: 61) believe that face is “something that is emotionally invested, and that can be lost, maintained, or enhanced, and must be constantly attended to in interaction”. The interlocutors have to cooperate in maintaining each others’ positive and negative faces by keeping certain balance. In practice, however, it is far more complicated as most of the conversations entail some kind of threat to one’s face, which is very vulnerable to that. The speakers try to defend their faces if threatened, and by doing this they threaten others’ faces. Blum-Kulka (2001: 228) gives the following examples of threatening one’s face: directives, which restrict the freedom of action or warnings and critical comments, which infringe on positive face.

Two theories of politeness are taken into account while analyzing the usage of diminutives in expressive polite phrases. These are:

- Leech’s theory of politeness,
- Brown and Levinson’s theory of politeness.

### **5.1.1. Leech’s theory of politeness**

Leech proposes the so-called *Politeness Principle*, which aims at maintaining friendly relations and helping to cooperate with interlocutors. He claims that there are two kinds of politeness, the positive and the negative one, therefore, his *Politeness Principle* has two versions (1983: 81):

- the negative version – “minimize (other things being equal) the expression of impolite beliefs”,
- the positive version – “maximize (other things being equal) the expression of polite beliefs”.

He also establishes six maxims of the *Politeness Principle* (1983: 132):

- Tact Maxim (in directives and commissives):
  - a) minimize cost to *other*,
  - b) maximize benefit to *other*;
- Generosity Maxim (in directives and commissives):

- a) minimize benefit to *self*,
- b) maximize cost to *self*;
- Approbation Maxim (in expressives and assertives):
  - a) minimize dispraise of *other*,
  - b) maximize praise of *other*;
- Modesty Maxim (in expressives and assertives):
  - a) minimize praise of *self*,
  - b) maximize dispraise of *self*;
- Agreement Maxim (in assertives):
  - a) minimize disagreement between *self* and *other*,
  - b) maximize agreement between *self* and *other*;
- Sympathy Maxim (in assertives):
  - a) minimize antipathy between *self* and *other*,
  - b) maximize sympathy between *self* and *other*.

### 5.1.2. Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness

As mentioned before, every adult member of a society has positive and negative face. Brown and Levinson claim that some actions intrinsically threaten face , thus they are referred to as face-threatening acts (1990: 60). They are divided into (Bogdanowska-Jakubowska, 2010: 215; Jakubowska, 1999: 31):

- acts threatening the hearer's negative face – when the speaker wants to impede hearer's freedom of action and intrude into his/her plans by urging him/her to lose his/her private time in order to do something (e.g. requests, warnings or suggestions),
- acts threatening the hearer's positive face – when the speaker does not care about the hearer's feelings and wants and does not approve of some aspects of hearer's positive

face (e.g. expressions of disapproval or criticism, use of address terms in an offensive or embarrassing way),

- acts threatening the speaker's negative face (e.g. expressing promises, thanks or excuses),
- acts threatening the speaker's positive face (e.g. apologies or acceptance of a compliment).

Brown and Levinson (1990: 60) distinguish five strategies for doing face-threatening acts (see Figure 5.).

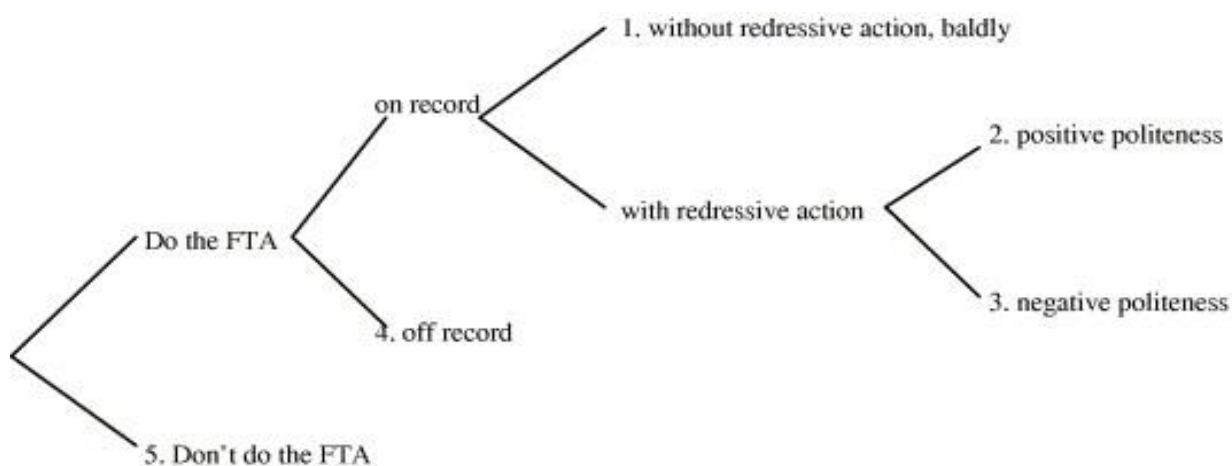


Figure 5. Strategies for doing face-threatening acts

First of all, the speaker may avoid doing face-threatening act. He can also choose to use metaphor, irony, rhetorical questions, understatement or hints (thus, to introduce conversational implicature) in order to “negotiate” the meaning. This is the strategy for doing face-threatening acts “*off record*”. It can be considered as “the avoidance of unequivocal impositions” (Jakubowska, 1999: 26). “On record” face-threatening act is done when the intention of the speaker is clear to the hearer. The speaker can do it “baldly, without redressive action” (which means that he/she does it in the most direct, unambiguous and concise way) or “with redressive action”, which is meant to “counteract the potential face damage of the FTA by doing it in such a way, or with such modifications or additions, that indicate clearly that no such face threat is intended or desired” (Brown and Levinson, 1990: 69-70). There are two kinds of redressive action:

- positive politeness – oriented toward hearer's positive face. The face threat is minimized “by the assurance that in general S wants at least some of H's wants”



(Brown and Levinson, 1990: 70). It may be considered as “the expression of solidarity” (Jakubowska, 1999: 26),

- negative politeness – oriented toward redressing the hearer’s negative face. The face threat is minimized by the assurance that the speaker recognizes and respects the hearer’s negative-face wants and will not attempt to impede him/her in his/her action (Bogdanowska-Jakubowska, 2010: 216). It may be considered as “the expression of restraint” (Jakubowska, 1999: 26).

Every member of a society wants to prevent face loss by avoiding face-threatening acts or employing strategies to minimize the threat. In everyday communication, the interlocutors usually attempt to avoid threatening each other’s face. Thus, they employ politeness, which may be explained as follows: when the speaker feels that he/she threatens the hearer’s positive or negative face, he/she will try to use language in a way that signals to the hearer his/her awareness of this threat and his/her desire to minimize it (Plag, Braun, Lappe and Schramm, 2007: 197-199).

Diminutives are often used as a mitigating device in order to minimize the face-threat. Nevertheless, they are also applied in the case of face-threatening acts done *off record*, when the speaker wants to express irony, disrespect and pitifulness.

## 5.2. Diminutives used in assertive acts

Assertives adhere to the maxims of agreement and sympathy (Schneider, 2003: 215). Depending on the context, diminutives used in assertive acts may express positive or negative evaluation (see also Dressler and Barbaresi, 1994: 263-284). Firstly, the speaker can refer to himself/herself, which is characteristic of young children. The following sentence serves to express self-pity in order to maintain the speaker’s positive face:

(14) *O ja biedna, nieszczęśliwa Martusia!* (Oh, I’m a poor, unhappy Marta-DIM.)

Similar sentences may express positive attitude towards the addressee or the person, who is not a participant in a given conversation. They are also intended to maintain somebody’s positive face:

(15) *Poor little beggar. I’ll give him some money.*

On the other hand, diminutives may express negative evaluation, threatening the addressee’s or the non-participant’s positive face:

(16) *I te twoje małe, czerwone oczka jak u myszy. (And your small, red eyes-DIM. like in a mouse.)*

(17) *Ten jej charakterek mnie irytuje. (Her character-DIM. irritates me.)*

(18) *Jej spektakularna karierka skończy się szybciej, niż zaczęła. (Her spectacular career-DIM. will end faster than it started.)*

(19) *Proszę, jak się warszawka bawi. (Well, well, look at Warsaw-DIM. having fun.)*

(20) *Ładna mi rodzinka, co jeden to lepszy. (A fine family-DIM. indeed, each one better than the one before.)*

When referring to his/her own possessions, the speaker may use diminutives to play down particular things in order to avoid self-praise and minimize their significance, maintaining his/her positive face. Following Staverman, Schneider (2013: 146) refers to such diminutives as ‘diminutivum modestum’:

(21) *Ostatnio kupilem sobie mały jachcik. (Recently, I’ve bought a small yacht.)*

Nevertheless, the speaker has to be careful not to be perceived as someone who boasts about his/her purchase, as the use of the diminutive may as well threaten his/her positive face or even cause losing it.

Sometimes diminutives are applied when the speaker announces something pleasant for the addressee (e.g. a present). The function of a diminutive is not to minimize benefit to other, but rather to minimize cost and praise to self. The speaker does not want to boast about his/her gift, thus, he/she plays down its value as well as the fact or effort of getting it (Schneider, 2003: 223-224):

(22) *I’ve got a little surprise for you!*

### **5.3. Diminutives used in directive acts**

Directives concentrate mostly on requests, which are face-threatening acts. Therefore, by using diminutives, the speaker wants to reduce the face threat inherent in requests. Diminutives minimize the cost to hearer (Leech’s Tact Maxim). The requested action or thing is represented as small and/or unimportant, and thus more acceptable for the addressee (Schneider, 2003: 164). The use of diminutives in requests is a negative politeness strategy (Lubecka, 2000: 67). Five categories of requests may be distinguished (Schneider, 2003: 161):

- asking for action,

- asking for material goods,
- asking for permission,
- asking for patience,
- asking for information.

Charleston (1960: 124) is of the opinion that when trying to persuade the hearer to comply with a request, or urging him/her to undertake some action, diminutives can be very effective, as the addressee finds it difficult to refuse the appeal which was made to his/her emotional side (see also Dressler and Barbaresi, 1994: 228-263).

### 5.3.1. Diminutives in asking for action

By using diminutive form in asking for action, the action is diminished. Referring to Jurafsky (1996: 558) again, it can be shown that the speaker desires to minimize the impact of a statement by using diminutive forms, which:

- ✓ soften the command:

(23) *Podaj mi maselko. (Pass me the butter-DIM.)*

- ✓ minimize the imposition on the hearer as using the diminutive:

- minimizes the object of the request, making it seem easy to cope with/insignificant:

(24) *Proszę otworzyć buzię, muszę zobaczyć ząbki. (Open your mouth, please. I need to see the teeth-DIM.)*

- makes the request appear less obligatory/important:

(25) *Proszę przyjść do mnie na słówko. (Please, come to my place to have a word-DIM. with you.)*

- ✓ mark friendly or close relations among interlocutors as the use of diminutive forms reduce the distance between interlocutors (see also Ronowicz, 1995: 38):

(26) *Mogłabyś mi kupić chlebek? (Could you buy me some bread-DIM.?)*

Nevertheless, there are situations when the diminutive form is used in face-threatening acts done *off record*. Then, it does not diminish the force of the request or reduce hearer cost, but indicates irony, as in the following example when a man is talking to another man in a car park:

(27) *Can you move your little car?*

### 5.3.2. Diminutives in asking for material goods

In requests for material goods, both cost to other and benefit to self are minimized by using diminutives, which metaphorically reduce the size of the requested object (Schneider, 2003: 168):

(28) *Can I have a little water?*

Requests for food or drink may in some particular contexts (e.g. a party context) resemble offer acceptance, without changing the function of a diminutive:

(29) *Może coś byś zjadł? (Would you like anything to eat?)*

*To może jedną kanapeczkę. (So maybe I could do with one sandwich-DIM.)*

Sifianou (1992: 161-162) provides some Greek examples in which buyers in a shop use diminutives in their requests for goods. She treats such diminutive forms as solidarity markers rather than as cost minimisers, thus they indicate positive politeness. This also applies to Polish context (Handke, 2008: 213-214):

(30) *Poproszę jeden chlebek krojony, trzy bułeczki i kawalek tego serniczka. (I'd like one sliced loaf of bread-DIM., three rolls-DIM., and a slice of this cheesecake-DIM.)*

### 5.3.3. Diminutives in asking for permission

Diminutives used in asking for permission play down the action, which the speaker is going to perform and for which the hearer's permission is needed, in its significance, intensity or duration (Schneider, 2003: 172):

(31) *Mogę wyjść na chwilkę? (Can I leave for a moment-DIM.?)*

### 5.3.4. Diminutives in asking for patience

While asking for patience, the speaker threatens the hearer's negative face, as he/she wants the addressee to wait. Waiting is at a cost to the addressee, as he/she has to invest some time. Thus, diminutives represent this time as short (Schneider, 2003: 173):

(32) *Wrócę za momencik. (I'll be back in a moment-DIM.)*

### 5.3.5. Diminutives in asking for information

Diminutives used in asking for information communicate the speaker's attitude towards the respective referents (Schneider, 2003: 175). They can indicate negative politeness, as in the following example:

(33) *Gdzie położyłaś mój sweterek?* (*Where have you put my sweater-DIM.?*)

Nevertheless, diminutive forms can also express negative evaluation, and, therefore, threaten the hearer's positive face. It serves to belittle the addressee, by using *off record* strategies such as irony or sarcasm:

(34) *Nadal pobożnie chodzisz do kościółka?* (*Do you still piously go to church-DIM.?*)

## 5.4. Diminutives used in commissive acts

Commissives refer to future actions done by the speaker, as he/she commits himself/herself to doing something. The future action is a cost to the speaker. Leech's politeness maxims which applies to commissives are Tact Maxim ("maximize benefit to other") and Generosity Maxim ("maximize cost to self"). Commissives usually concern offers, but also suggestions and announcements (Schneider, 2003: 179).

### 5.4.1. Diminutives in offers

Offers refer to a future action done by the speaker, from which the addressee profits (Schneider, 2003: 179). Therefore, it is to the cost of the speaker and to the benefit of the hearer. Therefore, it could be stated that offering something threatens the speaker's negative face, and, at the same time, indicate positive politeness. Two categories of offers may be distinguished (Schneider, 2003: 181):

- offers of assistance – not discussed in this paper, as diminutives do not occur in this type of offers,
- hospitable offers.

Hospitable offers typically occur at social gatherings, where there are hosts and invited guests. The hosts are expected to provide food and drink, and it is the topic of a hospitable offer. The use of diminutive forms does not express the hosts' intention to provide their guests

with a small quantity of offered goods, but helps the addressee to save face, as he/she will not appear greedy (Schneider, 2003: 185). Diminutives also emphasize the hosts' cordial, sincere and solicitous attitude towards the guests. Moreover, they praise the quality of what is offered and minimize its quantity as well as the effort which the hosts put into its preparation (Wierzbicka, 1985: 166-167; Wierzbicka, 1984: 128; Lubecka, 2000: 136-137; Handke, 2008: 213-214).

(35) *Może kanapeczkę? Albo kawalek serniczka?*

(36) *Would you like a little sandwich? A little piece of cheesecake?*

(37) *Napijecie się herbatki czy kawki? A może winka? (Would you like some tea-DIM. or coffee-DIM.? Or maybe some wine-DIM.?)*

The use of diminutives in conversations between sellers and buyers at the market or a waiter and guests at the restaurant seems to be one of the most characteristic features of Polish culture. Jerzy Bralczyk (2009: 94) is of the opinion that the use of diminutives in this context is aimed at encouraging people to do something. Thus, it is perceived as a kind of persuasive strategy or even linguistic manipulation (Nicgorska, 2007: 65). On the other hand, it guarantees better effectiveness of our efforts, as people feel respected and favoured (Nagórko, 2003: 223). Hence, it expresses positive politeness rather than the negative one. What is more, as Huszcza (2005: 223-224) notices, "in the speech of (...) Polish waiters, shop-keepers, shop-assistants and customer-service personnel, there is an honorific use of nominal diminutives when referring to items provided or about to be provided to the customer", which encodes the social roles of the customers and the service personnel. Huszcza (2005: 223) describes this phenomenon as "pragmatic modesty directed towards the speaker":

(38) *Może maselka? Świeżutkie! Do tego serek biały i swojska kielbaska! (Would you like some butter-DIM.? It's fresh-DIM.! Along with some cottage cheese-DIM. and home-made sausage-DIM.!)*

(39) *Rzodkieweczki! Tylko po 3 złote! Winogronka przepyszne! (Radish-DIM.! For only 3 zlotys! Delicious grapes-DIM.!)*

(40) *Proponuję ziemniaczki z kotlecikiem schabowym, do tego smaczne buraczki. (I suggest potatoes-DIM. with pork cutlet-DIM., along with tasty beetroots-DIM.)<sup>19</sup>*

(41) *Herbatka z cytrynką czy bez? (Tea-DIM. with or without lemon-DIM.?)*

(42) *Chlebuś podać? (Would you like some bread-DIM.?)*

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<sup>19</sup> Dressler and Barbaresi (1994: 305-306), following Staverman, refer to such forms of diminutives as 'diminutiva culinaria', which indicate that favourite dishes have a tendency to be diminutivized.

It is worth adding that, even though the sentence (42) may be considered as the violation of the maxims “maximize cost to self” and “maximize benefit to other” (Schneider, 2003: 185), it still functions as an indication of positive politeness.

#### **5.4.2. Diminutives in suggestions**

Suggestions refer to a future action done by the speaker and the addressee, which is in the interest of both interactants. Therefore, cost and benefit are supposed to be the same for the speaker and the hearer. Diminutives used in suggestions refer to the predicated future action. The speaker tries to persuade the addressee to accept the suggestion, especially if it concerns some enjoyable free-time activities. Then, by using diminutives, this pleasure is played down to make it more acceptable for the addressee. Furthermore, the maxim “minimize benefit to self” is adhered to (Schneider, 2003: 180, 193-195):

(43) *Shall we have a little dance?*

#### **5.4.3. Diminutives in announcements**

Announcements refer to a future action done by the speaker, from which the speaker himself/herself will benefit (Schneider, 2003: 180). Diminutives used in announcements play down the speaker’s benefit and pleasure, as they diminish the source of enjoyment. Thus, they adhere to the maxim of minimizing benefit to self (Schneider, 2003: 191):

(44) *Zdrzemnę się troszeczkę. (I’ll take a little nap.)*

#### **5.5. Diminutives used in expressive acts**

In general, the expressives communicate positive feelings and support the addressee’s positive face, thus they intrinsically express positive politeness. They include wishes, condolences, compliments, expressions of thanks, greetings and farewells. Nevertheless, there is one more type of expressives, which communicates negative feelings. It is the insult, which baldly attacks the hearer’s positive face.

### 5.5.1. Diminutives in greetings

It happens quite often in Polish culture that the speaker greets the hearer with the use of diminutives (Karwatowska and Szpyra-Kozłowska, 2010: 201), indicating meanings such as familiarity, intimacy, or liking, as the speaker wants to maintain the addressee's positive face. They may as well serve as a joke or a word-play (Ozóg, 1990: 76). Even though diminutives in greetings are sometimes considered ironic, outdated or infantile, they do exist in everyday conversations of Poles and usually evoke positive feelings in the addressee. Following Wierzbicka (1969: 45-46), it could be stated that diminutives are such linguistic elements which "introduce positive component into a particular sentence":

(45) *Padam do stópek szanownej pani!* (*I'm falling at your feet-DIM., dear madam!*)

(46) *Dzieńdoberek!* (*Good morning-DIM.!*)

### 5.5.2. Diminutives in compliments

By definition, compliments are the expressions of praise, implying admiration or respect. They establish or maintain friendly relations between the interlocutors (see also Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, 1989: 73-100). An entity or event associated with the addressee is positively evaluated by the speaker (who is usually a woman, as women compliment others more often than men do (Holmes, 1995: 2)), hence, compliments adhere to Leech's Approbation Maxim ("maximize praise of other") (Schneider, 2003: 201). Diminutives used in compliments mostly refer to particular things, which belong to the addressee:

(47) *Wyglądasz ślicznie w tym kapelusiku.* (*You look lovely in this hat-DIM.*)

Nevertheless, the above mentioned utterance may also be used ironically, threatening the addressee's positive face.

In the following sentence, the diminutive form functions as praise minimisers:

(48) *Ta bluzeczka jest cudna!* (*This blouse-DIM. is gorgeous!*)

It may seem that praise minimization violates the approbation maxim, but minimized compliments are considered more sincere and convincing (Schneider, 2003: 204).

Compliments which praise persons refer to people closely related to the addressee, e.g. children. It is, however, the parent (the hearer), and not the child, who receives the compliment. Here, diminutives do not function as praise minimisers, but they communicate affection, evoked by the smallness and sweetness of children (Schneider, 2003: 204-205):



(49) *Masz śliczną córeczkę! (You've got a lovely daughter-DIM.!)*

Following Wolfson, Holmes (1995: 19, 119) suggests that women are complimented more often than men, which is an indication of their subordinate status, since compliments can be regarded as patronizing, offensively flattering, or even sarcastic. Holmes (1995: 121), following Kissling and Kramarae, points out that there are some compliments, called 'stranger compliments' or 'street remarks', which make women feel embarrassed and are treated as verbal harassment:

(50) *Wow, what legs! What are you doing with them tonight, sweetie?*

It is worth adding that diminutives are also used in compliment responses, adhering to Leech's Modesty Maxim, as they mitigate the compliment by minimizing the evaluated thing (Schneider, 2003: 208). Thus, it is the speaker who threatens his/her positive face:

(51) *Eee... Taki tam domek. (Oh, it's just a house-DIM.)*

### **5.5.3. Diminutives in insults**

By definition, insults are the expressions of depreciation, which imply anger or disrespect. They do not threaten, but simply attack the addressee's positive face, as they openly violate Leech's Approbation Maxim ("minimize dispraise of other"). Usually, the negative evaluation expressed by using insults refers to the addressee's person or personality and is caused by some actions or the behaviour of the addressee, which annoy the insulter. As insults are supposed to hurt the addressee, they are used baldly and without any redressive action. As in the case of obscene terms mentioned before, diminutives can also be applied in insults, not minimizing the negative evaluation, but rather intensifying it and indicating superiority. The addressee is then belittled and derogated, as diminutives increase the force of an insult (Schneider, 2003: 209-212):

(52) *You dirty little swine!*

### **5.6. Diminutives used in vocative acts**

As mentioned at the beginning, vocative acts are used when the speaker wants to get the addressee's attention (Wunderlich, 1978: 79). They are usually realized by nominal terms of address, which can be divided into four categories (Schneider, 2003: 141, 152):

- personal names – further subdivided into first names and last names;

- titles – these are professional, military, or religious titles, and M-forms;
- kinship terms – indicate relations between members of a family; here we can distinguish first order kinship terms (e.g. *father*) and second order kinship terms (e.g. *nephew*);
- descriptors – comprise all nominal address terms which do not belong to the previous categories; these are generic terms (e.g. *mate*), functional terms (e.g. *waiter*), nicknames, pet (or animal) names, obscene terms, ethnic terms and terms of endearment (e.g. *darling*).

The use of the nominal terms of address depends on situational factors (e.g. sex, marital status of the addressee) and the relationship between the speaker and the hearer (e.g. social distance, social status, age difference). The norms governing the use of terms of address vary across cultures, social classes, age groups, gender and also across individuals (Schneider, 2003: 141-142).

In general, it can be stated that diminutives in vocative acts either realize Leech's sympathy maxim ("maximize sympathy between self and other") or the negation of this maxim ("maximize antipathy between self and other"), which can be considered a "rudeness maxim" (Kasper, 1990: 208). Brown and Levinson (1990: 107-108) point out that diminutives used in terms of address convey in-group membership and solidarity. They may be used to soften face-threatening acts as well. Moreover, they express respect or lack of respect towards the addressee, and the speaker's emotional attitude (Jakubowska, 1999: 50).

### 5.6.1. Diminutives used in titles

Diminutives in titles are used either to express positive politeness:

(53) *Dzień dobry, paniusiu, ładny dzisiaj dzień, prawda? (Hello Misseyy! Nice day, isn't it?)*<sup>20</sup>

or negative politeness:

(54) *Paniusiu kochana, będzie tu jeszcze miejsce dla mnie? (Dear lady-DIM., will there be any room for me?).*

Diminutives may also be applied in the case of face-threatening acts done *off record*, when the speaker wants to express irony or disrespect towards the addressee:

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<sup>20</sup> It must be stated that example (53) may also be considered mocking, patronizing and offensive.

(55) *Kochany dyrektor cię wzywa. (Dear director-DIM. calls you.)*

### 5.6.2. Diminutives used in personal names, kinship terms and descriptors

Simple diminutives (e.g. *Katie, Basia*) are by some native speakers considered as neutral forms or a variant of their first names. But more often, together with multiple diminutives (e.g. *Katiepoo, Basieńka*), they reflect speaker's momentary attitude towards the hearer and are employed for particular purposes in particular situations (Schneider, 2003: 145-146). For instance, they may support a request or command. Therefore, they express negative politeness. According to Jurafsky (1996: 558), the speaker desires to minimize the impact of a statement by using diminutives, which:

- ✓ soften the command:

(56) *Heniu, podaj mi sól. (Henryk-DIM.DIM., pass me the salt.)*

- ✓ minimize the imposition on the hearer as using the diminutive makes the request appear less obligatory/important:

(57) *Pani Basiu, proszę przyjść do mnie do gabinetu.*<sup>21</sup> (*Miss Lizzie, come to my office, please*).

(58) *Tomeczku, pomożesz mi ze sprzątniem? (Tomasz-DIM.DIM., will you help me with the cleaning?)*

- ✓ mark friendly or close relations among interlocutors as the use of diminutive forms reduce the distance between interlocutors.

(59) *Pani Basiu, proszę się nie martwić, zajmiemy się wszystkim. (Miss Lizzie, don't worry, we'll take care of everything).*

Nevertheless, diminutives used in the above sentences may be applied in face-threatening acts done *off record*, when the speaker wants to express irony (e.g. example (55)), superiority (example (57)) or pitifulness (example (59)). Diminutives used in sentences such as:

(60) *Pani Aniu, czy Pani nie potrafi właściwie używać kierunkowskazu? (Miss Anna-DIM., can't you use the indicator properly?)*

(61) *Czy moja żoneczka przygotowała już śniadanie? (Has my wifey prepared the breakfast yet?)*

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<sup>21</sup> Marcjanik (2007: 49) treats such forms of addressing young women by their male superiors as patronizing and condescending.

(62) *A oto i ona, nasza córeczka tatusia!* (*And there she is, our daddy's little girl!*)

(63) *Anything else, duckie?* (a seller talking to a customer at the local market)

may indicate that the speaker does not take the addressee seriously. In a sentence such as:

(64) *Ale się Ewunia dzisiaj odstawiała!* (*Well, well, but Ewa-DIM. dressed up today!*)

the diminutive form denotes the speaker's disapproving and unfriendly attitude towards the particular person, whom he/she in fact dislikes.

Nevertheless, diminutives used in personal names are also employed when the speaker wants to maintain the addressee's positive face, e.g. he/she wants to express meanings such as familiarity, intimacy, or liking (Handke, 2008: 212):

(65) *Witaj Jadzinko! Co słychać?* (*Welcome Jadwiga-DIM.DIM.! What's up?*)

Sentence (60) may be understood not as the indication of indulgence, which threatens the addressee's positive face, but as the expression of sincere care and empathy. Sentence (63) may be perceived as the sign of excessive familiarity or blatancy, but, at the same time, they may also indicate the speaker's friendly attitude towards the addressee.

In some cases one and the same sentence may concern different kinds of face-threatening acts, and different kinds of politeness. For instance, the following sentence, uttered by an adult son to his mother:

(66) *Czy mamusia mnie słyszy?* (*Can you hear me, mummy?*)

can serve as an example of an act threatening the hearer's negative face (as the speaker wants his mother to pay attention to him), as well as positive face (as the speaker may intend to mock his mother's hearing), or an act threatening the speaker's positive face (as he may be perceived as somebody who is childish and is (still) a mummy's boy). At the same time, it may reflect positive politeness, as, by using diminutive form, the speaker wants to express good manners and his feelings of respect, intimacy and love towards the addressee. Nevertheless, it may also reflect negative politeness, as the speaker wants to minimize the imposition on the hearer.

Speakers who use diminutives in personal names and descriptors can create an asymmetrical relationship and the impression of superiority over the hearer. The following utterance:

(67) *All right, kiddies, let's get to work.*

serves as an example of an act threatening the hearer's positive face, as diminutives used in this context may deprecate a given person. With the use of them the speaker may humiliate or disqualify somebody (Sarnowski, 1991: 46). At the same time, this sentence may express negative politeness, as the speaker wants the hearers to do something, but he/she minimizes

this request by using a diminutive form, which indicates the speaker's feeling of familiarity. The following sentence, uttered by a woman talking to another woman in a bus, can also arouse some contradictory impressions:

(68) *Ale kochaniutka, to miejsce jest zajęte.* (Well, sweetie, this seat is taken.)

On one hand, it seems to express irony, excessive familiarity and the speaker's superiority over the addressee, thus it is an example of an act threatening the hearer's face done *off record*. But on the other hand, it indicates the speaker's friendly attitude and minimizes the distance between the interlocutors. Then, it may be treated as the expression of negative politeness.

The diminutive form reflects also the speaker's contempt, as he/she can make fun of the hearer:

(69) *I co aniołeczku, nadal obstawiasz na swoim?* (Well, angel-DIM.DIM., do you still stick to your opinion?)

In sentence:

(70) *Poczekaj złotko, jeszcze z tobą nie skończyłem.* (Wait a moment, my sugar-DIM., I haven't done with you yet.)

the diminutive form strengthens the threat, and also expresses the speaker's satisfaction with the addressee's defeat. It is the case of a face-threatening act done *off record*.

Diminutives can as well be applied in obscene terms, when the speaker is angry and emotionally involved. Then, the addressee is belittled, but not treated as a child (Schneider, 2003: 154). Consequently, his positive face is threatened. The following sentence was uttered by a man talking to another man, who seduced his wife:

(71) *Come here, you little bastard!*

Nevertheless, when addressing children who have done something wrong, the obscene term is mitigated by the diminutive (Schneider, 2003: 154). The adult is angry, but does not want to scare the child and tries to moderate his/her words. The following sentence was uttered by a woman talking to her son, who broke the window:

(72) *Chodź no tu, ty mały draniu!* (Come here, you little bastard!)<sup>22</sup>

Polish linguists pay special attention to the use of diminutives in names, also combined with the pronoun *pan/pani* (Mr/Mrs), e.g. *pani Basia* (Linde-Usiekniewicz, 2007: 16-17). Markowski (2005: 102) emphasizes the fact that diminutive forms of names cannot be applied in official contexts. Nevertheless, people nowadays use such forms more and more

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<sup>22</sup> More references concerning talking to children are presented in chapter 6.

often<sup>23</sup>, even though it is perceived as improper, as it reflects the speaker's lack of good manners. Marcjanik (2006: 233) considers it to be inappropriate, flippant, tactless, impolite and too radical, and calls it 'a trap for familiarity'. She underlines the fact that such forms are applied in English but there their meaning is associated with the informal and friendly attitude, whereas in Polish their meaning indicates intimacy and cordiality. Therefore, using such forms may be perceived by the addressees as the infringement of their privacy (Marcjanik, 2007: 48-49; see also Wierzbicka, 1999: 212-223):

(73) *Dzień dobry. Nazywam się Basia Kowalska. (Good morning. My name is Basia Kowalska.)*

Lubaś (1979: 204-205) emphasizes the fact that many actors, sportsmen, singers, or even politicians use diminutive forms of their names in order to fraternize with their fans. Nevertheless, he considers it an unnecessary affectation.

While chapter 5 aimed at analyzing diminutives from the point of view of pragmatics, chapter 6 concentrates on sociolinguistics, as particular sociolinguistic contexts of using diminutives by Poles and the English are presented.

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<sup>23</sup> Boniecka (2012: 145) discusses the use of diminutive forms of names by anchormen in radio programmes. She treats it as a sign of familiarity.

## 6. Sociolinguistic contexts of using diminutives in Polish and English

There is a multitude of the uses of diminutives in everyday linguistic interactions of Poles and English. Usually, the only way to interpret diminutive meaning properly is to refer to a particular social context, relative to a given situation. Most often it concerns the interaction between an adult and a child. Nevertheless, diminutives are also applied in different situations in conversations between adults only. Their form is the same, but they express different emotions of a speaker.

### 6.1. The importance of social context in interpersonal communication

It is commonly known that the language we use is not only a means of communicating information, but it is also a way to establish and maintain relationships with other people (Trudgill, 1988: 13, see also Van Dijk, 2009). Social context plays a significant role in these mechanisms as the use of appropriate linguistic forms depends on it (as well as on other social factors such as social class, sex, age and the relationship of the participants, or the topic of the conversation (Romaine, 1994: 75)). Expressing our thoughts, whether in formal or informal style, depends on a given situation and the purpose of the conversation (Trudgill, 1988: 100). A significant feature of social context is the attitude between the interlocutors (Trudgill, 1988: 102). A good example of this is the use of different forms of address that are produced “by different degrees of status difference or intimacy” (Trudgill, 1988: 102), e.g. *Pan Kowalski – Pan Andrzej – Pan Jędrzek – Andrzej – Andrzejek – Jędrzek – Jędruś*. Each of these forms has different connotations, implicates different stylistic meaning, and leads to particular associations (Wierzbicka, 1992: 229-231; 1999: 73).

Due to specific morphological structure, diminutives and hypocorisms belong to the group of expressive linguistic forms (Zgółkowska, 1991: 45; Grabias, 1978: 92; Grabias, 2001: 293; Warchoń, 1974: 72; Skubalanka, 1972: 124; see also Grabias, 1981), which are applied in various social contexts, representing the proper meaning of words in a given situation.

## 6.2. Social relationships as the determining factor of the use of particular linguistic forms

Some people use too many diminutives in their speech, some of them restrict their amount to the essential minimum. According to Lubaś (1979: 203), language is what characterizes a particular person. Basil Bernstein (1972: 29), following Hoijer, underlines the fact that the way of speaking of a given person indicates his/her view of life. Moreover, Bernstein (1972: 29-30) refers to Whorf, who claimed that *the fashions of speaking* (which are the habitual and characteristic behaviours of the speakers) determine social relations by making morphological and syntactic features of the language psychologically active. Further on, Bernstein (1972: 30) claims that “the form of the social relation (...) generates distinct linguistic forms or codes and these codes essentially transmit the culture and so constrain behaviour”. That is why different linguistic forms and ways of speaking are created within a given language. They express different types of attitude towards objects, phenomena, or people, as “the particular form a social relation takes acts selectively on what is said, when it is said, and how it is said” (Bernstein, 1972: 31).

Lubaś (1979: 32) underlines the fact that linguistic forms of utterances are shaped by the circumstances in which the interlocutors find themselves. These are:

- ✓ the content of an utterance;
- ✓ social position of the interlocutors;
- ✓ applied linguistic code (written or oral);
- ✓ type of contact (direct or indirect);
- ✓ the situation;
- ✓ purpose of the conversation.

Lubaś (1979: 202) defines these circumstances as *speech situation (sytuacja mowy)*.

Boksański, Piotrowski and Ziółkowski (1977: 79) emphasize also the necessity to specify particular changeable features of the speaker, which result from the nature of a given social interaction. The most important one is his/her specific role in a given moment: he/she can speak to a child as a parent, talk with friends as a football fan or make a speech at a convention as a businessman. Every time a different social role will influence the choice of particular linguistic forms (Boksański, Piotrowski and Ziółkowski, 1977: 79-80). Boksański, Piotrowski and Ziółkowski (1977: 81) define also the *sociolinguistic situation (sytuacja socjolingwistyczna)*: due to the individual features of the interlocutors, the speakers choose only some of the accessible linguistic forms, that is, they decide on what they want to



say in a given situation, and what they want to omit. Since in different situations different linguistic forms are used, it could be stated that a given utterance always occur in a particular *functional variant (wariant funkcjonalny)*. The production of a given variant depends solely on the sociolinguistic situation (Bokszański, Piotrowski and Ziółkowski, 1977: 88). Bokszański, Piotrowski and Ziółkowski (1977: 90) distinguish the following stylistic variants, which are determined by mutual attitudes of the interlocutors and social context:

- ✓ consultative;
- ✓ formal;
- ✓ respectful;
- ✓ cold;
- ✓ cordial;
- ✓ intimate;
- ✓ colloquial.

Particular linguistic forms occur only in particular stylistic variants. It is obvious that diminutives and hypocorisms are applied in cordial, intimate and colloquial variants. Nevertheless, they might be used in some situations in respectful or even cold variant.

In his work, Joos (1967: 11) lists five styles of English usage, which he calls the Five Clocks:

- ✓ frozen;
- ✓ formal;
- ✓ consultative;
- ✓ casual;
- ✓ intimate.

In this case, diminutives are applied in casual and intimate styles. In some situations they may be used in consultative or frozen style.

### **6.3. Social determinants of the use of expressive linguistic forms in language**

Grabias (1988: 38) claims that expressive elements of language are socially determined, as what is important is the person we talk to and the situation we find ourselves in. Schneider and Strubel-Burgdorf (2012: 29) underline the fact that it is necessary to take into consideration the social situation, which involves the speaker who uses the diminutive, the referent and the relationship between them in terms of distance and, what is very important,

power. In everyday conversation in individual interactions the following sorts of linguistic roles (dependent on the social status of interlocutors) may be distinguished (Grabias, 1988: 39-40)<sup>24</sup>:

✓ in a situation when the status is equal:

➤ a conversation with acquaintances (e.g. in a café)

(74) *Witaj Jadzinko! Co słyhać? (Welcome Jadwiga-DIM.DIM.! What's up?)*<sup>25</sup>

➤ a conversation with strangers (e.g. in a bus)

(75) *Paniusiu kochana, będzie tu jeszcze miejsce dla mnie? (Dear lady-DIM., will there be any room for me?)*

✓ in a situation when the status is unequal:

➤ a conversation between a subordinate and a superior (professional relation)

(76) *Pani Bożenko, kawusię poproszę. (Mrs Bożena-DIM., coffee-DIM.DIM. please.)*

➤ a conversation between a seller and a buyer (service organization)

(77) *Co podać, złotko? (What shall I give to you, sugar-DIM.?)*

➤ a conversation between a man and a woman (the etiquette) – usually when the conversation takes place between a man and a woman, it is the man who uses more diminutives as a sign of politeness, but also as a sign of his superiority over women (women are weaker than men so they should be treated like children)<sup>26</sup>.

(78) *Padam do stópek szanownej pani! (I'm falling at your feet-DIM., dear madam!)*

➤ a conversation between a mother and a small child (educational and didactic actions)

(79) *Majeczko, pozbieraj swoje zabaweczki. (Maja-DIM.DIM., clear your toys-DIM. away.)*

It may be stated that the use of diminutives as expressive linguistic forms seems to be more frequent in situations when the social status of interlocutors is equal. Nevertheless, they are also used in the remaining ones.

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<sup>24</sup> The following sorts of linguistic roles form the basis for the analysis of sociolinguistic contexts of using diminutives taken from chosen examples of Polish and English literary texts, which is presented in chapter 8 of this paper.

<sup>25</sup> The examples provided in this section are at the same time the instances of *expressive polite phrases* (Ożóg, 1990: 72) – they are aimed at convincing the addressee of special, and not only formal, attitude of the speaker towards him/her; moreover, they can express many meanings, such as familiarity, intimacy, or liking, but also irony, disrespect and pitifulness.

<sup>26</sup> In general, in traditional cultures women hold a lower social status than men (Mandal, 2012: 51).

### 6.3.1. Diminutives used in a situation when the status of interlocutors is equal

This chapter discusses the following sociolinguistic contexts of using diminutives:

- a conversation between family members,
- a conversation between acquaintances,
- a conversation between strangers.

#### 6.3.1.1. A conversation with family members

The use of diminutives and hypocorisms intensifies in informal interactions, when we speak *familial language (język familijny)* (Handke, 1995). It is a subsystem of colloquial language (mainly the spoken one) which is used to communicate in the circle of family, friends or neighbours, characterized by strong and lasting bonds (Handke, 2008: 76). People who - in formal situations - use only base and neutral forms such as *matka (mother)*, *ojciec (father)*, *siostra (sister)* etc., in the family circle switch to diminutive forms – *mamusia (mummy)*, *tatko (daddy)*, *siostrzyczka (sister-DIM.)* etc. (Handke, 2008: 91).

Familial language is the determinant of direct and spontaneous communication, therefore it contains numerous expressive elements such as diminutives and hypocorisms, which fully convey the nature of mutual relations between the speakers (Handke, 1995: 72; Dunaj, Przybylska, and Sikora, 1999: 236; Tomczak, 1991). As an example of multiplicity of diminutive forms commonly used in familial language Handke (2008: 105), following Szymczak, provides the collection of diminutives formed from the word *matka (mother)*: *mama*, *mateczka*, *matunia*, *matuńka*, *matuńcia*, *matunieczka*, *mateńka*, *matuchna*, *matusia*, *matuś*, *matuśka*, *matusieńka*, *matusina*, *matusiczka*, *matusieczka*, *matusienieczka*, *matyńka*, *matyneczka*, *matuchniczka*, *matuniczka*, *matula*, *matulka*, *matuleńka*, *matulejka*, *matejka*, *matulina*, *matulinka*, *matuleczka*, *matuluś*, *mamcia*, *mamka*, *mamusia*, *mamuś*, *mamuśka*, *mamusieńka*, *mameczka*, *mamunia*, *mamuchna*, *mameńka*, *mamunieczka*, *mamusieczka*, *mamiczka*, *mamula*, *mamulka*, *mamuleńka*, *mamunieńka*, *mamusińka*, *mamuliczka*.

The use of diminutives and hypocorisms in the language of love and tenderness does not apply only to communication with small children. It could also be observed in the interactions between a husband/man and a wife/woman (Handke, 1995: 101; Jakubowska, 1999: 50; Lubecka, 1993: 98):

(80) *Tomcinku, kupiłeś mi gazetkę? (Thomas-DIM.DIM., did you buy me the newspaper-DIM.?)*

(81) *Czy moja żoneczka zrobiła już śniadanko? (Has my wife-DIM.DIM. made the breakfast-DIM. yet?)*

(82) *Wyglądasz ślicznie w tym kapelusiku. (You look lovely in this hat-DIM.)*

Lubecka (1993: 98) notices that the more emotion-loaded the diminutives are, the more private their usage is, the more expressive and personal they become and the more information they contain.

It is worth mentioning, however, that not in all families is the use of diminutives the same, as there are some speakers who use diminutive forms excessively, and some which almost lack them. It depends mostly on certain personal features of character of family members and the culture they function in.

#### **6.3.1.2. A conversation with acquaintances**

Diminutives may as well be used in conversations with acquaintances in numerous contexts. Dobrzyński (1988: 113-114) writes that young people use diminutives to express humour, criticism or disdain. He also notices that during social gatherings adults use diminutives (Dobrzyński, 1988: 114) (see also chapter 2 and 5.4.1.).

Diminutives are commonly applied in conversations between women (Jakubowska, 1999: 50). Charleston (1960: 124), following Ball, is of the opinion that “a wife will speak of her ‘hubby’ (husband) to a woman friend, but a husband will not speak of his ‘wifey’ to a man friend – this is an indication of the slightly sentimental colouring”. Jabłońska (2012: 49-50) notices that most often women in conversations with other women use diminutives when referring to names of clothing, cosmetics, body parts and things connected with cooking and household. Idzikowska (2012: 37-38) adds that they also apply diminutive forms when talking about their children, children’s accessories and appearance/body parts.

#### **6.3.1.3. A conversation with strangers**

Diminutives can often be applied in conversations with strangers. Various examples of using diminutive forms in this context are presented in chapters 2 and 5.4.1. of this thesis. Apart from already mentioned situations when elderly women or shop assistants use diminutives

while addressing other women (Jakubowska, 1999: 50), one more type of conversation with strangers should be introduced, namely the dialogues between the users of citizens' band radio (CB). Both Polish and English drivers who possess CBs in their cars use diminutives in their conversations, nevertheless, it is Poles who use them excessively, even though they may be perceived as signs of language infantilization (see chapter 2).

The language of CB users is characterized by humour, unaffected emotionality, spontaneity, linguistic freedom and creativity (Jaros, 2012: 298; 2011: 191). Therefore, one can come across numerous diminutive forms (Nowik, 2007: 125; Jaros, 2011: 186), which denote both positive and negative meanings<sup>27</sup>. Nevertheless, their main function is to reduce the distance between the speakers and create an atmosphere of familiarity (Jaros, 2011: 192). Nowik (2007: 126) is of the opinion that the use of diminutives in conversations between the drivers indicates positive politeness.

### **6.3.2. Diminutives used in a situation when the status of interlocutors is unequal**

The use of diminutives in a situation when the status of interlocutors is unequal is strictly connected with the notion of *power*. Holmes (1995: 17) treats power/hierarchical status as the ability of participants to influence one another's circumstances. Following Galbraith, she defines it as "the possibility of imposing one's will upon other persons" or the ability to control the behaviour of others. Brown and Levinson (1990: 77) define relative power in a relationship as the degree to which one person can impose their plans and evaluations at the expense of other people's. Leech (1983: 126) discusses the power or 'authority of one participant over another'.

As Mandal (2012: 45) states, power is an "omnipresent phenomenon", which can be observed "in the public sphere, in trade and political organizations; as well as in the private area, in intimate relationships between two people who are in love with each other, between a husband and wife, parents and children, and also between siblings". Holmes (1995: 17) explains that the distribution of power in a particular context may derive from a variety of culturally constructed sources, such as money, knowledge, social prestige, or role (e.g. the power of an older child over a younger child, of a male over a female).

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<sup>27</sup> Jaros (2011: 190-191) notices that they may express irony or disdain (e.g. when referring to policemen).

### **6.3.2.1. A conversation between a subordinate and a superior**

In professional relation, according to Grabias (1988: 39-40), it is usually the superior who uses diminutives, as he/she imposes certain rules on the conversation. Moreover, he/she emphasizes his/her higher position in the official hierarchy, as, according to Holmes (1995: 19), by using diminutive forms, subordinates can be treated impolitely. They may be interrupted, talked over, ignored and even subtly insulted. Pikor-Niedziałek (2007: 41) writes that superiors emphasize their relative power by condescending, scorning or ridiculing, as they are contemptuous, do not treat other people seriously and belittle them by using diminutives.

### **6.3.2.2. A conversation between a seller and a buyer**

In service organization the seller wants to encourage the buyer in every possible way to purchase a particular thing. Diminutives may express seller's politeness and evoke positive feelings in the buyer as they create an atmosphere of familiarity (see chapters 2 and 5.4.1.).

### **6.3.2.3. A conversation between a parent (usually mother) and a small child**

Charleston (1960: 123), following Ball, believes that the diminutive plays an important role in child and parent relationship and in the husband-wife relationship also (see 6.4.1). Wierzbicka (1984: 124) states that „Polish sociolinguistic usage requires a diminutive” while talking to or referring to a child. Following Staverman, Dressler and Barbaresi (1994: 173) define the use of diminutives in conversations with children as ‘diminutivum puerile’. Schneider (2003: 233-234) as well emphasizes the fact that diminutives occur in parent-child interaction<sup>28</sup>. He even states that this kind of interaction and caretaker speech are considered prototypical domains for the use of diminutives<sup>29</sup>. Some accounts consider them an element of child language, while others an element of motherese, or parentese, caretaker speech or care-

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<sup>28</sup> Following Gleason, Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003: 17) state that parents use more diminutives when they speak to girls than to boys.

<sup>29</sup> Łobos (2003: 61) notices that adults use diminutive forms when they refer to family (*braciszek* – brother-DIM.), person (*szewczyk* – shoemaker-DIM.), his/her build (*nosek* – nose-DIM.), the outside world (*pingwinek* – penguin-DIM.), the world of plants (*drzewko* – tree-DIM.), or names of meals and foodstuffs (*deserek* – dessert-DIM.).

giver speech. Nevertheless, it is still predominantly women and not men who are allocated this role, as Dressler and Barbaresi (1994: 112) state, the privileged users of diminutives are women. This was also observed by Polish linguists, e.g. Handke (1990: 23; 1994: 20, 26; 1995: 92-93, 110), Nagórko (2003: 223), Tereszkiwicz (2007: 195-196), Lubecka (1993: 99), Jabłońska (2012: 47, 49-50).

According to Grabias (1988: 39-40) and Handke (1992: 154-155), when talking to children women seem to use diminutives more often than men as they are more emotional and sensitive (Bartmiński, 2009: 154, 157-158; Brzozowska, 2000: 87; Handke, 2008: 168). As Pikor-Niedziałek (2007: 84) states, women's language is the language of intimacy and bonds, while men's language is the language of status and independence. Following Engle, Pikor-Niedziałek (2007: 91) adds that when playing with children, fathers are more directive in their speech than mothers, because mothers view interaction as an occasion to help children, while fathers are less concerned with the children's desires and introduce new ideas. Holmes (1995: 2) also underlines the fact that men focus on the content of the talk and its outcome, while women focus on how the talk affects the feelings of others. Mandal, Gawor and Buczny (2012: 13) present the female trait stereotype which includes:

- emotionality,
- ability to make sacrifices,
- gentleness,
- sensitivity,
- caring for others' feelings,
- the ability to understand others,
- warmth in relations with others,
- helping.

Thus, the stereotypical female roles are as follows:

- giving emotional support to others,
- managing the household,
- taking care of the children,
- responsibility for arranging the household.

They also list some stereotypical male traits (Mandal, Gawor and Buczny, 2012: 13):

- independence,
- being active,
- competence,
- decisiveness,

- reliability,
- self-confidence,
- not yielding to pressure,
- sense of leadership.

Thus, the stereotypical male roles are as follows:

- being the head of the household,
- providing financially for the family,
- leadership,
- responsibility for household repairs.

Men and women differ as well when it comes to language use. Following Gal, Weatherall (2002: 54) points out that male-female differences in speech occur in numerous parts of the linguistic system, such as phonology, pragmatics, syntax, morphology, or lexicon. Following Lakoff, Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003: 158) distinguish between “women’s language” and “men’s language”. They mention the use of diminutives among devices aimed at softening and attenuating women’s expression of opinion (see also Handke, 2008: 163-166).

It is also worth noticing that women seem to use diminutive forms more often than children as non-adults are not fully aware of all their connotations. Besides, it is a child who is treated as somebody who is weak and defenceless. Znaniecki (2011: 161) believes that mothers are supposed to initiate a long-lasting social relation with her child. In his opinion, “her duty is to have the child evaluate her positively, and make him aware that he is positively evaluated by her” (Znaniecki, 2011: 161). Moreover, as the newborn infant is not conscious of her or of himself, the mother must help him acquire such consciousness. This may be done by using diminutives in mother’s speech (e.g. when praising him), as normally mothers begin to speak to their children very early.

Wojtczuk (2001: 181), following Jurkowski, describes the language of women when talking to small children as *nannies’ language* (*język nianieek*). It is an element of familial language which vanishes as the child grows up. Handke (2008: 130-131) calls it *the language of love and tenderness* (*język miłości i czułości*). The use of diminutives and hypocorisms in this particular context seems to be most obvious and natural (Dunaj, Przybylska, and Sikora, 1999: 236; Lubecka, 1993: 100). Andrzej Gawroński (1928: 210) claims that the mood of adults keeping company with a child, is reflected in their speech through the use of diminutives. It is caused by the fact that adults unintentionally express their affection for the child’s trust and helplessness.



As mentioned above, women are considered more emotional than men and it is them who inspire children to use diminutives and other expressive linguistic forms in their speech. By using diminutive forms, we as adults want to give a child a sense of security and certainty that he/she is loved by us. By this, we want the child to know that he/she is of special importance for us (see Dobrzyński, 1988: 113). Therefore, using diminutives is a good way to establish emotional contact with the child.

(83) *Witusiu, ty mój skarbeczku!* (Witold-DIM.DIM., my sweetheart-DIM.DIM.!) )

(84) *Brawo, namalowałaś ślicznego kotka, córeczko!* (Bravo, you've painted a lovely cat-DIM., my daughter-DIM.)

(85) *Aniołku, główka boli?* (Angel-DIM., is your head-DIM. aching?)

(86) *Syneczku, przed snem zmówimy paciorek, dobrze?* (My son-DIM.DIM., before going to bed, let's say a prayer-DIM., shall we?)

Diminutives express our care, as we want to soften the world we live in, so that it would not seem so menacing and strange for the child. We tend to prove to the child that the world is friendly and "full of nice creatures and pleasant events" (Wierzbicka, 1990: 79). As Gałczyńska (2006: 90) writes, by naming different things and ideas, we want to familiarize the child with the reality and everyday life:

(87) *Nie bój się, myszko, to tylko duży piesek.* (Don't be afraid, my mouse-DIM., it's just a big dog-DIM.)

(88) *Policzymy, ile jest cyferek na tym obrazku?* (Shall we count how many figures-DIM. are in the picture-DIM.?)

(89) *Popatrz, jak świeci słoneczko.* (Just look at the sun-DIM.DIM. shining.)

As mentioned before, we use diminutives to soften commands and requests. It also applies to conversations with children:

(90) *Zjedz jeszcze zupki, to pójdziemy na spacer.* (Eat some more soup-DIM. and we will go for a walk-DIM.)

(91) *Otwórz tamtą książeczkę.* (Open that book-DIM. over there.)

(92) *Wituniu, przestań rzucać samochodzikiem.* (Witold-DIM.DIM., stop throwing this car-DIM.)

(93) *Podnieś rączki do góry, mamusia założy ci sweterek.* (Lift your arms-DIM., mummy will put on a sweater-DIM. on you.)

We also use diminutives to refer to objects belonging to or made by a child, e.g. *kubeczki i talerzyki* (cups-DIM. and plates-DIM.), *buciki/butki* (shoes-DIM.), *plaszczyk* (coat-DIM.) or *papierowe łódeczki* (paper boats-DIM.), and also to refer to the child's appearance/body

parts, e.g.: *bródka* (*chin-DIM.*) or *twarzyczka* (*face-DIM.*). To conclude, it could be stated that we use child-specific language as we want to enter children's world, e.g. *maminy koszyczek* (*mum's basket-DIM.*). As observed by Kita (1993: 106), the use of diminutives when referring to children is not limited to the area of family, but may be applied in other contexts as well (e.g. in television programmes intended for young viewers).

Even though diminutives are used by adults to communicate positive emotions and affection, these forms reflect the asymmetry of the adult-child constellation, therefore, at some age children start protesting when they hear diminutives. Moreover, as the child grows up, he/she gradually stops using diminutives in his/her speech (Kaczorowska, 1993: 74-75).

In the prototypical domain, diminutive use is a feature of adult speech rather than of children's speech. The use of diminutives is based on adult preconceptions of language input adequate for children, then children start imitating caretaker speech. Zgólkowa (1991: 47) is of the opinion that children use diminutives very frequently<sup>30</sup>. Zarębina (1965: 58, 1980: 111) as well emphasizes that children's speech is full of diminutives, both adopted from adult speech and created on their own. Some diminutives occur more frequently in child's speech than their base forms (Zgólkowa, 1990: 17-31), e.g. *gwiazdka* (*star-DIM.*), *kotek* (*cat-DIM.*), *literka* (*letter-DIM.*), *muszelka* (*shell-DIM.*), *wierszyk* (*poem-DIM.*), *zajaczek* (*hare-DIM.*), *żabka* (*frog-DIM.*). Gąsiorek (1994: 26) mentions also the fact that diminutive forms of first names occur most often in children's language. Moreover, almost in all cases, children use the diminutive form of first name while talking to or referring to other children (Zgólkowa, 1990: 31-33). Dąbrowska (2006: 131) adds that, in languages such as Polish, "the use of diminutive affixes helps to make gender or some other important morphological distinction more transparent", that is why children use diminutives so willingly. On the other hand, in English, diminutives do not help the child. Therefore, they are not used as frequently as in Polish.

Zgólkowa (1986: 20) states that people from the child's closest circle have significant influence on shaping his/her language. For adults, a child is a miniature of a person. Therefore, they believe that everything should be miniaturised for him/her by using diminutives in their speech (Zgólkowa, 1986: 39-40). The child shapes his/her language mainly following the example of relatives. Thus, he/she imitates adult speech and borrows

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<sup>30</sup> Zgólkowa and Bulczyńska (1987: 325-337) list ten most frequent diminutives (apart from diminutive forms of first names) used by Polish children aged 3-7: *mamusia* (*mummy*), *tatuś* (*daddy*), *kotek* (*cat-DIM.*), *piesek* (*dog-DIM.*), *domek* (*house-DIM.*), *malutki* (*small-DIM.*), *zajaczek* (*hare-DIM.*), *ptaszek* (*bird-DIM.*), *rybka* (*fish-DIM.*), *pszczółka* (*bee-DIM.*).

certain features. Therefore, if relatives use a lot of diminutives in their conversations with a child, he/she will also like using them in his/her language, e.g. when talking to dolls or teddy bears, referring to him/herself, talking to other people/children, or referring to animals/plants (Zgólkowa, 1986: 74). As Kaczmarek (1953: 4-5, 25) states, the bigger the adults' emotional attitude towards the child is, the more diminutives the child uses in his/her speech.

As the child grows, he/she becomes more aware of the possible contexts of using diminutives. Sifianou (1992: 158) notices that children make extensive use of diminutives, both when repeating what they have heard and when attempting to sound nice or less demanding in order to obtain adults' agreement or compliance. Sometimes the child may use diminutives to express affection:

(94) *Kocham moją mamusię. (I love my mummy.)*

In some cases, when the child does something wrong, he/she may want to diminish his/her fault:

(95) *Mamusi, to ja wylałem herbatkę. (Mummy, it was me who spilt the tea-DIM.)*

Sometimes the child uses diminutive forms in order to flatter or butter up the hearer:

(96) *Dziadziusiu, jaka piękna choineczka! (What a beautiful Christmas tree-DIM., grandfather-DIM.!)*

It is worth mentioning that Dressler and Barbaresi (1994: 191-193) notice that diminutives can be used not only when referring to people, but also when talking to small animals, as "pets are treated like small children and therefore they can also be addressed like small children". Then, this particular use of diminutives represents a metaphorical extension of 'diminutivum puerile'.

While chapter 6 aimed at analyzing diminutives from the point of view of sociolinguistics, chapter 7 concentrates on translation studies, as possible methods of translating diminutives into English and Polish are presented.

## **7. Diminutives in translation into English and Polish**

Even though translation of diminutives may give rise to significant difficulties, it is usually omitted while analysing different aspects concerning the whole process of cross-cultural translating. The following chapter discusses the issue of translating diminutives, as, in many cases, it requires not only a careful analysis of all the meanings of diminutive forms, but also the translator's inventiveness and sensitivity. Therefore, as far as translation of diminutives is concerned, the notions of untranslatability, compensation and explicitation, as well as domestication and foreignization should be introduced. The chapter also discusses other issues concerning translation such as the principles of translation, levels of translation, translation of culture, as well as the most common methods used to translate diminutives.

### **7.1. Diminutives and the notion of untranslatability**

As Wierzbicka (1980: 54) states, the diminutive form is "one of the categories celebrated for an apparent untranslatability". Wojtasiewicz (2007: 30) defines the notion of untranslatability as the limits which a translator cannot pass due to some objective difficulties.

There are two kinds of objective difficulties that prevent full translatability. Firstly, the target language differs in structural characteristics (e.g. morphology or word-formation) from the source language (Wojtasiewicz, 2007: 41-46, 102). Such differences may change the amount of information conveyed. Therefore, the translation can be poorer in information than the original, or it can convey concrete details where vagueness was intended in the original. Polish diminutives serve as a good example here as they allow to express various shades of emotional attitudes, which are not given in a precise way, and, consequently, are very difficult to be rendered in English. As a result, they may not be translated properly, and the translation may become impoverished and simplified. Furthermore, the style of the original text may be changed, and the reactions evoked in the readers of translated text may be different from the ones of the original text.

Secondly, the target language cannot express certain notions or ideas formulated in the source language (Wojtasiewicz, 2007: 61). These are those cases when certain words do not evoke in the users of the target language such reactions as they do in the users of the source language due to differences in cultural traditions. In the case of diminutives, such differences coincide with differences in the structure of languages.

Hejwowski (2009: 119) is of the opinion that it is actually impossible to find ready English equivalents for Polish diminutives. Nevertheless, Wierzbicka states that “diminutives *can* be translated into a language in which the grammatical category of the diminutive does not exist” (Wierzbicka, 1980: 60), such as English (Wierzbicka, 1980: 55).

## 7.2. Principles of translation

People who have never translated anything often assume that it is a purely mechanical process. In their opinion, “the translator, proficient in both languages, simply has to substitute one word in the source language for an equivalent word in the target language” (Hirano, 2006: 225). Only those who have some practice in this particular field realize that translation is far from mechanical and demands a lot of effort and devotion. As Stolze (2003: 220) declares: “translation is a question of understanding the text and the cultural background and of deciding about the concrete language formulations to be used that imply decisions on coherence, style and ideology.” It is a process of rereading and rewriting because “every time a book is translated, it takes on a new language, a new culture and new target-language readers” (Oittinen, 2003: 129).

The source text is influenced by many different factors, including the environment, the writer and the textual traits. Therefore, the translation will also be affected by the above mentioned factors as well as by the translator’s own surroundings, personal skills and knowledge, point of view and translation methods. Because of this, the translated text will undergo many changes which may be called translation shifts (Rossi, 2003: 144,150). They may occur due to structural differences between languages or the translator’s willingness to make the text easier to understand.

Across centuries there were many different requirements which a translation had to fulfil. In 1790, Tytler published his *Essay on the Principles of Translation*. In his opinion, an ideal translation should (Adamczyk-Garbowska, 1988: 18-9):

- ✓ give a complete transcript of the ideas and sentiments in the original passage,
- ✓ maintain the character of the style,
- ✓ have the ease and flow of the original text.

The most recent view on the principles of translation was given by Nida in the article “Principles of Correspondence”. There, he presents four basic requirements that a translation is to meet, namely (Nida, 2000: 134):

- ✓ making sense,
- ✓ conveying the spirit and manner of the original,
- ✓ having a natural and easy form of expression,
- ✓ producing a similar response.

In his opinion, a translation is “an effective blend of matter and manner” (Nida, 2000: 134). However, there is no ideal translation as Nida (2000: 126) claims that “there can be no absolute correspondence between languages” and, therefore, “no fully exact translation. The total impact of a translation may be reasonably close to the original, but there can be no identity in detail.” In every translation particular information is either lost, or added, or deformed. A translation seems to be the most direct form of commentary and a kind of interpretation. Perfect translation is impossible because translators involuntarily bring to the translation their cultural heritage, reading experience and images, and they have different backgrounds and frames of reference. The only thing they can do is to provide that the target text is as close to the source text as possible and that the message, the atmosphere and the symbolism is retained in the target text.

A good translation should be faithful both to the original and to the receiving language. It should follow the original very accurately, but at the same time there should be enough freedom to adapt the text to the target language. It cannot be literal and characterized by poor flow and rhythm, insufficient variety, incoherence and contradictory passages (Steffensen, 2003: 106). According to Newmark (1988: 24), a translator has to ensure that his translation reads naturally as ‘naturalness’ is “a touchstone at every level of a text, from paragraph to word, from title to punctuation” (Newmark, 1988: 20).

### **7.3. Levels of translation**

According to Adamczyk-Garbowska (1988: 30-31), translation, as every artistic text, functions on many levels. But, when it comes to translated text, apart from internal connections between those levels, the proportion of levels of original text to translated text is crucial. The following levels of translation may be distinguished:

- ✓ Level denoted by lexis and syntax,
- ✓ Level denoted by stylistics,
- ✓ Level denoted by sociology and literature.

On the basis of those levels, the requirements of ideal translation may be defined as following (Adamczyk-Garbowska, 1988: 36):

- ✓ the translation should be equivalent to the original when it comes to all levels,
- ✓ the translation should constitute an integral whole.

Particular levels may be distinguished on the basis of the scope of issues they deal with (Adamczyk-Garbowska, 1988: 31-6):

- ✓ Level denoted by lexis and syntax – deals mainly with such issues like understanding of the original text, faithfulness of translation, omissions, additions and other changes, methods of translating idioms, neologisms, puns, linguistic deformations, cultural and technical vocabulary as well as with the most frequent translation errors.
- ✓ Level denoted by stylistics – covers types and ways of using of the stylistic means and literary styles (which deal with problems such as dialects, slangs, archaic expressions, poems, etc.) in the original as well as in the translation.
- ✓ Level denoted by sociology and literature – deals with such issues like the analysis of the influence of the target language literature on translation, comparison of various translations of one work, reactions of readers and critics towards translation, method of translation chosen by the translator (whether it is domestication or foreignization) as well as the addressee of the original in comparison with the one of the translation, illustrations in both the original and the translation.

All levels of translation discussed above have to be taken into account while translating diminutive forms, as it is a complex process involving a number of lexical, stylistic and sociological aspects.

#### **7.4. Translation of culture**

According to Hejwowski (2009: 153-154), a knowledge of the culture of both source and target language is one of the elements of translation competence. As mentioned in chapter 2.3., the translator has to find a way to overcome many obstacles during his/her work, and cultural barriers are one of them (Tabakowska, 2002: 32). This may be a difficult task, and sometimes it happens that a particular translation does not render the original character of the text. Some elements may be translated incorrectly or may not be translated at all. It may also happen that the translation is too much connected with the target culture and the original character of the text is lost. The reason for that may be the fact that some elements may be

untranslatable, but in some cases it is a conscious choice of the translator whether to fully convey all the meanings or not (see chapter 2.3.).

### 7.5. Problematic translation of diminutives into English and Polish

Lockyer (2012: 21) is of the opinion that the use of diminutives reflects the translator's individual conceptualization and his/her preferences. What is even more, "translation of diminutives is a complex issue that has layers upon layers of nuances and little twists in meaning that depend on context and other linguistic (and cultural) factors", such as the situation, speaker's emotional state and the language itself.

It is difficult to translate diminutives in a proper way, as English and Polish represent two different worlds when it comes to expressing emotions. As stated by Grabias (1988: 39), expressive linguistic forms give rise to immense difficulties in the process of translation. Wierzbicka (2007: 98) writes:

I just can't find English words suitable for talking about my tiny granddaughter. It is not that I am unfamiliar with the register of English used for talking about babies, but I feel that this register does not fit the emotional world to which this baby belongs for me. No doubt one reason is that Polish was my first language and that as such it is endowed with an emotional force that English doesn't have for me. But this is not the only reason. Another reason is that Polish words which I could use to talk about my baby granddaughter do not have exact semantic equivalents in English and therefore feel irreplaceable.

Diminutives belong to this group of words, since she writes afterwards (Wierzbicka, 2007: 99):

In Polish I could say that she now has a lot of *loczki* (dear-little-curls), or that she has six *zabki* (dear-little-teeth), or that for her age she is still *malutka* (dear-little-small). Since English doesn't have such diminutives, I would have to use descriptive 'loveless' words like 'curls', 'teeth' or 'small', and I feel I couldn't do that. (...) Speaking to or about a baby in English, one could use the word 'handies' (in the plural) but not 'handie'; and one would normally not use 'mouthie', 'nosie' or 'headie'. In Polish, however, such diminutives not only exist but are virtually obligatory in speaking to or about a baby, at least in a family setting. If plain, non-diminutive words were used for a baby's eyes, ears, hair, legs, back and so on they would all sound very cold, clinical.



To put it briefly, “in Polish, the language used for talking about babies relies on a wide range of emotionally coloured diminutives, and to talk about a baby in a purely descriptive language would seem strangely cold and loveless” (Wierzbicka, 2007: 99).

According to Liseling Nilsson (2012: 145-146), diminutives constitute such a strong element of cultural code inscribed in Polish, that the departure from their usage would seriously infringe Polish cultural code and linguistic convention. This is why they are present in Polish translations. Children’s literature serves as a good example here, as, according to Polish conventions, young age of the prospective readers requires the use of diminutive forms (Berezowski, 1997: 90), e.g. there are more diminutive name forms in Polish translations than in English original texts (Fornalczyk, 2010: 161).

One of the most prominent example of English children’s literature is A.A. Milne’s *Winnie-the-Pooh*. Adamczyk-Garbowska (1988: 113-115) analyses its translation into Polish by Irena Tuwim. In her opinion, Milne treats the reader (in this case it is the child) with respect and seriousness. Therefore, his style of writing is not infantile or sentimental at all. In Polish children’s literature, the author wants to imitate child’s way of thinking and speaking by using many diminutives and hypocorisms. It produces the effect of “mawkish naivety”. This is also how Polish translators, such as Irena Tuwim, act. The infantilisation of Polish translation results from the excessive use of diminutives, as in the original text diminutive forms of proper names do not occur at all. The translation is, therefore, “sweetened” and made similar to Polish children’s books, the animal protagonists of which have to be “nice, cuddly and as close to the children as possible”. Nevertheless, Tuwim introduces diminutives even when there is no reason for using them. As a consequence, the original children’s style becomes childish and infantile in the translation (see also Stiller, 1973: 340).

Rajewska (2002: 68-69) tries to defend Tuwim’s translation. She admits that stylistically Tuwim’s translation differs from the original text due to numerous diminutives and hypocorisms, but, in her opinion, their presence in the translation makes it “warm and imbued with a sense of security”. It was Tuwim’s translation strategy to “naturalize” Polish version out of concern for young readers.

Rajewska (2002: 69) analyses also another translation of *Winnie-the-Pooh*, *Fredzia Phi-Phi*, by Monika Adamczyk-Garbowska. According to her, this translation is incomprehensible to Polish readers, as it lacks diminutives. It is “artificial” and “augmentative”; too accurate, too faithful and too methodical. That is why it did not catch on and is remembered only by translatoologists (Rajewska, 2002: 59). Tuwim’s translation is “rooted” in Polish, that is, it exists in the literature practically as an original text. It is the most

important, even canonical element of a whole series of translations of the same literary work, as other translations are compared by the readers to this rooted version instead of being compared to the original (Rajewska, 2002: 69). Adamczyk-Garbowska's translation is only an attempt to correct Tuwim.

Jarniewicz (2012: 226-227) is of similar opinion. He notices that the lack of diminutives may be surprising and astounding to Polish readers, especially to those who know Tuwim's translation, as it sounds strange and ridiculous. Diminutives are typical of Polish and, therefore, their lack in *Fredzia Phi-Phi* is a violation of Polish cultural and linguistic norms. Jarniewicz (2012: 230-231) summarizes his discussion by stating that, while translating, Adamczyk-Garbowska was driven by the faithfulness towards the original text (therefore, her book is rather for adults than for children), whereas Tuwim wanted to obtain a translation which would sound as familiar as possible.

As far as literature intended for adults is concerned, Hejwowski (2009: 120-121) and Tabakowska (2001: 133-141) discuss English translation of Polish novel *Kompleks polski* by Tadeusz Konwicki, that is, *The Polish Complex* by Richard Lourie. They both notice that the meaning of irony, contempt, malice, irritation, disrespect, as well as of familiarity, intimacy, cordiality, solidarity and compassion, which is expressed with the use of diminutives, is in most cases omitted and the translator does not even try to render it in his translation. Nevertheless, the translator, Richard Lourie is an American. In the following chapter only English translators and English examples of literature are analysed in order to prove the theses introduced in the introduction.

## **7.6. Compensation and explicitation in translating diminutives into Polish**

Tatarczuk (2005: 331) is of the opinion that the use of diminutives in Polish translations intended for children serves as an example of compensation. Hervey and Higgins (1999: 35) define the notion of compensation as “the technique of making up for the translation loss of important ST features by approximating their effects in the TT through means other than those used in the ST – that is, making up for ST effects achieved by one means through using other means in the TT”. In other words, compensation is a technique which “involves making up for the loss of a source text effect by recreating a similar effect in the target text through means that are specific to the target language and/or text (Harvey, 2004: 37). Harvey (2004: 38) adds that it “requires careful, strategic application. Given that the transfer of meanings

from one language to another continually involves some degree of loss, the translator must decide if and when compensation is warranted”.

This technique is used to compensate for the semantic loss determined by the fact that a given unit of the source language would remain untranslated or would be translated incompletely in the target language, that is, the whole spectrum of its meaning would not be translated. Hence, the translator conveys the same information through another means that are specific to the target language, e.g. the meaning of irony can be read from the context in English, whereas in Polish it is obtained with the use of diminutives.

Going even further, it may be stated that the use of diminutives in Polish translations of English original texts may also serve as an example of explicitation. It is defined by Klaudy (2004: 80) as “the technique of making explicit in the target text information that is implicit in the source text”. The use of diminutives is an example of both obligatory and optional explicitation.

Obligatory explicitation is “dictated by differences in the syntactic and semantic structure of languages” and is applicable mostly in the cases when translation between an analytic and a synthetic language is concerned (Klaudy, 2004: 82-83). It may as well be defined as semantic explicitation, as it “consists of choosing more specific words in the target text” (Klaudy, 2004: 83). Klaudy (2004: 83) explains that “due to the different linguistic structuring of reality in different languages, certain concepts such as body-parts, colours and kinship terms may have more detailed vocabularies in some languages than in others”, e.g. English word *hand* used to describe child’s body part will most probably be translated into *rączka* (*hand-DIM.*), as in Polish a diminutive form would sound more natural in this particular context. Another example would be the translation of English word *mummy*, as in Polish it can be rendered with the use of different diminutive forms, according to the specific shade of emotional attitude (e.g. *mamusia*, *mamunia*, *mamuś*, *mamuśka*, etc.).

The use of diminutives may as well be an example of optional explicitation, as it is “dictated by differences in text-building strategies and stylistic preferences between languages” (Klaudy, 2004: 83). Explicitation of this kind is optional because without its application in the target language, grammatically correct sentences can still be constructed. Nevertheless, as Klaudy (2004: 83) notices, the text as a whole will be “clumsy and unnatural”. The use of diminutives in Polish translations is an example of optional explicitation, as, according to Klaudy (2004: 83), the addition of emphasizeers is for “the clarification of sentence perspective”.

### **7.7. Domestication and foreignization in translating diminutives into Polish**

Oittinen (2003: 129), following Venuti, makes a clear division between the two technical terms, that is ‘domestication’ and ‘foreignization’. She states that “domestication accommodates itself to target cultural and linguistic values: through domestication, we adapt the text according to its future readers, culture, society, norms, and power relations”, whereas foreignization “maintain traces of the original text, depict cultural differences and a foreign origin.” Darja Mazi-Leskovar (2003: 254) also elaborates on these strategies of translation. For her, foreignization denotes “the conservation of significant amount of what is alien and unusual in the reading context of the new target audience but common, unique, distinctive or typical for the source culture.” She also underlines the fact that “the foreign, strange or even the exotic retained in the text is expected to be a stimulus to reading”. Domestication, on the other hand, “intervenes when the foreign and the odd is considered to represent a hindrance or barrier to the understanding of the text.” She adds (Mazi-Leskovar, 2003: 254) that

even if there were no conscious decision for domestication, there is a certain degree of it in every translation because of the differences between the languages of the source and the target text. Domestication refers to all changes performed on various levels of the text in order to enable the target readers, the members of another nation, living in another geographical reality, with a specific socio-historical experience and a unique cultural background to fully grasp the text.

Oittinen aptly describes it as a very powerful means of “bringing the translation closer to the target-language readers by speaking a familiar language” (2000: 84). To put it briefly, domestication means substitution of an element characteristic for the target culture for an element characteristic for the source culture in order to make it sound more natural and comprehensible for the readers (Bednarczyk, 2002: 63), whereas foreignization is about leaving this element of the source culture in its original form to make it sound exotic and, consequently, intriguing.

Diminutives create an atmosphere that reflects the values prevalent in a given culture. It is then obvious that when a particular book is translated into another language, the translator has to decide whether he/she wants to imply the same values for the target text readers, or whether he/she wants to make modifications to the text in order to fit it better into the target culture. Hejwowski (2009: 121) observes an increase in the occurrences of diminutive forms in literary translations from English into Polish. The addition of diminutives

in Polish translations of English texts is an example of domestication (or polonization) (Liseling Nilsson, 2012: 298-299).

Domestication as the translator's approach aimed at adapting the original text to Polish reality is discussed by Biały while analyzing Polish versions of *Mary Poppins* by Pamela Travers. Biały (2010: 48, 51) underlines the fact that it is a common practice to use a diminutive form of proper names which in the original version were given in a full way, e.g. *Michael – Michaś, John – Jaś, Ellen – Helenka* (see also chapter 7.5.).

### **7.8. Translation methods for rendering the meanings of diminutives**

It is worth emphasizing the fact that the methods used in translation both into English and into Polish are the result of different linguistic and cultural conventions of English and Polish literature. In order to avoid any possible difficulties while translating, the translator can apply the following strategies (Torr and Chłopicki, 2000: 282):

- omission of problematic fragments of the source text;
- exchange of particular elements of the source text for more suitable ones in the target text;
- use of functional equivalents;
- writing the text anew.

The strategies mentioned above may be used while translating diminutives, especially from Polish into English. When it comes to translation of pure diminutives, “the suffixed forms frequently used in Slavic languages are often rendered in English by using analytic diminutives, and vice versa” (Schneider, 2003: 135). Charleston (1960: 112-113) notices that ‘little’ is English most common equivalent for the diminutives of other languages. The notion of ‘smallness’ may as well be indicated with the use of lexis (e.g. *path* instead of *little road* or *roadie*). According to Sokołowska (2004: 219-220), it is more common than the use of morphology. She is also of the opinion that English relies on the context considerably more than Polish does (e.g. *moja szatka – my fair garment*). Ronowicz (1995: 38) claims that English does not have as rich range of diminutives as Polish and uses more elaborate modifications of the message instead. Sokołowska (2004: 221-223) provides some examples of such practices:

- in order to convey the singulative function of Polish diminutives, the translator uses English system of articles (e.g. *ziarnko – a grain, węgielek – a coal/a piece of coal*);

- as in English it is not a common practice to use a diminutive form of adjectives or adverbs, the translator applies suitable lexis (e.g. *szybciućko* – *very quickly*); nevertheless, in some cases it is impossible to render Polish diminutive form of an adjective (e.g. *żółciutki* – *\*very yellow*);
- translation of diminutives expressing emotions is the most problematic task for the translator and most often he/she uses more elaborate lexis or simply does not translate a particular diminutive form at all (e.g. *Daj Józiu papieroska, jeśli masz.* – *Pass me a cigarette, Joe, if you have one./I wouldn't say no, if someone offered me a cigarette now.*).

To sum up, the following methods of translating Polish diminutives into English may be distinguished:

- the use of synthetic diminutive;
- the use of analytic diminutive;
- the use of suitable lexis (it could be a separate word, e.g. *dróżka* – *path*, or an attribute, e.g. *balonik* – *toy ballon*);
- the use of elaborate modification;
- the use of an article;
- reliance on the context;
- omission of problematic diminutive forms.

The above-mentioned strategies are taken into account while analyzing translation of diminutives in chapter 8. Nevertheless, the analysis shows that the already mentioned list of translation strategies is incomplete, as there are far more methods of rendering the meanings of both Polish and English diminutives.

## **8. The analysis of chosen examples of Polish and English literary texts and their translations**

Translation of diminutives into English and Polish was not given as much attention as it deserves, although there appeared scholarly works on this issue reviewed in the previous chapters. Besides, analyses to date were based on a limited corpus (e.g. Jarniewicz, 2012). Moreover, in most cases, they concerned children's literature only (e.g. Adamczyk-Garbowska, 1988; Rajewska, 2002). As diminutives may be used in a number of contexts, all of them worth taking into account, a more comprehensive analysis should be carried out. The corpus for the analysis presented below is based on diverse genres in order to discuss as many semantic and pragmatic meanings and functions of diminutives as possible.

The analysis aims at underlining the main differences between the usage of Polish and English diminutives and their perception by the translators, as well as at proving the hypotheses formulated in chapter 1 of this paper which state that:

- there are more diminutives in Polish translations of English books than in the original version, as Polish translators tend to enrich their translations with diminutive forms;
- English translations of Polish literature are deprived of many diminutives, as it may be difficult for English translators to render all the meanings and contexts of Polish diminutive forms.

The analysis of each example of English and Polish literary text and its translations is divided into three parts. Firstly, all literary texts are introduced and some basic information concerning the most important characteristic features of the texts is presented, paying special attention to the usage of diminutives by the authors and the translators. Secondly, the proper analysis of the usage of diminutives in different semantic, pragmatic and sociolinguistic contexts is presented. Thirdly, the strategies of translating diminutives, applied by the translators of chosen literary texts, are discussed.

### **8.1. Polish chosen literary texts and their translations into English**

The texts chosen for the analysis represent various literary styles and various time they were written in order to underline the fact that diminutives are present not only in the contemporary literature but also in the classical one. Diminutives used by each author play different role and emphasise different meanings and contexts.

The following literary texts are analyzed:

- *Uwikłanie* by Zygmunt Miłoszewski
- *Wesele* by Stanisław Wyspiański
- *Panny z Wilka* and *Brzezina* by Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz
- *Zemsta* and *Śluby panięskie* by Aleksander Fredro

### **8.1.1. *Uwikłanie* by Zygmunt Miłoszewski**

*Uwikłanie* is a contemporary crime novel for adult readers first published in 2007. It tells the story of State Prosecutor Teodor Szacki, his work and personal life. The language of the text is full of irony and black humour, which makes it difficult to translate into English. Diminutives used by the author emphasize not only the irony, but also other meanings and contexts reflecting negative evaluation, such as lack of respect, non-importance, disdain, contempt, insincere compassion, or criticism. The author uses diminutive forms very frequently, mainly by applying them in the dialogues between the protagonists of the story, which reflects the actual usage of diminutives by Poles in everyday conversations, and, therefore, the text reads naturally.

The novel was translated into English in 2010 by Antonia Lloyd-Jones, one of the leading translators of Polish literature into English. The translation, entitled *Entanglement*, is faithful both to the original and to the receiving language, as it follows the original version very accurately, but at the same time it is very skilfully adapted to the target language. The translation of diminutive forms serves as a good example here, as in many cases the translator manages to render the meanings and contexts of Polish diminutives without making the English text artificial or forced. Nevertheless, in order to achieve this purpose, she needed to apply various translation strategies which are not based on the usage of diminutive forms and, consequently, make the translated version deprived of some typically Polish meanings and contexts of the diminutive usage.

For the sake of clarity, the original version of the story is marked in the analysis as ZMPl, and the translation – as ZMEng.

### **8.1.2. *Wesele* by Stanisław Wyspiański**

*Wesele* is a drama in three acts first presented in Cracow in 1901. It is an example of Polish classic intended for adult audience. The play is set around the celebrations of a wedding



between a poet from the city of Cracow and a peasant girl from a rural village. It is a deeply critical, sarcastic and tragic satire on Polish society at the turn of the century, as it makes references to the contemporary situation in Poland, and shows a picture of a powerless society. The play, in which wedding guests are haunted by ghosts of figures from Poland's history, reveals the lack of unity between Polish social classes: intelligentsia, landed gentry and peasants. It also criticises the stupor of Poles and their inability to take action for the cause of the nation's independence.

The language of the play is varied, changing moods to accompany plot developments. The text is to a large extent based on peasant speech, which makes it very difficult to translate into English. It is full of diminutives, which are used to reflect the nature of peasants, their emotionality, directness and frankness. Diminutives make the text sound natural and familiar. They emphasize the characteristic atmosphere of the play.

The drama was translated into English by Noel Clark, a freelance literary translator (mostly of classic plays in verse), in 1998. The translation, entitled *The Wedding*, is a skillful adaptation of the original text to the target language. As far as diminutives are concerned, the translator attempts to render the meanings and contexts of Polish diminutives by applying various translation strategies. He achieves this purpose to a large extent. Nevertheless, some of the charm of the original text is lost, as it seems almost impossible to translate every nuance of Polish diminutives.

For the sake of clarity, the original version of the text is marked in the analysis as SWPl, and the translation – as SWEng.

### **8.1.3. *Panny z Wilka* and *Brzezina* by Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz**

*Panny z Wilka* (*The Wilko Girls* in English translation) and *Brzezina* (*The Birch Grove*) are ones of the best-known works written by Iwaszkiewicz in the 1930s. *Panny z Wilka* tells the story of a middle-aged man who wants to recover his lost youth in the aftermath of the First World War. *Brzezina* is a moving story of a woodsman who is spiritually destroyed by the death of his wife and has buried himself away in an isolated forest. His peace is disrupted when his lively younger brother unexpectedly comes to stay.

The stories are characterized by numerous descriptions of rural buildings and manor houses, trees, plants, animals, landscapes and moonrises. While referring to natural

environment, which plays a significant role in Iwaszkiewicz's works, the author uses many diminutive forms, which emphasize his exceptionally emotional attitude towards nature.

*Panny z Wilka* and *Brzezina*, as well as two other stories, were successfully translated into English in 2002 by Antonia Lloyd-Jones. The translator tries to render the meaning of Iwaszkiewicz's emotional descriptions by using many diminutive forms. Nevertheless, she seems inconsistent in her choice to some extent. What is more, as far as the usage of diminutives in the dialogues between the protagonists of the stories, some particular meanings and contexts are lost or difficult to discern.

For the sake of clarity, the original version of the stories is marked in the analysis as JIPl, and the translation – as JIEng.

#### **8.1.4. *Zemsta* and *Śluby panieńskie* by Aleksander Fredro**

*Zemsta* (*Revenge* in English translation) and *Śluby panieńskie* (*Virgins' Vows*) are the most important plays written by Aleksander Fredro. *Zemsta* is a comedy in four acts first presented in 1834. The play is a social comedy about a property dispute. It tells the story of the quarrel between two gentry households over the wall dividing them. *Śluby panieńskie* is a comedy as well, first presented in 1833. The play reflects the author's awareness of the disadvantages suffered by young women in a male-dominated society. It tells the story of two maidens who, having decided that they do not really like men, resist all their suitors and swear they will never marry. However, thanks to the perseverance and scheming of the gentlemen, the maidens' vows are finally overcome. The plays are comedies, but also gentle satires, as Fredro ridicules the mania for copying foreign customs, the frivolity, prejudice, complacency and moral laxity of Polish gentry.

The charm of the comedies lies in the amusing contrasts of the characters, situational as well as verbal humour, the wit and spontaneity. Frequent usage of diminutives reflects and emphasizes these features. The plays are written in verse that flows as easily as colloquial speech, which, to a large extent, is achieved by applying many diminutive forms.

The comedies were translated into English by Noel Clark in 1993. The translation follows the original versions very accurately, but at the same time it is very skilfully adapted to the target language. As far as diminutive forms are concerned, the translator attempts to render the meanings and contexts of Polish diminutives by applying various translation strategies, and he achieves this purpose to a large extent. Nevertheless, as it is in the case of *Wesele*,

some of the charm of the original texts is lost, as it seems almost impossible to translate Fredro's specific humorous usage of diminutives.

For the sake of clarity, the original versions of the plays are marked in the analysis as AFZPl and AFSPl, and the translations – as AFZEng and AFSEng respectively.

## 8.2. English chosen literary texts and their translations into Polish

English writers do not pay as much attention to the use of diminutives in their texts as Polish authors do. They rarely apply diminutive forms let alone the double or multiple ones. Instead, they rely on the context or introduce suitable vocabulary. Kozielski (2008: 103) provides an example of translation of diminutives in literature intended for adults. He analyses Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* and its Polish translation *Duma i uprzedzenie* by Anna Przedpeńska-Trzeciakowska. The novel reflects a typical English humour, which is full of irony, sarcasm and the absurd. It may be claimed that in English original version they are expressed with the use of situational context, whereas in the Polish translation – with the use of diminutives.

As, contrary to Polish literature, in English literary texts diminutives are not used for any special purpose, the texts chosen for the analysis do not need to be described in detail.

The following literary texts are analyzed:

- *Amy Wild, Animal Talker. The Mystery Cat* by Diana Kimpton – children's book first published in 2010; translated into Polish by Iwona Żółtowska in 2011 and entitled *Amy i przyjaciele. Psotna koteczka*; the original version of the text is marked in the analysis as DKEng, and the translation – as DKPl.
- *Parker Pyne Investigates* by Agatha Christie – crime short story collection first published in 1934; translated into Polish by Magda Białoń-Chalecka in 2003 and entitled *Parker Pyne na tropie*; the original version of the text is marked in the analysis as ACEng, and the translation – as ACPl.
- *Acting Up* by Melissa Nathan – a novel first published as *Pride, Prejudice and Jasmin Field* in 2000; translated into Polish by Hanna Szajowska in 2011 and entitled *Duma, uprzedzenie i gra pozorów*; the original version of the text is marked in the analysis as MNEng, and the translation – as MNPl.
- *Pride and Prejudice* by Jane Austen – a classic novel of manners first published in 1813; translated into Polish by Anna Przedpeńska-Trzeciakowska in 2002 and entitled

*Duma i uprzedzenie*; the original version of the text is marked in the analysis as JAEng, and the translation – as JAPL.

### **8.3. The analysis of diminutives and their translation in different semantic, pragmatic and sociolinguistic contexts**

The analysis is divided into four parts referring to different contexts of diminutive usage:

- meanings of diminutives,
- pragmatic functions of diminutives,
- sociolinguistic contexts of using diminutives.

#### **8.3.1. Translation of meanings of diminutives**

As in Schneider and Strubel-Burgdorf (2012), diminutives are treated here as an onomasiological category, subsuming both synthetic diminutives (e.g. *okienko*) and analytic ones (e.g. *mala kamera wideo*). Therefore, the analysis of the meanings of diminutives takes into account both analytic and synthetic diminutive forms, as, following Schneider, it is believed that a diminutive should not be treated as a purely morphological category. It should be underlined that both analytic and synthetic diminutives are discussed in Polish (e.g. Łobos, 2003) and English (e.g. Schneider, 2003).

The analysis presents the denotative meanings of diminutives, as well as most common connotative meanings of diminutive forms, both appreciative and depreciative ones (see chapter 4.3.). It should be emphasized that in the case of connotative meanings of diminutive forms, the author of this thesis has to take into account the context of the use of a given diminutive, as, following Dressler and Barbaresi (1994: 171), it could be stated that the pragmatics of diminutives often allow “multiple conceivable interpretations”.

Furthermore, the diminutive meanings provided by Taylor (see chapter 4.2.1.) and Długosz (see chapter 4.3.) are also analysed, and, in order to illustrate cultural differences between Polish and English (see chapter 2), the analysis of translation of diminutives used in proverbs, sayings and fixed expressions is provided as well.

The lists given in the tables below include phrases which contain diminutive forms either in the original text only (e.g. *okienka* ‘windows’), in the translated version only (e.g.

*hook* translated as *haczyk*), or in both the source and the target texts. Examples are given according to the order of analysed texts. Moreover, analytic diminutives are presented as first.

The meaning of **smallness**

Polish original version	English translated version
<i>mała kamera wideo</i> (ZMPI 65)	<i>a small video camera</i> (ZMEng 63)
<i>mała kanapka</i> (ZMPI 166)	<i>a small sandwich</i> (ZMEng 169)
<i>małe tapczaniki</i> (ZMPI 190)	<i>small couches</i> (ZMEng 195)
<i>niewielki pistolet</i> (ZMPI 278)	<i>a small pistol</i> (ZMEng 288)
<i>małe krzeselka</i> (ZMPI 294)	<i>small chairs</i> (ZMEng 305)
<i>okienko</i> (SWPI 7)	<i>a small window</i> (SWEng 20)
<i>mała kanapka</i> (JIP1 81)	<i>a small sofa</i> (JIEng 68)
<i>małe okienko</i> (JIP1 134)	<i>a very small window</i> (JIEng 123)
<i>(niewielki) stolik</i> (ZMPI 101)	<i>(a small) table</i> (ZMEng 99)
<i>nożyk</i> (JIP1 90)	<i>a little knife</i> (JIEng 77)
<i>mały stołeczek</i> (JIP1 105)	<i>a little table</i> (JIEng 92)
<i>małe guziczki</i> (JIP1 125)	<i>little buttons</i> (JIEng 113)
<i>okienko</i> (JIP1 134)	<i>a little window</i> (JIEng 123)
<i>mała filiżanka</i> (ZMPI 277)	<i>the little cup</i> (ZMEng 287)
<i>mostek</i> (ZMPI 152)	<i>the little brigde</i> (ZMEng 154)
<i>mała łódeczka</i> (JIP1 36)	<i>the little boat</i> (JIEng 24)
<i>mikroskopijna lodówka</i> (ZMPI 11)	<i>tiny fridge</i> (ZMEng 6)
<i>malutkie chmurki</i> (ZMPI 24)	<i>tiny clouds</i> (ZMEng 19)
<i>malutkie kolczyki</i> (ZMPI 191)	<i>tiny earrings</i> (ZMEng 195)
<i>stołeczek</i> (ZMPI 203)	<i>a tiny table</i> (ZMEng 208)
<i>malutkie czółno</i> (JIP1 74)	<i>a tiny canoe</i> (JIEng 62)
<i>miniaturowe rzeźby</i> (ZMPI 9)	<i>miniature carvings</i> (ZMEng 4)
<i>okienka</i> (JIP1 110)	<i>windows</i> (JIEng 97)

<i>szybki</i> (JIPI 117)	<i>window</i> (JIEng 105)
<i>mostek</i> (ZMPI 59)	<i>the bridge</i> (ZMEng 55)
<i>młoteczki</i> (ZMPI 10)	<i>hammers</i> (ZMEng 4)
<i>klamerki</i> (ZMPI 20)	<i>buckles</i> (ZMEng 14)
<i>karteczka</i> (ZMPI 90)	<i>a card</i> (ZMEng 89)
<i>stolik</i> (ZMPI 129)	<i>coffee table</i> (ZMEng 128)
<i>pojemniczek</i> (ZMPI 133)	<i>container</i> (ZMEng 133)
<i>dywanik</i> (ZMPI 137)	<i>rug</i> (ZMEng 138)
<i>balonik</i> (ZMPI 153)	<i>balloon</i> (ZMEng 154)
<i>pantofle z paseczkiem</i> (ZMPI 176)	<i>court shoes with a strap</i> (ZMEng 179)
<i>sandały z rzemyczkiem</i> (ZMPI 191)	<i>sandals with thongs</i> (ZMEng 195)
<i>łyżeczka do kawy</i> (ZMPI 192)	<i>coffee spoon</i> (ZMEng 197)
<i>łyżeczka</i> (ZMPI 277)	<i>teaspoon</i> (ZMEng 287)
<i>butelecza</i> (ZMPI 208)	<i>the bottle</i> (ZMEng 214)
<i>flakoniak</i> (ZMPI 305)	<i>bottle</i> (ZMEng 316)
<i>drabinki</i> (ZMPI 256)	<i>ladders</i> (ZMEng 263)
<i>firaneczka</i> (SWPI 7)	<i>curtain</i> (SWEng 20)
<i>święty obrazek</i> (SWPI 55)	<i>the image of a saint</i> (SWEng 63)
<i>miseczka</i> (JIPI 24)	<i>a bowl</i> (JIEng 11)
<i>łóżeczko</i> (JIPI 112)	<i>bed</i> (JIEng 100)
<i>kropelki</i> (JIPI 130)	<i>raindrops</i> (JIEng 118)
<i>kropelki potu</i> (ACPI 27)	<i>the perspiration</i> (ACEng 36)
<i>kanapka</i> (JIPI 47)	<i>a sofa</i> (JIEng 35)
<i>daszek</i> (ZMPI 14)	<i>roof</i> (ZMEng 8)
<i>daszek</i> (JIPI 63)	<i>bit of roofing</i> (JIEng 50)
<i>batonik Milky Way</i> (ZMPI 190)	<i>Milky Way</i> (ZMEng 194)
<i>szmer silniczka magnetofonu</i> (ZMPI 176)	<i>the whirr of the tape recorder</i> (ZMEng 179)
<b>Polish translated version</b>	<b>English original version</b>
<i>mały stolik</i> (ACPI 10)	<i>a small table</i> (ACEng 13)
<i>mała skrzyneczka</i> (ACPI 36)	<i>a small box</i> (ACEng 47)
<i>małe pudełeczko</i> (ACPI 37)	<i>a small box</i> (ACEng 49)
<i>mały kuferek</i> (ACPI 77)	<i>a small case</i> (ACEng 100)

<i>małe narzędzie</i> (ACPI 97)	<i>small instrument</i> (ACEng 127)
<i>mały ołówek</i> (ACPI 120)	<i>a small pencil</i> (ACEng 157)
<i>mała paczuszka</i> (ACPI 142)	<i>a small packet</i> (ACEng 187)
<i>nieduża walizka</i> (MNPI 72)	<i>a small suitcase</i> (MNEng 61)
<i>malutka filiżanka</i> (ACPI 84)	<i>the little cup</i> (ACEng 109)
<i>maleńkie lusterko</i> (ACPI 77)	<i>the little mirror</i> (ACEng 101)
<i>mały przedmiot</i> (ACPI 114)	<i>a little object</i> (ACEng 150)
<i>mała poduszka</i> (ACPI 121)	<i>little pillow</i> (ACEng 160)
<i>niewielka torba</i> (ACPI 141)	<i>little bag</i> (ACEng 185)
<i>mały woreczek</i> (ACPI 141)	<i>a little bag</i> (ACEng 185)
<i>maleńka filiżaneczka</i> (ACPI 67)	<i>a tiny cup</i> (ACEng 87)
<i>koszyzek</i> (DKPI 19)	<i>bundle</i> (DKEng 20)
<i>łódki</i> (DKPI 97)	<i>boats</i> (DKEng 83)
<i>haczyk</i> (ACPI 59)	<i>a hook</i> (ACEng 77)
<i>miseczka zupy</i> (ACPI 69)	<i>a bowl of soup</i> (ACEng 89)
<i>lusterko</i> (ACPI 9)	<i>a mirror</i> (ACEng 12)
<i>drzewka pomarańczowe</i> (ACPI 103)	<i>orange trees</i> (ACEng 135)
<i>batonik wielkości domu</i> (MNPI 43)	<i>a chocolate bar</i> (MNEng 33)
<i>mostek</i> (JAPI 252)	<i>the bridge</i> (JAEng 188)
<i>naczynko</i> (DKPI 77)	does not occur (DKEng 67)

Table 3. The meaning of smallness

The meaning of smallness presented in table 3 is the first example of the denotative meaning of diminutives, where the diminutive referentially indicates an objective change in the size of a given object. Table 3 shows that the most common way of forming diminutives in Polish is suffixation, and the most common suffixes used for that purpose are the suffixes *-ek*, *-ko*, *-ik/-yk*, *-eczek/-iczek/-yczek*, and *-eczka*. The table provides as well some examples of diminutives formed with adjectives such as *mały/-a/-e*, *niewielki*, *nieduży*, *mikroskopijny*, *miniaturowy* and diminutivized adjectives such as *malutki* and *maleńki*. Nevertheless, it must be underlined that

in most cases, regardless of the occurrence of one of the above-mentioned adjectives or even diminutivized adjectives, the nouns are diminutivized as well by means of suffixation. Consequently, one may come across numerous examples of double or even multiple diminutives (e.g. *małe tapczaniki*, *małe guziczki* or *małeńka filiżaneczka*), as these forms sound more natural for Poles. It is worth emphasizing that all nouns given in table 3 are the examples of non-human and inanimate ones, as these are names of objects (except for *drzewka pomarańczowe*).

Double/multiple diminutives do not necessarily have to be formed with the use of adjectives. In Polish it is very frequent to attach two or more different diminutive suffixes to the same base (e.g. *łódeczka* or *firaneczka*). As stated in chapter 3.1., the main function of double/multiple diminutives is to enhance the emotional value of a particular diminutive form or to intensify its meaning.

What seems interesting in Polish is the fact that in some cases a diminutive formed by means of suffixation can be preceded by adjectives of opposite meaning and still it is considered to be a diminutive form (e.g. *duży dzbanek* (ZMP1 134)). What is more, it seems natural for Polish readers to come across such contradictions as *batonik wielkości domu*. It would be hard to find such examples in English (e.g. *duży dzbanek* was translated as *big jug* (ZMEng 135 and *batonik wielkości domu* as *a chocolate bar*).

As far as English diminutives are concerned, the most common way of forming diminutives in English is analytic formation with adjectives such as *small*, *little*, *tiny* or *miniature*. The neutral adjectives *small* and *little* are the central adjectives in English and are used most frequently. According to Schneider and Charleston (see chapter 4.4.), the main difference in meaning between these expressions is the ‘emotional implication’, as *little* expresses smallness together with affective connotations, and *small* refers only to objective smallness.

A given object in its diminutive form is **similar** in meaning to the designatum

Polish original version	English translated version
<i>mały słupek</i> (JIP1 26)	<i>a small post</i> (JIEng 13)
<i>mała lampka</i> (SWP1 64)	<i>small lamp</i> (SWEng 72)
<i>szczypczyki</i> (JIP1 68)	<i>a little pair of tongs</i> (JIEng 55)



<i>kluczyk</i> (ZMPI 27)	<i>the car key</i> (ZMEng 22)
<i>ramki</i> (ZMPI 50)	<i>a frame</i> (ZMEng 46)
<i>skrzydełko poradnika</i> (ZMPI 106)	<i>the jacket of the manual</i> (ZMEng 104)
<i>miseczka biustonosza</i> (ZMPI 131)	<i>bra cups</i> (ZMEng 131)
<i>fotelik Helci</i> (ZMPI 190)	<i>Helka's child seat</i> (ZMEng 194)
<i>wsteczne lusterko</i> (ZMPI 191)	<i>the side mirror</i> (ZMEng 195)
<i>nożyk do listów</i> (ZMPI 216)	<i>a paper knife</i> (ZMEng 222)
<i>okularki do pływania</i> (ZMPI 243)	<i>swimming goggles</i> (ZMEng 250)
<i>zatoczka autobusowa</i> (ZMPI 281)	<i>a bus bay</i> (ZMEng 291)
<i>kolumnienki zegara</i> (SWPI 7)	<i>columns</i> (SWEng 21)
<i>plotek</i> (JIPi 106)	<i>fence</i> (JIEng 93)
<i>saneczki</i> (JIPi 107)	<i>sledge</i> (JIEng 94)
<i>wąsiki</i> (JIPi 146)	<i>moustache</i> (JIEng 135)
<i>jednokonny powozik</i> (JIPi 78)	<i>the one-horse gig</i> (JIEng 65)
<i>bryczuszka</i> (JIPi 78)	<i>the gig</i> (JIEng 66)
<i>lampka</i> (ZMPI 128)	<i>a lamp</i> (ZMEng 127)
<i>widelki telefonu</i> (ZMPI 279)	omitted in translation (ZMEng 289)
<b>Polish translated version</b>	<b>English original version</b>
<i>mała lampka oliwna</i> (ACPI 104)	<i>a small oil lamp</i> (ACEng 136)
<i>miniaturowe spódniczki</i> (MNPI 56)	<i>little mini-skirts</i> (MNEng 45)
<i>mały jednopłatowiec</i> (ACPI 100)	<i>the little monoplane</i> (ACEng 131)
<i>mała szafka</i> (ACPI 35)	<i>a little cupboard</i> (ACEng 46)
<i>dzwoneczek</i> (ACPI 77)	<i>little bell</i> (ACEng 101)
<i>malutka lampka</i> (ACPI 59)	<i>the tiny light</i> (ACEng 77)
<i>kółderka</i> (DKPI 81)	<i>quilt</i> (DKEng 70)
<i>plaszczyk</i> (JAPI 40)	<i>the gown</i> (JAEng 30)
<i>porcelanowy aniołek</i> (DKPI 61)	<i>a china angel</i> (DKEng 53)

<i>miseczka</i> (DKPI 77)	<i>bowl</i> (DKEng 67)
<i>książeczka czekowa</i> (ACPI 8)	<i>a cheque book</i> (ACEng 11)
<i>wieczorowa pelerynka</i> (ACPI 11)	<i>an evening wrap</i> (ACEng 15)
<i>zegarek</i> (ACPI 25)	<i>watch</i> (ACEng 34)
<i>kartonowe kubeczki</i> (ACPI 91)	<i>cardboard cups</i> (ACEng 119)
<i>pasemka</i> (MNPI 51)	<i>highlights</i> (MNEng 40)
<i>kluczyk</i> (MNPI 76)	<i>the key</i> (MNEng 65)
<i>szczoteczka do zębów</i> (MNPI 78)	<i>toothbrush</i> (MNEng 66)
<i>książeczki czekowe</i> (MNPI 82)	<i>chequebooks</i> (MNEng 70)
<i>wagonik kolejki linowej</i> (MNPI 165)	<i>a ski-lift</i> (MNEng 149)
<i>drzwiczki</i> (JAPI 226)	<i>the door</i> (JAEng 168)

Table 4. A given object in its diminutive form is similar in meaning to the designatum

The diminutive meaning presented in table 4 is the next example of the denotative meaning of diminutives. In this case a given object in its diminutive form is similar in shape or in look to the designatum (e.g. *widelki telefonu* ‘cradle of a phone’ derived from *widły* ‘fork’). According to Długosz (see chapter 4.3.), the above-listed diminutives are the examples of formal diminutives (such as *zegarek* ‘watch’ derived from *zegar* ‘clock’), as, due to the use of a diminutive form, a change of denotation takes place. Moreover, usually the change of denotation is associated with the change of the size of a given object. What is worth noting is the fact that diminutive forms are used to express the meaning of being similar to the designatum mostly in the case of Polish, as the above-mentioned distinction hardly exists in the case of morphological diminutives in English (except, perhaps, for formations unattested in the corpus examined here, e.g. *laundrette* derived from *laundry*).

#### Partitive/singulative meaning

Polish original version	English translated version
<i>słomka</i> (ZMPI 190)	<i>the straw</i> (ZMEng 194)
<i>trawka</i> (JIPi 98)	<i>a blade of grass</i> (JIEng 85)

Table 5. Partitive/singulative meaning

The diminutive meaning presented in table 5 is the next example of the denotative meaning of diminutives. According to Długosz (see chapter 4.3.), the above-listed diminutives are the

examples of formal diminutives, as, due to the use of a diminutive form, a change of denotation takes place. While it is quite frequent to observe such formations in Polish, in English a diminutive form is not used for this purpose.

#### The meaning of **young age**

<b>Polish original version</b>	<b>English translated version</b>
<i>mała blondynka</i> (ZMPI 233)	<i>the small blonde girl</i> (ZMEng 239)
<i>mała</i> (ZMPI 55) (about a small girl)	<i>the little one</i> (ZMEng 52)
<i>dziewczynka</i> (ZMPI 96)	<i>the little girl</i> (ZMEng 95)
<i>mała dziewczynka</i> (ZMPI 221)	<i>a little girl</i> (ZMEng 227)
<i>mała siostra</i> (ZMPI 232)	<i>little sister</i> (ZMEng 238)
<i>mała Helena Szacka</i> (ZMPI 324)	<i>little Helka Szacka</i> (ZMEng 336)
<i>mała Zosia</i> (JIP1 50)	<i>little Zosia</i> (JIEng 38)
<i>mały Antoś</i> (JIP1 78)	<i>little Antoś</i> (JIEng 65)
<i>chłopczyk</i> (JIP1 32)	<i>the little boy</i> (JIEng 18)
<i>mała</i> (ZMPI 149) (about a small girl)	<i>the child</i> (ZMEng 150)
<i>mały</i> (JIP1 50) (about a small boy)	<i>the baby</i> (JIEng 38)
<i>dziewczynka</i> (ZMPI 142)	<i>girl</i> (ZMEng 143)
<i>chłopczyk</i> (JIP1 30)	<i>a boy</i> (JIEng 18)
<i>synek</i> (JIP1 32)	<i>son</i> (JIEng 19)
<i>córeczki</i> (JIP1 77)	<i>daughters</i> (JIEng 65)
<i>młoda panienczka</i> (AFZPI 62)	<i>maids</i> (AFZEng 55)
<i>Prosiaczek</i> (ZMPI 153)	<i>Piglet</i> (ZMEng 154)
<i>żabki</i> (SWPI 35)	<i>frogs</i> (SWEng 45)
<i>małe roślinki</i> (JIP1 26)	<i>small shoots</i> (JIEng 13)
<i>drzewka</i> (JIP1 121)	<i>trees</i> (JIEng 109)
<i>lipka</i> (JIP1 178)	<i>lime tree</i> (JIEng 167)

<i>jabłonka</i> (SWPI 153)	<i>the apple trees</i> (SWEng 150)
<b>Polish translated version</b>	<b>English original version</b>
<i>mały chłopiec</i> (ACPI 124)	<i>little boy</i> (ACEng 164)
<i>synek</i> (MNPI 282)	<i>a little boy</i> (MNEng 262)
<i>mały Tarquin</i> (MNPI 365)	<i>little Tarquin</i> (MNEng 343)
<i>mali chłopcy i dziewczynki</i> (JAPI 161)	<i>little boys and girls</i> (JAEng 120)
<i>mały chłopiec</i> (ACPI 22)	<i>the boy</i> (ACEng 30)
<i>mały Ben</i> (MNPI 282)	<i>Ben</i> (MNEng 262)
<i>dziewczęta</i> (JAPI 6)	<i>girls</i> (JAEng 5)
<i>wróbelki</i> (DKPI 16)	<i>baby birds</i> (DKEng 17)
<i>małe wróbelki</i> (DKPI 80)	<i>baby sparrows</i> (DKEng 70)
<i>wróbelki</i> (DKPI 22)	<i>babies</i> (DKEng 22)
<i>koźlą</i> (ACPI 114)	<i>kid</i> (ACEng 150)
<i>jagnię</i> (ACPI 124)	<i>lamb</i> (ACEng 164)
<i>malutkie wróbelki</i> (21)	does not occur (DKEng 21)

Table 6. The meaning of young age

The diminutive meaning presented in table 6 is the next example of the denotative meaning of diminutives. According to Długosz (see chapter 4.3.), the above-listed diminutives are the examples of formal emphatic diminutives, as, due to the use of a diminutive form, a change of denotation takes place. In the case of expressing young age, Polish and English rely on similar method, as in both languages this meaning is obtained mostly with the use of analytic formation. The most common adjectives used for this purpose is *mały/a* in Polish and *little* in English. What is worth noting is the fact that, while in Polish the adjective *mały/a* is considered to be a neutral one, in English the adjective *little* has the ‘emotional implication’. It expresses smallness together with affective connotations, which seems natural in the case of expressing young age, as usually young creatures evoke positive feelings in the adults.

The meaning of **reduced scale of an entity**

<b>Polish original version</b>	<b>English translated version</b>
<i>niewielka sala</i> (ZMPI 156)	<i>the small conference room</i> (ZMEng 158)
<i>mała salka</i> (ZMPI 293)	<i>the small classroom</i> (ZMEng 304)
<i>mały folwarczek</i> (JIP1 23)	<i>a small farm</i> (JIEng 10)
<i>skwerek</i> (ZMPI 171)	<i>the small square</i> (ZMEng 174)
<i>nieduża kotlinka</i> (JIP1 27)	<i>a small hollow</i> (JIEng 14)
<i>mały ganeczek</i> (JIP1 66)	<i>a small porch</i> (JIEng 54)
<i>małe zatoczki</i> (JIP1 74)	<i>small creeks</i> (JIEng 62)
<i>mieszkanko</i> (JIP1 110)	<i>a small apartment</i> (JIEng 97)
<i>chlewik</i> (JIP1 110)	<i>small pigsty</i> (JIEng 97)
<i>mały pokoik</i> (JIP1 89)	<i>the small room</i> (JIEng 76)
<i>małe wzniesienie</i> (ZMPI 257)	<i>a small hillock</i> (ZMEng 265)
<i>niewielkie miasto</i> (ZMPI 9)	<i>small town</i> (ZMEng 3)
<i>niewielki dom</i> (JIP1 41)	<i>small house</i> (JIEng 29)
<i>lasek</i> (JIP1 27)	<i>a small wood</i> (JIEng 15)
<i>małe miasteczko</i> (ZMPI 177)	<i>a very small town</i> (ZMEng 180)
<i>(nieduża) salka</i> (ZMPI 12)	<i>(small) classroom</i> (ZMEng 6)
<i>galeryjka</i> (ZMPI 132)	<i>the little gallery</i> (ZMEng 132)
<i>kamieniczki</i> (ZMPI 164)	<i>little tenements</i> (ZMEng 167)
<i>wąwoziki</i> (JI94)	<i>little gullies</i> (JIEng 81)
<i>mały salonik</i> (JIP1 36)	<i>the little parlour</i> (JIEng 24)
<i>mały buduarek</i> (JIP1 88)	<i>the little boudoir</i> (JIEng 76)
<i>pokoik</i> (JIP1 110)	<i>little room</i> (JIEng 97)
<i>izdebka</i> (JIP1 135)	<i>the little room</i> (JIEng 123)
<i>miasteczko</i> (ZMPI 219)	<i>little city</i> (ZMEng 225)
<i>ogródek</i> (JIP1 25)	<i>the little garden</i> (JIEng 12)
<i>niewielki ogród</i> (JIP1 43)	<i>the little garden</i> (JIEng 31)
<i>lasek</i> (JIP1 86)	<i>the little wood</i> (JIEng 73)
<i>mikroskopijny gabinet</i> (ZMPI 156)	<i>tiny study</i> (ZMEng 158)

<i>miniaturowy park</i> (ZMPI 255)	<i>tiny park</i> (ZMEng 263)
<i>malutkie poletka</i> (JIPI 121)	<i>tiny plots of land</i> (JIEng 108)
<i>pokoik</i> (ZMPI 12)	<i>tiny room</i> (ZMEng 6)
<i>refektarzyk</i> (ZMPI 12)	<i>refectory</i> (ZMEng 6)
<i>korytarzyk</i> (ZMPI 12)	<i>corridor</i> (ZMEng 7)
<i>schodki</i> (ZMPI 124)	<i>the stairwell</i> (ZMEng 123)
<i>biblioteczka</i> (ZMPI 128)	<i>bookcase</i> (ZMEng 127)
<i>salonik prasowy</i> (ZMPI 184)	<i>press emporia</i> (ZMEng 189)
<i>wąski balkonik</i> (ZMPI 269)	<i>a narrow balcony</i> (ZMEng 278)
<i>boczna alejka</i> (ZMPI 323)	<i>a side alley</i> (ZMEng 335)
<i>alkierzyk</i> (SWPI 7)	<i>an alcove</i> (SWEng 20)
<i>łączka</i> (JIPI 27)	<i>a meadow</i> (JIEng 15)
<i>dółek</i> (JIPI 60)	<i>hollow</i> (JIEng 47)
<i>schodki</i> (JIPI 109)	<i>stairs</i> (JIEng 97)
<i>wąska uliczka</i> (JIPI 116)	<i>the narrow street</i> (JIEng 104)
<i>polanka</i> (JIPI 139)	<i>clearing</i> (JIEng 128)
<i>jeziorko</i> (JIPI 155)	<i>lake</i> (JIEng 144)
<i>izdebka</i> (JIPI 147)	<i>room</i> (JIEng 136)
<i>górką</i> (ZMPI 258)	<i>the hillock</i> (ZMEng 266)
<i>górką</i> (JIPI 26)	<i>the hilltop</i> (JIEng 14)
<i>małe wzgórki</i> (JIPI 56)	<i>mounds</i> (JIEng 43)
<i>gaik</i> (JIPI 76)	<i>coppice</i> (JIEng 63)
<i>miasteczko</i> (ZMPI 9)	<i>town</i> (ZMEng 3)
<i>domek w górach</i> (ZMPI 170)	<i>a holiday home</i> (ZMEng 173)
<i>fińskie domki</i> (ZMPI 258)	<i>Finnish cottages</i> (ZMEng 266)
<i>domek kolonijny</i> (JI24)	<i>the camp house</i> (JIEng 11)
<i>domki</i> (JIPI 63)	<i>huts</i> (JIEng 51)
<i>chatka</i> (JIPI 121)	<i>tumbledown cottage</i> (JIEng 108)
<i>domek leśniczówki</i> (JIPI 138)	<i>lodge</i> (JIEng 127)
<i>kawiarniany ogródek</i> (ZMPI 91)	<i>the café garden</i> (ZMEng 90)

<b>Polish translated version</b>	<b>English original version</b>
<i>mała piwnica</i> (ACPI 26)	<i>a small cellar</i> (ACEng 35)
<i>nieduże centrum handlowe</i> (MNPI 41)	<i>a small shopping mall</i> (MNEng 32)
<i>małe miasteczko</i> (JAPI 20)	<i>a small market town</i> (JAEng 16)
<i>mały letni pokój</i> (JAPI 85)	<i>the small summer parlour</i> (JAEng 61)
<i>małe pokoiki</i> (JAPI 224)	<i>small rooms</i> (JAEng 167)
<i>małe miasteczko</i> (JAPI 269)	<i>a small market-town</i> (JAEng 202)
<i>niewielki park</i> (JAPI 358)	<i>small park</i> (JAEng 271)
<i>małe miasteczko</i> (JAPI 249)	<i>the little town</i> (JAEng 186)
<i>lasek</i> (JAPI 306)	<i>the little copse</i> (JAEng 230)
<i>mały zagajnik</i> (JAPI 327)	<i>the little copse</i> (JAEng 246)
<i>mała kawiarenka</i> (ACPI 83)	<i>a little café</i> (ACEng 109)
<i>małe sklepiki</i> (ACPI 106)	<i>little shops</i> (ACEng 139)
<i>maleńkie podwyższenie</i> (MNPI 118)	<i>the tiny stage</i> (MNEng 104)
<i>sklepik</i> (DKPI 89)	<i>the tiny supermarket</i> (DKEng 77)
<i>malutka sypialenka</i> (ACPI 23)	<i>a tiny bedroom</i> (ACEng 31)
<i>maleńki salon</i> (MNPI 131)	<i>tiny lounge</i> (MNEng 117)
<i>malutka kuchenka</i> (DKPI 51)	<i>the mini-kitchen</i> (DKEng 45)
<i>gniazdko</i> (DKPI 20)	<i>the nest</i> (DKEng 20)
<i>domek</i> (DKPI 22)	<i>nest</i> (DKEng 22)
<i>pokoik</i> (DKPI 80)	<i>attic bedroom</i> (DKEng 70)
<i>miasteczko</i> (ACPI 17)	<i>village</i> (ACEng 23)
<i>mieszkanko</i> (ACPI 23)	<i>lodgings</i> (ACEng 31)
<i>salonik</i> (ACPI 23)	<i>sitting-room</i> (ACEng 31)
<i>schodki</i> (ACPI 28)	<i>stairs</i> (ACEng 37)
<i>schodki</i> (ACPI 76)	<i>the steps</i> (ACEng 99)
<i>korytarzyk</i> (ACPI 28)	<i>a passage</i> (ACEng 38)
<i>wioska</i> (ACPI 140)	<i>the village</i> (ACEng 184)
<i>chatka</i> (MNPI 24)	<i>cottage</i> (MNEng 16)

<i>domек na wsi</i> (MNPI 66)	<i>country home</i> (MNEng 55)
<i>okno na pięterku</i> (JAPI 12)	<i>an upper window</i> (JAEng 10)
<i>wioska</i> (JAPI 14)	<i>the village</i> (JAEng 12)
<i>salonik</i> (JAPI 41)	<i>the dining-parlour</i> (JAEng 31)
<i>salonik</i> (JAPI 177)	<i>the drawing-room</i> (JAEng 132)
<i>alejka</i> (JAPI 59)	<i>the avenue</i> (JAEng 43)
<i>izdebki</i> (JAPI 76)	<i>the closets</i> (JAEng 54)
<i>ścieżynki</i> (JAPI 165)	<i>cross walk</i> (JAEng 123)
<i>dróżka</i> (JAPI 204)	<i>the lane</i> (JAEng 152)
<i>alejka</i> (JAPI 218)	<i>the lane</i> (JAEng 163)
<i>domек odźwiernego</i> (JAPI 251)	<i>the lodge</i> (JAEng 187)
<i>mały salonik</i> (JAPI 359)	<i>the dining-parlour</i> (JAEng 271)
<i>kamieniczka</i> (DKPI 40)	does not occur (DKEng 36)
<i>miasteczko</i> (DKPI 80)	does not occur (DKEng 70)
<i>alejka</i> (ACPI 21)	does not occur (ACEng 29)

Table 7. The meaning of reduced scale of an entity

The diminutive meaning presented in table 7 is the next example of the denotative meaning of diminutives, where the diminutive referentially indicates an objective change in the scale of a given place (e.g. *miasteczko* ‘small city’ derived from *miasto* ‘city’). According to Taylor (see chapter 4.2.1.), the above-mentioned diminutive meaning is obtained from the core meaning ‘small’ through metaphorisation.

The tables from 3 to 7 above show that the most common way of forming diminutives in Polish is suffixation, as there are 241 diminutives formed with suffixes such as suffix *-ek*, *-ka*, *-ko*, *-ki*, *-ik/-yk*, *-eczek/-iczek/-yczek*, *-eczka*, *-eczko*, *-iczki/-eczki*, *-uszka*, *-ę*, *-ęta*, *-sia* and *-ś*, and 100 diminutives formed with adjectives such as *mały/-a/-e*, *niewielki*, *nieduży*, *mikroskopijny*, *miniaturowy* and diminutivized adjectives such as *malutki* and *maleńki*. Nevertheless, it must be underlined that in most cases, regardless of the occurrence of one of the above-mentioned adjectives or even diminutivized adjectives, the nouns are diminutivized as well by means of suffixation. Consequently, one may come across numerous examples of double or even multiple diminutives (e.g. *małe miasteczko*, *malutka kuchenka* or *malutkie wróbelki*), as these forms sound more natural for Poles.



Double/multiple diminutives do not necessarily have to be formed with the use of adjectives. In Polish it is very frequent to attach two or more different diminutive suffixes to the same base (e.g. *panieneczka*). As stated in chapter 3.1., the main function of double/multiple diminutives is to enhance the emotional value of a particular diminutive form or to intensify its meaning.

As stated in previous chapters, in English diminutives are not used as frequently as in Polish, since the analysis shows that in Polish texts there are almost four times more diminutive forms than in the English ones. The most common way of forming diminutives in English is analytic formation with adjectives such as *small, little, tiny* or *miniature* (*small* and *little* are used most often), as there are 117 examples of this kind in the analysis. The tables show one example of compounding (e.g. *baby birds*), one example of truncation (*Ben*), one example of prefixation (*mini-kitchen*), and one example of suffixation (*Piglet*). There is also one example of a double diminutive (*little mini-skirts*) and one example of intensifying the meaning of a diminutive, nevertheless, it is obtained with the use of an adverb *very* (e.g. *a very small window*).

As far as translation is concerned, rendering the meanings of English diminutives seem to pose no problems for Polish translators, as all English diminutive forms were translated into Polish. While translating analytic diminutives, in most cases the translators used adjectives as well. Apart from adjectives such as *mały, nieduży, niewielki* or *miniaturowy*, they employed diminutivized adjectives, such as *malutki* and *maleńki*, what intensified the meaning of a diminutive. Nevertheless, the most visible indication of intensifying the meaning of diminutives in Polish translation is employing a diminutive form in places where in the original version there is no diminutive used. There are three kinds of such additions:

- forming double/multiple diminutives both analytically and synthetically, whereas in the original version there is only analytic formation applied (e.g. *small rooms – male pokoiki*);
- attaching diminutive suffixes to nouns which in the original version are not diminutivized in any way (e.g. *legs – nóżki; In Meryton they parted. – W Meryton grupka się rozdzieliła.*);
- adding new words (in this case – diminutives) to the translated version in places where in the original version there is no such noun or its diminutive form (e.g. *Amy grabbed Mystery before he could get into more trouble. – (...) żeby uniknąć kolejnej katastrofy, podniosła Skrytkę, chwyciwszy ją pod boczki.*).

It may be stated that adding diminutive forms in translated versions can be considered a typically Polish manner, which illustrates the fact that diminutives constitute a part of Polish culture and they should be used in translation in order to make the text reads naturally. Therefore, the above-mentioned kinds of addition are the examples of domestication.

Translation of Polish diminutives by English translators seems to be far more difficult than it was in the previous case, as not all Polish diminutive forms were translated into English or were translated inadequately. Nevertheless, English translators found some ways to overcome most obstacles and managed to render at least a part of original diminutive meaning. While translating analytic diminutives, in most cases the translators used adjectives as well: *mały* was usually translated as *small* or *little* (depending on emotional implication) and *malutki* as *tiny*. It was more difficult to translate synthetic diminutives and in most cases the translators did not employ any diminutive form in their translations (e.g. *okienka* – *windows*, *wąsiki* – *moustache*). Other methods applied by translators are as follows:

- the use of suitable lexis: a separate word which semantically constitutes a diminutive (e.g. *dywanik* – *rug*);
- the use of suitable lexis: an attribute semantically associated with a diminutive (e.g. *fotelik* – *child seat*);
- omission of problematic diminutive forms (e.g. *szmer silniczka magnetofonu* – *the whirr of the tape recorder*).

What seems interesting is the fact that sometimes a given Polish diminutive form was translated in many different ways into English (e.g. *lasek* – *a small wood* or *the little wood*). It was also observed that all Polish double/multiple diminutives were translated as single diminutives, which may impoverish translated versions but seems more natural for English readers to comprehend. Therefore, it can be stated that omitting certain diminutive forms in English translations is an example of domestication.

#### The meaning of **short temporal duration**

Polish original version	English translated version
<i>krótki spacer</i> (ZMP1 24)	<i>short walk</i> (ZMEng 19)
<i>spotkać się na chwilę</i> (ZMP1 280)	<i>meet briefly</i> (ZMEng 289)
<i>ta jedyna chwilka</i> (SWP1 60)	<i>a moment</i> (SWEng 68)

<i>krótka chwilka</i> (ZMP1 306)	<i>a short while</i> (ZMEng 317)
<i>Milczeli chwilkę</i> (...) (JIP1 174)	<i>For a short while they were silent</i> (...) (JIEng 163)
<b>Polish translated version</b>	<b>English original version</b>
<i>Proszę się o nic teraz nie martwić. (...) Za minutkę złapiemy taksówkę i pojedziemy gdzieś napić się kawy.</i> (ACPI 20)	<i>Don't worry about anything now (...) In a minute or two we'll be able to get a taxi. Then we'll drive somewhere and have a cup of coffee.</i> (ACEng 27)
<i>malutka pauza</i> (MNPI 103)	<i>tiny pause</i> (MNEng 90)
<i>Tak pani wybornie tańczy, panno Elzbieto, że okrucieństwem jest odmawiać mi radości, jaką daje ten widok, a choć ten pan nie lubi na ogół tańca, z pewnością nie będzie miał nic przeciwko temu, by poświęcić na ten cel małe pół godzinki.</i> (JAPI 30)	<i>You excel so much in the dance, Miss Eliza, that it is cruel to deny me the happiness of seeing you; and though this gentleman dislikes the amusement in general, he can have no objection, I am sure, to oblige us for one half-hour.</i> (JAEng 23)
<i>z małymi przerwami</i> (JAPI 242)	<i>with little intermission</i> (JAEng 180)
<i>(...) pastor zatrzymał ich jeszcze chwilkę</i> (...) (JAPI 165)	<i>(...) with no other delay</i> (...) (JAEng 122)
<i>Ustupując mu z drogi, na chwilkę weszła w drzwi sąsiedniego przedziału.</i> (ACPI 77)	<i>To avoid him, Elsie stepped back for a moment into the doorway of the adjoining compartment.</i> (ACEng 101)

Table 8. The meaning of short temporal duration

The diminutive meaning presented in table 8 is the next example of the denotative meaning of diminutives. According to Taylor (see chapter 4.2.1.), the above-mentioned diminutive meaning is obtained from the core meaning ‘small’ through metaphorisation. Due to the use of a diminutive form, a change of denotation takes place, as diminutives indicate an objective change in the amount of time spent on a given activity. Nevertheless, this change of denotation can be observed mostly in Polish, as in English diminutives are not used for this purpose.

The meaning of **reduced strength**

Polish original version	English translated version
<i>cichutko grać</i> (ZMPI 78)	play <b>very quietly</b> (ZMEng 75)
(...) <i>piosenki (...), które tak cichutko</i> <i>wygrywał Staś.</i> (JIP1 119)	(...) <i>songs which Staś kept playing so <b>quietly</b>.</i> (JIEng 107)
<i>Łzy cichutko splywały jej z oczu.</i> (JIP1 137)	<i>The tears dropping <b>silently</b> from her eyes.</i> (JIEng 126)
(...) <i>odpowiedziała cichutko.</i> (JIP1 154)	(...) <i>she had answered <b>very softly</b>.</i> (JIEng 143)
(...) <i>a jak kto po cichuteńku powie (...)</i> (SWPI 89)	(...) <i>yet someone only needs to <b>gasp</b> (...)</i> (SWEng 94)
<i>leciutki szmer</i> (JIP1 114)	<i>a <b>faint</b> hum</i> (JIEng 102)
<i>leciutka jak ptaszek</i> (JIP1 137)	<i><b>light</b> as a bird</i> (JIEng 126)
<i>lekki kuferek</i> (JIP1 102)	<i>a <b>light</b> trunk</i> (JIEng 89)
<i>Miliony igielek wbiły się w jego ciało.</i> (ZMPI 117)	<i>Millions of <b>tiny needles</b> stuck into his body.</i> (ZMEng 115)
<i>ciężarki</i> (ZMPI 259)	<i><b>weights</b></i> (ZMEng 267)
<i>szmerek piasku</i> (JIP1 114)	<i><b>the humming</b> of the sound</i> (JIEng 102)
<b>Polish translated version</b>	<b>English original version</b>
<i>Freda załkała cichutko.</i> (ACPI 28)	<i>Freda gave <b>a little sob</b>.</i> (ACEng 38)
(...) <i>wstał po cichutku (...)</i> (ACPI 57)	(...) <i>then he <b>slipped to his feet</b> (...)</i> (ACEng 74)
<i>Cichutko uchylił drzwi.</i> (ACPI 59)	<i>He opened the door <b>softly</b>.</i> (ACEng 77)
(...) <i>cichutko odpowiedział Mohammed.</i> (ACPI 121)	(...) <i>said Mohammed <b>calmly</b>.</i> (ACEng 160)
(...) <i>odparła dziewczyna cichutko.</i> (MNPI 185)	(...) <i>said Jazz <b>in a small voice</b>.</i> (MNEng 168)
<i>Cichutko zapukala.</i> (MNPI 257)	<i>She knocked <b>feebly</b> on the door.</i> (MNEng 238)

<i>cieniutkie popiskiwanie</i> (DKPI 16)	<i>the high-pitched tweeting</i> (DKEng 17)
<i>cieniutkie głosiki</i> (DKPI 20)	<i>high voices</i> (DKEng 20)
(...) <i>zabrział podniecony głosik panny Netty Pryce.</i> (ACPI 87)	<i>It was the eager voice of Miss Netta Price.</i> (ACEng 114)

Table 9. The meaning of reduced strength

The diminutive meaning presented in table 9 is the next example of the denotative meaning of diminutives. According to Taylor (see chapter 4.2.1.), the above-mentioned diminutive meaning is obtained from the core meaning ‘small’ through metaphorisation. Due to the use of a diminutive form, a change of denotation takes place, as diminutives indicate an objective change in the amount of strength used to perform a given activity. In this case the amount of strength is reduced (e.g. *cieniutkie głosiki*). Nevertheless, this change of denotation can be observed mostly in Polish, as in English in most cases it is expressed with the use of suitable lexis and not with the use of diminutive forms.

#### The meaning of reduced extent or intensity

Polish original version	English translated version
<i>zielonkawe linoleum</i> (ZMPI 19)	<i>greenish lino</i> (ZMEng 14)
<i>czerwonawa łuna</i> (ZMPI 181)	<i>reddish glow</i> (ZMEng 184)
<i>żółtawa koszula</i> (ZMPI 173)	<i>yellow shirt</i> (ZMEng 176)
<i>słodkawy zapach</i> (ZMPI 55)	<i>a smell</i> (ZMEng 51)
<i>cieniutkie nitki</i> (JIPI 130)	<i>fine threads</i> (JIEng 118)
<i>cieniutki golf</i> (ZMPI 220)	<i>thin polo neck</i> (ZMEng 226)
<i>Ola ciągnęła pomalutku wątek swych myśli.</i> (JIPI 106)	<i>(...) said Ola, ever so slowly unwinding the thread of her thoughts.</i> (JIEng 93)
<i>mała czarna</i> (ZMPI 92)	<i>a small black coffee</i> (ZMEng 90)
<i>małe espresso</i> (ZMPI 273)	<i>a small espresso</i> (ZMEng 283)

<i>mały tyk</i> (ZMPI 277)	<i>a small sip</i> (ZMEng 287)
<i>małe rysy</i> (ZMPI 308)	<i>little cracks</i> (ZMEng 319)
<i>resztką soku</i> (ZMPI 82)	<i>the dregs of juice</i> (ZMEng 80)
<i>resztką kawy</i> (ZMPI 143)	<i>the rest of the coffee</i> (ZMEng 144)
<i>soczek w kartoniku</i> (ZMPI 190)	<i>a fruit-juice carton</i> (ZMEng 194)
<i>mały kawałek drogi</i> (JIPI 96)	<i>the short stretch of road</i> (JIEng 83)
<i>mgielka</i> (JIPI 116)	<i>haze</i> (JIEng 104)
<i>dymek</i> (JIPI 174) (from a cigarette)	<i>thread of smoke</i> (JIEng 163)
<b>Polish translated version</b>	<b>English original version</b>
<i>małe usta</i> (MNPI 253)	<i>little mouth</i> (MNEng 234)
<i>małe czerwone usta</i> (MNPI 255)	<i>little red lips</i> (MNEng 236)
<i>Właściwie jest trochę tępawy.</i> (MNPI 366)	<i>He's a bit dull actually.</i> (MNEng 344)
<i>Może troszeczkę zraniłem twoje ego.</i> (MNPI 205)	<i>Perhaps your ego's a teensy bit hurt.</i> (MNEng 189)
<i>cieniutki papier</i> (ACPI 76)	<i>flimsy paper</i> (ACEng 99)
<i>wąziutkie siedzenie</i> (ACPI 100)	<i>the small width of the seats</i> (ACEng 131)
<i>Jeden z zębów miał leciutko ukruszony.</i> (MNPI 360)	<i>One of his teeth had a tiny chip in it.</i> (MNEng 338)
<i>Powolutku otworzył drzwi.</i> (ACPI 26)	<i>Inch by inch he opened the door.</i> (ACEng 34-35)
<i>Mała suma nie wystarczyłaby na to wszystko.</i> (JAPI 309)	<i>A small sum could not do all this.</i> (JAEng 233)
<i>W Meryton grupka się rozdzieliła.</i> (JAPI 37)	<i>In Meryton they parted.</i> (JAEng 28)

<i>plamka</i> (ACPI 97)	<i>bloodstain</i> (ACEng 127)
<i>żyłka</i> (MNPI 143)	<i>a blood vessel</i> (MNEng 128)
<i>włoski na przedramionach</i> (MNPI 255)	<i>hairs on forearms</i> (MNEng 236)
<i>stróżka mleka</i> (DKPI 70)	<i>the rest of the milk</i> (DKEng 61)
wodna <i>mgielka</i> (DKPI 96)	<i>clouds of spray</i> (DKEng 83)
<i>liścik</i> (ACPI 18)	<i>a note</i> (ACEng 25)
<i>strofka</i> (ACPI 87)	<i>lines</i> (ACEng 115)
<i>Pan Pyne wziął filiżankę i z zadowoleniem zaczął popijać małymi łykami.</i> (ACPI 105)	<i>Mr Parker Pyne took his cup and sipped appreciatively.</i> (ACEng 137)
<i>bilecik</i> (JAPI 34)	<i>a note</i> (JAEng 25)
<i>mała rzeczka</i> (JAPI 251)	<i>stream</i> (JAEng 187)
<i>Czuję, że do mnie pasuje. Mam chęć na małą wyprawę.</i> (DKPI 61)	<i>And that's exactly how I feel.</i> (DKEng 53)

Table 10. The meaning of reduced extent or intensity

The diminutive meaning presented in table 10 is the last example of the denotative meaning of diminutives. According to Taylor (see chapter 4.2.1.), the above-mentioned diminutive meaning is obtained from the core meaning ‘small’ through metaphorisation. Due to the use of a diminutive form, a change of denotation takes place, as diminutives indicate an objective change in the extent or intensity of a given phenomenon. In this case the extent (e.g. *mały łyk* – *a small sip*) or intensity (e.g. *czerwonawa luna* – *reddish glow*) of a particular phenomenon is reduced. As mentioned previously, this change of denotation can be observed mostly in Polish, as in English in most cases it is expressed with the use of suitable lexis and not with the use of diminutive forms. Nevertheless, in the case of Polish ‘adjectival diminutives’ such as *zielonkawe* or *czerwonawa*, the meaning of which can be described as approximating the quality denoted by the base-adjective (see chapter 3.1.) and which are obtained with the use of the suffix *-awy/a/e*, there are equivalent adjectives in English, formed with the use of the suffix *-ish* (e.g. *greenish* or *reddish*).

### The meaning of **approximation**

Polish original version	English translated version
<i>Jeszcze <b>momencik</b>.</i> (ZMPI 235)	<i>Just <b>a moment</b>.</i> (ZMEng 241)
<i><b>Momencik</b>, zaraz sprawdzę.</i> (ZMPI 282)	<i>Just <b>a moment</b>, I'll go and check.</i> (ZMEng 292)
<i>Brakowało pana mecenasa, który "wyskoczył na <b>minutkę</b> do kancelarii".</i> (ZMPI 245)	<i>There was no barrister, who had "nipped out to the office for <b>a moment</b>".</i> (ZMEng 252)
<i><b>Chwileczka</b> jeszcze.</i> (JIP1 72)	<i>Just <b>a moment</b>.</i> (JIEng 59)

Table 11. The meaning of approximation

The diminutive meaning presented in table 11 is the first example of the connotative meaning of diminutives, where the diminutive affectively indicates speaker's subjective attitude towards a given object. According to Taylor (see chapter 4.2.1.), the above-mentioned diminutive meaning is obtained from the core meaning 'small' through metonymic transfer. As stated before, in the case of the meaning of approximation, the exact value is unimportant, and the speaker excuses himself for not being precise. Diminutives of this type are restricted to expressions indicating duration, which the speaker feels free to exceed. What is worth noting is the fact that this meaning can be observed only in Polish, as there is no example of a diminutive used for this purpose in English.

### The meaning of **intensification**

Polish original version	English translated version
<i>każdy <b>najmniejszy szczegół</b></i> (ZMPI 320)	<i>every <b>last little detail</b></i> (ZMEng 332)
<i>(...) każdy ma swoje osobne, co go trzyma - a te <b>drobne rzeczki, male, niepozorne, składają się na jedną wielką rzecz.</b></i> (SWPI 24)	<i>(...) each has his private fish to fry. These <b>little fishes</b>, (...) so <b>small</b>, so unassuming, together form a shoal of vast extent.</i> (SWEng 35)
<i>Pamiętam ciebie zupełnie <b>malutką</b> (...)</i> (JIP1 53)	<i>I remember when you were <b>a very little girl</b> (...)</i> (JIEng 40)
<i><b>bledziutka sukienka</b></i> (JIP1 102)	<i><b>pale little dress</b></i> (JIEng 89)
<i><b>maleńka toaletka</b></i> (JIP1 105)	<i><b>little dressing table</b></i> (JIEng 92)



<i>ciasny malutki kaftaniczek</i> (JIPI 125)	<i>a small, tight-fitting jacket</i> (JIEng 113)
<i>Folwarczek był malutki</i> (...) (JIPI 41)	<i>Their farm was tiny</i> (...) (JIEng 29)
<i>każde słówko</i> (ZMPI 23)	<i>every single word</i> (ZMEng 17)
<i>Tyle zapłacił, to zje wszystko do ostatniego okruszka.</i> (ZMPI 30)	<i>He'd paid enough – he was going to eat every last crumb of it.</i> (ZMEng 26)
<i>nowiuteńki apartamentowiec</i> (ZMPI 60)	<i>a brand-new apartment block</i> (ZMEng 57)
<i>czyściutko</i> (ZMPI 236)	<i>nice and clean</i> (ZMEng 242)
<i>Przy samiuśkim koniu stałem.</i> (SWPI 117)	<i>I stood beside that horse an' all.</i> (SWEng 119)
<i>Kokietowała go raczej Jola, młodziutka wówczas, szesnastoletnia i prześliczna panna.</i> (JIPI 35)	<i>Rather, it was Jola, then a dazzling young sixteen-year-old, who had paid him court.</i> (JIEng 24)
<i>Ola usiadła w kąciku</i> (...) (JIPI 105)	<i>Ola sat down in a nook</i> (...) (JIEng 92)
<i>Taki świat a tutaj bliziutko.</i> (JIPI 106)	<i>It's such a long way, and it's nice and close here.</i> (JIEng 93)
<i>Dziewczynka (...) siedziała (...) w kąciku za łóżkiem.</i> (JIPI 110)	<i>She (...) were sitting (...) in a corner behind the bed.</i> (JIEng 98)
<i>niebo bez chmurki</i> (JIPI 155)	<i>the sky had been cloudless</i> (JIEng 144)
<i>(...) duszy czystej jak śnieżek, co świeżo przyprószy</i> (...) (AFSPI 91)	<i>(...) heart – pure as fresh-sprinkled snow</i> (...) (AFSEng 167)
<i>Za koniuszek</i> ... (AFSPI 94)	<i>Pull the ends</i> ... (AFSEng 169)
<b>Polish translated version</b>	<b>English original version</b>
<i>Widać tutaj maleńki ślad.</i> (ACPI 97)	<i>You can just see the tiny puncture.</i> (ACEng 127)
<i>Gdy producent wykonał pasaż, cofając się na paluszkach w stylu Scooby'ego Doo</i> (...) MNPI 45-46)	<i>As Matt Jenkins did a scene-hogging Scoobydoo-tiptoe to the front corner of the room</i> (MNEng 36)

<i>chudziutkie tułowia</i> (DKPI 23)	<i>skinny bodies</i> (DKEng 22)
<i>nowiutkie filiżanki</i> (DKPI 41)	<i>brand-new cups</i> (DKEng 37)
<i>nowiutki ekspres do parzenia kawy i herbaty</i> (DKPI 52)	<i>the gleaming new tea and coffee machine</i> (DKEng 46)
<i>świeżutki biały dres</i> (MNPI 80)	<i>a fresh white tracksuit</i> (MNEng 68)
<i>tłuściutki mąż</i> (MNPI 92)	<i>porcine husband</i> (MNEng 79)
<i>Co za pyszny figiel, żeby pojechać rano i do tej chwili ani słówkiem o niczym nie pisać!</i> (JAPI 10)	<i>And it is such a good joke, too, that you should have gone this morning and never said a word about it till now.</i> (JAEng 8)
<i>Dlatego też Jane powinna wykorzystać każde pół godzinki, kiedy nadarza się okazja, by przykuć jego uwagę.</i> (JAPI 25)	<i>Jane should therefore make the most of every half-hour in which she can command his attention.</i> (JAEng 19)
<i>Szybciutko, Jane, powiedz nam szybciutko, moje serce!</i> (JAPI 34)	<i>Well, Jane, make haste and tell us; make haste, my love.</i> (JAEng 26)
<i>Nie powiedziałaś mi ani słówka!</i> (JAPI 69)	<i>Why, Jane – you never dropt a word of this!</i> (JAEng 50)
<i>(...) przycupnęła na brzeżku krzeselka (...)</i> (JAPI 171)	<i>(...) sat on the edge of her chair (...)</i> (JAEng 126)
<i>pończochy cieniutkie niczym pajęczyna</i> (ACPI 31)	<i>the cobweb stockings</i> (ACEng 41)

Table 12. The meaning of intensification

The diminutive meaning presented in table 12 is the next example of the connotative meaning of diminutives, where the diminutive affectively indicates speaker's subjective attitude towards a given object, informs about his/her tendency to exaggerate or underlines a given way of speaking. According to Taylor (see chapter 4.2.1.), the above-mentioned diminutive meaning is obtained from the core meaning 'small' through metonymic transfer. As stated before, in the case of the meaning of intensification, the centre of an entity is necessarily of smaller dimensions than the entity in its totality. Therefore, the diminutive denotes the very essence of a thing (e.g. *przycupnęła na brzeżku krzeselka* – meaning the very edge of the chair or *bledziutka sukienka* – meaning a very pale dress). It is worth underlining the fact that in Polish, with the use of different diminutive suffixes, diminutive forms may be employed to express two opposing meanings, e.g. the meaning of intensification (with the suffix *-utki*) and

the meaning of reduced intensity presented in table 10 (with the suffix *-awy*). As was observed in the case of the meaning of approximation, the meaning of intensification is applied most often in Polish, as in English in most cases it is expressed with the use of suitable lexis and not with the use of diminutive forms<sup>31</sup>.

#### The meaning of **non-importance/mitigation**

Polish original version	English translated version
<i>Jedna mnie tu zwiiodła <b>chmurka</b>.</i> (SWPl 31)	<i>A <b>little cloudlet</b> helped me steer.</i> (SWEng 41)
<i><b>Mało szkoda</b>, krótki żal.</i> (SWPl 142)	<i><b>Little damage</b>, brief regret!</i> (SWEng 140)
<i>(...) to tylko polana, na której chata Maryjki jest <b>wysepką</b>.</i> (JlPl 121)	<i>(...) it was just a clearing, with Maryjka's cottage as <b>a little island</b> in the middle.</i> (JlEng 109)
<i><b>mała uwaga</b></i> (ZMPl 49)	<i><b>a small comment</b></i> (ZMEng 45)
<i>(...) żeby miał <b>kąt</b> (...) <b>maleńki</b> (...)</i> (SWPl 147)	<i>A private <b>corner</b> (...) some <b>tiny spot</b> (...)</i> (SWEng 144)
<i><b>szklaneczka whisky</b></i> (ZMPl 132)	<i><b>a glass of whisky</b></i> (ZMEng 132)
<i><b>małe przyzwyczajenia</b></i> (ZMPl 273)	<i><b>a minor habit</b></i> (ZMEng 283)
<i>(...) do wozu się <b>koniki</b> zaprzągnie (...) i wszystko.</i> (132)	<i>We'd harness <b>horses</b> to our coach (...) and all.</i> (SWEng 132)
<i>Tak z nudy (...) bywam wiele; (...) <b>partyjka</b>, <b>kolacyjka</b> (...)</i> (SWPl 140)	<i>When life's a bore (...) I make quite sure I have (...) <b>games of whist and meals</b> (...)</i> (SWEng 138)
<i>Wszystko to do pewnego stopnia było tej pogardy i antypatii <b>leciutkim</b> wyrazem i pokrywką.</i> (JlPl 50)	<i>All this was to some extent <b>a thinly veiled</b> expression of that old contempt and antipathy.</i> (JlEng 38)
<i>To tylko taki majowy <b>deszczyk</b>.</i> (JlPl 106)	<i>It's just a May <b>shower</b>.</i> (JlEng 93)
<i>z <b>leciutką</b> pogardą</i> (JlPl 125)	<i>with <b>a touch</b> of scorn</i> (JlEng 114)

<sup>31</sup> If a diminutive form is used in English, usually it is an analytic diminutive with *little*, which emphasizes the emotional function of this adjective.

<i>prosta melodyjka</i> (JIP1 156)	<i>simple tune</i> (JIEng 145)
<i>Przy tym zawzięte jak kogucik młody.</i> (AFSP1 90)	<i>Cocksure, pig-headed, certain she knows best.</i> (AFSEng 165)
<i>Dzik to dziki, lew to śmiały, w moim ręku – jak owieczka...</i> (AFZP1 14)	<i>Wild as a boar? (...) They're meek as new-born lambs (...)</i> (AFZEng 21)
<i>(...) bóg-kobieta, lecz w zazdrości diablík mały (...)</i> (AFZP1 21)	<i>My lady – female divinity – though devilish jealous (...)</i> (AFZEng 26)
<b>Polish translated version</b>	<b>English original version</b>
<i>To taki mały prezencik.</i> (ACPI 13)	<i>A little present.</i> (ACEng 17)
<i>Ja za to opowiem pani krótką historyjkę.</i> (ACPI 38)	<i>I want to tell you a little story, Mrs St John.</i> (ACEng 50)
<i>(...) więc pan dokłada mały szczegół własnego pomysłu o przecieku w wydziale Henslera.</i> (ACPI 98)	<i>(...) and you add a damaging little invention of your own about a leakage in Hensley's department.</i> (ACEng 129)
- <i>Ach, znalazł pan coś, pułkowniku?</i> - <i>Tylko mały kamyczek.</i> (ACPI 116)	- <i>Ah, you have fund something, colonel?</i> - <i>Only a little pebble.</i> (ACEng 153)
<i>ciekawe, codzienne szczególiki z życia Greków</i> (ACPI 134)	<i>interesting, friendly little details about the Greek</i> (ACEng 177)
<i>Uśmieszek, odkaszlnięcie.</i> (MNPI 315)	<i>A little smile, a little cough.</i> (MNEng 295)
<i>Odniosłem wrażenie, że myśl ta spodobała się mej patronce, a rozumie pani, jak szczęśliwy jestem, gdy nadarzy mi się okazja powiedzenia jakiegoś małego komplementiku, tak chętnie przyjmowanego przez damy.</i> (JAPI 76-77)	<i>Her ladyship seemed pleased with the idea; and you may imagine that I am happy on every occasion to offer those little delicate compliments which are always acceptable to ladies.</i> (JAEng 55)
<i>To takie małe drobiazgi, które sprawiają lady Katarzynie przyjemność (...)</i> (JAPI 77)	<i>These are the kind of little things which please her ladyship (...)</i> (JAEng 55)
<i>mała rozmówka</i> (JAPI 125)	<i>a little conversation</i> (JAEng 91)
<i>Mała broń, ale skuteczna.</i> (ACPI 55)	<i>A small weapon but efficacious.</i> (ACEng 72)
<i>(...) z nadzieją, że ta załapie się na jakąś rolę.</i> (MNPI 15)	<i>(...) to see if she could get herself a small part.</i> (MNEng 7)

<i>małe czasopismo</i> teatralne (MNPI 20)	<i>a small theatre magazine</i> (MNEng 12)
To była <i>mała produkcja</i> . (MNPI 192)	<i>It was just a small production.</i> (MNEng 176)
(...) mam tylko dwie <i>małe prośby</i> (...) (JAPI 123)	(...) <i>I have two small favours to request.</i> (JAEng 90)
Zajmuje nas teraz tylko <i>mały zakątek</i> hrabstwa Derby. (JAPI 249)	<i>A small part of Derbyshire is all the present concern.</i> (JAEng 186)
<i>Och, nawiasem mówiąc, musisz wziąć na siebie drobniutkie zobowiązanie.</i> (MNPI 183)	<i>Oh, by the way, there is one tiny weeny stipulation.</i> (MNEng 167)
Będziesz musiała udzielić <i>maleńkiego wywiadziku</i> dla „Heralda”. (MNPI 184)	<i>You'll have to do an itsy bitsy interview for the 'Herald'.</i> (MNEng 167)
<i>Mała odmiana</i> każdemu dobrze robi. (ACPI 72)	<i>A bit of change does one good.</i> (ACEng 94)
Mniej więcej tak, jak <i>drobna rólka</i> (...) ciągnie się za klasycznym aktorem. (MNPI 90)	<i>Much in the same way that a bit-part (...) would follow a classic actor.</i> (MNEng 77)
Odnoszę wrażenie, że masz <i>leciutką</i> obsesję na punkcie tego człowieka. (MNPI 207)	<i>You seem a bit obsessed with that man.</i> (MNEng 191)
Niech się <i>trochę</i> podenerwuje. (MNPI 235)	<i>Keep him on his toes a bit.</i> (MNEng 217)
To za <i>mała sprawa</i> jak dla gazet... (MNPI 280)	<i>It's not big enough for the tabloids...</i> (MNEng 259)
Marzyło mi się tylko <i>malutkie co nieco</i> . (DKPI 21)	<i>I was only thinking about it.</i> (DKEng 21)
<i>zadek</i> (DKPI 30)	<i>backside</i> (DKEng 29)
Niech mi pani pokaże ten <i>kuferek</i> . (ACPI 23)	<i>Show me this chest of your father's.</i> (ACEng 31)

(...) a moja <b>opowiadka</b> o pani St John wydawałaby się bardzo grubymi nićmi szyta. (ACPI 39)	(...) my <b>story</b> of a Mrs St John would seem feeble in the extreme. (ACEng 51)
<b>opowiadki</b> o ludziach z towarzystwa (ACPI 108)	<b>the chatter</b> of Mayfair (ACEng 142)
<b>aktorski świątek</b> (MNPI 82)	<b>lurvies</b> (MNEng 70)
Ogródek, w którym stoi mój skromny <b>domek</b> (...) (JAPI 76)	The garden in which stands my humble <b>abode</b> (...) (JAEng 54)
uboga <b>chatka</b> (JAPI 165)	humble <b>abode</b> (JAEng 122)
Wiemy, jak niewiele ponęt ma skromna nasza <b>chatynka</b> . (JAPI 224)	We know how little there is to tempt anyone to our humble <b>abode</b> . (JAEng 167)
skromny rodzinny <b>obiadek</b> (JAPI 114)	a family <b>dinner</b> (JAEng 83)
(...) zaszczyci cię <b>chwilką</b> uwagi. (JAPI 166)	(...) you will be honoured with <b>some portion</b> of her notice (...) (JAEng 124)
Czy to wszystko nonsens, czy też jest w tym <b>ziarnko</b> prawdy? (ACPI 6)	Was this nonsense, or could it, perhaps be true? (ACEng 8)

Table 13. The meaning of non-importance/mitigation

The diminutive meaning presented in table 13 is the next example of the connotative meaning of diminutives, where the diminutive affectively indicates speaker's subjective attitude towards a given object. According to Taylor (see chapter 4.2.1.), the above-mentioned diminutive meaning is obtained from the core meaning 'small' through metonymic transfer. In the case of the meaning of non-importance, it is the dismissive sense of a diminutive, as sometimes small things are treated as the ones of little importance (e.g. *małe czasopismo teatralne* - a *small theatre magazine*). In the case of the meaning of mitigation, the use of a diminutive form aims at reducing the severity, seriousness or painfulness of something (e.g. *To tylko taki majowy deszczyk* - *It's just a May shower.*). What is worth underlining is the fact that diminutives are used to express the meaning of non-importance and/or mitigation both in Polish and English, even though they occur more frequently in Polish. Whereas in English diminutive forms are obtained only with the use of adjectives (*little* being the most commonly used one), in Polish they are formed either by using suffixes (such as *-ka*, *-ynka*, *-eczka*) or by applying adjectives (*mały/a/e* being the most commonly used one). In many cases, moreover, double or even multiple diminutives are introduced (e.g. *mała rozmówka* or *maleńki*

wywiadzik). As stated in chapter 3.1., the main function of double/multiple diminutives is to enhance the emotional value of a particular diminutive form or to intensify its meaning.

The tables from 8 to 13 show that translation of Polish diminutives into English can be a challenging task. The translator has to employ various methods in order to render the meaning of Polish diminutives sufficiently. In some cases, nevertheless, there is no method introduced and, therefore, Polish diminutive remains untranslated, even though its meaning is significant (e.g. *cieniutki golf* – *thin polo neck*, *szklaneczka whisky* – *a glass of whisky*). Fortunately, translators managed to find solutions for many problematic issues, as they applied the following strategies:

- the use of analytic diminutives in English translation, e.g. *mała uwaga* – *a small comment*;
- the use of suitable lexis: a separate word which semantically constitutes a diminutive (e.g. *mgielka* – *haze*);
- the use of suitable lexis: an adjective semantically associated with the meaning of smallness, e.g. *owieczka* – *new-born lambs*);
- the use of suitable lexis: an adverb which expresses the meaning of Polish diminutive (e.g. *spotkać się na chwilkę* – *meet briefly*) or intensifies English meaning (e.g. *cichutko grać* – *play very quietly*);
- the use of suitable lexis: a verb which expresses the meaning of Polish diminutive, e.g. *a jak kto po cichuteńku powie* – *yet someone only needs to gasp*;
- the use of suitable lexis: a noun which expresses the meaning of Polish diminutive, e.g. *z leciutką pogardą* – *with a touch of scorn*;
- the use of suitable lexis: a word which intensifies English meaning, e.g. *każde słówko* – *every single word*, *nowiuteńki* – *a brand-new*;
- the use of an adjective with the suffix *-ish*, e.g. *czerwonawa luna* – *reddish glow*;
- exchange of Polish diminutive forms for more suitable elements in the target text, e.g. *czyściutko* – *nice and clean*, *bliziutko* – *nice and close*;
- reliance on the context, e.g. *Jeszcze momencik.* – *Just a moment.*

As far as translation of English diminutives is concerned, the translators managed to render the meanings of all diminutive forms in Polish translations. Both analytic and synthetic formation was introduced. Sometimes the translators employed double/multiple diminutives in places where in the original version there is a single diminutive used (e.g. *A little present.* – *To taki mały prezencik.*). It was a common practice to attach diminutive suffixes to nouns which in the original version are not diminutivized in any way (e.g. *a family dinner* –

*rodzinny obiadek*). The tables show also some examples of adding new words (in this case – diminutives) to the translated version in places where in the original version there is no such noun or its diminutive form (e.g. *I was only thinking about it.* – *Marzyło mi się tylko **malutkie co nieco***). What is even more, in many cases the translators modified their versions in order to make it possible to apply a diminutive form, even though it could change the original meaning of a particular sentence (e.g. *luvviés – aktorski świątek*). To sum up, it can be stated that the use of diminutives in Polish translations of English texts is not only an example of domestication but also explicitation, as the translators made explicit the information that was implicit in the original version.

#### The meaning of **affection/tenderness/endearament**

Polish original version	English translated version
<i>Mamo, wiesz, ile razy wygrałam z <b>tatą</b> w chińczyka?</i> (ZMPI 57)	<i>Mummy, do you know how many times I beat <b>Daddy</b> at ludo?</i> (ZMEng 53)
<i>Tatusiu, zrobiłam to dla ciebie.</i> (ZMPI 75)	<i>Daddy, I did it for you.</i> (ZMEng 73)
<i>(...) pomówię z <b>matusią</b> (...)</i> (SWPI 13)	<i>(...) I'd have a word with <b>mum</b> (...)</i> (SWEng 26)
<i>Matusiu, jeszcze ino w kółko raz.</i> (SWPI 64)	<i>Oh, <b>mummy</b>, please! One more dance and then I'll go.</i> (SWEng 72)
<i>Nie, nie póde, <b>matusiu</b>.</i> (SWPI 64)	<i>No, please, <b>mama</b>! I can't go yet!</i> (SWEng 72)
<i>(...) muse widzieć cepiny, <b>matusieńku, matusiu</b>, ino dziś, ino dziś.</i> (SWPI 64)	<i>Please, <b>ma</b>, please – do let me stay! Just this once – today's the day!</i> (SWEng 72)
<i>Tatuś sie Weselem cieszą.</i> (SWPI 142)	<i>Are you enjoying it, <b>Papa</b>?</i> (SWEng 140)
<i>Kotek</i> (ZMPI 93) (about a wife)	<i>Kitten</i> (ZMEng 91)
<i>Dzieciątko, które rączkę ku błogosławieniu wzniosło</i> (SWPI 8)	<i>the <b>Holy Child</b>, whose <b>hand</b> is raised in blessing</i> (SWEng 21)
<i>Odpochnijze haw, <b>Wojtecku</b>.</i> (SWPI 67)	<i><b>Wojtek</b>, love, come take a rest.</i> (SWEng 74)
<i>Helcia</i> (ZMPI 180)	<i>Helka</i> (ZMEng 183)



<i>Kamilku, będziemy kochali cię wiecznie.</i> (ZMPI 200)	<i>Dearest Kamil, we will love you for ever.</i> (ZMEng 205)
<i>małe ciało</i> (ZMPI 179)	<i>small body</i> (ZMEng 182)
<i>Proszę nie zwracać uwagi. Jest jeszcze malutka.</i> (ZMPI 232)	<i>Please take no notice. She's still little.</i> (ZMEng 238)
<i>Obok niej, w wózek przykrytym gazą, spał jej synek.</i> (JIP1 48)	<i>Beside her in a gauze-fronted pram her little son was sleeping.</i> (JIEng 36)
<i>(...) a Malina idzie malutka, malutka (...)</i> (JIP1 177)	<i>(...) while Malina was a tiny little figure (...)</i> (JIEng 167)
<i>Jak Hela miała trzy latka i zachorowała na zakażenie krwi. Jak leżała ledwo żywa (...) – blade do przezroczystości, wychudzone ciało podłączone do kroplówki. (...) Ledwo żywy pobiegł do sali, w której leżała malutka.</i> (ZMPI 95)	<i>How when Helka was three years old she'd fallen ill with a blood infection. How she'd lain (...), barely alive, her thin little body pale to the point of transparency, hooked up to a drip. (...) Barely conscious, he'd run into the ward where the little one was lying.</i> (ZMEng 93)
<i>Czy w takim razie umyjesz teraz ząbki (...)?</i> (ZMPI 97)	<i>In that case will you go and brush your teeth now (...)?</i> (ZMEng 96)
<i>(...) pobiegł na parking, pewien, że jego ukochana cytrynka stoi w płomieniach (...)</i> (ZMPI 185)	<i>(he) ran to the car park, sure his beloved Citroën had gone up in flames (...)</i> (ZMEng 189)
<i>białe włoski Oli</i> (JIP1 113)	<i>Ola's flaxen hair</i> (JIEng 101)
<i>Niechaj lubym śpiew szelestem w lube, drogie uszko wpadnie.</i> (AFZPI 19)	<i>A song! Let music's soothing tone the loved one's gentle ear rejoice.</i> (AFZEng 25)
<i>Kochany chłopczyna!</i> (AFSP1 19)	<i>The darling boy!</i> (AFSEng 112)
<i>(...) synku drogi.</i> (AFZPI 77)	omitted in translation (AFZEng 65)
<b>Polish translated version</b>	<b>English original version</b>
<i>Dzieciątka, tatuś już wrócił.</i> (DKPI 20)	<i>Daddy's here.</i> (DKEng 20)

<i>(...) choć muszę jednak dodać jakieś dobre słówko za moją małą Lizzy. (JAPI 7)</i>	<i>(...) though I must throw in a good <b>word</b> for my <b>little Lizzy</b>. (JAEng 6)</i>
<i>Lidia była dla niego niezmiernie czuła. Ciągle, przy każdej sposobności, nazywała go <b>drogim mężulkiem</b>. (JAPI 323)</i>	<i>Lydia was exceedingly fond of him. He was her <b>dear Wickham</b> on every occasion. (JAEng 244)</i>
<i>Fredo, <b>aniolku</b> mój, czy mogłabyś... (ACPI 28)</i>	<i>Freda – <b>darling angel</b> – could you ever – I mean (...) (ACEng 38)</i>
<i>No właśnie, <b>kotku</b>. (ACPI 134)</i>	<i>That's right, <b>pet</b>. (ACEng 176)</i>
<i>Willard, jej <b>chłopczyk</b>, jej <b>kotek</b>, ten delikatny, poważny Willard... (ACPI 136)</i>	<i>Willard, her <b>boy</b>, her <b>pet</b>, her delicate, serious Willard. (ACEng 178)</i>
<i>Kiedy tylko odzyskam mojego <b>chłopczykę</b>, naślę na nich całą policję z okolicy (...) (ACPI 139)</i>	<i>The very minute I get my <b>boy</b> back, Mr Pyne, I shall set the whole police of the neighbourhood on them (...) (ACEng 183)</i>
<i>Chodził zaledwie od paru miesięcy i Jasmin wciąż nie mogła opanować podniecenia, widząc go stojącego na tłustych <b>nóżkach</b>. (MNPI 72)</i>	<i>He'd only been walking for few months and it still gave Jazz jolt of excitement to see him upright on his two fat <b>legs</b>. (MNEng 61)</i>
<i>Kiedy się jej <b>ubranko</b> nie podoba, to przesikuje je na wylot. (MNPI 228)</i>	<i>She goes through <b>clothes</b> like they're going out of fashion. (MNEng 211)</i>
<i>Obiecuję ci, <b>duszko</b>, że jeśli ich się zjawi dwudziestu, złożę wizytę wszystkim, co do jednego. (JAPI 7)</i>	<i>Depend upon it, my <b>dear</b>, that when there are twenty, I will visit them all. (JAEng 7)</i>
<i>(...) a on był zawsze najśłodszym, najszlachetniejszym <b>chłopaczkiem</b> na świecie. (JAPI 254)</i>	<i>(...) and he was always the sweetest-tempered, most generous-hearted <b>boy</b> in the world. (JAEng 190)</i>
<i>Zbyt wiele żądasz ode mnie, moja <b>duszko</b>. (JAPI 6)</i>	<i>It is more than I engage for, I assure you. (JAEng 6)</i>

Table 14. The meaning of affection/tenderness/endearment

The diminutive meaning presented in table 14 is the next example of the connotative meaning of diminutives, where the diminutive affectively indicates speaker's subjective attitude

towards a given object. This type of meaning is the appreciative one. According to Taylor (see chapter 4.2.1.), the above-mentioned diminutive meaning is obtained from the core meaning ‘small’ through metonymic transfer. Diminutives expressing the meaning of affection, tenderness and/or endearment are most often used in personal names (e.g. *Helcia*), kinship terms (e.g. *mężulek* or *mummy*) and descriptors, such as pet names (e.g. *kotek*) and terms of endearment (e.g. *aniołek* or *duszcza*). Moreover, they are most frequently applied while talking to or about a child (e.g. *Czy w takim razie umyjesz teraz **zabki**?* or *Kiedy tylko odzyskam mojego **chłopczynę**, naślę na nich całą policję z okolicy.*). Apart from that, diminutive forms are used by children (e.g. ***Mummy**, do you know how many times I beat **Daddy** at ludo?*), in conversation between a husband/man and a wife/woman (e.g. ***Fredo**, **aniołku** mój, czy mogłabyś...*) or while referring to a beloved car (*pobiegł na parking, pewien, że jego ukochana **cytrynka** stoi w płomieniach*). Although diminutives used to express the meaning of affection, tenderness and/or endearment are mostly used in Polish, there are some examples of applying them in English as well (e.g. ***Mummy**, do you know how many times I beat **Daddy** at ludo?*).

#### The meaning of familiarity/friendliness

Polish original version	English translated version
<i>Dzięki, <b>Ewuniu</b>.</i> (ZMP1 50)	<i>Thanks, <b>Ewa</b>.</i> (ZMEng 46)
<i><b>Monia</b> mówiła mi (...)</i> (ZMP1 251)	<i><b>Monika</b> told me (...)</i> (ZMEng 258)
<i>(...) i ty, i <b>Hanusia</b>, i ja (...)</i> (SWP1 141)	<i>You (...) with <b>Hanna</b> and myself (...)</i> (SWEng 139)
<i><b>Wiktorku</b> (...) jak dawno pan tu pracuje?</i> (JIP1 25)	<i><b>Wiktor, dear boy</b> (...) How long have you been working here?</i> (JIEng 12)
<i>(...) za chwilę zjawi się w progu <b>malutka Tunia</b> i zawoła: “Pan Wiktor przyjechał!”</i> (JIP1 29)	<i>(...) at any moment <b>little Tunia</b> would appear in the doorway and cry out, ‘It’s Wiktor!’</i> (JIEng 17)
<i><b>Jasiek, drużba, słuchaj, bratku</b> (...)</i> (SWP1 55)	<i><b>Jasiek, fellow-groomsman – here!</b></i> (SWEng 63)
<i>Ale <b>tatuś</b> nie lubi listów <b>stryjcia</b>.</i> (JIP1 107)	<i>But <b>Daddy</b> doesn’t like your letters, <b>Uncle</b>.</i> (JIEng 94)

<i>Wujciu, wujciu, wujcio mi głowę o jaki pień rozbije. (JIPi 138)</i>	<i>Uncle, Uncle, you'll bash my head against a tree! (JIEng 127)</i>
<i>Jesteś małym karzełkiem – powiedział, cały czas z uśmiechem (...) i spróbował ją pogłaskać. (ZMPI 233)</i>	<i>You are a little midget, he said, smiling the while, and tried to stroke her. (ZMEng 239)</i>
<i>Z tapczanu podniósł się malutki mężczyzna o drobnej twarzy. (ZMPI 234)</i>	<i>A very small man with a tiny face got up from the couch. (ZMEng 240)</i>
<i>To sprawka pani wdzięku, pani jest bardzo miła, pani tak główkę schyliła... (SWPI 11)</i>	<i>It's your grace and charm that prompted what I said... I love the way you bow your head! (SWEng 24)</i>
<i>Wstań, serdeńko, i chodź ze mną. (AFZPI 125)</i>	<i>Rise, my son, and come with me! (AFZEng 98)</i>
<b>Polish translated version</b>	<b>English original version</b>
<i>Cześć, wujciu. (ACPI 123)</i>	<i>Hallo, Nunks. (ACEng 162)</i>
<i>Leż tylko spokojnie i zdrowiej, kochanieńka. (ACPI 68)</i>	<i>Just lie still and get well, my dear. (ACEng 89)</i>
<i>O, zjadłaś zupkę, kochanieńka. (ACPI 71)</i>	<i>Ah, you've drunk your soup, my dear. (ACEng 92)</i>
<i>Jadę do Gretna Green, a jeśli nie zgadniesz z kim, to jesteś gąska, bo na świecie jest tylko jeden mężczyzna, którego kocham, anioł prawdziwy. (JAPI 296)</i>	<i>I am going to Gretna Greek, and if you cannot guess with who, I shall think you a simpleton, for there is but one man in the world I love, and he is an angel. (JAEng 223)</i>
<i>Sympatyczny niski człowieczek obdarzył ją promiennym uśmiechem. (ACPI 136)</i>	<i>The pleasant little man beamed at her. (ACEng 179)</i>
<i>wiejska chatka (MNPI 56)</i>	<i>a little country cottage (MNEng 45)</i>

<i>syjamska kicia</i> (DKPI 5)	<i>the Siamese cat</i> (DKEng 7)
<i>czarny grubasek</i> (DKPI 11)	<i>the fat black cat</i> (DKEng 12)
<i>mały rudzielec</i> (DKPI 55)	<i>he</i> (DKEng 49)
<i>psotna koteczka</i> (DKPI 79)	<i>Mystery</i> (DKEng 69)
<i>okrągłutka kobieta</i> (ACPI 68)	<i>the plump woman</i> (ACEng 88)
<i>Jane jednak bardzo im się podobała (...), nazwały ją słodkim dziewczęciem (...)</i> (JAPI 19)	<i>But still they admired her and liked her, and pronounced her to be a sweet girl (...)</i> (JAEng 15-16)
<i>Pasuje do sytuacji. Wszystkie informacje są ukryte w jej rozumku. Sama nie wie, kim jest i skąd pochodzi.</i> (DKPI 60)	<i>It suits you perfectly because it's a mystery where you came from and it's a mystery who you are.</i> (DKEng 53)

Table 15. The meaning of familiarity/friendliness

The diminutive meaning presented in table 15 is the next example of the appreciative connotative meaning of diminutives, where the diminutive affectively indicates speaker's subjective attitude towards a given object. Diminutives expressing the meaning of familiarity and/or friendliness are most often used in personal names (e.g. *Ewunia*), kinship terms (e.g. *wujcio*) and descriptors, such as pet names (e.g. *gąska*) and terms of endearment (e.g. *serdeńko* or *kochanieńka*). They are applied in conversations between friends (e.g. *Dzięki, Ewuniu.*), between members of family (e.g. *Cześć, wujciu.*) or when talking about friendly people (e.g. *Sympatyczny niski człowieczek obdarzył ją promiennym uśmiechem.*) or animals (e.g. *czarny grubasek*). Nevertheless, diminutives expressing the meaning of familiarity and/or friendliness are mostly used in Polish, as there are few examples of their application in English (e.g. *The pleasant little man beamed at her.*).

The meaning of **intimacy**

Polish original version	English translated version
<i>Maryś, Maryś, narzeczona.</i> (SWPI 69)	<i>Mary, my betrothed.</i> (SWEng 76)
<i>(...) przytul mnie, Wojtecku, do siebie.</i> (SWPI 71)	<i>Wojtek, hug me to your chest.</i> (SWEng 78)

<i>Żono, słuchaj no, żonisia, pódź no, Hanuś!</i> (SWPI 112)	<i>Listen darling wife!</i> (SWEng 114)
<i>Przystaw gęby, żonisiu.</i> (SWPI 68)	<i>Say no more about it, love!</i> (SWEng 75)
<i>Ino, matuś, zaś nie swarzcie (...)</i> (SWPI 103)	<i>Let's not start to quarrel now!</i> (SWEng 106)
<i>A co, nie lubisz mojego tiszercika z misiem?</i> (ZMPI 134)	<i>Don't you like my teddy-bear T-shirt?</i> (ZMEng 135)
<i>Chciałem coś powiedzieć czule, chciałem zapukać w serduszko.</i> (SWPI 19)	<i>My words were just a tender call – a gentle tap to wake your heart.</i> (SWEng 31)
<i>Buciki mom troche ciasne.</i> (SWPI 23)	<i>My boots are pinching.</i> (SWEng 34)
<i>Skońże ku mnie główkę, skłoń.</i> (SWPI 70)	<i>Turn your head towards me, sweet!</i> (SWEng 77)
<i>Daj mi, luby, kanareczka.</i> (AFZPI 62)	<i>What I'd like is a canary!</i> (AFZEng 55)
<b>Polish translated version</b>	<b>English original version</b>
<i>Wezmę prysznic, kotku!</i> (MNPI 171)	<i>I'm just having a shower, pussycat!</i> (MNEng 155)

Table 16. The meaning of intimacy

The diminutive meaning presented in table 16 is the next example of the appreciative connotative meaning of diminutives, where the diminutive affectively indicates speaker's subjective attitude towards a given object. Diminutives expressing the meaning of intimacy are most often used in personal names (e.g. *Maryś*), kinship terms (e.g. *żonisia*) and descriptors, such as pet names (e.g. *kotek*). In all cases they are applied in conversations between a husband/man and a wife/woman (e.g. *Żono, słuchaj no, żonisia, pódź no, Hanuś!* or *A co, nie lubisz mojego tiszercika z misiem?*) Nevertheless, diminutives expressing the meaning of intimacy are only used in Polish, as there are no examples of their application in English.

## The meaning of **informality**

<b>Polish original version</b>	<b>English translated version</b>
<i>Ach, cioteczko, ciotusięńko!</i> <i>Co, serdecńko?</i> (SWPI 11)	<i>Dearest Auntie!</i> <i>Why, what ails you, precious pearl?</i> (SWEng 25)
<i>Tatusiowi powiadaj, że tu gości będzie miał.</i> (SWPI 66)	<i>Tell your daddy this, my dear: guests are coming (...)</i> (SWEng 73)
<i>Panięńka se ta wesola.</i> (SWPI 14)	<i>You're a one for larks.</i> (SWEng 27)
<i>Górka, czyli pięćterko, składała się z korytarza i czterech jednakowych pokoi.</i> (JIPI 36)	<i>The upper floor consisted of four identical rooms along a corridor.</i> (JIEng 24)
<i>(...) siekąc cebulkę do obiadu.</i> (JIPI 149)	<i>(...) as she chopped onions for lunch.</i> (JIEng 138)
<i>Z drugiej strony widać było uroczy profil o lekko zadartym nosku oraz drobne złote loki okalające uszko przypominające muszelkę.</i> (ACPI 76) (about a woman)	<i>The other side revealed a charming tip-tilted profile and little golden curls clustering over a shell-like ear.</i> (ACEng 99)
<b>Polish translated version</b>	<b>English original version</b>
<i>Zdrówko, mała.</i> (MNPI 62)	<i>Cheers, babe.</i> (MNEng 51)

Table 17. The meaning of informality

The diminutive meaning presented in table 17 is the next example of the appreciative connotative meaning of diminutives, where the diminutive affectively indicates speaker's subjective attitude towards a given object. The examples illustrating the use of diminutive forms to express the meaning of informality emphasize the fact that the context of a given situation disambiguates the interpretation of the connotation of a given diminutive, depending on the relationship between the characters in a novel. The addressee must infer, via implicature and on the basis of other information, an ironic, sympathetic, loving or jocular intention of the speaker (Dressler and Barbaresi, 1994: 23), e.g. *Zdrówko, mała.* – *Cheers, babe.* – in a conversation between two acquaintances from work a given diminutive form does not refer to the meaning of affection, intimacy or irony but rather underlines the informal tone

of an expression. Diminutives expressing the meaning of informality are most often used in kinship terms (e.g. *cioteczko* or *Auntie*), descriptors, such as terms of endearment (e.g. *serdeńko*), and greetings (e.g. *Zdrówko, mała.*). In most cases they are applied in order to emphasize the colloquial style of writing or speaking (e.g. *Górka, czyli pięterko, składała się z korytarza i czterech jednakowych pokoi.*) Nevertheless, diminutives expressing the meaning of informality are mostly used in Polish, as there are few examples of their application in English (e.g. *Auntie*).

The meaning of **sympathy/pity/compassion/care/self-pity**

Polish original version	English translated version
<i>Nie płacz, <b>Jadziu</b> (...)</i> (ZMPI 145)	<i>Don't cry, <b>Jadzia</b> (...)</i> (ZMEng 146)
<i>Gdzież <b>Hanusia</b>? <b>Hanuś!</b></i> (SWPI 149)	<i><b>Hannah, dear!</b> Where are you?</i> (SWEng 145)
<i>Ułożył <b>Oleńkę</b> w ramionach jak w kołysce (...)</i> (JIPI 138)	<i>He cradled <b>Ola</b> in his arms (...)</i> (JIEng 126)
<i>(...) <b>mała Ola</b> siedziała <b>cichutka</b> (...)</i> (JIPI 172)	<i>(...) <b>little Ola</b> sat <b>very quietly</b> (...)</i> (JIEng 162)
<i><b>Guciu, Guciuniu,</b> (...) bądź też rozsądny.</i> (AFSPI 40)	<i><b>Gustave!</b> Think before you speak! Be sensible (...)</i> (AFSEng 127)
<i>Biedny <b>Gustawek!</b> Wszyscy bij zabij na niego.</i> (AFSPI 43)	<i>Poor <b>boy!</b> They've really got it in for you!</i> (AFSEng 130)
<i>No, no, <b>Guciu, Guciuniu mój!</b></i> (AFSPI 89)	<i>How, now, <b>Gustave!</b> Don't take offence!</i> (AFSEng 165)
<i>Tak, <b>tatusiu,</b> razem ci pomożemy.</i> (ZMPI 75)	<i>Yes, <b>Daddy,</b> we'll both help you.</i> (ZMEng 73)
<i>W centrum miasta (...) piorun zabił kobietę, która szła odebrać z przedszkola siedmioletnią <b>córeczkę.</b></i> (ZMPI 281)	<i>In a city-centre area (...), lightning killed a woman who was on her way to fetch her seven-year-old <b>daughter</b> from playschool.</i> (ZMEng 291)
<i>(...) jego najukochańsza na świecie córka została <b>sierotką.</b></i> (ZMPI 282)	<i>(...) his dearest darling daughter <b>had lost her mother.</b></i> (ZMEng 292)
<i>Zdradź go, zdradź, <b>moja duszko!</b></i> (AFSPI 86)	<i>Betray him!</i> (AFSEng 163)



Zobaczył, iż delikatna i ładna <b>kobiecina</b> przepłoszyła się (...) (JIPI 90)	He could see that this delicate, pretty <b>woman</b> was startled (...) (JIEng 77)
(...) powiedziała poważnie <b>malutka</b> . (JIPI 105)	(...) said <b>the little girl</b> solemnly. (JIEng 93)
W moim <b>domku</b> zimno mnie. (SWPI 68)	My <b>little house</b> is chill. (SWEng 75)
W przeciwieństwie do Wilka, Rożki był to <b>domek</b> bardzo skromny i skromnie prowadzony. (JIPI 41)	Compared with Wilko, Rożki was a very modest <b>little place</b> , and modestly run. (JIEng 29)
Nad grobem stał krzyż brzozowy (...), ale <b>mogilka</b> była zaniedbana. (JIPI 56)	Over the tomb stood a birchwood cross (...), but <b>the little grave</b> was neglected. (JIEng 43)
<b>chudziutka rączka</b> (JIPI 105)	<b>little paw</b> (JIEng 92)
<b>serduszko dziewczynki</b> (JIPI 137)	<b>the little girl's heart</b> (JIEng 125)
<b>chudziutkie rączyny</b> (JIPI 137)	<b>skinny little arms</b> (JIEng 126)
Włosy jej jasne sterczały jak <b>strączki</b> wokół <b>małej główki</b> . (JIPI 168)	Her blonde hair was sticking out like <b>ears of corn</b> around her <b>little head</b> . (JIEng 157)
(...) zamieni swoje budowane z mazołem przez tyle lat życie w <b>kupkę</b> dymiących zgliszcz. (ZMPI 257)	(he) would turn the life he'd toiled away at building all these years into <b>a heap</b> of steaming rubble. (ZMEng 264)
Pot oblewa całe <b>czółko</b> ; możesz się zaziębić wnet. (SWPI 25)	The sweat's just pouring from your <b>brow!</b> Take care! You'll catch a fearful chill. (SWEng 36)
W połowie kolacji, <b>cichutka</b> i potulna, wypłynęła z dalszych pokojów "mama". (JIPI 34)	Halfway through supper, meek and <b>quiet</b> , 'Mama' emerged from the back rooms. (JIEng 22)
To <b>nóżki</b> , to <b>główka dziewczynki</b> potrącały o liście (...) (JIPI 138)	Now <b>her feet</b> , now <b>her head</b> kept nudging the leaves (...) (JIEng 126)
Ona skromna, <b>raczka spiekła</b> . (AFZPI 48)	A modest soul, (...) <b>with fiery cheeks</b> (...) (AFZEng 45)
<b>Polish translated version</b>	<b>English original version</b>
Biednaś ty, moja <b>Lizy!</b> (JAPI 240)	Poor <b>little Lizy!</b> (JAEng 179)

<i>Myszę, że zawzięła się na biednego wujaszka</i> (...) (ACPI 131)	<i>I think she had a down on poor <b>little Nunks</b></i> (...) (ACEng 172)
<i>Nie możesz (...) żądać, by takie <b>dziewczątka</b></i> <i>miały rozum zarówno ojca, jak i matki.</i> (JAPI 34)	<i>(...) you must not expect such <b>girls</b> to have</i> <i>the sense of their father and mother.</i> (JAEEng 25)
<i>Biedna <b>mamusia</b> naprawdę cierpi i nie</i> <i>opuszcza swego pokoju.</i> (JAPI 280)	<i>My poor <b>mother</b> is really ill, and keeps her</i> <i>room.</i> (JAEEng 210)
<i>Nie martw się tym teraz, <b>maleńka.</b></i> (ACPI 27)	<i>Don't worry about that, <b>little girl.</b></i> (ACEng 37)
<i>Kotka wzruszyła <b>ramionkami.</b></i> (DKPI 60)	<i>The cat <b>shrugged.</b></i> (DKEng 52)
<i>(...) żeby uniknąć kolejnej katastrofy,</i> <i>podniosła Skrytkę, chwyciwszy ją pod <b>boczki.</b></i> (DKPI 73)	<i>Amy <b>grabbed</b> Mystery before he could get</i> <i>into more trouble.</i> (DKEng 64)
<i>Co się dzieje, <b>słoneczko?</b></i> (ACPI 124)	<i>What's the matter, <b>my sweet?</b></i> (ACEng 164)
<i>On jest taki biedny, zagubiony jak <b>mały</b></i> <i>chłopiec.</i> (ACPI 128)	<i>He is so pathetic, so <b>child-like.</b></i> (ACEng 169)
<i><b>Kruszynko?</b></i> (MNPI 175)	<i><b>Poppet?</b></i> (MNEng 159)
<i><b>Biedaczek,</b> tak desperacko pragnie być</i> <i>młody!</i> (ACPI 11)	<i><b>Poor George,</b> how terribly he wanted to be</i> <i>young!</i> (ACEng 14)
<i>A po co psuć nastrój <b>biedaczynie?</b></i> (ACPI 11)	<i>Why should he be upset, <b>poor thing?</b></i> (ACEng 15)
<i>Moja <b>biedulka.</b></i> (MNPI 232)	<i><b>Oh poor heart.</b></i> (MNEng 215)
<i><b>Bidulka.</b></i> (DKPI 50)	<i><b>Poor old thing.</b></i> (DKEng 44)
<i><b>wróbelek</b></i> (DKPI 11)	<i><b>the tiny sparrow</b></i> (DKEng 12)
<i><b>wróbelki</b></i> (DKPI 14)	<i><b>the sparrows</b></i> (DKEng 15)

Table 18. The meaning of sympathy/pity/compassion/care/self-pity

The diminutive meaning presented in table 18 is the next example of the appreciative connotative meaning of diminutives, where the diminutive affectively indicates speaker's subjective attitude towards a given object. Diminutives expressing the meaning of sympathy, pity, compassion, care and/or self-pity are most often used in personal names (e.g. *Oleńka* or *Gucio*), kinship terms (e.g. *mamusia*) and descriptors, such as terms of endearment (e.g. *słoneczko* or *kruszyńka*). They are employed in conversations between friends (e.g. *A po co psuć nastrój biedaczynie?*), between members of family (e.g. *Biedny Gustawek! Wszyscy bij zabij na niego.*) or when talking to or about a child (e.g. *Pot oblewa całe czółko; możesz się zaziębić wnet. or chudziutka rączka*). Diminutive forms expressing the above-mentioned meanings are used according to the context of a given situation (e.g. *Zobaczył, iż delikatna i ładna kobiecina przepłoszyła się*). In some cases diminutives are modified by adjectives such as *poor* in English or *biedny/a/e* in Polish, which intensifies positive evaluation (e.g. *Myślę, że zawzięła się na biednego wujaszka. or Poor little Lizzy!*) Although diminutives used to express the meaning of sympathy, pity, compassion, care and/or self-pity are mostly used in Polish, there are some examples of applying them in English as well (e.g. *skinny little arms*).

#### The meaning of **hospitality/politeness**

Polish original version	English translated version
<i>Panienska się nie zgniwiąją (...)</i> (SWPl 14)	<i>(...) please don't worry (...)</i> (SWEng 27)
<i>Cóż ta, gospośiu, na roli?</i> (SWPl 15)	<i>How's it going on your farm?</i> (SWEng 28)
<i>A tak, tak, proszę wujaszka...</i> (JIP1 44)	<i>Yes, yes, uncle...</i> (JIEng 32)
<i>W milczeniu dygnęła przed stryjaszkiem.</i> (JIP1 102)	<i>Silently, she curtsied to her uncle.</i> (JIEng 89)
<i>A, stryjaszek! Dzień dobry!</i> (AFSP1 10)	<i>Uncle! Good-day to you!</i> (AFSEng 106)
<i>Dzień dobry, panie prokuratorze, może papieroska?</i> (ZMP1 135)	<i>Good morning, Prosecutor, would you like a cigarette?</i> (ZMEng 136)

Polish translated version	English original version
<i>Kiedy pogoda się poprawi, chętnie zabiorę ciebie i twoją <b>rodzinkę</b> w rejs naszym jachtem.</i> (DKPl 103)	<i>I could take you and your <b>family</b> out sailing when the weather improves.</i> (DKEng 89)
<i>Oczywiście, sądzi, że część tej uprzejmości trzeba przypisać jego pokrewieństwu z miłymi <b>kuzyneczkami</b> (...)</i> (JAPl 84)	<i>Something, he supposed, might be attributed to his connection with <b>them</b> (...)</i> (JAEng 60)
<i>Pozwolę też sobie wykorzystać okazję i poprosić cię, <b>kuzyneczko</b> Elżbieto, o zarezerwowanie dla mnie dwóch pierwszych tańców.</i> (JAPl 98)	<i>And I take this opportunity of soliciting yours, <b>Miss Elizabeth</b>, for the two first dances especially.</i> (JAEng 71)
<i><b>Cioteczko</b> (...)</i> (JAPl 159)	<i>My dear <b>aunt</b> (...)</i> (JAEng 118)
<i>Droga moja <b>siostrzeniczko!</b></i> (JAPl 327)	<i>My dear <b>niece</b> (...)</i> (JAEng 246)
<i><b>Miętuszka?</b></i> (MNPl 30)	<i><b>Minto</b>, anyone?</i> (MNEng 21)

Table 19. The meaning of hospitality/politeness

The diminutive meaning presented in table 19 is the next example of the appreciative connotative meaning of diminutives, where the diminutive affectively indicates speaker's subjective attitude towards a given object. Diminutives expressing the meaning of hospitality and/or politeness are most often used in kinship terms (e.g. *kuzyneczko*), titles (e.g. *panienka*) and descriptors, such as functional terms (e.g. *gosposia*). They are applied in conversations between members of family (e.g. *A tak, tak, proszę wujaszka...*), in greetings (e.g. *A, stryjaszek! Dzień dobry!*), in offers (*Dzień dobry, panie prokuratorze, może papieroska?* or *Minto, anyone?*), and at the beginning of a letter (e.g. *Droga moja siostrzeniczko!*). Diminutive forms expressing the above-mentioned meanings are used according to the context of a given situation (e.g. *Pozwolę też sobie wykorzystać okazję i poprosić cię, kuzyneczko Elżbieto, o zarezerwowanie dla mnie dwóch pierwszych tańców.*). Nevertheless, diminutives expressing the meaning of hospitality and/or politeness are mostly used in Polish, as there is only one example of their application in English (*Minto, anyone?*).

The meaning of **joy/amusement/pleasure/playfulness**

<b>Polish original version</b>	<b>English translated version</b>
<i>Pani to taki kozaczek; jak zesiądzie z konika, jest smutny.</i> (SWPl 10)	<i>A little Cossack to the life – out of the saddle, you look sad!</i> (SWEng 24)
<i>Mały zakątek szczególnie ulubiony w swoim czasie przez Wiktora i Jolę (...)</i> (JlPl 67)	<i>A small nook (...) had been Wiktor's and Jola's favourite corner once upon a time.</i> (JlEng 54-55)
<i>obiad w rewelacyjnej greckiej knajpce</i> (ZMPl 37)	<i>lunch at a fabulous Greek restaurant</i> (Zeng 33)
<i>Grosik za twoje myśli, prokuratorze.</i> (ZMPl 256)	<i>A penny for your thoughts, Prosecutor.</i> (ZMEng 264)
<i>A w kółeczko...</i> (SWPl 14)	<i>Into the circle.</i> (SWEng 27)
<i>(...) tak podskocznie, tak mileńko (...)</i> (SWPl 37)	<i>(...) tenderly enlivening (...)</i> (SWEng 46)
<i>(...) postawimy se dwór modrzewiowy, brzózek przed oknami posadzę.</i> (SWPl 97)	<i>We'll have a house like this – a sturdy manor built of larch – and I'll plant birch-trees all around.</i> (SWEng 101)
<i>(...) ja wolę gaik spokojny (...)</i> (SWPl 146)	<i>(...) I prefer a peaceful glade (...)</i> (SWEng 144)
<i>Proszę, proszę, chwilkę w koło.</i> (SWPl 15)	<i>Come along, then! Join the round.</i> (SWEng 27)
<b>Polish translated version</b>	<b>English original version</b>
<i>Mo, złotko, właśnie dwukrotnie wysłałaś tę samą wiadomość.</i> (MNPl 61)	<i>Mo hon, you just sent me the same message twice.</i> (MNEng 50)
<i>(...) aż w końcu odmalował swojski obraz Londynu wieczorem, z (...) tłumami spieszącymi po pracy do domów, do</i>	<i>(...) and he came last to a homely description of London in the evening, with (...) the hurrying crowds going homeward after the</i>

czekających na nich <b>małych mieszkańek</b> , a zakończył ciepłym opisem życia angielskiej rodziny. (ACPI 106)	day's work and of <b>the little homes</b> awaiting them, and of the whole strange intimate pattern of English family life. (ACEng 139)
A przyjemny <b>mały bonus</b> byłby taki (...) (MNPI 40)	And, as a nice <b>little bonus</b> (...) (MNEng 30)
Miała w swym czarnym <b>notesiku</b> więcej nazwisk, niż można było znaleźć w <i>Who's Who</i> . (MNPI 66)	Her <b>little black book</b> now had more names in it than <i>Who's Who</i> . (MNEng 54-55)
Pozostali wybuchnęli śmiechem i dorzucili własne znaczące <b>żarciki</b> w rodzaju "ja też". (MNPI 107-108)	The others laughed and added meaningful <b>little quips</b> like 'me too'. (MNEng 94)
Fakt, że się o tym słyszało wcześniej, budzi dodatkowy <b>dreszczyk</b> (...) (ACPI 29)	Knowing about it beforehand gives it an extra <b>thrill</b> (...) (ACEng 39)
śmiesznie <b>mała chusteczka</b> (ACPI 32)	<b>an inadequate handkerchief</b> (ACEng 43)
Zagrać <b>rundkę</b> golfa czy tenisa. (ACPI 41)	I like <b>a round</b> of golf and <b>a good set</b> of tennis. (ACEng 54)
<b>ploteczki</b> z towarzystwa (ACPI 106)	<b>society gossip</b> (ACEng 139)
filmowe <b>nowinki</b> (ACPI 106)	<b>film news</b> (ACEng 139)
jazda na <b>osiołku</b> (ACPI 124)	riding on <b>a donkey</b> (ACEng 164)
<b>partyjka wista</b> (JAPI 75)	<b>pool of quadrille</b> (JAEng 54)
Kupię trochę <b>satynki</b> w ładniejszym kolorze, żeby go trochę ożywić (...) (JAPI 229)	And when I have bought some prettier-coloured <b>satin</b> to trim it with fresh (...) (JAEng 170)
Wie, kim jest tajemnicza postać, która ma uświetnić waszą <b>imprezkę</b> ? (DKPI 5)	Even the name of the mystery celebrity? (DKEng 7)
Będzie wzorową <b>koteczka</b> . (DKPI 57)	He'll be perfect. (DKEng 50)
Pan Thompson przyglądał się tej <b>scence</b> z dobrotliwym uśmiechem. (ACPI 142)	Mr Thompson stood looking benignly on. (ACEng 186)
chytra <b>minka</b> (DKPI 5)	does not occur (DKEng 7)

Table 20. The meaning of joy/amusement/pleasure/playfulness

The diminutive meaning presented in table 20 is the next example of the appreciative connotative meaning of diminutives, where the diminutive affectively indicates speaker's subjective attitude towards a given object. Diminutives expressing the meaning of joy, amusement, pleasure and/or playfulness are most often used in conversations between members of family (e.g. *Kupię trochę **satynki** w ładniejszym kolorze, żeby go trochę ożywić*), and between friends (e.g. *Mo, **złotko**, właśnie dwukrotnie wysłałaś tę samą wiadomość.*). Diminutive forms expressing the above-mentioned meanings are used according to the context of a given situation (e.g. ***Grosik** za twoje myśli, prokuratorze.*). In most cases they are applied in order to emphasize the humorous style of writing or speaking (e.g. *Miała w swym czarnym **notesiku** więcej nazwisk, niż można było znaleźć w Who's Who.*). Nevertheless, diminutives expressing the meaning of joy, amusement, pleasure and/or playfulness are mostly used in Polish, as there are few examples of their application in English (e.g. *And, as a nice **little bonus***).

The meaning of **satisfaction/content/approval/admiration**

Polish original version	English translated version
<i>Wiesz, co, <b>Papciu</b> – spraw się ładnie, a w <b>kieszonkę</b> grubo wpadnie. (AFZP1 68)</i>	<i>Come, <b>Papkin</b>, don't disgrace yourself! You'll not refuse a wad of pelf? (AFZEng 59)</i>
<i>Ma dochody wprowadzie znaczne – Podstolina ma znaczniejsze; z <b>wdówką</b> zatem działać zaczę. (AFZP1 8)</i>	<i>Though Clara's fairly well-to-do – <b>the widow</b> <b>Anna</b>'s got much more... I'll start by knocking at her door! (AFZEng 18)</i>
<i>Spójrz, jakie piękne, krągłe <b>literki</b>. (ZMP1 29)</i>	<i>Look what lovely round <b>letters</b>. (ZMEng 24)</i>
<i>kawałek przepysznego <b>pierożka</b> (ZMP1 276)</i>	<i>a delicious piece of <b>tortellini</b> (ZMEng 286)</i>
<i>Ksiądz dobrodziej już niebawem będzie nosić <b>pelerynkę</b>? (SWP1 16)</i>	<i>But, Reverend Father, presently you will wear <b>a canon's cape</b>. (SWEng 28)</i>
<i>Wybrałem dziś weselisko, twój <b>dworek</b>, <b>dróżkę</b> (...) (SWP1 110)</i>	<i>Your wedding-feast I chose today – your <b>home</b>, your <b>path</b> (...) (SWEng 113)</i>

Polish translated version	English original version
<i><b>Złotko</b>, i tak wyglądasz dziesięć razy lepiej niż ktokolwiek za tymi drzwiami. (MNPI 202)</i>	<i><b>Georgie, sweetie</b>, you still look ten times better than anyone else in there. (MNEng 186)</i>
<i>Jesteś na to za mądra, <b>złotko</b>. (ACPI 113)</i>	<i>You're too smart for that, <b>honey</b>. (ACEng 149)</i>
<i>(...) ale jestem przekonana, że teraz, kiedy drogi <b>wujaszek</b> przyjechał, wszystko będzie dobrze. (JAPI 291)</i>	<i>But now that my dear <b>uncle</b> is come, I hope everything will be well. (JAEng 219)</i>
<i>(...) wyrażam nadzieję, iż każda z moich pięknych <b>kuzyneczek</b> zaszczyci mnie tańcem tego wieczoru. (JAPI 98)</i>	<i>(...) I shall hope to be honoured with the hands of all my fair <b>cousins</b> in the course of the evening. (JAEng 71)</i>
<i>Jakaż ty jesteś czarująca, <b>kuzyneczko!</b> (JAPI 120)</i>	<i>You are uniformly charming! (JAEng 88)</i>
<i>Zuch <b>dziewczynka!</b> (DKPI 101)</i>	<i><b>You</b>'re brilliant. (DKEng 86)</i>
<i>Dzięki, <b>piesku</b>. (DKPI 4)</i>	<i>Thanks, <b>Hilton</b>. (DKEng 6)</i>
<i>śliczny <b>mały wzorek</b> na haft (JAPI 53)</i>	<i>beautiful <b>little design</b> for a table (JAEng 39)</i>
<i>Mam też miły <b>domek</b> w pobliżu Cobham. (ACPI 17)</i>	<i>I've a nice <b>cottage</b> near Cobham. (ACEng 23)</i>
<i>(...) <b>wesolutko</b> oznajmił pan Pyne. (ACPI 49)</i>	<i>(...) said Mr Pyne <b>cheerfully</b>. (ACEng 64)</i>
<i>Bardzo sprawna <b>osóbka</b>. (ACPI 123)</i>	<i>She's an efficient <b>creature</b>. (ACEng 163)</i>
<i>Nie warto było chyba narażać się na takie upokorzenia tylko po to, by pooglądać zgrabne <b>tylczki</b> obciążone lycrą? (MNPI 143)</i>	<i>It couldn't be worth humiliating himself so much just to get a look at tight <b>buns</b> in Lycra, surely? (MNEng 128)</i>
<i>Szeptał jej coś do ucha, a ona wyglądała jak kot, który dostał <b>śmietankę</b>. (MNPI 360)</i>	<i>He was whispering in her ear and she looked like the cat who'd got <b>the cream</b>. (MNEng 338)</i>
<i>dobrze <b>obiadki</b> (JAPI 50)</i>	<i>good <b>dinners</b> (JAEng 38)</i>



(...) <i>dorobiwszy się wcale znośnej <b>fortunki</b></i> (...) (JAP1 20)	(...) <i>he had made a tolerable <b>fortune</b></i> (...) (JAEng 16)
<i>Gdybym nie pracował dla tej cudownej kobiety, sprzedałbym to za niezłą <b>sumkę</b>, moja droga. Niezłą <b>sumkę</b>.</i> (MNPI 24)	<i>If I didn't work for that wonderful woman, I'd have sold this for <b>a fortune</b>, my dear. <b>A fortune</b>.</i> (MNEng 16)
<i>smaczne <b>jedzonko</b></i> (DKPI 76)	does not occur (DKEng 66)

Table 21. The meaning of satisfaction/content/approval/admiration

The diminutive meaning presented in table 21 is the last example of the appreciative connotative meaning of diminutives, where the diminutive affectively indicates speaker's subjective attitude towards a given object. Diminutives expressing the meaning of satisfaction, content, approval and/or admiration are most often used in personal names (e.g. *Papcio*), kinship terms (e.g. *wujaszek*) and descriptors, such as terms of endearment (e.g. *złotko*). They are applied in conversations between friends (e.g. *Spójrz, jakie piękne, kragle literki.*), between members of family (e.g. *Jakaż ty jesteś czarująca, kuzyneczko!*), or between a superior and a subordinate (e.g. *Wiesz, co, **Papciu** – spraw się ładnie, a w **kieszonkę** grubo wpadnie.*). Diminutive forms expressing the above-mentioned meanings are used according to the context of a given situation (e.g. *Mam też miły **domek** w pobliżu Cobham.* or *Gdybym nie pracował dla tej cudownej kobiety, sprzedałbym to za niezłą **sumkę**, moja droga. Niezłą **sumkę**.*). Nevertheless, diminutives expressing the meaning of satisfaction, content, approval and/or admiration are mostly used in Polish, as there are few examples of their application in English (e.g. *beautiful **little design** for a table*).

The tables from 14 to 21 present the translation of diminutives associated with positive evaluation. They confirm the hypothesis formulated by, among others, Wierzbicka (1999) or Lewandowski (2008) that Poles are very emotional, interested in other people's life, direct and spontaneous, whereas the English are more reserved and matter-of-fact. These differences in personality influenced the translation of diminutives to a large extent. Unfortunately, in some cases it was impossible for English translators to render the meaning of Polish diminutives. Therefore, some diminutivized nouns are omitted in the translated version (e.g. *Cóż ta, **gosposiu**, na roli? – How's it going on your farm?*) or deprived of their diminutive element (e.g. *Dziękuję, **Ewuniu**. – Thanks, **Ewa**.*). Due to such modifications, the meaning of Polish diminutives was lost but the translation reads more naturally for the English (e.g. the

sentence *Czy w takim razie umyjesz teraz **ząbki**?* uttered by a father to his seven-year-old daughter was translated as *In that case will you go and brush your **teeth** now?*) What is more, English readers may not be familiar with some kinds of behaviour typical of Poles and a diminutive form in a given sentence would seem strange for them (e.g. the sentence *Dzień dobry, panie prokuratorze, może **papieroska**?* uttered by an acquaintance of the prosecutor was translated as *Good morning, Prosecutor, would you like a **cigarette**?*). Nevertheless, in many cases the translators managed to render at least a part of the original meaning of a diminutive, as they successfully introduced both analytic and synthetic formation or employed suitable lexis, namely words which express the meaning of Polish diminutive (e.g. *Wojteku – Wojtek, love; Kamilku – Dearest Kamil; żonisia – darling wife*). Sometimes they used elaborate modification (e.g. *tak podskocznie, tak **mileńko** – tenderly enlivening*) or relied on the context (e.g. *Zobaczył, iż delikatna i ładna **kobiecina** przepłoszyła się. – He could see that this delicate, pretty **woman** was startled.*).

Translation of English diminutive forms did not pose any problems for Polish translators, as they rendered the meanings of all English diminutives. Apart from the strategies already mentioned in this chapter, sometimes they also exchanged particular elements of the original text for more suitable ones (in this case – diminutives) in the translated version (e.g. *He'd only been walking for few months and it still gave Jazz jolt of excitement to see him upright on his two fat **legs**. – Chodził zaledwie od paru miesięcy i Jasmin wciąż nie mogła opanować podniecenia, widząc go stojącego na tłustych **nóżkach**.) or they used functional equivalents (also in this case – diminutives), e.g. *That's right, **pet**. – No właśnie, **kotku**..* All these strategies mentioned above illustrate this emotional nature of Poles, as for them the presence of diminutives seems obvious and, therefore, the translated texts read more naturally than if they were faithfully translated (e.g. *Daddy's here. – **Dzieciątka**, tatuś już wrócił.* or *dear Wickham – drogi **mężulek***).*

#### The meaning of lack of worth/belittlement/derogation

Polish original version	English translated version
<i>Moja <b>duszko</b>, tu się mówi o kościelnej dostojności (...)</i> (SWPI 17)	<i>My <b>dear</b>, the subject we're discussing's how the Church may dignify our Reverend Father.</i> (SWEng 29)

<i>A to już nie lo <b>ponienki</b>; Sprawa inso. (SWPI 162)</i>	<i>Not for the likes of you, m'dear! Our cause is different. (SWEng 157)</i>
<i>Uważał Felę za "<b>małą</b>", coś zaledwie starszego od Zosi, i nigdy nie patrzył na nią inaczej, jak na dziecko. (JIP1 55)</i>	<i>He had thought of Fela as <b>a little girl</b>, just a shade older than Zosia, and had never regarded her as anything but a child. (JIEng 42)</i>
<i>Pokiwała głową i rozejrzała się po jego zapyziałym <b>pokoiku</b>. (ZMPI 41)</i>	<i>She nodded and glanced around his shabby <b>little room</b>. (ZMEng 37)</i>
<i><b>mały</b> chudy <b>żołnierz</b> (JIP1 29)</i>	<i><b>a small, thin soldier</b> (JIEng 16)</i>
<i>Zaraz się okaże, że portier przespał pół nocy, że jakiś <b>żulik</b> wpadł ukraść coś na wino, po drodze zderzył się z biednym nerwicowcem, przestraszył bardziej od niego i wsadził mu kosę. (ZMPI 19)</i>	<i>It'll soon turn out the porter slept half the night, some <b>yob</b> went in to steal some money for booze, bumped into the poor neurotic on the way, got even more scared than he was and stuck a knife into him. (ZMEng 13)</i>
<i>Nidziecka jest gorszą morderczynią od bezlitosnych <b>żulików</b> (...) (ZMPI 150)</i>	<i>Nidziecka was a worse murderer than the merciless <b>thugs</b> (...) (ZMEng 152)</i>
<i>Przygruchaj sobie jakąś posterunkową, niech ci pisze okrągłymi <b>literkami</b>. (ZMPI 23)</i>	<i>Get some lady constable to write it out for you in nice round <b>letters</b>. (ZMEng 18)</i>
<i><b>młódka</b> o radiowej urodzie (ZMPI 40)</i>	<i><b>a young thing</b>, only good-looking enough to work in radio (ZMEng 36)</i>
<i>Obok jakaś <b>parka</b> dwudziestoparolatków leżała tak blisko (...) (ZMPI 117)</i>	<i>Next to him a twenty-something <b>couple</b> were lying so close to each other (...) (ZMEng 116)</i>
<i>To był <b>studenciak</b> z inteligenckiego domu. (ZMPI 238)</i>	<i>He was <b>a college boy</b> from an intelligentsia home. (ZMEng 245)</i>
<b>Polish translated version</b>	<b>English original version</b>
<i>W pociągu nie było żadnych Anglików, z wyjątkiem tego <b>małego urzędnika</b>. (ACPI 62)</i>	<i>There was no Englishman on the train except <b>a little clerk</b>. (ACEng 81)</i>

<i>Była to kobieta <b>małego umysłu, miernego wykształcenia</b> (...) (JAPI 7)</i>	<i>She was a woman of <b>mean understanding, little information</b> (...) (JAEng 7)</i>
<i>Widział wyraźnie zazdrość w oczach kilku <b>młodzieniaszków</b>. (ACPI 8)</i>	<i>He could see several <b>young fellows</b> were envying him. (ACEng 11)</i>
<i>Najlepszy kandydat do roli Darcy’ego to kurdupłowaty aktuariusz, chyba że ulegnę i dam ją temu jadowitemu <b>pismakowi</b>, którego określają mianem krytyka teatralnego. (MNPI 39)</i>	<i>The nearest thing we’ve got to Darcy is a five-foot-four actuary – unless I succumb and give it to that poisonous <b>hack</b> they call a theatre critic. (MNEng 29)</i>
<i>Panna Bennet jest rzeczywiście <b>ładniutka</b>, ale zbyt często się śmieje. (JAPI 19)</i>	<i>Miss Bennet he acknowledged to be <b>pretty</b>, but she smiled too much. (JAEng 15)</i>
<i>Kiedy jednak znaleźli się w miasteczku, młodsze panienki całkowicie straciły zainteresowanie <b>kuzynkiem</b>. (JAPI 81)</i>	<i>The attention of the younger ones was then no longer to be gained by <b>him</b>. (JAEng 58)</i>
<i>Dziewczęta nużyła rozmowa, miały już bowiem dość gadania <b>kuzynka</b> (...) (JAPI 86)</i>	<i>To the girls, who could not listen to their <b>cousin</b> (...) (JAEng 61)</i>
<i>Takie wybredne <b>młodziki</b>, co to wzbraniają się wejść w związki z odrobiną głupoty, niewarte twego żalu. (JAPI 240)</i>	<i>Such squeamish <b>youths</b> as cannot bear to be connected with a little absurdity are not worth a regret. (JAEng 179)</i>
<i>W Brighton będzie osobą o dużo mniejszym znaczeniu niż tutaj, nawet jako zwykła, <b>mała kokietka</b>. (JAPI 241)</i>	<i>At Brighton she will be of less importance even as a common <b>flirt</b> than she has been here. (JAEng 180)</i>

Table 22. The meaning of lack of worth/belittlement/derogation

The diminutive meaning presented in table 22 is the next example of the connotative meaning of diminutives, where the diminutive affectively indicates speaker’s subjective attitude towards a given object. This type of meaning is the depreciative one. According to Taylor (see chapter 4.2.1.), the above-mentioned diminutive meaning is obtained from the core meaning ‘small’ through metonymic transfer. As stated before, smallness can be associated with lack of worth as superior worth correlates with increased size and decreased size with diminished worth. Diminutives expressing the meaning of lack of worth, belittlement and/or derogation are most often used in kinship terms (e.g. *kuzynek*), titles (e.g. *ponienka*), and

descriptors, such as generic terms (e.g. *mały żołnierz*), terms of endearment (e.g. *duszcza*), functional terms (e.g. *pismak*) or obscene terms (e.g. *żulik*). They are applied in conversations between friends (e.g. *Przygruchaj sobie jakąś posterunkową, niech ci pisze okrągłymi literkami.*), and between members of family (e.g. *Takie wybredne młodziki, co to wzbraniają się wejść w związki z odrobiną głupoty, niewarte twego żalu.*) Diminutive forms expressing the above-mentioned meanings are used according to the context of a given situation (e.g. *młódka o radiowej urodzie*). In some cases diminutives are modified by certain adjectives (e.g. *zapyziały* or *shabby*), which intensifies negative evaluation. Nevertheless, diminutives expressing the meaning of lack of worth, belittlement and/or derogation are mostly used in Polish, as there are few examples of their application in English (e.g. *She nodded and glanced around his shabby little room.*).

#### The meaning of irony/sarcasm

Polish original version	English translated version
<i>A przyniosłeś słoiczek swojej rozpuszczalnej z biura, żeby pani zrobiła ci kawę?</i> (ZMPI 29)	<i>Brought a jar of your instant from the Office, eh, so the lady can make you some coffee?</i> (ZMEng 24)
<i>łobuziak</i> (ZMPI 47)	<i>rogue</i> (ZMEng 43)
<i>W sensie: czy marchewka, czy kotlecik?</i> (ZMPI 102)	<i>You mean was it the carrot or the chops?</i> (ZMEng 100)
<i>Loczki</i> wyglądały jak przeszczepione od pudla. (ZMPI 114)	<i>Her curls looked as if they'd been transplanted from a poodle.</i> (ZMEng 112)
<i>Tak, powinni to napisać pod orzelkiem przy drzwiach jako nasze zawołanie herbowe.</i> (ZMPI 170)	<i>Yes, they should write that underneath the eagle above the door as our heraldic motto.</i> (ZMEng 172)
<i>Uraczył ją kilkoma zabawnymi historyjkami o kolegach z prokuratury.</i> (ZMPI 192)	<i>He amused her with a few funny stories about his colleagues At the prosecutor's office.</i> (ZMEng 196)
<i>Wygląda na to, że wdówka nie będzie musiała pytać w aptece o polskie zamienniki.</i> (ZMPI 217)	<i>It looks as if the widow won't have to ask for cheaper Polish substitutes at the pharmacy.</i> (ZMEng 223)

<i>To musiało być jego ulubione <b>powiedzonko</b>.</i> (ZMPI 239)	<i>That must have been his favourite <b>phrase</b>.</i> (ZMEng 245)
<i>Pozwala ci sprowadzić twoje dzieciństwo i życie twoich starych do “ostatniej <b>paróweczki</b>”?</i> (ZMPI 266)	<i>Allow you to reduce your childhood and your parents' lives to a silly satire full of jokes about <b>sausages</b>?</i> (ZMEng 275)
<i>Dowiedzieliśmy się, że odłożył okrągłą <b>sumkę</b>.</i> (ZMPI 268)	<i>We found out he put aside a large <b>sum</b>.</i> (ZMEng 278)
<i>Miał jeszcze kilka pytań do kociego <b>doktorka</b>.</i> (ZMPI 292)	<i>He still had a few questions for the feline <b>doctor</b>.</i> (ZMEng 303)
<i>Może <b>słóweczko</b> z wymówką, bo coś na mnie kiwa <b>główką</b>.</i> (SWPI 34)	<i>Perhaps a <b>word</b> of mild correction, with a nod in my direction...</i> (SWEng 44)
<i>Pali <b>pieniązek</b> moskieski?</i> (SWPI 88)	<i>Muscovite <b>money</b> burns, you say...</i> (SWEng 94)
<b>Polish translated version</b>	<b>English original version</b>
<i>Nietrudno było wybrać jakieś <b>małe narzędzie</b> odpowiednie do pańskiego celu.</i> (ACPI 98)	<i>It was easy to select a <b>neat little tool</b> for your purpose.</i> (ACEng 129)
<i>Z roztargnieniem skubał <b>mały wąsik</b>, wpatrując się w pana Pyne'a z czujnością niemego <b>zwierzątka</b>.</i> (ACPI 40)	<i>He sat pulling absentmindedly at a <b>little moustache</b> while he looked at Mr Parker Pyne with all the pathos of a dumb <b>animal</b>.</i> (ACEng 53)
<i>kochana <b>siostrzyczka</b></i> (MNPI 30)	<i><b>little Katie</b></i> (MNEng 21)
<i>Nie ma o tym pojęcia. Mieszka sobie w swojej <b>chatce</b>, radośnie uzupełniając albumy z wycinkami oraz karmiąc Zemstę i Słodką.</i> (MNPI 36)	<i>She has no idea, lives in her <b>little cottage</b>, happily filling her scrapbooks and feeding <b>Revenge and Sweet</b>.</i> (MNEng 27)
<i><b>perelki mądrości</b></i> (MNPI 87)	<i><b>little gem</b></i> (MNEng 75)
<i>Co tam słyhać w twoim uroczym kobiecym <b>pisemku</b>?</i> (MNPI 21)	<i>How are things at your lovely <b>little</b> women's <b>mag</b>?</i> (MNEng 13)
<i>...ale tak między nami, nie mam pojęcia, co się dzieje w jej ślicznej <b>główce</b>.</i> (MNPI 98)	<i>... But between you and me, I haven't got a clue what's going on inside her pretty <b>little head</b>.</i> (MNEng 85)

zakulisowe <b>ploteczki</b> Gilberta (MNPI 83)	<i>Gilbert's regular <b>titbits of gossip</b> from the play (MNEng 70)</i>
Mam całą tę <b>milutką</b> korespondencję, z listem o kapsułce włócznie. (ACPI 132)	<i>I've got all that <b>pretty</b> correspondence, including the one about the cachet. (ACEng 174)</i>
(...) zaczął jak zwykle, gdy zamierzał odstąpić innemu <b>pismakowi</b> jakąś <b>perelkę</b> . (MNPI 24)	<i>(...) he began, as he always did when about to sell <b>a gem</b> to <b>a hack</b>. (MNEng 16)</i>
<b>kochaś</b> tabloidów (MNPI 83)	<i>the tabloid <b>darling</b> (MNEng 70)</i>
Aktorka bardzo głośno westchnęła, udając zakłopotane <b>dziewczę</b> (...) (MNPI 126)	<i>Sara then sighed a very loud, <b>girlish</b> sigh (...) (MNEng 113)</i>
Słowo daję, <b>siostrzyczko</b> , wydaje mi się, że bardziej prawdopodobne jest zyskanie Pemberley za pomocą pieniędzy niż naśladownictwa. (JAPI 43)	<i>Upon my word, <b>Caroline</b>, I should think it more possible to get Pemberley by purchase than by imitation. (JAEng 32)</i>
Powieś pan koniecznie w galerii obrazów w Pemberley portrety <b>wujaszka</b> i <b>cioteczki</b> Philipsów. (JAPI 58)	<i>Do let the portraits of your <b>uncle</b> and <b>aunt Philips</b> be placed in the gallery at Pemberley. (JAEng 43)</i>
Możesz się jednak pocieszyć, że jeśli ci się zdarzy cokolwiek w tym guście, masz kochającą <b>mamusię</b> , która to z pewnością odpowiednio rozgłosi. (JAPI 147)	<i>But it is a comfort to think that whatever of that kind may befall you, you have an affectionate <b>mother</b> who will always make the most of it. (JAEng 109)</i>
Tu pan Collins mógł zręcznie wtrącić jakieś pochlebstwo i <b>aluzijkę</b> , na którą i matka, i córka łaskawie się uśmiechnęły. (JAPI 220)	<i>Mr Collins had a compliment, and an <b>allusion</b> to throw in here, which were kindly smiled on by the mother and daughter. (JAEng 164)</i>

Table 23. The meaning of irony/sarcasm

The diminutive meaning presented in table 23 is the next example of the depreciative connotative meaning of diminutives, where the diminutive affectively indicates speaker's subjective attitude towards a given object. Diminutives denote the smallness of a given object, but being small may be treated as something negative – 'small' meaning 'laughable' (see

chapter 4.5.). Diminutive forms used to express irony and/or sarcasm indicate the speaker's standard of personal culture (e.g. *Co tam słycać w twoim uroczym kobiecym **pisemku**?*), his/her intellect (e.g. *W sensie: czy marchewka, czy **kotlecik**?*) or emotional condition (e.g. *Pali **pieniązek** moskieski?*). Diminutives used in ironic contexts may as well deprecate a given person, as with the use of them the speaker may humiliate or disqualify somebody (e.g. *Z roztargnieniem skubał **mały wąsik**, wpatrując się w pana Pyne'a z czujnością niemego **zwierzątka**.*). Diminutives expressing the meaning of irony and/or sarcasm are most often used in kinship terms (e.g. *siostrzyczka*), and descriptors, such as generic terms (e.g. *wdówka*), terms of endearment (e.g. *kochaś*), functional terms (e.g. *doktorek*) or obscene terms (e.g. *łobuziak*). They are applied in conversations between friends (e.g. *Wygląda na to, że **wdówka** nie będzie musiała pytać w aptece o polskie zamienniki.*), and between members of family (e.g. *Słowo daję, **siostrzyczko**, wydaje mi się, że bardziej prawdopodobne jest zyskanie Pemberley za pomocą pieniędzy niż naśladownictwa.*) Diminutive forms expressing the above-mentioned meanings are used according to the context of a given situation (e.g. *Pozwala ci sprowadzić twoje dzieciństwo i życie twoich starych do "ostatniej **paróweczki**"?*). They also emphasize the ironic style of writing or speaking (e.g. *Możesz się jednak pocieszyć, że jeśli ci się zdarzy cokolwiek w tym guście, masz kochającą **mamusię**, która to z pewnością odpowiednio rozgłosi.*). In some cases diminutives are modified by certain adjectives (e.g. *śliczny* or *pretty*), which intensifies negative evaluation. Although diminutives used to express the meaning of irony and/or sarcasm are mostly used in Polish, there are some examples of applying them in English as well (e.g. *How are things at your lovely **little** women's **mag**?* ).

The meaning of **contempt/disdain/disrespect/mockery/maliciousness**

Polish original version	English translated version
<i>O, biedny, biedny <b>Gucio mały</b>. (AFSP1 44)</i>	<i>Poor <b>little Gussie</b>, <b>helpless mite</b>! (AFSEng 131)</i>
<i>Chłopak nędzny jak oni wszyscy w tym pokoleniu. Chude <b>rączki</b>, chude <b>nóżki</b> (...) (ZMPI 117)</i>	<i>The boy was weedy, like all of them in that generation. <b>Skinny little arms</b>, <b>skinny little legs</b> (...) (ZMEng 116)</i>



<i>O maskę opierał się <b>mały</b> i chudy <b>facecik</b> w za dużej na niego czarnej kurtce. (ZMPI 185)</i>	<i>A <b>small</b> skinny <b>guy</b> in a black jacket that was too big for him was leaning on the bonnet. (ZMEng 189)</i>
<i>Takim trudno było znaleźć nawet dżinsy w odpowiednim rozmiarze, a co dopiero dobrać garnitur z asortymentu przeznaczonego przede wszystkim dla <b>małych tłuścioszków</b>. (ZMPI 187)</i>	<i>It was hard for men like that to find even jeans in the right size, let alone select a suit from a range meant mainly for <b>small fat blokes</b>. (ZMEng 191)</i>
<i>A przed szkołą zawsze wystają różne <b>typki</b>. (ZMPI 86)</i>	<i>And there are always various <b>guys</b> hanging around outside school. (ZMEng 84)</i>
<i>Bo jak żeście drzwi <b>sнопkiem</b> zastawiali, to pewnie wiało jak cholera. (ZMPI 89)</i>	<i>But keeping the door propped open with a <b>sheaf of straw</b> must get bloody windy. (ZMEng 87)</i>
<i>terapeutyczny <b>uśmieszek</b>, jednocześnie życzliwy i kpiący (ZMPI 220)</i>	<i>therapeutic <b>smirk</b>, kindly and mocking all At once (ZMEng 226)</i>
<i>Szacki wyobraził sobie, jak Mamcarz z przyjaciółką pod rękę i butelką jabola w dłoni maszerują praskimi <b>uliczkami</b>, żeby wpaść z wizytą do “znajomych”. Wersal. (ZMPI 238)</i>	<i>Szacki imagined Mamcarz with his girlfriend on his arm and a bottle of apple wine in his hand, marching along <b>the back streets</b> of the Praga district to drop in on their “friends”. What a glamorous scene. (ZMEng 244)</i>
<i>Znów był królem polskich terapeutów – (...) <b>uśmieszek</b> zachęcający do wyznania, „ co właściwie się czuje, kiedy się o tym opowiada”. (ZMPI 295)</i>	<i>Once again he was the king of Polish therapists – (...) a <b>simpering smile</b> encouraging you to confess, „what are you really feeling as you talk about his?” (ZMEng 306)</i>
<i>Hej, panie, panie BranECKi, nie żałuj <b>grosika</b>, nie żałuj, (...) nie żałuj <b>dukacika</b>, nie żałuj, dajże go nam z tej kieski! (SWPI 88)</i>	<i>Hetman BranECKi, hey! (...) You’ll surely spare us a <b>copper!</b> (...) a <b>ducat</b>, we’re sure, you will not deny! Come, sir, open your purse! (SWEng 93)</i>

Polish translated version	English original version
<i>Ale najgorsze (...) że złamałeś serce mojej uwielbianej siostrze, ty... ty... ty... odpychający <b>człowieczku</b>. (MNPI 208)</i>	<i>But worse than all of that (...) you've broken my adored sister's heart, you – you – you odious <b>little man</b>. (MNEng 191)</i>
<i>Obrzydliwa, wytapetowana <b>latawica!</b> Wie pan, szminka, jedwabne pończochy i <b>loczki</b>. (ACPI 6)</i>	<i>A nasty made-up <b>little minx</b>, all lipstick and silk stockings and <b>curls</b>. (ACEng 9)</i>
<i>To jego <b>przyjaciółeczka!</b> (ACPI 43)</i>	<i>She's Reggie's <b>little friend!</b> (ACEng 57)</i>
<i>Zawsze znaleźli się ludzie, którzy z przyjemnością sprzedawali tabloidom brudne <b>sekreciki</b>. (MNPI 263)</i>	<i>There were always others only too happy to sell sordin <b>little secrets</b> to the tabloids. (MNEng 243)</i>
<i>Był mniej więcej o cal niższy niż Jasmin, miał cienkie, rosnące kępami włosy, <b>małe</b> zmrużone <b>oczka</b> i długi cienki nos drgający nerwowo. (MNPI 41)</i>	<i>He was about one inch shorter than Jazz, with thin, tufty hair, <b>small</b>, blinking eyes, no neck and a long, thin nose that twitched nervously. (MNEng 31)</i>
<i>Odkąd zaczęłam pracować z panem i pańskimi <b>koleżkami</b> (...) (MNPI 206)</i>	<i>Since working with you and your <b>cronies</b> (...) (MNEng 190)</i>
<i>Dobrze wiedzieć, że tak mu się powodzi. Nadziany <b>wieprzek!</b> (ACPI 114)</i>	<i>It's nice to know he wouldn't miss the money. Purse-proud <b>hog!</b> (ACEng 150)</i>
<i>Był to nędzny tabloid pełen potwornych historii i skąpo odzianych „<b>panienek</b>” noszących „<b>majteczki</b>”. (MNPI 230)</i>	<i>It was a shabby tabloid full of horror stories and scantily clad '<b>girls</b>' who wore '<b>panties</b>'. (MNEng 212)</i>
<i><b>kolesie</b> Gilberta (MNPI 323)</i>	<i>Gilbert's <b>cronies</b> (MNEng 303)</i>
<i>Celem jej życia było wydanie córek za mąż, radością wizyty i <b>nowinki</b>. (JAPI 7)</i>	<i>The business of her life was to get her daughters married; its solace was visiting and <b>news</b>. (JAEng 7)</i>
<i><b>Główki</b> tych młodych dam były, w przeciwieństwie do starszych sióstr, puste, a panienki z braku rozrywki uprzyjemniały sobie poranne godziny <b>spacerkiem</b> do Meryton (...) (JAPI 32)</i>	<i>Their <b>minds</b> were more vacant than their sisters', and when nothing better offered, a <b>walk</b> to Meryton was necessary to amuse their morning hours (...) (JAEng 24)</i>

<i>Ani ciotki, ani oficerów, ani <b>nowinek</b>.</i> (JAPI 99)	<i>No aunt, no officers, no <b>news</b> (...)</i> (JAEng 72)
<i>(...) całą sprawę traktowały jedynie jako nową <b>ploteczkę</b> do rozgłoszenia w Meryton.</i> (JAPI 138)	<i>(...) it affected them in no other way than as <b>a piece of news</b> to spread at Meryton.</i> (JAEng 102)
<i>Były to <b>osóbki</b> puste, leniwe i głupie.</i> (JAPI 222)	<i><b>They</b> were ignorant, idle, and vain.</i> (JAEng 166)

Table 24. The meaning of contempt/disdain/disrespect/mockery/maliciousness

The diminutive meaning presented in table 24 is the next example of the depreciative connotative meaning of diminutives, where the diminutive affectively indicates speaker's subjective attitude towards a given object. Diminutives denote the smallness of a given object, but being small may be treated as something negative – ‘small’ meaning ‘insignificant’ (see chapter 4.5.). Diminutives used in this context may, therefore, deprecate a given person, as with the use of them the speaker may humiliate or disqualify somebody (e.g. *Chłopak nędzny jak oni wszyscy w tym pokoleniu. Chude **rączki**, chude **nóżki***). Diminutives expressing the meaning of contempt, disdain, disrespect, mockery and/or maliciousness are most often used in personal names (e.g. *Gucio*), and descriptors, such as generic terms (e.g. *przyjaciółeczka*), functional terms (e.g. *człowieczek*) or obscene terms (e.g. *wieprzek*). They are applied in conversations between friends (e.g. *O, biedny, biedny **Gucio mały**.*) and between enemies (e.g. *Ale najgorsze (...) że złamałeś serce mojej uwielbianej siostrze, ty... ty... ty... odpychający **człowieczku**.*). Diminutive forms expressing the above-mentioned meanings are used according to the context of a given situation (e.g. *Szacki wyobraził sobie, jak Mamcarz z przyjaciółką pod rękę i butelką jabola w dłoni maszerują praskimi **uliczkami**, żeby wpaść z wizytą do “znajomych”. Wersal. or Ani ciotki, ani oficerów, ani **nowinek**.*). They also emphasize the mocking style of writing or speaking (e.g. ***Główki** tych młodych dam były, w przeciwieństwie do starszych sióstr, puste, a panienki z braku rozrywki uprzyjemniały sobie poranne godziny **spacerkiem** do Meryton*). In some cases diminutives are modified by certain adjectives (e.g. *odpychający – odious* or *chudy – skinny*), which intensifies negative evaluation. Although diminutives used to express the meaning of contempt, disdain, disrespect, mockery and/or maliciousness are mostly used in Polish, there are some examples of applying them in English as well (e.g. *She's Reggie's **little friend!***).

### The meaning of **pitifulness/insincere compassion**

Polish original version	English translated version
<i>Coś nerwowo nasz <b>doktorek</b>.</i> (ZMPI 141)	<i>Our <b>doctor</b>'s rather nervy.</i> (ZMEng 142)
<i><b>Domek mały</b>, chata skąpa.</i> (SWPI 72)	<i><b>Peasant homestead</b>, hut and shed.</i> (SWEng 79)
<i>Czy on się zakochał w tej <b>dziewczyninie</b> z <b>małymi piersiami</b>?</i> (ZMPI 260)	<i>Was he in love with that <b>girl</b> with <b>the small breasts</b>?</i> (ZMEng 268)
Polish translated version	English original version
<i>Oczywiście Claude, <b>biedaczyna</b>, nie jest zbyt bystry.</i> (ACPI 37)	<i>Of course Claude, <b>poor fellow</b>, hasn't many brains.</i> (ACEng 49)

Table 25. The meaning of pitifulness/insincere compassion

The diminutive meaning presented in table 25 is the next example of the depreciative connotative meaning of diminutives, where the diminutive affectively indicates speaker's subjective attitude towards a given object. Diminutives denote the smallness of a given object, but being small may be treated as something negative – 'small' meaning 'insignificant' or 'laughable' (see chapter 4.5.). Diminutives used in this context may, therefore, deprecate a given person, as with the use of them the speaker may humiliate or disqualify somebody (e.g. *Czy on się zakochał w tej **dziewczyninie** z **małymi piersiami**?*). Diminutives expressing the meaning of pitifulness and/or insincere compassion are applied mostly in conversations between friends (e.g. *Coś nerwowo nasz **doktorek**.*). Diminutive forms expressing the above-mentioned meanings are used according to the context of a given situation (e.g. *Oczywiście Claude, **biedaczyna**, nie jest zbyt bystry.*). Nevertheless, diminutives expressing the meaning of pitifulness and/or insincere compassion are mostly used in Polish, as there is only one example of their application in English (*Was he in love with that **girl** with **the small breasts**?*).

### The meaning of **condescension/insincere politeness/excessive obsequiousness**

Polish original version	English translated version
<i><b>mała</b></i> (ZMPI 92) (about a woman)	<i><b>babe</b></i> (ZMEng 90)

<i>A <b>Klarunia</b> niech pamięta nie powiadać nic nikomu... (AFZPI 57)</i>	<i><b>Clara, my dear</b> (...) remember, quiet as a mouse! (AFZEng 50)</i>
<i>Mój <b>majstruniu</b>, mówcie śmiało. (AFZPI 69)</i>	<i>Come, <b>Master Mason</b>, don't be shy! (AFZEng 60)</i>
<i>Bądź, <b>serdeńko</b>, bez obawy. (AFZPI 87)</i>	<i><b>He</b> need fear nothing for the nonce... (AFZEng 72)</i>
<i>Byle mnie kochał <b>stryjaszek</b> kochany, był mi zawsze zdrow, czerstwy i rumiany! (AFSPI 11)</i>	<i>So long as my dear <b>Uncle</b> loves me ever, I shall be hale and hearty – perish never! (AFSEng 106)</i>
<i>Za resztę kupi pan córce <b>małe mieszkanie</b>, żeby na nią czekało i zyskiwało na wartości. (ZMPI 275)</i>	<i>For the rest you can buy your daughter a <b>small flat</b> that can gain in value while it waits for her. (ZMEng 285)</i>
<i>Co skłoniło Podstolinę, <b>wdówkę</b> tanną, <b>wdówkę</b> gładką, za takową iść gadzinę. (AFZPI 80)</i>	<i>How that Squire persuaded her – a tempting <b>widow</b>, suave, urbane – such a reptile to prefer. (AFZEng 67)</i>
<i>Niechże mi tu wolno będzie (...) do <b>maluczkich</b> upaść <b>nóżek</b> (...) (AFZPI 90)</i>	<i>To fall at your <b>feet</b> is all I crave (...) (AFZEng 74)</i>
<i>Papkin <b>nóżki</b> ściska, za przyjęcie dzięki składa. (AFZPI 95)</i>	<i>I am prostrate at your <b>feet</b>! So warm a welcome for a stranger! (AFZEng 77)</i>
<b>Polish translated version</b>	<b>English original version</b>
<i>Cześć, <b>laleczko</b>. (MNPI 140)</i>	<i>Bye, <b>doll</b>. (MNEng 125)</i>
<i>Ciao, kochanie! Złam boską <b>nóżkę</b>. (MNPI 37)</i>	<i>Ciao, honey. Break a divine <b>leg</b>. (MNEng 28)</i>
<i>Ta <b>mała</b> wygląda jak futrzana pomarańcza. (DKPI 58)</i>	<i><b>He</b> looks like a furry orange. (DKEng 51)</i>
<i>(...) ładna <b>przyjaciółeczka</b> pastorowej wyraźnie mu się podobała. (JAPI 181)</i>	<i>(...) and Mrs Collins's pretty <b>friend</b> had moreover caught his fancy very much. (JAEng 135)</i>

Table 26. The meaning of condescension/insincere politeness/excessive obsequiousness

The diminutive meaning presented in table 26 is the next example of the depreciative connotative meaning of diminutives, where the diminutive affectively indicates speaker's subjective attitude towards a given object. Diminutives denote the smallness of a given object, but being small may be treated as something negative – ‘small’ meaning ‘insignificant’ or ‘laughable’ (see chapter 4.5.). Diminutives used in this context may, therefore, deprecate a given person, as with the use of them the speaker may humiliate or disqualify somebody (e.g. *Cześć, laleczko.*). Diminutives expressing the meaning of condescension, insincere politeness and/or excessive obsequiousness are most often used in personal names (e.g. *Klarunia*), kinship terms (e.g. *stryjaszek*) and descriptors, such as terms of endearment (e.g. *serdeńko*) and functional terms (e.g. *majstrunio*). They are applied mostly in conversations between friends (e.g. *Ciao, kochanie! Złam boską nóżkę.*), between members of family (e.g. *Byle mnie kochał stryjaszek kochany, był mi zawsze zdrow, czerstwy i rumiany!*) and between a subordinate and a superior (e.g. *Papkin nóżki ściska, za przyjęcie dzięki składa.*). Diminutive forms expressing the above-mentioned meanings are used according to the context of a given situation (e.g. *Za resztę kupi pan córce małe mieszkanko, żeby na nią czekało i zyskiwało na wartości.*). Nevertheless, diminutives expressing the meaning of condescension, insincere politeness and/or excessive obsequiousness are mostly used in Polish, as there is only one example of their application in English (*For the rest you can buy your daughter a small flat that can gain in value while it waits for her.*).

#### The meaning of **criticism/suspicion**

Polish original version	English translated version
<i>Propozycja jest poważna, więc proszę sobie darować żarciki.</i> (ZMP1 275)	<i>It's a serious offer, so please spare yourself the little jokes.</i> (ZMEng 285)
<i>Uuu, niegrzeczny prokurator.</i> (ZMP1 82)	<i>Aaaww, what a rude prosecutor.</i> (ZMEng 79)
<i>Bęben ci urośnie, a ja nie lubię facetów z brzuszkiem.</i> (ZMP1 284)	<i>You'll get a fat tum, and I don't like guys with pot bellies.</i> (ZMEng 294)
<i>Panna młoda jakies słowko ma do ciebie.</i> (SWP1 34)	<i>Your good lady'd like a word, if you've a moment.</i> (SWEng 43)

<i>To doprawdy nieczuły ze mnie <b>stryjcio!</b> (JIP1 102)</i>	<i>What a thoughtless <b>uncle</b> I am! (JIEng 89)</i>
<i>W tej <b>kurteczce</b> lata – jeszcze kataru, u diaska, dostanie. (AFSP1 17)</i>	<i>You'll catch your death, for heaven's sake! That <b>coat</b> you're wearing's like a summer vest. (AFSEng 111)</i>
<b>Polish translated version</b>	<b>English original version</b>
<i>Ale przecież narzekała na chłód, a ten jej tweedowy <b>paltocik</b> był wiatrem podszyty. (ACPI 8)</i>	<i>Still, she had complained of the cold. That tweed <b>coat</b> of hers was a cheap affair; it didn't keep the cold out. (ACEng 11)</i>
<i>No, <b>kochaneczko</b> (...) jeśli ci córka zapadnie ciężko na zdrowiu albo jeśli umrze, będziesz się zawsze mogła pocieszać świadomością, że zrobiła to, łapiąc pana Bingleya na męża i postępując ściśle według twoich zaleceń. (JAPI 36)</i>	<i>Well, <b>my dear</b> (...) if your daughter should have a dangerous fit of illness – if she should die, it would be a comfort to know that it was all in pursuit of Mr Bingley, and dunder your orders. (JAEng 27)</i>
<i>(...) ujawniono też jego <b>miłostki</b>, wszystkie zaszczycone mianem uwiedzeń, w większości kupieckich rodzin. (JAPI 300)</i>	<i>(...) and his <b>intrigues</b>, all honoured with the title of seduction, had been extender into every tradesman's family. (JAEng 225)</i>

Table 27. The meaning of criticism/suspicion

The diminutive meaning presented in table 27 is the next example of the depreciative connotative meaning of diminutives, where the diminutive affectively indicates speaker's subjective attitude towards a given object. Diminutives expressing the meaning of criticism and/or suspicion may deprecate a given person, as with the use of them the speaker may humiliate or disqualify somebody (e.g. *Bęben ci urośnie, a ja nie lubię facetów z **brzuszkim**.* or *Uuu, niegrzeczny **prokurator**ek.*). They are applied mostly in conversations between friends (e.g. *Panna młoda jakieś **słówko** ma do ciebie.*) and between members of family (e.g. *W tej **kurteczce** lata – jeszcze kataru, u diaska, dostanie.*). Diminutive forms expressing the above-mentioned meanings are used according to the context of a given situation (e.g. *ujawniono też jego **miłostki**, wszystkie zaszczycone mianem uwiedzeń, w większości kupieckich rodzin.*). Nevertheless, diminutives expressing the meaning of criticism and/or suspicion are mostly used in Polish, as there is only one example of their application in English (*It's a serious offer, so please spare yourself **the little jokes**.*).

The meaning of **insult/annoyance/anger**

Polish original version	English translated version
<i>Gówno prawda, pomyślał Szacki. Chcesz zatrzeć złe wrażenie, <b>kłamczuszk</b>u.</i> (ZMPI 225)	<i>Like hell you did, thought Szacki. You're trying to put me off the scent, you <b>lying bastard</b>.</i> (ZMEng 231)
<i>Aha, <b>bratku</b>, mom cie.</i> (SWPI 148)	<i>I've got you, <b>brother!</b></i> (SWEng 145)
<i>Hola, <b>jaszczureczko!</b></i> (AFSPI 68)	<i>(...) you <b>salamander</b> (...)</i> (AFSEng 148)
<i>Chodź, chodź – mam cię, <b>ptaszku</b>.</i> (AFSPI 87)	<i>You <b>cheeky sparrow!</b> Caught you nicely!</i> (AFSEng 164)
<i>Idź <b>serdeńko</b>, bo cię trzepnę.</i> (AFZPI 74)	<i>Or must I help <b>you</b> on your way?! (AFZEng 63)</i>
<i>Zapowiadało się ciekawie, a wygląda na to, że szukają <b>małego złodziejaska</b>, który przez przypadek stał się mordercą.</i> (ZMPI 31)	<i>It had promised to be interesting, but it looked as if they were seeking a <b>petty thief</b> who had accidentally become a murderer.</i> (ZMEng 26)
<i>Nie miał dwóch złotych na wózek, więc próbował rozmienić dychę w kiosku (...) ale <b>panienka</b> nie miała drobnych. Kupił więc <b>soczek</b> dla Helci za półtora złotego. Wydała mu drobnymi.</i> (ZMPI 184)	<i>He didn't have two zlotys for a trolley, so he tried changing a ten-zloty note at a newspaper kiosk (...) but <b>the young lady</b> didn't have any change. So he bought a <b>fruit juice</b> for Helka for one zloty fifty. She gave him the change.</i> (ZMEng 189)
<i>Dostaniesz karę, zobaczysz! Nie pozwolą ci jeść <b>tłuszczyku</b>, bobasie.</i> (ZMPI 233)	<i>You'll get punished, you'll see! They won't let you eat <b>fat</b>, kiddywink.</i> (ZMEng 239)
<i>Musiałem przecież wypełniać <b>rubryczki</b> w protokołach.</i> (ZMPI 237)	<i>I must have filled in <b>the boxes</b> in the witness-statement forms.</i> (ZMEng 244)
<i><b>sprzedawczyk</b></i> (ZMPI 266)	<i><b>traitor</b></i> (ZMEng 275)
<i>Kiedy na sofie rozparty szeroko, półgębkiem gada, śpi na jedno oko, mamyż mu śpiewać <b>arietkę</b> wesolą?</i> (AFSPI 32)	<i>Spreadeagled on the sofa, he's at ease – eyes half-shut and muttering (...) Should we strike up a merry <b>roundelay</b> (...) ?</i> (AFSEng 121)



Polish translated version	English original version
<i>Ależ byłam <b>gluptasem</b>, że uwierzyłam w to ogłoszenie (...)</i> (ACPI 30)	<i>What <b>a silly little fool</b> I was to believe in that advertisement (...)</i> (ACEng 40)
<i><b>Mała idiotka</b>. Tym właśnie byłam - <b>idiotką</b>.</i> (ACPI 108)	<i><b>Little fool</b>. That's what I was, <b>a little fool</b>.</i> (ACEng 142)
<i><b>Łotrzyk</b> nadal śpi.</i> (ACPI 92)	<i><b>The blighter's</b> asleep still.</i> (ACEng 121)
<i>Elżbieta nie wiedziała, co było gorsze: czy cicha wzgarda młodego <b>panka</b>, czy bezczelne <b>uśmieszki</b> obu dam.</i> (JAPI 113)	<i>(...) and she could not determine whether the silent contempt of <b>the gentleman</b>, or the insolent <b>smiles</b> of the ladies, were more intolerable.</i> (JAEng 82)

Table 28. The meaning of insult/annoyance/anger

The diminutive meaning presented in table 28 is the next example of the depreciative connotative meaning of diminutives, where the diminutive affectively indicates speaker's subjective attitude towards a given object. Diminutives expressing the meaning of insult, annoyance and/or anger may deprecate a given person, as with the use of them the speaker may humiliate or disqualify somebody (e.g. *Gówno prawda, pomyślał Szacki. Chcesz zatrzeć złe wrażenie, **klamczuszk**u.*). They as well intensify the negative evaluation and indicate superiority (e.g. *Nie miał dwóch złotych na wózek, więc próbował rozmiąć dychę w kiosku (...) ale **panienka** nie miała drobnych. Kupił więc **soczec** dla Helci za półtora złotego. Wydała mu **drobnymi**.*). They are used mostly in descriptors, such as obscene terms (e.g. *łotrzyk* or *mała idiotka*), but also in generic terms (e.g. *mały złodziejaszek*), functional terms (e.g. *sprzedawczyk*) and pet names (e.g. *ptaszek*) or also in titles (e.g. *panek*) and kinship terms (e.g. *serdeńko*). They are applied mostly in conversations between friends (e.g. *Aha, **bratku**, mom cie.*) and between members of family (e.g. *Dostaniesz karę, zobaczysz! Nie pozwolę ci jeść **tluszczku**, bobasie.*). Diminutive forms expressing the above-mentioned meanings are used according to the context of a given situation (e.g. *Musiałem przecież wypełniać **rubryczki** w protokołach.*). In some cases diminutives are modified by adjectives such as *silly* in English, which intensifies negative evaluation. Nevertheless, diminutives expressing the meaning of insult, annoyance and/or anger are mostly used in Polish, as there is only one example of their application in English (*Little fool*).

The meaning of **distance/aversion**

<b>Polish original version</b>	<b>English translated version</b>
<i>Nic w nim nie budziło takiego obrzydzenia jak <b>mały</b>, brązowy, nadspodziewanie szybki <b>prusak</b>. (ZMPI 234)</i>	<i>Nothing aroused such revulsion in him as the <b>small</b> brown, unexpectedly speedy <b>cockroach</b>. (ZMEng 240)</i>
<i>(...) spojrzął na Szackiego wzrokiem, jakim dzieci w klasie patrzą na (...) <b>pupilka</b> wychowawczyni. (ZMPI 102)</i>	<i>(...) gave Szacki the sort of look children in class give the teacher's <b>pet</b>. (ZMEng 100)</i>
<i>Szacki przegiął z obcesowością, ale musiał usadzić <b>doktorka</b> na wstępie. (ZMPI 297)</i>	<i>Szacki went a bit too far with the bluntness, but he had to put <b>the doctor</b> in his place at the off. (ZMEng 307)</i>
<i>(...) jak zobaczyłem tę zniechęconą twarz, ten cyniczny błysk w oku, kpiący <b>uśmieszek</b>... (ZMPI 313)</i>	<i>(...) when I saw that hateful face, that cynical glint in his eye, that mocking <b>sneer</b>... (ZMEng 324)</i>
<i>(...) kiedy spotkali się wszyscy ponad miesiąc temu w salce architektonicznego <b>potworka</b> na Łazienkowskiej (...) (ZMPI 319)</i>	<i>(...) when they'd all met a month ago in the classroom at the architectural <b>monstrosity</b> on Łazienkowska Street (...) (ZMEng 330)</i>
<i>Zwłaszcza skóra nad sztywnym kołnierzykiem wojskowym oficera doprowadzała Wiktora do pasji, była niezmiernie biała, podbita <b>tłuszczykiem</b>, wykarmiona i odżywiona jak na gatunkowym, włoskim wieprzu. (JIPi 51-52)</i>	<i>Wiktor found the skin above the officer's stiff military collar particularly exasperating – it was white beyond measure, and lined with a <b>gentle plumpness</b>, well fed on top-quality Parma ham. (JIEng 39)</i>
<b>Polish translated version</b>	<b>English original version</b>
<i>paskudny, długowłosy <b>typek</b> (ACPI 41)</i>	<i>nasty, long-haired <b>chap</b> (ACEng 55)</i>
<i>Zawód, jakiego doznała, tak wzmógł jej niechęć do młodego <b>panka</b>, iż w chwilę potem ledwo się zdobyła na jaką taką grzeczność (...) (JAPI 101)</i>	<i>Every feeling of displeasure against <b>the former</b> was so sharpened by immediate disappointment, that she could hardly reply with tolerable civility (...) (JAEng 72)</i>

Table 29. The meaning of distance/aversion

The diminutive meaning presented in table 29 is the last example of the depreciative connotative meaning of diminutives, where the diminutive affectively indicates speaker's subjective attitude towards a given object. Diminutives expressing the meaning of distance and/or aversion may deprecate a given person, as with the use of them the speaker may humiliate or disqualify somebody (e.g. *Zwłaszcza skóra nad sztywnym kołnierzykiem wojskowym oficera doprowadzała Wiktora do pasji, była niezmiernie biała, podbita tłuszczykiem, wykarmiona i odżywiona jak na gatunkowym, włoskim wieprzu.*). Diminutive forms expressing the above-mentioned meanings are used according to the context of a given situation (e.g. *kiedy spotkali się wszyscy ponad miesiąc temu w salce architektonicznego potworka na Łazienkowskiej*). Nevertheless, diminutives expressing the meaning of distance and/or aversion are mostly used in Polish, as there is only one example of their application in English (*Nothing aroused such revulsion in him as the **small** brown, unexpectedly speedy cockroach.*).

The tables from 22 to 29 present the translation of diminutives associated with negative evaluation. The strategies applied by the translators have already been mentioned above. Nevertheless, what seems interesting in this case is the fact that, although the English use diminutives to express negative emotions quite often, in translations of Polish texts diminutive forms appear very rarely.

### Proverbs/sayings/fixed expressions

Polish original version	English translated version
<i>mała ojczyzna</i> (ZMPI 17)	<i>mini-homeland</i> (ZMEng 11)
<i>kupka nieszczęścia</i> (ZMPI 35)	<i>a heap of misery</i> (ZMEng 31)
<i>dziurka od klucza</i> (ZMPI 40)	<i>keyhole</i> (ZMEng 36)
<i>z miną aniołka</i> (ZMPI 96)	<i>with an <b>angelic</b> expression</i> (ZMEng 95)
<i>zwyczajowa formułka</i> (ZMPI 111)	<i>the usual <b>formula</b></i> (ZMEng 109)
<i>papierkowa robota</i> (ZMPI 116)	<i>paperwork</i> (ZMEng 114)
<i>półświatek</i> (ZMPI 132)	<i>the underworld</i> (ZMEng 132)
<i>kącik ust</i> (ZMPI 149)	<i>the corner of her mouth</i> (ZMEng 150)
<i>ślepa uliczka</i> (ZMPI 160)	<i>blind <b>alley</b></i> (ZMEng 163)
<i>Potem poszło z górki.</i> (ZMPI 243)	<i>Then it had gone <b>downhill</b>.</i> (ZMEng 250)

(...) przyklejając (jej) <b>etykietkę</b> (...) (ZMPI 295)	<b>labelling</b> her (ZMEng 306)
Zamieniał <b>stryjek</b> za <b>siekierkę kijek</b> . (AFZPI 126)	For me, as <b>uncle</b> , profit lacks – I've swapped <b>a cudgel</b> for my axe! (AFZEng 99)
(...) wykrzywił usta w <b>podkówkę</b> . (ZMPI 250)	(he) <b>turned down the corners of his mouth</b> . (ZMEng 258)
(...) usta wygięły jej się w <b>podkówkę</b> . (ZMPI 323)	(...) <b>the corners of her mouth turned down in dismay</b> . (ZMEng 335)
odsylać z <b>kwitkiem</b> (ZMPI 131)	sending away (...) <b>untreated</b> (ZMEng 132)
(...) nie zostawili na nim suchej <b>nitki</b> . (ZMPI 149)	(they) had picked him to <b>shreds</b> . (ZMEng 151)
Wyście sobie, a my sobie. Każdy sobie <b>rzepkę skrobie</b> . (SWPI 13)	You have your ways, we have ours. (SWEng 26)
<b>Polish translated version</b>	<b>English original version</b>
Ilekoć Jack spojrział na George, wyglądał, jakby w oczach zapalały mu się <b>żaróweczki</b> rozjaśniające jego spojrzenie. (MNPI 121)	Whenever he looked at George, Jack's eyes looked like they had <b>little lightbulbs</b> behind them, they were so bright. (MNEng 107)
<b>mała czarna</b> (MNPI 163) (about a dress)	<b>little black number</b> (MNEng 147)
Następnego <b>ranka</b> (...) (ACPI 9)	(...) <b>the following morning</b> . (ACEng 12)
ślepa <b>uliczka</b> (ACPI 19)	<b>a cul-de-sac</b> (ACEng 26)
To są ciężko zapracowane pieniądze (...) Jeśli myśli pan, że zamierzam je oddać ciepłą <b>rączką</b> , to się pan myli. (ACPI 64)	That money was worked for (...) hard. If you think I'm going to <b>hand it out</b> like so much dirt – well, you're mistaken. (ACEng 83)
<b>iskierki</b> w oczach (ACPI 72)	<b>twinkle</b> in eyes (ACEng 94)
Edward jest łagodny jak <b>baranek</b> . (ACPI 79)	He's such a mild <b>lamb</b> . (ACEng 103)
Był młodzieńcem o urodzie <b>cherubinka</b> . (ACPI 94)	He was a <b>cherubic</b> -looking youth. (ACEng 123)
złośliwy <b>uśmieszek</b> (MNPI 117)	<b>smirk</b> (MNEng 104)
(...) bądź grzeczną <b>dziewczynką</b> . (MNPI 184)	(...) there's a good <b>girl</b> . (MNEng 167)

<i>kąciki ust</i> (MNPI 253)	<i>the edges of the mouth</i> (MNEng 234)
<i>kąciki oczu</i> (MNPI 261)	<i>the corner of the eyes</i> (MNEng 241)
<i>iskierka w oku</i> (MNPI 329)	<i>a twinkle in his eye</i> (MNEng 308)
(...) spoglądając na pana Darcy'ego ze znaczącym <i>uśmieszkiem</i> . (JAPI 49)	(...) directed her eye towards Mr Darcy with a very expressive <i>smile</i> . (JAEng 36)
<i>lekki jak piórko</i> (JAPI 234)	<i>as light as a feather</i> (JAEng 174)
(...) i powiedział wszystkim miłe <i>słówka</i> . (JAPI 336)	(...) and said many pretty <i>things</i> . (JAEng 253)
<i>wesoła jak szczygiełek</i> (ACPI 123)	<i>as merry as a – a cricket</i> (ACEng 163)
<i>czarny sweter z wycięciem w serek</i> (MNPI 87)	<i>black V-neck jumper</i> (MNEng 74)
<i>Nie zdarzało się, żeby poleciało jej oczko w rajstopach</i> . (MNPI 177-178)	<i>Her stockings were never laddered</i> . (MNEng 161)
<i>szepnąć słówko</i> (MNPI 267)	<i>tip the wink</i> (MNEng 247)
(...) inteligentna piękna kobieta ma po <i>dziurki</i> w nosie takiego pacana jak ja. (ACPI 41)	(...) a clever, beautiful woman getting fed up with an ass like me. (ACEng 55)
<i>trącić myszką</i> (MNPI 96)	<i>feel too anachronistic</i> (MNEng 83)
<i>Więc kiedy zdałeś sobie sprawę, jaki ze mnie smakowity kąsek?</i> (MNPI 363)	<i>So when did you realise just how tasty I really was?</i> (MNEng 341)

Table 30. Proverbs/sayings/fixed expressions

Table 30 presents Polish and English diminutives used in proverbs, sayings and fixed expressions. It proves the hypothesis that, contrary to the English, Poles use diminutive forms very frequently, as diminutives are present not only in original Polish texts but also in Polish translations. Polish translators enriched translated versions with diminutive forms by:

- modifying original texts, e.g. *Her stockings were never laddered*. – *Nie zdarzało się, żeby poleciało jej oczko w rajstopach*.);
- exchanging particular elements, e.g. *black V-neck jumper* – *czarny sweter z wycięciem w serek*;
- using functional equivalents, e.g. *feel too anachronistic* – *trącić myszką*.

English translators, on the other hand, deprived translated versions of almost all diminutive forms, applying similar methods:

- use of elaborate modification, e.g. *wykrzywił usta w podkówkę* – (he) **turned down the corners of his mouth**;
- exchange of diminutive forms of the original text for more suitable elements in the translated version, e.g. *odsyłać z kwitkiem* – *sending away (...) untreated*;
- use of functional equivalents, e.g. *półświatek* – *the underworld*.

After analyzing table 30 it can be stated that both Polish and English translators applied only those strategies which made the translated versions read naturally. Therefore, the use of diminutives in Polish translations and lack of diminutives in English translations serve as an example of domestication.

### 8.3.2. Translation of pragmatic functions of diminutives

The tables from 31 to 35 serve as an illustration to chapter 5 of this paper. While analyzing Polish and English diminutives and their translated versions used in different speech acts, it can be stated that Poles employ diminutive forms more frequently than the English do. Nevertheless, as already mentioned, this is due to the fact that English to a larger extent relies on the context and suitable lexis. The analysis of the following tables aims at demonstrating that, apart from expressing positive or negative politeness, diminutive forms may serve as face-threatening acts done *off record* or without redressive actions. As diminutives may be used in numerous speech acts, the analysis is divided into five parts:

- diminutives in assertive acts,
- diminutives in directive acts,
- diminutives in commissive acts,
- diminutives in expressive acts,
- diminutives in vocative acts.

#### Diminutives in assertive acts

Polish original version	English translated version
<i>Proszę nie zwracać uwagi. Jest jeszcze malutka.</i> (ZMPI 232)	<i>Please take no notice. She's still little.</i> (ZMEng 238)

(...) tak podskocznie, tak <b>mileńko</b> (...) (SWPI 37)	(...) <b>tenderly enlivening</b> (...) (SWEng 46)
(...) ja wolę <b>gaik</b> spokojny (...) (SWPI 146)	(...) I prefer a peaceful <b>glade</b> (...) (SWEng 144)
<b>Domek mały</b> , chata skąpa. (SWPI 72)	<b>Peasant homestead</b> , hut and shed. (SWEng 79)
Wybrałem dziś weselisko, twój <b>dworek</b> , <b>dróżkę</b> (...) (SWPI 110)	Your wedding-feast I chose today – your <b>home</b> , your <b>path</b> (...) (SWEng 113)
A przed szkołą zawsze wystają różne <b>typki</b> . (ZMPI 86)	And there are always various <b>guys</b> hanging around outside school. (ZMEng 84)
Bęben ci urośnie, a ja nie lubię facetów z <b>brzuszkami</b> . (ZMPI 284)	You'll get a fat tum, and I don't like guys with <b>pot bellies</b> . (ZMEng 294)
(...) jak zobaczyłem tę zniechęconą twarz, ten cyniczny błysk w oku, kpiący <b>uśmieszek</b> ... (ZMPI 313)	(...) when I saw that hateful face, that cynical glint in his eye, that mocking <b>sneer</b> ... (ZMEng 324)
Zaraz się okaże, że portier przespał pół nocy, że jakiś <b>żulik</b> wpadł ukraść coś na wino, po drodze zderzył się z biednym nerwicowcem, przestraszył bardziej od niego i wsadził mu <b>kosę</b> . (ZMPI 19)	It'll soon turn out the porter slept half the night, some <b>job</b> went in to steal some money for booze, bumped into the poor neurotic on the way, got even more scared than he was and stuck a knife into him. (ZMEng 13)
To był <b>studenciak</b> z inteligenckiego domu. (ZMPI 238)	He was a <b>college boy</b> from an intelligentsia home. (ZMEng 245)
A to już nie lo <b>ponienki</b> ; Sprawa inso. (SWPI 162)	Not for the likes of you, m' <b>dear</b> ! Our cause is different. (SWEng 157)
Panna młoda jakieś <b>słówko</b> ma do ciebie. (SWPI 34)	Your good lady'd like a <b>word</b> , if you've a moment. (SWEng 43)
(...) każdy ma swoje osobne, co go trzyma - a te <b>drobne rzeczki</b> , <b>małe</b> , niepozorne, składają się na jedną wielką rzecz. (SWPI 24)	(...) each has his private fish to fry. These <b>little fishes</b> , (...) so <b>small</b> , so unassuming, together form a shoal of vast extent. (SWEng 35)
Przy <b>samiuśkim</b> koniu stałem. (SWPI 117)	I stood beside that horse <b>an' all</b> . (SWEng 119)

<i>Taki świat a tutaj <b>bliziu</b>tko.</i> (JIP1 106)	<i>It's such a long way, and it's <b>nice and close</b> here.</i> (JIEng 93)
<i>Za <b>koniuszek</b>...</i> (AFSP1 94)	<i>Pull <b>the ends</b>...</i> (AFSEng 169)
<i>Jedna mnie tu zwiódła <b>chmurka</b>.</i> (SWP1 31)	<i>A <b>little cloudlet</b> helped me steer.</i> (SWEng 41)
<i>Tak z nudy (...) bywam wiele; (...) <b>partyjka, kolacyjka</b> (...)</i> (SWP1 140)	<i>When life's a bore (...) I make quite sure I have (...) <b>games of whist and meals</b> (...)</i> (SWEng 138)
<i><b>Mało szkoda</b>, krótki żal.</i> (SWP1 142)	<i><b>Little damage</b>, brief regret!</i> (SWEng 140)
<i>To tylko taki majowy <b>deszczyk</b>.</i> (JIP1 106)	<i>It's just a May <b>shower</b>.</i> (JIEng 93)
<i>Dzik to dziki, lew to śmiały, w moim ręku – jak <b>owieczka</b>...</i> (AFZP1 14)	<i>Wild as a boar? (...) They're meek as <b>new-born lambs</b> (...)</i> (AFZEng 21)
<i>(...) <b>bóg-kobieta</b>, lecz w zazdrości <b>diablik mały</b> (...)</i> (AFZP1 21)	<i>My lady – female divinity – though <b>devilish jealous</b> (...)</i> (AFZEng 26)
<i>Przy tym zawzięte jak <b>kogucik</b> młody.</i> (AFSP1 90)	<i><b>Cocksure</b>, pig-headed, certain she knows best.</i> (AFSEng 165)
<i>Papkin <b>nóżki</b> ściska, za przyjęcie dzięki składa.</i> (AFZP1 95)	<i>I am prostrate at your <b>feet</b>! So warm a welcome for a stranger!</i> (AFZEng 77)
<i>Wyście sobie, a my sobie. Każdy sobie <b>rzepkę</b> skrobie.</i> (SWP1 13)	<i>You have your ways, we have ours.</i> (SWEng 26)
<i>Zamieniał <b>stryjek</b> za <b>siekierkę kijek</b>.</i> (AFZP1 126)	<i>For me, as <b>uncle</b>, profit lacks – I've swapped <b>a cudgel for my axe</b>!</i> (AFZEng 99)
<i><b>Kamilku</b>, będziemy kochali cię wiecznie.</i> (ZMP1 200)	<i><b>Dearest Kamil</b>, we will love you for ever.</i> (ZMEng 205)
<i><b>Tatusiu</b>, zrobiłam to dla ciebie.</i> (ZMP1 75)	<i><b>Daddy</b>, I did it for you.</i> (ZMEng 73)
<i>To doprawdy nieczuły ze mnie <b>stryjcio</b>!</i> (JIP1 102)	<i>What a thoughtless <b>uncle</b> I am!</i> (JIEng 89)
<i>Nie, nie póde, <b>matusiu</b>.</i> (SWP1 64)	<i>No, please, <b>mama</b>! I can't go yet!</i> (SWEng 72)
<i>Kochany <b>chłopczyna</b>!</i> (AFSP1 19)	<i>The darling <b>boy</b>!</i> (AFSEng 112)
<i><b>Monia</b> mówiła mi (...)</i> (ZMP1 251)	<i><b>Monika</b> told me (...)</i> (ZMEng 258)
<i>(...) i ty, i <b>Hanusia</b>, i ja (...)</i> (SWP1 141)	<i>You (...) with <b>Hanna</b> and myself (...)</i> (SWEng 139)



<i>Ale <b>tatuś</b> nie lubi listów <b>stryjcia</b>.</i> (JIP1 107)	<i>But <b>Daddy</b> doesn't like your letters, <b>Uncle</b>.</i> (JIEng 94)
<i>W centrum miasta (...) piorun zabił kobietę, która szła odebrać z przedszkola siedmioletnią <b>córeczkę</b>.</i> (ZMPI 281)	<i>In a city-centre area (...), lightning killed a woman who was on her way to fetch her seven-year-old <b>daughter</b> from playschool.</i> (ZMEng 291)
<i>Pamiętam ciebie zupełnie <b>malutką</b> (...)</i> (JIP1 53)	<i>I remember when you were <b>a very little girl</b> (...)</i> (JIEng 40)
<i>Biedny <b>Gustawek!</b> Wszyscy bij zabij na niego.</i> (AFSPI 43)	<i>Poor <b>boy!</b> They've really got it in for you!</i> (AFSEng 130)
<i>O, biedny, biedny <b>Gucio mały</b>.</i> (AFSPI 44)	<i>Poor <b>little Gussie, helpless mite!</b></i> (AFSEng 131)
<i>W moim <b>domku</b> zimno mnie.</i> (SWPI 68)	<i>My <b>little house</b> is chill.</i> (SWEng 75)
<i>(...) żebyś miał <b>kąt</b> (...) <b>maleńki</b> (...)</i> (SWPI 147)	<i>A private <b>corner</b> (...) some <b>tiny spot</b> (...)</i> (SWEng 144)
<i><b>Buciki</b> mom trochę ciasne.</i> (SWPI 23)	<i>My <b>boots</b> are pinching.</i> (SWEng 34)
<i>Pot oblewa całe <b>czołko</b>; możesz się zaziębić wnet.</i> (SWPI 25)	<i>The sweat's just pouring from your <b>brow!</b> Take care! You'll catch a fearful chill.</i> (SWEng 36)
<i>W tej <b>kurteczce</b> lata – jeszcze kataru, u diaska, dostanie.</i> (AFSPI 17)	<i>You'll catch your death, for heaven's sake! That <b>coat</b> you're wearing's like a summer vest.</i> (AFSEng 111)
<i>Bo jak żeście drzwi <b>snopkiem</b> zastawiali, to pewnie wiało jak cholera.</i> (ZMPI 89)	<i>But keeping the door propped open with a <b>sheaf of straw</b> must get bloody windy.</i> (ZMEng 87)
<i>Coś nerwowo nasz <b>doktorek</b>.</i> (ZMPI 141)	<i>Our <b>doctor</b>'s rather nervy.</i> (ZMEng 142)
<i>Uuu, niegrzeczny <b>prokurator</b>.</i> (ZMPI 82)	<i>Aaaww, what a rude <b>prosecutor</b>.</i> (ZMEng 79)
<i>Tak, powinni to napisać pod <b>orzelkiem</b> przy drzwiach jako nasze zawołanie herbowe.</i> (ZMPI 170)	<i>Yes, they should write that underneath the <b>eagle</b> above the door as our heraldic motto.</i> (ZMEng 172)

<i>Wygląda na to, że <b>wdówka</b> nie będzie musiała pytać w aptece o polskie zamienniki. (ZMPI 217)</i>	<i>It looks as if <b>the widow</b> won't have to ask for cheaper Polish substitutes at the pharmacy. (ZMEng 223)</i>
<i>Musiałem przecież wypełniać <b>rubryczki</b> w protokołach. (ZMPI 237)</i>	<i>I must have filled in <b>the boxes</b> in the witness-statement forms. (ZMEng 244)</i>
<i>Dowiedzieliśmy się, że odłożył okrągłą <b>sumkę</b>. (ZMPI 268)</i>	<i>We found out he put aside a large <b>sum</b>. (ZMEng 278)</i>
<i>Dostaniesz karę, zobaczysz! Nie pozwolą ci jeść <b>tłuszczyku</b>, bobasie. (ZMPI 233)</i>	<i>You'll get punished, you'll see! They won't let you eat <b>fat</b>, kiddywink. (ZMEng 239)</i>
<i>Może <b>słoweczko</b> z wymówką, bo coś na mnie kiwa <b>główką</b>. (SWPI 34)</i>	<i>Perhaps a <b>word</b> of mild correction, with a nod in my direction... (SWEng 44)</i>
<i>Moja <b>duszeko</b>, tu się mówi o kościelnej dostojności (...) (SWPI 17)</i>	<i>My <b>dear</b>, the subject we're discussing's how the Church may dignify our Reverend Father. (SWEng 29)</i>
<i>Co skłoniło Podstolinę, <b>wdówkę</b> tanną, <b>wdówkę</b> gładką, za takową iść gadzinę. (AFZPI 80)</i>	<i>How that Squire persuaded her – a tempting <b>widow</b>, suave, urbane – such a reptile to prefer. (AFZEng 67)</i>
<b>Polish translated version</b>	<b>English original version</b>
<i><b>Mała suma</b> nie wystarczyłaby na to wszystko. (JAPI 309)</i>	<i>A <b>small</b> sum could not do all this. (JAEng 233)</i>
<i>Może <b>troścyczek</b> zraniłem twoje ego. (MNPI 205)</i>	<i>Perhaps your ego's a <b>teensy bit</b> hurt. (MNEng 189)</i>
<i>Kiedy się jej <b>ubranko</b> nie podoba, to przesikuje je na wylot. (MNPI 228)</i>	<i>She goes through <b>clothes</b> like they're going out of fashion. (MNEng 211)</i>
<i>Pasuje do sytuacji. Wszystkie informacje są ukryte w jej <b>rozumku</b>. Sama nie wie, kim jest i skąd pochodzi. (DKPI 60)</i>	<i>It suits you perfectly because it's a mystery where you came from and it's a mystery who you are. (DKEng 53)</i>
<i>Fakt, że się o tym słyszało wcześniej, budzi dodatkowy <b>dreszczyk</b> (...) (ACPI 29)</i>	<i>Knowing about it beforehand gives it an extra <b>thrill</b> (...) (ACEng 39)</i>
<i>Zagrać <b>rundkę</b> golfa czy tenisa. (ACPI 41)</i>	<i>I like a <b>round</b> of golf and a <b>good set</b> of tennis. (ACEng 54)</i>

<i>Mam też miły <b>dom</b>ek w pobliżu Cobham.</i> (ACPI 17)	<i>I've a nice <b>cottage</b> near Cobham.</i> (ACEng 23)
<i>Gdybym nie pracował dla tej cudownej kobiety, sprzedałbym to za niezłą <b>sumkę</b>, moja droga. Niezłą <b>sumkę</b>.</i> (MNPI 24)	<i>If I didn't work for that wonderful woman, I'd have sold this for <b>a fortune</b>, my dear. <b>A fortune</b>.</i> (MNEng 16)
<i>W pociągu nie było żadnych Anglików, z wyjątkiem tego <b>małego urzędnika</b>.</i> (ACPI 62)	<i>There was no Englishman on the train except <b>a little clerk</b>.</i> (ACEng 81)
<i>W Brighton będzie osobą o dużo mniejszym znaczeniu niż tutaj, nawet jako zwykła, <b>mała kokietka</b>.</i> (JAPI 241)	<i>At Brighton she will be of less importance even as a common <b>flirt</b> than she has been here.</i> (JAEng 180)
<i>Widać tutaj <b>maleńki ślad</b>.</i> (ACPI 97)	<i>You can just see <b>the tiny</b> puncture.</i> (ACEng 127)
<i>Co za pyszny figiel, żeby pojechać rano i do tej chwili ani <b>słówkiem</b> o niczym nie pisać!</i> (JAPI 10)	<i>And it is such a good joke, too, that you should have gone this morning and never said <b>a word</b> about it till now.</i> (JAEng 8)
<i>Nie powiedziałaś mi ani <b>słówka</b>!</i> (JAPI 69)	<i>Why, Jane – you never dropt <b>a word</b> of this!</i> (JAEng 50)
<i>Marzyło mi się tylko <b>malutkie co nieco</b>.</i> (DKPI 21)	<i>I was only thinking about <b>it</b>.</i> (DKEng 21)
<i>To taki <b>mały prezencik</b>.</i> (ACPI 13)	<i><b>A little present</b>.</i> (ACEng 17)
<i>(...) a moja <b>opowiadka</b> o pani St John wydawałaby się bardzo grubymi nićmi szyta.</i> (ACPI 39)	<i>(...) my <b>story</b> of a Mrs St John would seem feeble in the extreme.</i> (ACEng 51)
<i><b>Mała broń</b>, ale skuteczna.</i> (ACPI 55)	<i><b>A small weapon</b> but efficacious.</i> (ACEng 72)
<i>(...) więc pan dokłada <b>mały szczegół</b> własnego pomysłu o przecieku w wydziale Henslera.</i> (ACPI 98)	<i>(...) and you add <b>a damaging little invention</b> of your own about a leakage in Hensley's department.</i> (ACEng 129)
<i><b>Mała odmiana</b> każdemu dobrze robi.</i> (ACPI 72)	<i><b>A bit of change</b> does one good.</i> (ACEng 94)
<i>- Ach, znalazł pan coś, pułkowniku? - Tylko <b>mały kamyczek</b>.</i> (ACPI 116)	<i>- Ah, you have fund something, colonel? - Only <b>a little pebble</b>.</i> (ACEng 153)
<i>To za <b>mała sprawa</b> jak dla gazet...</i> (MNPI 280)	<i>It's <b>not big enough</b> for the tabloids...</i> (MNEng 259)

<i>Odniosłem wrażenie, że myśl ta spodobała się mej patronce, a rozumie pani, jak szczęśliwy jestem, gdy nadarzy mi się okazja powiedzenia jakiegoś <b>małego komplementu</b>, tak chętnie przyjmowanego przez damy. (JAPI 76-77)</i>	<i>Her ladyship seemed pleased with the idea; and you may imagine that I am happy on every occasion to offer those <b>little delicate compliments</b> which are always acceptable to ladies. (JAEng 55)</i>
<i>To takie <b>małe drobiazgi</b>, które sprawiają lady Katarzynie przyjemność (...) (JAPI 77)</i>	<i>These are the kind of <b>little things</b> which please her ladyship (...) (JAEng 55)</i>
<i>(...) zaszczyci cię <b>chwilką</b> uwagi. (JAPI 166)</i>	<i>(...) you will be honoured with <b>some portion</b> of her notice (...) (JAEng 124)</i>
<i>(...) inteligentna piękna kobieta ma po <b>dziurki</b> w nosie takiego pacana jak ja. (ACPI 41)</i>	<i>(...) a clever, beautiful woman getting fed up with an ass like me. (ACEng 55)</i>
<i>To są ciężko zapracowane pieniądze (...) Jeśli myśli pan, że zamierzam je oddać ciepłą <b>rączką</b>, to się pan myli. (ACPI 64)</i>	<i>That money was worked for (...) hard. If you think I'm going to <b>hand it out</b> like so much dirt – well, you're mistaken. (ACEng 83)</i>
<i>Edward jest łagodny jak <b>baranek</b>. (ACPI 79)</i>	<i>He's such a mild <b>lamb</b>. (ACEng 103)</i>
<i><b>Dzieciątka, tatuś</b> już wrócił. (DKPI 20)</i>	<i><b>Daddy's</b> here. (DKEng 20)</i>
<i>Oczywiście, sądzi, że część tej uprzejmości trzeba przypisać jego pokrewieństwu z miłymi <b>kuzyneczkami</b> (...) (JAPI 84)</i>	<i>Something, he supposed, might be attributed to his connection with <b>them</b> (...) (JAEng 60)</i>
<i>Mo, <b>złotko</b>, właśnie dwukrotnie wysłałaś tę samą wiadomość. (MNPI 61)</i>	<i>Mo <b>hon</b>, you just sent me the same message twice. (MNEng 50)</i>
<i>(...) ale jestem przekonana, że teraz, kiedy drogi <b>wujaszek</b> przyjechał, wszystko będzie dobrze. (JAPI 291)</i>	<i>But now that my dear <b>uncle</b> is come, I hope everything will be well. (JAEng 219)</i>
<i>O, zjadłaś zupkę, <b>kochanieńka</b>. (ACPI 71)</i>	<i>Ah, you've drunk your soup, <b>my dear</b>. (ACEng 92)</i>
<i>Ależ byłam <b>gluptasem</b>, że uwierzyłam w to ogłoszenie (...) (ACPI 30)</i>	<i>What a <b>silly little fool</b> I was to believe in that advertisement (...) (ACEng 40)</i>
<i><b>Bidulka</b>. (DKPI 50)</i>	<i><b>Poor old thing</b>. (DKEng 44)</i>

<i>On jest taki biedny, zagubiony jak <b>mały chłopiec</b>. (ACPI 128)</i>	<i>He is so pathetic, so <b>child-like</b>. (ACEng 169)</i>
<i>Myślę, że zawzięła się na biednego <b>wujaszka</b> (...) (ACPI 131)</i>	<i>I think she had a down on poor <b>little Nunks</b> (...) (ACEng 172)</i>
<i>Moja <b>biedulka</b>. (MNPI 232)</i>	<i><b>Oh poor heart</b>. (MNEng 215)</i>
<i>Nie możesz (...) żądać, by takie <b>dziewczątka</b> miały rozum zarówno ojca, jak i matki. (JAPI 34)</i>	<i>(...) you must not expect such <b>girls</b> to have the sense of their father and mother. (JAEng 25)</i>
<i>Biednaś ty, moja <b>Lizy!</b> (JAPI 240)</i>	<i>Poor <b>little Lizy!</b> (JAEng 179)</i>
<i>Biedna <b>mamusia</b> naprawdę cierpi i nie opuszcza swego pokoju. (JAPI 280)</i>	<i>My poor <b>mother</b> is really ill, and keeps her room. (JAEng 210)</i>
<i><b>Biedaczek</b>, tak desperacko pragnie być młody! (ACPI 11)</i>	<i><b>Poor George</b>, how terribly he wanted to be young! (ACEng 14)</i>
<i>Oczywiście Claude, <b>biedaczyna</b>, nie jest zbyt bystry. (ACPI 37)</i>	<i>Of course Claude, <b>poor fellow</b>, hasn't many brains. (ACEng 49)</i>
<i>Ogródek, w którym stoi mój skromny <b>domek</b> (...) (JAPI 76)</i>	<i>The garden in which stands my humble <b>abode</b> (...) (JAEng 54)</i>
<i>Wiemy, jak niewiele ponęt ma skromna nasza <b>chatynka</b>. (JAPI 224)</i>	<i>We know how little there is to tempt anyone to our humble <b>abode</b>. (JAEng 167)</i>
<i>Właściwie jest <b>trochę tępawy</b>. (MNPI 366)</i>	<i>He's <b>a bit dull</b> actually. (MNEng 344)</i>
<i>Nietrudno było wybrać jakieś <b>małe narzędzie</b> odpowiednie do pańskiego celu. (ACPI 98)</i>	<i>It was easy to select <b>a neat little tool</b> for your purpose. (ACEng 129)</i>
<i>Mam całą tę <b>milutką</b> korespondencję, z listem o kapsulce włącznie. (ACPI 132)</i>	<i>I've got all that <b>pretty</b> correspondence, including the one about the cachet. (ACEng 174)</i>
<i>Nie ma o tym pojęcia. Mieszka sobie w swojej <b>chatce</b>, radośnie uzupełniając albumy z wycinkami oraz karmiąc Zemstę i Słodką. (MNPI 36)</i>	<i>She has no idea, lives in her <b>little cottage</b>, happily filling her scrapbooks and feeding <b>Revenge and Sweet</b>. (MNEng 27)</i>
<i>...ale tak między nami, nie mam pojęcia, co się dzieje w jej ślicznej <b>główce</b>. (MNPI 98)</i>	<i>... But between you and me, I haven't got a clue what's going on inside her pretty <b>little head</b>. (MNEng 85)</i>

<i>Słowo daję, <b>siostrzyczko</b>, wydaje mi się, że bardziej prawdopodobne jest zyskanie Pemberley za pomocą pieniędzy niż naśladownictwa. (JAPI 43)</i>	<i>Upon my word, <b>Caroline</b>, I should think it more possible to get Pemberley by purchase than by imitation. (JAEng 32)</i>
<i>Możesz się jednak pocieszyć, że jeśli ci się zdarzy cokolwiek w tym guście, masz kochającą <b>mamusię</b>, która to z pewnością odpowiednio rozgłosi. (JAPI 147)</i>	<i>But it is a comfort to think that whatever of that kind may befall you, you have an affectionate <b>mother</b> who will always make the most of it. (JAEng 109)</i>
<i>No, <b>kochaneczko</b> (...) jeśli ci córka zapadnie ciężko na zdrowiu albo jeśli umrze, będziesz się zawsze mogła pocieszać świadomością, że zrobiła to, łapiąc pana Bingleya na męża i postępując ściśle według twoich zaleceń. (JAPI 36)</i>	<i>Well, <b>my dear</b> (...) if your daughter should have a dangerous fit of illness – if she should die, it would be a comfort to know that it was all in pursuit of Mr Bingley, and dunder your orders. (JAEng 27)</i>
<i>To jego <b>przyjaciółeczka!</b> (ACPI 43)</i>	<i>She's Reggie's <b>little friend!</b> (ACEng 57)</i>
<i>Mniej więcej tak, jak <b>drobna rólka</b> (...) ciągnie się za klasycznym aktorem. (MNPI 90)</i>	<i>Much in the same way that a <b>bit-part</b> (...) would follow a classic actor. (MNEng 77)</i>
<i>Odnoszę wrażenie, że masz <b>leciutką</b> obsesję na punkcie tego człowieka. (MNPI 207)</i>	<i>You seem a <b>bit</b> obsessed with that man. (MNEng 191)</i>
<i>Odkąd zaczęłam pracować z panem i pańskimi <b>koleżkami</b> (...) (MNPI 206)</i>	<i>Since working with you and your <b>cronies</b> (...) (MNEng 190)</i>
<i>Ta <b>mała</b> wygląda jak futrzana pomarańcza. (DKPI 58)</i>	<i><b>He</b> looks like a furry orange. (DKEng 51)</i>

Table 31. Diminutives in assertive acts

Assertive acts adhere to the maxims of agreement and sympathy (see chapter 5.2.). Depending on the context, diminutives may express positive or negative evaluation. In the first case, the speaker refers to himself/herself, expressing self-pity in order to maintain his/her positive face (e.g. *Ależ byłam **gluptasem**, że uwierzyłam w to ogłoszenie*). The speaker may as well refer to the addressee or the person, who is not a participant in a given conversation, also intending to maintain somebody's positive face (e.g. *Biedna **mamusia** naprawdę cierpi i nie opuszcza swego pokoju.*). Nevertheless, diminutives may as well express negative evaluation, which threatens the addressee's or the non-participant's positive face (e.g. *To był **studenciak** z*

*inteligentnego domu.* or *Odkąd zaczęłam pracować z panem i pańskimi koleżkami*). When referring to his/her own possessions, the speaker may use diminutive form to play down a given thing in order to avoid self-praise and minimize its significance, which maintains his/her positive face (e.g. *Ogródek, w którym stoi mój skromny domek*). In some cases diminutive forms may be applied when the speaker announces something pleasant for the addressee, minimizing cost and praise to self, as the speaker wants to play down its value and the fact or effort of getting it (e.g. *To taki mały prezencik*). They may as well be used in compliment responses, mitigating the compliment by minimizing the evaluated thing. Therefore, it is the speaker who threatens his/her positive face (e.g. *Wiemy, jak niewiele ponęt ma skromna nasza chatynka*). In assertive acts diminutives are used while talking with friends (e.g. *Mo, złotko, właśnie dwukrotnie wysłałaś tę samą wiadomość*), with family members (e.g. *Możesz się jednak pocieszyć, że jeśli ci się zdarzy cokolwiek w tym guście, masz kochającą mamusię, która to z pewnością odpowiednio rozgłosi*) or with strangers (e.g. *Musiałem przecież wypełniać rubryczki w protokołach*). Although diminutives used in assertive acts are mostly employed in Polish, there are some examples of applying them in English as well (e.g. *She's Reggie's little friend!*).

#### Diminutives in directive acts

Polish original version	English translated version
<b>Asking for action</b>	
<i>Odpocnijże haw, Wojtecku.</i> (SWPl 67)	<i>Wojtek, love, come take a rest.</i> (SWEng 74)
<i>Jasiek, drużba, słuchaj, bratku (...)</i> (SWPl 55)	<i>Jasiek, fellow-groomsman – here!</i> (SWEng 63)
<i>Wstań, serdeńko, i chodź ze mną.</i> (AFZPl 125)	<i>Rise, my son, and come with me!</i> (AFZEng 98)
<i>Tatusiowi powiadaj, że tu gości będzie miał.</i> (SWPl 66)	<i>Tell your daddy this, my dear: guests are coming (...)</i> (SWEng 73)
<i>Przystaw gęby, żonisiu.</i> (SWPl 68)	<i>Say no more about it, love!</i> (SWEng 75)
<i>Skłońże ku mnie główkę, skłoń.</i> (SWPl 70)	<i>Turn your head towards me, sweet!</i> (SWEng 77)
<i>(...) przytul mnie, Wojtecku, do siebie.</i> (SWPl 71)	<i>Wojtek, hug me to your chest.</i> (SWEng 78)

<i>Ino, <b>matuś</b>, zaś nie swarzcie (...)</i> (SWPl 103)	<i>Let's not start to quarrel now!</i> (SWEng 106)
<i>Żono, słuchaj no, <b>żonisia</b>, pódź no, <b>Hanuś!</b></i> (SWPl 112)	<i>Listen <b>darling wife!</b></i> (SWEng 114)
<i>Daj mi, luby, <b>kanareczka</b>.</i> (AFZPl 62)	<i>What I'd like is <b>a canary!</b></i> (AFZEng 55)
<i>Nie płacz, <b>Jadziu</b> (...)</i> (ZMPl 145)	<i>Don't cry, <b>Jadzia</b> (...)</i> (ZMEng 146)
<i><b>Guciu, Guciuniu</b>, (...) bądź też rozsądny.</i> (AFSP1 40)	<i><b>Gustave!</b> Think before you speak! Be sensible (...)</i> (AFSEng 127)
<i>Zdradź go, zdradź, moja <b>duszko!</b></i> (AFSP1 86)	<i>Betray him!</i> (AFSEng 163)
<i><b>Panienska</b> się nie zgniwają (...)</i> (SWPl 14)	<i>(...) please don't worry (...)</i> (SWEng 27)
<i>A w <b>kóleczo</b>...</i> (SWPl 14)	<i>Into <b>the circle</b>.</i> (SWEng 27)
<i>Proszę, proszę, <b>chwilkę</b> w koło.</i> (SWPl 15)	<i>Come along, then! Join the round.</i> (SWEng 27)
<i>Spójrz, jakie piękne, krągłe <b>literki</b>.</i> (ZMPl 29)	<i>Look what lovely round <b>letters</b>.</i> (ZMEng 24)
<i>Ksiądz dobrodziej już niebawem będzie nosić <b>pelerynkę?</b></i> (SWPl 16)	<i>But, Reverend Father, presently you will wear <b>a canon's cape</b>.</i> (SWEng 28)
<i>A przyniosłeś <b>słoiczek</b> swojej rozpuszczalnej z biura, żeby pani zrobiła ci kawy?</i> (ZMPl 29)	<i>Brought <b>a jar</b> of your instant from the Office, eh, so the lady can make you some coffee?</i> (ZMEng 24)
<i>W sensie: czy marchewka, czy <b>kotlecik?</b></i> (ZMPl 102)	<i>You mean was it the carrot or <b>the chops?</b></i> (ZMEng 100)
<i>Pozwala ci sprowadzić twoje dzieciństwo i życie twoich starych do "ostatniej <b>paróweczki</b>"?</i> (ZMPl 266)	<i>Allow you to reduce your childhood and your parents' lives to a silly satire full of jokes about <b>sausages?</b></i> (ZMEng 275)
<i>Hej, panie, panie Branecki, nie żałuj <b>grosika</b>, nie żałuj, (...) nie żałuj <b>dukacika</b>, nie żałuj, dajże go nam z tej kieski!</i> (SWPl 88)	<i>Hetman Branecki, hey! (...) You'll surely spare us <b>a copper!</b> (...) <b>a ducat</b>, we're sure, you will not deny! Come, sir, open your purse!</i> (SWEng 93)
<i>Przygruchaj sobie jakąś posterunkową, niech ci pisze okrągłymi <b>literkami</b>.</i> (ZMPl 23)	<i>Get some lady constable to write it out for you in nice round <b>letters</b>.</i> (ZMEng 18)
<i>Za resztę kupi pan córce <b>małe mieszkanie</b>, żeby na nią czekało i zyskiwało na wartości.</i> (ZMPl 275)	<i>For the rest you can buy your daughter <b>a small flat</b> that can gain in value while it waits for her.</i> (ZMEng 285)



<i>A Klarunia niech pamięta nie powiadać nic nikomu... (AFZPI 57)</i>	<i>Clara, my dear (...) remember, quiet as a mouse! (AFZEng 50)</i>
<i>Mój majstruniu, mówcie śmiało. (AFZPI 69)</i>	<i>Come, Master Mason, don't be shy! (AFZEng 60)</i>
<i>Bądź, serdeńko, bez obawy. (AFZPI 87)</i>	<i>He need fear nothing for the nonce... (AFZEng 72)</i>
<i>Byle mnie kochał stryjaszek kochany, był mi zawsze zdrow, czerstwy i rumiany! (AFSP1 11)</i>	<i>So long as my dear Uncle loves me ever, I shall be hale and hearty – perish never! (AFSEng 106)</i>
<i>Propozycja jest poważna, więc proszę sobie darować żarciki. (ZMPI 275)</i>	<i>It's a serious offer, so please spare yourself the little jokes. (ZMEng 285)</i>
<i>Idź serdeńko, bo cię trzepnę. (AFZPI 74)</i>	<i>Or must I help you on your way?! (AFZEng 63)</i>
<b>Asking for permission</b>	
<i>Matusiu, jesce ino w kółko raz. (SWPI 64)</i>	<i>Oh, mummy, please! One more dance and then I'll go. (SWEng 72)</i>
<i>(...) muse widzieć cepiny, matusieńku, matusiu, ino dziś, ino dziś. (SWPI 64)</i>	<i>Please, ma, please – do let me stay! Just this once – today's the day! (SWEng 72)</i>
<b>Asking for patience</b>	
<i>Jeszcze momencik. (ZMPI 235)</i>	<i>Just a moment. (ZMEng 241)</i>
<i>Chwileczka jeszcze. (JIPI 72)</i>	<i>Just a moment. (JIEng 59)</i>
<i>Momencik, zaraz sprawdzę. (ZMPI 282)</i>	<i>Just a moment, I'll go and check. (ZMEng 292)</i>
<b>Asking for information</b>	
<i>Mamo, wiesz, ile razy wygrałam z tatą w chińczyka? (ZMPI 57)</i>	<i>Mummy, do you know how many times I beat Daddy at ludo? (ZMEng 53)</i>
<i>Czy w takim razie umyjesz teraz ząbki (...)? (ZMPI 97)</i>	<i>In that case will you go and brush your teeth now (...)? (ZMEng 96)</i>
<i>Tatuś sie Weselem cieszą. (SWPI 142)</i>	<i>Are you enjoying it, Papa? (SWEng 140)</i>
<i>Wiktorku (...) jak dawno pan tu pracuje? (JIPI 25)</i>	<i>Wiktor, dear boy (...) How long have you been working here? (JIEng 12)</i>
<i>A co, nie lubisz mojego tiszercika z misiem? (ZMPI 134)</i>	<i>Don't you like my teddy-bear T-shirt? (ZMEng 135)</i>

Gdzież <b>Hanusia</b> ? <b>Hanus!</b> (SWPl 149)	<b>Hannah, dear!</b> Where are you? (SWEng 145)
Cóż ta, <b>gospośiu</b> , na roli? (SWPl 15)	How's it going on your farm? (SWEng 28)
Pali <b>pieniążek</b> moskieski? (SWPl 88)	Muscovite <b>money</b> burns, you say... (SWEng 94)
<b>Polish translated version</b>	<b>English original version</b>
<b>Asking for action</b>	
Tak pani wybornie tańczy, panno Elzbieto, że okrucieństwem jest odmawiać mi radości, jaką daje ten widok, a choć ten pan nie lubi na ogół tańca, z pewnością nie będzie miał nic przeciwko temu, by poświęcić na ten cel <b>małe pół godzinki</b> . (JAPl 30)	You excel so much in the dance, Miss Eliza, that it is cruel to deny me the happiness of seeing you; and though this gentleman dislikes the amusement in general, he can have no objection, I am sure, to oblige us for <b>one half-hour</b> . (JAEng 23)
Fredo, <b>aniółku</b> mój, czy mogłabyś... (ACPl 28)	Freda – <b>darling angel</b> – could you ever – I mean (...) (ACEng 38)
Leż tylko spokojnie i zdrowiej, <b>kochanieńka</b> . (ACPl 68)	Just lie still and get well, <b>my dear</b> . (ACEng 89)
Nie martw się tym teraz, <b>małeńka</b> . (ACPl 27)	Don't worry about that, <b>little girl</b> . (ACEng 37)
Pozwolę też sobie wykorzystać okazję i poprosić cię, <b>kuzyneczko</b> Elzbieto, o zarezerwowanie dla mnie dwóch pierwszych tańców. (JAPl 98)	And I take this opportunity of soliciting yours, <b>Miss Elizabeth</b> , for the two first dances especially. (JAEng 71)
(...) wyrażam nadzieję, iż każda z moich pięknych <b>kuzyneczek</b> zaszczyci mnie tańcem tego wieczoru. (JAPl 98)	(...) I shall hope to be honoured with the hands of all my fair <b>cousins</b> in the course of the evening. (JAEng 71)
Powieś pan koniecznie w galerii obrazów w Pemberley portrety <b>wujaszka</b> i <b>cioteczki</b> Philipsów. (JAPl 58)	Do let the portraits of your <b>uncle</b> and <b>aunt Philips</b> be placed in the gallery at Pemberley. (JAEng 43)
Dlatego też Jane powinna wykorzystać każde <b>pół godzinki</b> , kiedy nadarza się okazja, by przykuć jego uwagę. (JAPl 25)	Jane should therefore make the most of every <b>half-hour</b> in which she can command his attention. (JAEng 19)

<i>Szybciutko, Jane, powiedz nam szybciutko, moje serce!</i> (JAPI 34)	<i>Well, Jane, <b>make haste</b> and tell us; <b>make haste</b>, my love.</i> (JAEng 26)
<i>Niech mi pani pokaże ten <b>kuferek</b>.</i> (ACPI 23)	<i>Show me this <b>chest</b> of your father's.</i> (ACEng 31)
<i>Och, nawiasem mówiąc, musisz wziąć na siebie <b>drobniutkie zobowiązanie</b>.</i> (MNPI 183)	<i>Oh, by the way, there is one <b>tiny weeny stipulation</b>.</i> (MNEng 167)
<i>Będziesz musiała udzielić <b>maleńkiego wywiadziku</b> dla „Heralda”.</i> (MNPI 184)	<i>You'll have to do <b>an itsy bitsy interview</b> for the 'Herald'.</i> (MNEng 167)
<i>(...) bądź grzeczną <b>dziewczynką</b>.</i> (MNPI 184)	<i>(...) there's a good <b>girl</b>.</i> (MNEng 167)
<b>Asking for permission</b>	
<i>(...) mam tylko dwie <b>małe prośby</b> (...)</i> (JAPI 123)	<i>(...) I have two <b>small favours</b> to request.</i> (JAEng 90)
<b>Asking for patience</b>	
<i>Niech się <b>trochę</b> podenerwuje.</i> (MNPI 235)	<i>Keep him on his toes <b>a bit</b>.</i> (MNEng 217)
<b>Asking for information</b>	
<i>Co się dzieje, <b>słoneczko</b>?</i> (ACPI 124)	<i>What's the matter, <b>my sweet</b>?</i> (ACEng 164)
<i>Wie, kim jest tajemnicza postać, która ma uświetnić waszą <b>imprezkę</b>?</i> (DKPI 5)	<i>Even the name of the mystery celebrity?</i> (DKEng 7)
<i>Co tam słyhać w twoim uroczym kobiecym <b>pisemku</b>?</i> (MNPI 21)	<i>How are things at your lovely <b>little women's mag</b>?</i> (MNEng 13)
<i>Czy to wszystko nonsens, czy też jest w tym <b>ziarnko</b> prawdy?</i> (ACPI 6)	<i>Was this nonsense, or could it, perhaps be true?</i> (ACEng 8)
<i>Więc kiedy zdałeś sobie sprawę, jaki ze mnie smakowity <b>kąsek</b>?</i> (MNPI 363)	<i>So when did you realise just how <b>tasty I</b> really was?</i> (MNEng 341)

Table 32. Diminutives in directive acts

Directive acts concentrate mostly on requests, which are face-threatening acts. Thus, by using diminutive forms, the speaker wants to reduce the face threat. Diminutive forms minimize the cost to hearer (see chapter 5.3.). The requested action or thing is represented as small, which makes it more acceptable for the addressee. Therefore, the use of diminutive forms in requests is a negative politeness strategy.

Diminutive forms are applied in asking for action, diminishing the action. The speaker wants to minimize the impact of a statement by using diminutives which soften the command

(e.g. *Wstań, **serdeńko**, i chodź ze mną.*), minimize the imposition on the hearer as using the diminutive minimizes the object of the request, making it seem easy to cope with or insignificant (e.g. *Skłońże ku mnie **główkę**, skłoń.*) and makes the request appear less obligatory or important (e.g. *Będziesz musiała udzielić **maleńkiego** wywiadziku dla „Heralda”.*) as well as mark friendly or close relations among interlocutors (e.g. *Szybciutko, Jane, powiedz nam **szybciutko**, moje serce!*). On the other hand, diminutives may be used also in face-threatening acts done *off record*, indicating irony (e.g. *A przyniosłeś **stoiczek** swojej rozpuszczalnej z biura, żeby pani zrobiła ci kawy?*).

Diminutive forms are applied in asking for permission, playing down the action, which the speaker is going to perform and for which the hearer's permission is required, in its significance, intensity or duration (e.g. ***Matusiu**, jesce ino w kółko raz.*).

Diminutive forms are as well applied in asking for patience, when the speaker threatens the hearer's negative face, as he/she wants the addressee to wait and waiting is at a cost to the addressee. Diminutives represent the time invested by the addressee as short (e.g. ***Momencik**, zaraz sprawdzę.*).

Diminutive forms are also applied in asking for information, communicating the speaker's attitude towards the respective referents. They may indicate negative politeness (e.g. *Czy w takim razie umyjesz teraz **zabki**?*) or negative evaluation, threatening the hearer's positive face. By using *off record* strategies such as irony or sarcasm, it aims at belittling the addressee (e.g. *Co tam słychać w twoim uroczym kobiecym **pisemku**?*).

Diminutive forms are applied also in asking for material goods. Nevertheless, there are no examples of this diminutive use in the corpus for the analysis presented in this paper.

In directive acts diminutives are used while talking with friends (e.g. *Leż tylko spokojnie i zdrowiej, **kochanieńka**.*), with family members (e.g. *Żono, słuchaj no, **żonisia**, pódź no, **Hanuś!***) or with strangers (e.g. *Cóż ta, **gosposiu**, na roli?*). They are also used in conversations between a superior and a subordinate (e.g. *Och, nawiasem mówiąc, musisz wziąć na siebie **drobniutkie** zobowiązanie.*). Although diminutives used in directive acts are mostly employed in Polish, there are some examples of applying them in English as well (e.g. *Tell your **daddy** this, my dear: guests are coming.*).

Diminutives in commisive acts

Polish original version	English translated version
<b>Offers</b>	
<i>Tak, <b>tatusiu</b>, razem ci pomożemy. (ZMPI 75)</i>	<i>Yes, <b>Daddy</b>, we'll both help you. (ZMEng 73)</i>
<i>Dzień dobry, panie prokuratorze, może <b>papieroska</b>? (ZMPI 135)</i>	<i>Good morning, Prosecutor, would you like a <b>cigarette</b>? (ZMEng 136)</i>
<i><b>Grosik</b> za twoje myśli, prokuratorze. (ZMPI 256)</i>	<i>A <b>penny</b> for your thoughts, Prosecutor. (ZMEng 264)</i>
<i>Wiesz, co, <b>Papciu</b> – spraw się ładnie, a w <b>kieszonkę</b> grubo wpadnie. (AFZPI 68)</i>	<i>Come, <b>Papkin</b>, don't disgrace yourself! You'll not refuse a wad of pelf? (AFZEng 59)</i>
<i>Kiedy na sofie rozparty szeroko, półgębkiem gada, śpi na jedno oko, mamyż mu śpiewać <b>arietkę</b> wesolą? (AFSPI 32)</i>	<i>Spreadeagled on the sofa, he's at ease – eyes half-shut and muttering (...) Should we strike up a merry <b>roundelay</b> (...) ? (AFSEng 121)</i>
<i>(...) do wozu się <b>koniki</b> zaprzągnie (...) i wszystko. (SWPI 132)</i>	<i>We'd harness <b>horses</b> to our coach (...) and all. (SWEng 132)</i>
<b>Suggestions</b>	
<i>(...) postawimy se dwór modrzewiowy, <b>brzózek</b> przed oknami posadzę. (SWPI 97)</i>	<i>We'll have a house like this – a sturdy manor built of larch – and I'll plant <b>birch-trees</b> all around. (SWEng 101)</i>
<i>Niechże mi tu wolno będzie (...) do <b>maluczkich</b> upaść <b>nózek</b> (...) (AFZPI 90)</i>	<i>To fall at your <b>feet</b> is all I crave (...) (AFZEng 74)</i>
<b>Announcements</b>	
<i>(...) pomówię z <b>matusią</b> (...) (SWPI 13)</i>	<i>(...) I'd have a word with <b>mum</b> (...) (SWEng 26)</i>
<i>Chciałem coś powiedzieć czule, chciałem zapukać w <b>serduszko</b>. (SWPI 19)</i>	<i>My words were just a tender call – a gentle tap to wake your <b>heart</b>. (SWEng 31)</i>
<i>Ma dochody wprawdzie znaczne – Podstolina ma znaczniejsze; z <b>wdówką</b> zatem działać zacznę. (AFZPI 8)</i>	<i>Though Clara's fairly well-to-do – the widow Anna's got much more... I'll start by knocking at her door! (AFZEng 18)</i>

Polish translated version	English original version
<b>Offers</b>	
<i>Obiecuję ci, <b>duszko</b>, że jeśli ich się zjawi dwudziestu, złożę wizytę wszystkim, co do jednego.</i> (JAPI 7)	<i>Depend upon it, <b>my dear</b>, that when there are twenty, I will visit them all.</i> (JAEng 7)
<i><b>Miętuszka?</b></i> (MNPI 30)	<i><b>Minto</b>, anyone?</i> (MNEng 21)
<i>A przyjemny <b>mały bonus</b> byłby taki (...)</i> (MNPI 40)	<i>And, as a nice <b>little bonus</b> (...)</i> (MNEng 30)
<i>Ja za to opowiem pani krótką <b>historyjkę</b>.</i> (ACPI 38)	<i>I want to tell you <b>a little story</b>, Mrs St John.</i> (ACEng 50)
<b>Suggestions</b>	
<i>Proszę się o nic teraz nie martwić. (...) Za <b>minutkę</b> złapiemy taksówkę i pojedziemy gdzieś napić się kawy.</i> (ACPI 20)	<i>Don't worry about anything now (...) In <b>a minute or two</b> we'll be able to get a taxi. Then we'll drive somewhere and have a cup of coffee.</i> (ACEng 27)
<i>A po co psuć nastrój <b>biedaczynie?</b></i> (ACPI 11)	<i>Why should he be upset, <b>poor thing?</b></i> (ACEng 15)
<i>Kiedy pogoda się poprawi, chętnie zabiorę ciebie i twoją <b>rodzinkę</b> w rejs naszym jachtem.</i> (DKPI 103)	<i>I could take you and your <b>family</b> out sailing when the weather improves.</i> (DKEng 89)
<i>Będzie wzorową <b>koteczka</b>.</i> (DKPI 57)	<i>He'll be perfect.</i> (DKEng 50)
<b>Announcements</b>	
<i>Czuję, że do mnie pasuje. Mam chęć na <b>małą wyprawę</b>.</i> (DKPI 61)	<i>And that's exactly how I feel.</i> (DKEng 53)
<i>Kiedy tylko odzyskam mojego <b>chłopczynek</b>, naślę na nich całą policję z okolicy (...)</i> (ACPI 139)	<i>The very minute I get my <b>boy</b> back, Mr Pyne, I shall set the whole police of the neighbourhood on them (...)</i> (ACEng 183)
<i>(...) choć muszę jednak dodać jakieś dobre <b>słówko</b> za moją <b>małą Lizzy</b>.</i> (JAPI 7)	<i>(...) though I must throw in a good <b>word</b> for my <b>little Lizzy</b>.</i> (JAEng 6)
<i><b>Zdrówko, mała.</b></i> (MNPI 62)	<i><b>Cheers, babe.</b></i> (MNEng 51)
<i>Wezmę prysznic, <b>kotku!</b></i> (MNPI 171)	<i>I'm just having a shower, <b>pussycat!</b></i> (MNEng 155)

<i>Kupię trochę <b>satynki</b> w ładniejszym kolorze, żeby go trochę ożywić (...)</i> (JAP1 229)	<i>And when I have bought some prettier-coloured <b>satin</b> to trim it with fresh (...)</i> (JAEng 170)
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Table 33. Diminutives in commissive acts

Commissive acts refer to future actions done by the speaker, as he/she commits himself/herself to performing an action, which is a cost to the speaker. They adhere to Leech's Tact Maxim and Generosity Maxim (see chapter 5.4.).

Diminutive forms are applied in offers, which refer to future actions done by the speaker, from which the addressee profits. Thus, it is to the cost of the speaker and to the benefit of the hearer. Moreover, offering something threatens the speaker's negative face, indicating at the same time positive politeness (e.g. *Dzień dobry, panie prokuratorze, może **papieroska?***).

Diminutive forms are as well applied in suggestions, which refer to future actions done both by the speaker and the addressee and is in the interest of both interlocutors. Thus, cost and benefit are the same for the speaker and the hearer. By using diminutives, the speaker wants to persuade the addressee to accept the suggestion, especially if it concerns some enjoyable free-time activities. Diminutive form plays down the pleasure, making it more acceptable for the addressee, and minimizes benefit to the speaker (e.g. *Kiedy pogoda się poprawi, chętnie zabiorę ciebie i twoją **rodzinkę** w rejs naszym jachtem.*).

Diminutive forms are also applied in announcements, which refer to future actions done by the speaker, from which the speaker himself/herself will benefit. They play down the speaker's benefit and pleasure, as they diminish the source of enjoyment (e.g. *Czuję, że do mnie pasuje. Mam chęć na **małą wyprawę.***).

In commissive acts diminutives are used while talking with friends (e.g. *Kiedy pogoda się poprawi, chętnie zabiorę ciebie i twoją **rodzinkę** w rejs naszym jachtem.*), with family members (e.g. *choć muszę jednak dodać jakieś dobre **słówko** za moją **małą Lizzy.***) or with strangers (e.g. *Proszę się o nic teraz nie martwić. (...) Za **minutkę** złapiemy taksówkę i pojedziemy gdzieś napić się kawy.*). They are also used in conversations between a superior and a subordinate (e.g. *do wozu się **koniki** zaprzągnie (...) i wszystko.*). Nevertheless, diminutives used in commissive acts are mostly employed in Polish, as there are only few examples of applying them in English (e.g. *I want to tell you **a little story**, Mrs St John.*).

Diminutives in expressive acts

Polish original version	English translated version
<b>Greetings</b>	
<i>A, <b>stryjaszek!</b> Dzień dobry!</i> (AFSPI 10)	<i><b>Uncle!</b> Good-day to you!</i> (AFSEng 106)
<b>Compliments</b>	
<i>Niechaj lubym śpiew szelestem w lube, drogie <b>uszko</b> wpadnie.</i> (AFZPI 19)	<i>A song! Let music's soothing tone the loved one's gentle <b>ear</b> rejoice.</i> (AFZEng 25)
<i>To sprawka pani wdzięku, pani jest bardzo miła, pani tak <b>główkę</b> schyliła...</i> (SWPI 11)	<i>It's your grace and charm that prompted what I said... I love the way you bow your <b>head!</b></i> (SWEng 24)
<i><b>Panienska</b> se ta wesola.</i> (SWPI 14)	<i><b>You're</b> a one for larks.</i> (SWEng 27)
<i>Pani to taki <b>kozaczek</b>; jak zesiądzie z <b>konika</b>, jest smutny.</i> (SWPI 10)	<i>A <b>little Cossack</b> to the life – out of <b>the saddle</b>, you look sad!</i> (SWEng 24)
<i>(...) duszy czystej jak <b>śnieżek</b>, co świeżo przyprószy (...)</i> (AFSPI 91)	<i>(...) heart – pure as fresh-sprinkled <b>snow</b> (...)</i> (AFSEng 167)
<b>Insults</b>	
<i>Jesteś <b>małym karzelkiem</b> – powiedział, cały czas z uśmiechem (...) i spróbował ją pogłaskać.</i> (ZMPI 233)	<i>You are a <b>little midget</b>, he said, smiling the while, and tried to stroke her.</i> (ZMEng 239)
<i>Gówno prawda, pomyślał Szacki. Chcesz zatrzeć złe wrażenie, <b>kłamczuszkę</b>.</i> (ZMPI 225)	<i>Like hell you did, thought Szacki. You're trying to put me off the scent, you <b>lying bastard</b>.</i> (ZMEng 231)
<i>Hola, <b>jaszczureczko!</b></i> (AFSPI 68)	<i>(...) <b>you salamander</b> (...)</i> (AFSEng 148)
Polish translated version	English original version
<b>Greetings</b>	
<i>Cześć, <b>wujciu</b>.</i> (ACPI 123)	<i>Hallo, <b>Nunks</b>.</i> (ACEng 162)
<i>Cześć, <b>laleczko</b>.</i> (MNPI 140)	<i>Bye, <b>doll</b>.</i> (MNEng 125)
<b>Compliments</b>	
<i>(...) a on był zawsze najśłodszym, najszlachetniejszym <b>chłopaczkiem</b> na świecie.</i> (JAPI 254)	<i>(...) and he was always the sweetest-tempered, most generous-hearted <b>boy</b> in the world.</i> (JAEng 190)
<i>Zuch <b>dziewczynka!</b></i> (DKPI 101)	<i><b>You're</b> brilliant.</i> (DKEng 86)



<i>Jesteś na to za mądra, <b>złotko</b>.</i> (ACPI 113)	<i>You're too smart for that, <b>honey</b>.</i> (ACEng 149)
<i>Bardzo sprawna <b>osóbka</b>.</i> (ACPI 123)	<i>She's an efficient <b>creature</b>.</i> (ACEng 163)
<i><b>Złotko</b>, i tak wyglądasz dziesięć razy lepiej niż ktokolwiek za tymi drzwiami.</i> (MNPI 202)	<i><b>Georgie, sweetie</b>, you still look ten times better than anyone else in there.</i> (MNEng 186)
<i>(...) wyrażam nadzieję, iż każda z moich pięknych <b>kuzyneczek</b> zaszczyci mnie tańcem tego wieczoru.</i> (JAPI 98)	<i>(...) I shall hope to be honoured with the hands of all my fair <b>cousins</b> in the course of the evening.</i> (JAEng 71)
<i>Jakaż ty jesteś czarująca, <b>kuzyneczko!</b></i> (JAPI 120)	<i>You are uniformly charming!</i> (JAEng 88)
<i>Ciao, kochanie! Złam boską <b>nóżkę</b>.</i> (MNPI 37)	<i>Ciao, honey. Break a divine <b>leg</b>.</i> (MNEng 28)
<b>Insults</b>	
<i>Jadę do Gretna Green, a jeśli nie zgadniesz z kim, to jesteś <b>gąska</b>, bo na świecie jest tylko jeden mężczyzna, którego kocham, anioł prawdziwy.</i> (JAPI 296)	<i>I am going to Gretna Greek, and if you cannot guess with who, I shall think you a <b>simpleton</b>, for there is but one man in the world I love, and he is an angel.</i> (JAEng 223)
<i>Obrzydliwa, wytapetowana <b>latawica!</b> Wie pan, szminka, jedwabne pończochy i <b>loczki</b>.</i> (ACPI 6)	<i>A nasty made-up <b>little minx</b>, all lipstick and silk stockings and <b>curls</b>.</i> (ACEng 9)
<i>Dobrze wiedzieć, że tak mu się powodzi. Nadziany <b>wieprzek!</b></i> (ACPI 114)	<i>It's nice to know he wouldn't miss the money. Purse-proud <b>hog!</b></i> (ACEng 150)
<i>Ale najgorsze (...) że złamałeś serce mojej uwielbianej siostrze, ty... ty... ty... odpychający <b>człowieczku</b>.</i> (MNPI 208)	<i>But worse than all of that (...) you've broken my adored sister's heart, you – you – you odious <b>little man</b>.</i> (MNEng 191)
<i>Najlepszy kandydat do roli Darcy'ego to kurdupłowaty aktuariusz, chyba że ulegnę i dam ją temu jadowitemu <b>pismaкови</b>, którego określają mianem krytyka teatralnego.</i> (MNPI 39)	<i>The nearest thing we've got to Darcy is a five-foot-four actuary – unless I succumb and give it to that poisonous <b>hack</b> they call a theatre critic.</i> (MNEng 29)

<i>Takie wybredne <b>młodziki</b>, co to wzbraniają się wejść w związki z odrobiną głupoty, niewarte twego żalu.</i> (JAPI 240)	<i>Such squeamish <b>youths</b> as cannot bear to be connected with a little absurdity are not worth a regret.</i> (JAEng 179)
<i><b>Łotrzyk</b> nadal śpi.</i> (ACPI 92)	<i><b>The blighter</b>'s asleep still.</i> (ACEng 121)
<i><b>Mała idiotka.</b> Tym właśnie byłam - <b>idiotką.</b></i> (ACPI 108)	<i><b>Little fool.</b> That's what I was, <b>a little fool.</b></i> (ACEng 142)

Table 34. Diminutives in expressive acts

Expressive acts communicate positive feelings and support the addressee's positive face, therefore they express positive politeness (see chapter 5.5.). Nevertheless, as insults, they may communicate negative feelings, baldly attacking the hearer's positive face.

Diminutive forms are applied in greetings, indicating familiarity, intimacy, or liking, as the speaker wants to maintain the addressee's positive face (e.g. *A, **stryjaszek!** Dzień dobry!*). They may as well serve as a joke or a word-play, but sometimes they may be considered ironic, outdated or infantile (e.g. *Cześć, **laleczko.***).

Diminutive forms are as well applied in compliments, expressing praise and implying admiration and respect (e.g. *To **sprawka** pani wdzięku, **pani** jest bardzo miła, **pani** tak **główkę** schyliła...*). They establish or maintain friendly relations between the interlocutors (e.g. *Jesteś na to za **mądra**, **złotko.***). A particular thing associated with the addressee is positively evaluated by the speaker (e.g. *duszy czystej jak **śnieżek**, co **świeżo** przyprószy*). Nevertheless, a diminutive may also be used ironically, threatening the addressee's positive face (e.g. *Bardzo **sprawna** **osóbką.***). As stated in chapter 5.5.2., women are complimented more often than men, which can be an indication of their subordinate status, as compliments can be regarded as patronizing, offensively flattering, or even sarcastic (e.g. *Ciao, **kochanie!** Złam **boską** **nóżkę.***).

Diminutive forms are also applied in insults, expressing depreciation and implying anger or disrespect (e.g. *Takie wybredne **młodziki**, co to wzbraniają się wejść w związki z odrobiną głupoty, niewarte twego żalu.*). Insults attack the addressee's positive face, as they openly violate Leech's Approbation Maxim. They are supposed to hurt the addressee, therefore, they are used baldly and without any redressive action (e.g. *Dobrze **wiedzieć**, że **tak** **mu** się **powodzi.** **Nadziany** **wieprzek!***). In most cases the negative evaluation refers to the addressee's person or personality and is caused by some actions or the behaviour of the addressee, which annoy the insulter (e.g. *Ale **najgorsze** (...) że **złamałeś** **serce** **mojej** **uwielbianej** **siostrze**, **ty... ty... ty... odpychający** **człowieczku.***). Diminutives intensify the

negative evaluation and indicate superiority (e.g. *Gówno prawda, pomyślał Szacki. Chcesz zatrzeć złe wrażenie, kłamczuszkę.*). The addressee is belittled and derogated, as diminutives increase the force of an insult (e.g. *A nasty made-up little minx, all lipstick and silk stockings and curls.*).

In expressive acts diminutives are used while talking with friends (e.g. *Najlepszy kandydat do roli Darcy'ego to kurdupłowaty aktuariusz, chyba że ulegnę i dam ją temu jadowitemu pismakowi, którego określają mianem krytyka teatralnego.*), with family members (e.g. *Jakaż ty jesteś czarująca, kuzyneczko!*) or with strangers (e.g. *Little fool. That's what I was, a little fool.*). Although diminutives used in expressive acts are mostly employed in Polish, there are also some examples of applying them in English, especially in insults (e.g. *But worse than all of that (...) you've broken my adored sister's heart, you – you – you odious little man.*).

#### Diminutives in vocative acts

Polish original version	English translated version
<i>Tatusiu, zrobiłam to dla ciebie.</i> (ZMPI 75)	<i>Daddy, I did it for you.</i> (ZMEng 73)
<i>Kamilku, będziemy kochali cię wiecznie.</i> (ZMPI 200)	<i>Dearest Kamil, we will love you for ever.</i> (ZMEng 205)
<i>Matusiu, jeszcze ino w kółko raz.</i> (SWPI 64)	<i>Oh, mummy, please! One more dance and then I'll go.</i> (SWEng 72)
<i>Nie, nie póde, matusiu.</i> (SWPI 64)	<i>No, please, mama! I can't go yet!</i> (SWEng 72)
<i>(...) muse widzieć cepiny, matusieńku, matusiu, ino dziś, ino dziś.</i> (SWPI 64)	<i>Please, ma, please – do let me stay! Just this once – today's the day!</i> (SWEng 72)
<i>Odpocnijże haw, Wojtecku.</i> (SWPI 67)	<i>Wojtek, love, come take a rest.</i> (SWEng 74)
<i>Tatuś sie Weselem cieszq.</i> (SWPI 142)	<i>Are you enjoying it, Papa?</i> (SWEng 140)
<i>(...) synku drogi.</i> (AFZPI 77)	omitted in translation (AFZEng 65)
<i>Dzięki, Ewuniu.</i> (ZMPI 50)	<i>Thanks, Ewa.</i> (ZMEng 46)
<i>Jasiek, družba, słuchaj, bratku (...)</i> (SWPI 55)	<i>Jasiek, fellow-groomsman – here!</i> (SWEng 63)
<i>Wiktorku (...)</i> jak dawno pan tu pracuje? (JIPI 25)	<i>Wiktor, dear boy (...)</i> How long have you been working here? (JIEng 12)

<i>Wujciu, wujciu, wujcio mi głowę o jaki pień rozbije.</i> (JIPI 138)	<i>Uncle, Uncle, you'll bash my head against a tree!</i> (JIEng 127)
<i>Wstań, serdeńko, i chodź ze mną.</i> (AFZPI 125)	<i>Rise, my son, and come with me!</i> (AFZEng 98)
<i>Ach, cioteczko, ciotusieńko!</i> <i>Co, serdeńko?</i> (SWPI 11)	<i>Dearest Auntie!</i> <i>Why, what ails you, precious pearl?</i> (SWEng 25)
<i>Przystaw gęby, żonisiu.</i> (SWPI 68)	<i>Say no more about it, love!</i> (SWEng 75)
<i>Maryś, Maryś, narzeczona.</i> (SWPI 69)	<i>Mary, my betrothed.</i> (SWEng 76)
<i>(...) przytul mnie, Wojtecku, do siebie.</i> (SWPI 71)	<i>Wojtek, hug me to your chest.</i> (SWEng 78)
<i>Ino, matuś, zaś nie swarzcie (...)</i> (SWPI 103)	<i>Let's not start to quarrel now!</i> (SWEng 106)
<i>Żono, słuchaj no, żonisia, pódź no, Hanuś!</i> (SWPI 112)	<i>Listen darling wife!</i> (SWEng 114)
<i>Tak, tatusiu, razem ci pomożemy.</i> (ZMPI 75)	<i>Yes, Daddy, we'll both help you.</i> (ZMEng 73)
<i>Nie płacz, Jadziu (...)</i> (ZMPI 145)	<i>Don't cry, Jadzia (...)</i> (ZMEng 146)
<i>Gdzież Hanusia? Hanuś!</i> (SWPI 149)	<i>Hannah, dear! Where are you?</i> (SWEng 145)
<i>Guciu, Guciuniu, (...) bądź też rozsądny.</i> (AFSPI 40)	<i>Gustave! Think before you speak! Be sensible (...)</i> (AFSEng 127)
<i>Zdradź go, zdradź, moja duszko!</i> (AFSPI 86)	<i>Betray him!</i> (AFSEng 163)
<i>No, no, Guciu, Guciuniu mój!</i> (AFSPI 89)	<i>How, now, Gustave! Don't take offence!</i> (AFSEng 165)
<i>A tak, tak, proszę wujaszka...</i> (JIPI 44)	<i>Yes, yes, uncle...</i> (JIEng 32)
<i>A, stryjaszek! Dzień dobry!</i> (AFSPI 10)	<i>Uncle! Good-day to you!</i> (AFSEng 106)
<i>Wiesz, co, Papciu – spraw się ładnie, a w kieszonkę grubo wpadnie.</i> (AFZPI 68)	<i>Come, Papkin, don't disgrace yourself! You'll not refuse a wad of pelf?</i> (AFZEng 59)
<i>Moja duszko, tu się mówi o kościelnej dostojności (...)</i> (SWPI 17)	<i>My dear, the subject we're discussing's how the Church may dignify our Reverend Father.</i> (SWEng 29)
<i>A Klarunia niech pamięta nie powiadać nic nikomu...</i> (AFZPI 57)	<i>Clara, my dear (...)</i> remember, quiet as a mouse! (AFZEng 50)

<i>Mój majstruniu, mówcie śmiało.</i> (AFZPI 69)	<i>Come, <b>Master Mason</b>, don't be shy!</i> (AFZEng 60)
<i>Bądź, <b>serdeńko</b>, bez obawy.</i> (AFZPI 87)	<i>He need fear nothing for the nonce...</i> (AFZEng 72)
<i>Byle mnie kochał <b>stryjaszek</b> kochany, był mi zawsze zdrów, czerstwy i rumiany!</i> (AFSPI 11)	<i>So long as my dear <b>Uncle</b> loves me ever, I shall be hale and hearty – perish never!</i> (AFSEng 106)
<i>Aha, <b>bratku</b>, mom cie.</i> (SWPI 148)	<i>I've got you, <b>brother!</b></i> (SWEng 145)
<i>Hola, <b>jaszczureczko!</b></i> (AFSPI 68)	<i>(...) <b>you salamander</b> (...)</i> (AFSEng 148)
<i>Chodź, chodź – mam cię, <b>ptaszku.</b></i> (AFSPI 87)	<i>You <b>cheeky sparrow!</b> Caught you nicely!</i> (AFSEng 164)
<i>Idź <b>serdeńko</b>, bo cię trzepnę.</i> (AFZPI 74)	<i>Or must I help you on your way?!</i> (AFZEng 63)
<b>Polish translated version</b>	<b>English original version</b>
<i><b>Dzieciątka, tatuś</b> już wrócił.</i> (DKPI 20)	<i><b>Daddy's</b> here.</i> (DKEng 20)
<i>Fredo, <b>aniółku</b> mój, czy mogłabyś...</i> (ACPI 28)	<i>Freda – <b>darling angel</b> – could you ever – I mean (...)</i> (ACEng 38)
<i>No właśnie, <b>kotku.</b></i> (ACPI 134)	<i>That's right, <b>pet.</b></i> (ACEng 176)
<i>Zbyt wiele żądasz ode mnie, moja <b>duszko.</b></i> (JAPI 6)	<i>It is more than I engage for, I assure you.</i> (JAEng 6)
<i>Obiecuję ci, <b>duszko</b>, że jeśli ich się zjawi dwudziestu, złożę wizytę wszystkim, co do jednego.</i> (JAPI 7)	<i>Depend upon it, <b>my dear</b>, that when there are twenty, I will visit them all.</i> (JAEng 7)
<i>Lidia była dla niego niezmiernie czuła. Ciągle, przy każdej sposobności, nazywała go <b>drogim mężulkiem.</b></i> (JAPI 323)	<i>Lydia was exceedingly fond of him. He was her <b>dear Wickham</b> on every occasion.</i> (JAEng 244)
<i>Leż tylko spokojnie i zdrowiej, <b>kochanieńka.</b></i> (ACPI 68)	<i>Just lie still and get well, <b>my dear.</b></i> (ACEng 89)
<i>O, zjadłaś zupkę, <b>kochanieńka.</b></i> (ACPI 71)	<i>Ah, you've drunk your soup, <b>my dear.</b></i> (ACEng 92)
<i>Nie martw się tym teraz, <b>maleńka.</b></i> (ACPI 27)	<i>Don't worry about that, <b>little girl.</b></i> (ACEng 37)

<i>Co się dzieje, <b>słoneczko</b>? (ACPI 124)</i>	<i>What's the matter, <b>my sweet</b>? (ACEng 164)</i>
<i><b>Kruszynko</b>? (MNPI 175)</i>	<i><b>Poppet</b>? (MNEng 159)</i>
<i>Biednaś ty, moja <b>Lizy</b>! (JAPI 240)</i>	<i>Poor <b>little Lizzy</b>! (JAEng 179)</i>
<i>Pozwolę też sobie wykorzystać okazję i poprosić cię, <b>kuzyneczko</b> Elżbieto, o zarezerwowanie dla mnie dwóch pierwszych tańców. (JAPI 98)</i>	<i>And I take this opportunity of soliciting yours, <b>Miss Elizabeth</b>, for the two first dances especially. (JAEng 71)</i>
<i><b>Cioteczko</b> (...) (JAPI 159)</i>	<i><b>My dear aunt</b> (...) (JAEng 118)</i>
<i>Droga moja <b>siostrzeniczko</b>! (JAPI 327)</i>	<i>My dear <b>niece</b> (...) (JAEng 246)</i>
<i>Mo, <b>złotko</b>, właśnie dwukrotnie wysłałaś tę samą wiadomość. (MNPI 61)</i>	<i>Mo <b>hon</b>, you just sent me the same message twice. (MNEng 50)</i>
<i>Dzięki, <b>piesku</b>. (DKPI 4)</i>	<i>Thanks, <b>Hilton</b>. (DKEng 6)</i>
<i>Jesteś na to za mądra, <b>złotko</b>. (ACPI 113)</i>	<i>You're too smart for that, <b>honey</b>. (ACEng 149)</i>
<i><b>Złotko</b>, i tak wyglądasz dziesięć razy lepiej niż ktokolwiek za tymi drzwiami. (MNPI 202)</i>	<i><b>Georgie, sweetie</b>, you still look ten times better than anyone else in there. (MNEng 186)</i>
<i>Jakaż ty jesteś czarująca, <b>kuzyneczko</b>! (JAPI 120)</i>	<i>You are uniformly charming! (JAEng 88)</i>
<i>(...) ale jestem przekonana, że teraz, kiedy drogi <b>wujaszek</b> przyjechał, wszystko będzie dobrze. (JAPI 291)</i>	<i>But now that my dear <b>uncle</b> is come, I hope everything will be well. (JAEng 219)</i>
<i>Słowo daję, <b>siostrzyczko</b>, wydaje mi się, że bardziej prawdopodobne jest zyskanie Pemberley za pomocą pieniędzy niż naśladownictwa. (JAPI 43)</i>	<i>Upon my word, <b>Caroline</b>, I should think it more possible to get Pemberley by purchase than by imitation. (JAEng 32)</i>
<i>Cześć, <b>laleczko</b>. (MNPI 140)</i>	<i>Bye, <b>doll</b>. (MNEng 125)</i>
<i>No, <b>kochaneczko</b> (...) jeśli ci córka zapadnie ciężko na zdrowiu albo jeśli umrze, będziesz się zawsze mogła pocieszać świadomością, że zrobiła to, łapiąc pana Bingleya na męża i postępując ściśle według twoich zaleceń. (JAPI 36)</i>	<i>Well, <b>my dear</b> (...) if your daughter should have a dangerous fit of illness – if she should die, it would be a comfort to know that it was all in pursuit of Mr Bingley, and dunder your orders. (JAEng 27)</i>

Table 35. Diminutives in vocative acts

Vocative acts are used when the speaker wants to get the addressee's attention (see chapter 5.6.). They are usually realized by nominal terms of address, the use of which depends on situational factors and the relationship between the speaker and the hearer. Diminutives used in vocative acts either maximize sympathy between the interlocutors (e.g. *O, zjadłaś zupkę, kochanieńka.*) or maximize antipathy between them (e.g. *Hola, jaszczureczko!*). They convey in-group membership and solidarity (e.g. *Wiktorku (...) jak dawno pan tu pracuje?*) and soften face-threatening acts (e.g. *Pozwolę też sobie wykorzystać okazję i poprosić cię, kuzyneczko Elżbieto, o zarezerwowanie dla mnie dwóch pierwszych tańców.*). Besides, they may as well express respect (e.g. *Jesteś na to za mądra, złotko.*) or lack of respect towards the addressee (e.g. *Cześć, laleczko.*), and the speaker's emotional attitude (e.g. *Lidia była dla niego niezmiernie czuła. Ciągle, przy każdej sposobności, nazywała go drogim mężulkiem.*).

Diminutive forms are applied in personal names, kinship terms and descriptors, reflecting speaker's momentary attitude towards the hearer (e.g. *Co się dzieje, słoneczko?*). They may support a request or command, expressing negative politeness. The speaker may use a diminutive to minimize the impact of a statement and soften the command (e.g. *Żono, słuchaj no, żonisia, pódź no, Hanuś!*). A diminutive also minimizes the imposition on the hearer, making the request appear less obligatory or important (e.g. *Wstań, serdeńko, i chodź ze mną.*). It as well marks friendly or close relations among interlocutors, reducing the distance between them (e.g. *Fredo, aniołku mój, czy mogłabyś...*). Diminutives are applied in personal names when the speaker wants to maintain the addressee's positive face, expressing familiarity, intimacy, or liking (e.g. *Dzięki, Ewuniu.*). Nevertheless, diminutives may be also applied in face-threatening acts done *off record*, when the speaker wants to express irony (e.g. *No, kochaneczko (...) jeśli ci córka zapadnie ciężko na zdrowiu albo jeśli umrze, będziesz się zawsze mogła pocieszać świadomością, że zrobiła to, łapiąc pana Bingleya na męża i postępując ściśle według twoich zaleceń.*), superiority (e.g. *Idź serdeńko, bo cię trzepnę.*) or pitifulness (e.g. *Moja duszko, tu się mówi o kościelnej dostojności*). Diminutive forms may, therefore, deprecate, humiliate or disqualify somebody (e.g. *Przystaw gęby, żonisiu.*). They may as well reflect the speaker's contempt, as he/she can make fun of the hearer (e.g. *Mój majstruniu, mówcie śmiało.*). Diminutive forms are often applied in obscene terms, when the speaker is angry and emotionally involved. Then, the addressee is belittled and his/her positive face is threatened (e.g. *Chodź, chodź – mam cię, ptaszku.*).

In vocative acts diminutives are used while talking with friends (e.g. *Złotko, i tak wyglądasz dziesięć razy lepiej niż ktokolwiek za tymi drzwiami.*) or with family members (e.g. *ale jestem przekonana, że teraz, kiedy drogi wujaszek przyjechał, wszystko będzie dobrze.*). They may

also be applied in conversations between a subordinate and a superior (e.g. *Wiesz, co, **Papciu** – spraw się ładnie, a w **kieszonkę** grubo wpadnie.*). Although diminutives used in expressive acts are mostly employed in Polish, there are also some examples of applying them in English (e.g. *Dearest Auntie!*).

### 8.3.3. Translation of sociolinguistic contexts of using diminutives

The tables from 36 to 40 serve as an illustration to chapter 6 of this paper. While analyzing Polish and English diminutives and their translated versions used in different sociolinguistic contexts, it can be stated that Poles employ diminutive forms more frequently than the English do. Nevertheless, as already mentioned, this is due to the fact that the English do not display emotions as intensively and spontaneously as Poles do.

While translating a given text, the translator has to take into account the multitude of the uses of diminutive forms in Polish and English. As usually the only way to interpret the meaning of a particular diminutive properly is to refer to a particular sociolinguistic context, relative to a given situation, the translator has to be familiar with all kinds of them in order for the translation to be faithful and accurate.

As stated in chapter 6.3., diminutives are socially determined. Therefore, the following analysis is divided into particular sorts of linguistic roles:

- in a situation when the status of the interlocutors is equal:
  - ✓ a conversation with family members,
  - ✓ a conversation with acquaintances,
  - ✓ a conversation with strangers,
- in a situation when the status of the interlocutors is unequal:
  - ✓ a conversation between a subordinate and a superior,
  - ✓ a conversation between a parent and a small child.

Unfortunately, the corpus for the analysis presented in this paper gives no examples of using diminutives in conversations between a seller and a buyer, which is typical of Polish culture and discussed by many linguists, such as Bralczyk or Huszcza (see chapter 2. and 5.4.1.).



Diminutives used in a conversation with family members

Polish original version	English translated version
<i>Tatusiu, zrobiłam to dla ciebie.</i> (ZMPI 75)	<i>Daddy, I did it for you.</i> (ZMEng 73)
(...) i ty, i <b>Hanusia</b> , i ja (...) (SWPI 141)	<i>You (...) with <b>Hanna</b> and myself (...)</i> (SWEng 139)
<i>Buciki mom troche ciasne.</i> (SWPI 23)	<i>My <b>boots</b> are pinching.</i> (SWEng 34)
<i>Pot oblewa całe <b>czołko</b>; możesz się zaziębić wnet.</i> (SWPI 25)	<i>The sweat's just pouring from your <b>brow!</b> Take care! You'll catch a fearful chill.</i> (SWEng 36)
(...) ja wolę <b>gaik</b> spokojny (...) (SWPI 146)	(...) I prefer a peaceful <b>glade</b> (...) (SWEng 144)
<i>Moja <b>duszko</b>, tu się mówi o kościelnej dostojności (...)</i> (SWPI 17)	<i>My <b>dear</b>, the subject we're discussing's how the Church may dignify our Reverend Father.</i> (SWEng 29)
<i>Bęben ci urośnie, a ja nie lubię facetów z <b>brzuszkami</b>.</i> (ZMPI 284)	<i>You'll get a fat tum, and I don't like guys with <b>pot bellies</b>.</i> (ZMEng 294)
<i>W tej <b>kurteczce</b> lata – jeszcze kataru, u diaska, dostanie.</i> (AFSPI 17)	<i>You'll catch your death, for heaven's sake! That <b>coat</b> you're wearing's like a summer vest.</i> (AFSEng 111)
<i>Dostaniesz karę, zobaczysz! Nie pozwolą ci jeść <b>tłuszczyku</b>, bobasie.</i> (ZMPI 233)	<i>You'll get punished, you'll see! They won't let you eat <b>fat</b>, kiddywink.</i> (ZMEng 239)
<i>Matusiu, jesce ino w kółko raz.</i> (SWPI 64)	<i>Oh, <b>mummy</b>, please! One more dance and then I'll go.</i> (SWEng 72)
<i>Odpocnijze haw, <b>Wojtecku</b>.</i> (SWPI 67)	<i><b>Wojtek</b>, love, come take a rest.</i> (SWEng 74)
<i>Tatuś sie Weselem cieszą.</i> (SWPI 142)	<i>Are you enjoying it, <b>Papa</b>?</i> (SWEng 140)
<i>Jasiek, družba, słuchaj, <b>bratku</b> (...)</i> (SWPI 55)	<i>Jasiek, fellow-groomsman – here!</i> (SWEng 63)
<i>Wstań, <b>serdeńko</b>, i chodź ze mną.</i> (AFZPI 125)	<i>Rise, <b>my son</b>, and come with me!</i> (AFZEng 98)
<i>A co, nie lubisz mojego <b>tiszercika</b> z misiem?</i> (ZMPI 134)	<i>Don't you like my teddy-bear <b>T-shirt</b>?</i> (ZMEng 135)
<i>Przystaw gęby, <b>żonisiu</b>.</i> (SWPI 68)	<i>Say no more about it, <b>love</b>!</i> (SWEng 75)

(...) przytul mnie, <b>Wojtecku</b> , do siebie. (SWPI 71)	<b>Wojtek</b> , hug me to your chest. (SWEng 78)
Ino, <b>matuś</b> , zaś nie swarzcie (...) (SWPI 103)	Let's not start to quarrel now! (SWEng 106)
Żono, słuchaj no, <b>żonisia</b> , pódź no, <b>Hanuś!</b> (SWPI 112)	Listen <b>darling wife!</b> (SWEng 114)
Nie płacz, <b>Jadziu</b> (...) (ZMPI 145)	Don't cry, <b>Jadzia</b> (...) (ZMEng 146)
Gdzież <b>Hanusia</b> ? <b>Hanuś!</b> (SWPI 149)	<b>Hannah, dear!</b> Where are you? (SWEng 145)
<b>Guciu, Guciuniu</b> , (...) bądź też rozsądny. (AFSPI 40)	<b>Gustave!</b> Think before you speak! Be sensible (...) (AFSEng 127)
Zdradź go, zdradź, moja <b>duszeko!</b> (AFSPI 86)	Betray him! (AFSEng 163)
A <b>Klarunia</b> niech pamięta nie powiadać nic nikomu... (AFZPI 57)	<b>Clara, my dear</b> (...) remember, quiet as a mouse! (AFZEng 50)
Byle mnie kochał <b>stryjaszek</b> kochany, był mi zawsze zdrów, czerstwy i rumiany! (AFSPI 11)	So long as my dear <b>Uncle</b> loves me ever, I shall be hale and hearty – perish never! (AFSEng 106)
Tak, <b>tatusiu</b> , razem ci pomożemy. (ZMPI 75)	Yes, <b>Daddy</b> , we'll both help you. (ZMEng 73)
(...) postawimy se dwór modrzewiowy, <b>brzózek</b> przed oknami posadzę. (SWPI 97)	We'll have a house like this – a sturdy manor built of larch – and I'll plant <b>birch-trees</b> all around. (SWEng 101)
Kiedy na sofie rozparty szeroko, półgębkiem gada, śpi na jedno oko, mamyż mu śpiewać <b>arietkę</b> wesołą? (AFSPI 32)	Spreadeagled on the sofa, he's at ease – eyes half-shut and muttering (...) Should we strike up a merry <b>roundelay</b> (...) ? (AFSEng 121)
<b>Kamilku</b> , będziemy kochali cię wiecznie. (ZMPI 200)	<b>Dearest Kamil</b> , we will love you for ever. (ZMEng 205)
Jesteś <b>małym karzelkiem</b> – powiedział, cały czas z uśmiechem (...) i spróbował ją pogłaskać. (ZMPI 233)	You are <b>a little midget</b> , he said, smiling the while, and tried to stroke her. (ZMEng 239)
A, <b>stryjaszek!</b> Dzień dobry! (AFSPI 10)	<b>Uncle!</b> Good-day to you! (AFSEng 106)
(...) <b>synku drogi</b> . (AFZPI 77)	omitted in translation (AFZEng 65)
Ach, <b>cioteczko, ciotusieńko!</b> <b>Co, serdeńko?</b> (SWPI 11)	<b>Dearest Auntie!</b> Why, what ails you, <b>precious pearl?</b> (SWEng 25)

<i>Maryś, Maryś, narzeczona.</i> (SWPl 69)	<i>Mary, my betrothed.</i> (SWEng 76)
<i>Chodź, chodź – mam cię, ptaszku.</i> (AFSPi 87)	<i>You cheeky sparrow! Caught you nicely!</i> (AFSEng 164)
<i>No, no, Guciu, Guciuniu mój!</i> (AFSPi 89)	<i>How, now, Gustave! Don't take offence!</i> (AFSEng 165)
<i>A tak, tak, proszę wujaszka...</i> (JiPl 44)	<i>Yes, yes, uncle...</i> (JiEng 32)
<i>Ale tatuś nie lubi listów stryjcia.</i> (JiPl 107)	<i>But Daddy doesn't like your letters, Uncle.</i> (JiEng 94)
<i>To tylko taki majowy deszczyk.</i> (JiPl 106)	<i>It's just a May shower.</i> (JiEng 93)
<i>Taki świat a tutaj bliźniutko.</i> (JiPl 106)	<i>It's such a long way, and it's nice and close here.</i> (JiEng 93)
<i>To doprawdy nieczuły ze mnie stryjcio!</i> (JiPl 102)	<i>What a thoughtless uncle I am!</i> (JiEng 89)
<i>Wujciu, wujciu, wujcio mi głowę o jaki pień rozbije.</i> (JiPl 138)	<i>Uncle, Uncle, you'll bash my head against a tree!</i> (JiEng 127)
<i>Tatusiowi powiadaj, że tu gości będzie miał.</i> (SWPl 66)	<i>Tell your daddy this, my dear: guests are coming (...)</i> (SWEng 73)
<b>Polish translated version</b>	<b>English original version</b>
<i>Właściwie jest trochę tępawy.</i> (MNPl 366)	<i>He's a bit dull actually.</i> (MNEng 344)
<i>Mała suma nie wystarczyłaby na to wszystko.</i> (JAPl 309)	<i>A small sum could not do all this.</i> (JAEng 233)
<i>Moja biedulka.</i> (MNPl 232)	<i>Oh poor heart.</i> (MNEng 215)
<i>Nie możesz (...) żądać, by takie dziewczątka miały rozum zarówno ojca, jak i matki.</i> (JAPl 34)	<i>(...) you must not expect such girls to have the sense of their father and mother.</i> (JAEng 25)
<i>Biednaś ty, moja Lizzy!</i> (JAPl 240)	<i>Poor little Lizzy!</i> (JAEng 179)
<i>Biedna mamusia naprawdę cierpi i nie opuszcza swego pokoju.</i> (JAPl 280)	<i>My poor mother is really ill, and keeps her room.</i> (JAEng 210)
<i>Oczywiście, sądzi, że część tej uprzejmości trzeba przypisać jego pokrewieństwu z miłymi kuzyneczkami (...)</i> (JAPl 84)	<i>Something, he supposed, might be attributed to his connection with them (...)</i> (JAEng 60)

<p>(...) <i>ale jestem przekonana, że teraz, kiedy drogi wujaszek przyjechał, wszystko będzie dobrze.</i> (JAPI 291)</p>	<p><i>But now that my dear <b>uncle</b> is come, I hope everything will be well.</i> (JAEng 219)</p>
<p><i>Słowo daję, <b>siostrzyczko</b>, wydaje mi się, że bardziej prawdopodobne jest zyskanie Pemberley za pomocą pieniędzy niż naśladownictwa.</i> (JAPI 43)</p>	<p><i>Upon my word, <b>Caroline</b>, I should think it more possible to get Pemberley by purchase than by imitation.</i> (JAEng 32)</p>
<p><i>Możesz się jednak pocieszyć, że jeśli ci się zdarzy cokolwiek w tym guście, masz kochającą <b>mamusię</b>, która to z pewnością odpowiednio rozgłosi.</i> (JAPI 147)</p>	<p><i>But it is a comfort to think that whatever of that kind may befall you, you have an affectionate <b>mother</b> who will always make the most of it.</i> (JAEng 109)</p>
<p><i>W Brighton będzie osobą o dużo mniejszym znaczeniu niż tutaj, nawet jako zwykła, <b>mała kokietka</b>.</i> (JAPI 241)</p>	<p><i>At Brighton she will be of less importance even as a common <b>flirt</b> than she has been here.</i> (JAEng 180)</p>
<p><i>No, <b>kochaneczko</b> (...) jeśli ci córka zapadnie ciężko na zdrowiu albo jeśli umrze, będziesz się zawsze mogła pocieszać świadomością, że zrobiła to, łapiąc pana Bingleya na męża i postępując ściśle według twoich zaleceń.</i> (JAPI 36)</p>	<p><i>Well, <b>my dear</b> (...) if your daughter should have a dangerous fit of illness – if she should die, it would be a comfort to know that it was all in pursuit of Mr Bingley, and dunder your orders.</i> (JAEng 27)</p>
<p><i>Co za pyszny figiel, żeby pojechać rano i do tej chwili ani <b>słówkiem</b> o niczym nie pisać!</i> (JAPI 10)</p>	<p><i>And it is such a good joke, too, that you should have gone this morning and never said <b>a word</b> about it till now.</i> (JAEng 8)</p>
<p><i>Nie powiedziałaś mi ani <b>słówka</b>!</i> (JAPI 69)</p>	<p><i>Why, Jane – you never dropt <b>a word</b> of this!</i> (JAEng 50)</p>
<p><i>To za <b>mała sprawa</b> jak dla gazet...</i> (MNPI 280)</p>	<p><i>It's <b>not big enough</b> for the tabloids...</i> (MNEng 259)</p>
<p><i>Ogródek, w którym stoi mój skromny <b>dom</b>ek</i> (...) (JAPI 76)</p>	<p><i>The garden in which stands my humble <b>abode</b> (...)</i> (JAEng 54)</p>
<p><i>Wiemy, jak niewiele ponęt ma skromna nasza <b>chatynka</b>.</i> (JAPI 224)</p>	<p><i>We know how little there is to tempt anyone to our humble <b>abode</b>.</i> (JAEng 167)</p>

<i>Odniosłem wrażenie, że myśl ta spodobała się mej patronce, a rozumie pani, jak szczęśliwy jestem, gdy nadarzy mi się okazja powiedzenia jakiegoś <b>małego komplementu</b>, tak chętnie przyjmowanego przez damy. (JAPI 76-77)</i>	<i>Her ladyship seemed pleased with the idea; and you may imagine that I am happy on every occasion to offer those <b>little delicate compliments</b> which are always acceptable to ladies. (JAEng 55)</i>
<i>To takie <b>małe drobiazgi</b>, które sprawiają lady Katarzynie przyjemność (...) (JAPI 77)</i>	<i>These are the kind of <b>little things</b> which please her ladyship (...) (JAEng 55)</i>
<i>(...) zaszczyci cię <b>chwilką</b> uwagi. (JAPI 166)</i>	<i>(...) you will be honoured with <b>some portion</b> of her notice (...) (JAEng 124)</i>
<i>Co się dzieje, <b>słoneczko</b>? (ACPI 124)</i>	<i>What's the matter, <b>my sweet</b>? (ACEng 164)</i>
<i>Pozwolę też sobie wykorzystać okazję i poprosić cię, <b>kuzyneczko</b> Elzbieto, o zarezerwowanie dla mnie dwóch pierwszych tańców. (JAPI 98)</i>	<i>And I take this opportunity of soliciting yours, <b>Miss Elizabeth</b>, for the two first dances especially. (JAEng 71)</i>
<i>(...) wyrażam nadzieję, iż każda z moich pięknych <b>kuzyneczek</b> zaszczyci mnie tańcem tego wieczoru. (JAPI 98)</i>	<i>(...) I shall hope to be honoured with the hands of all my fair <b>cousins</b> in the course of the evening. (JAEng 71)</i>
<i>Dlatego też Jane powinna wykorzystać każde <b>pół godzinki</b>, kiedy nadarza się okazja, by przykuć jego uwagę. (JAPI 25)</i>	<i>Jane should therefore make the most of every <b>half-hour</b> in which she can command his attention. (JAEng 19)</i>
<i><b>Szybciotko</b>, Jane, powiedz nam <b>szybciotko</b>, moje serce! (JAPI 34)</i>	<i>Well, Jane, <b>make haste</b> and tell us; <b>make haste</b>, my love. (JAEng 26)</i>
<i>Więc kiedy zdałeś sobie sprawę, jaki ze mnie smakowity <b>kąsek</b>? (MNPI 363)</i>	<i>So when did you realise just how <b>tasty I</b> really was? (MNEng 341)</i>
<i>(...) choć muszę jednak dodać jakieś dobre <b>słótko</b> za moją <b>małą Lizzy</b>. (JAPI 7)</i>	<i>(...) though I must throw in a good <b>word</b> for my <b>little Lizzy</b>. (JAEng 6)</i>
<i>Obiecuję ci, <b>duszek</b>, że jeśli ich się zjawi dwudziestu, złożę wizytę wszystkim, co do jednego. (JAPI 7)</i>	<i>Depend upon it, <b>my dear</b>, that when there are twenty, I will visit them all. (JAEng 7)</i>
<i>Kupię trochę <b>satynki</b> w ładniejszym kolorze, żeby go trochę ożywić (...) (JAPI 229)</i>	<i>And when I have bought some prettier-coloured <b>satin</b> to trim it with fresh (...) (JAEng 170)</i>

<i>Cześć, wujciu.</i> (ACPI 123)	<i>Hallo, Nunks.</i> (ACEng 162)
<i>Jadę do Gretna Green, a jeśli nie zgadniesz z kim, to jesteś gąska, bo na świecie jest tylko jeden mężczyzna, którego kocham, anioł prawdziwy.</i> (JAPI 296)	<i>I am going to Gretna Greek, and if you cannot guess with who, I shall think you a simpleton, for there is but one man in the world I love, and he is an angel.</i> (JAEEng 223)
<i>Kruszynko?</i> (MNPI 175)	<i>Poppet?</i> (MNEng 159)
<i>Jesteś na to za mądra, złotko.</i> (ACPI 113)	<i>You're too smart for that, honey.</i> (ACEng 149)
<i>Bardzo sprawna osóbką.</i> (ACPI 123)	<i>She's an efficient creature.</i> (ACEng 163)
<i>Złotko, i tak wyglądasz dziesięć razy lepiej niż ktokolwiek za tymi drzwiami.</i> (MNPI 202)	<i>Georgie, sweetie, you still look ten times better than anyone else in there.</i> (MNEng 186)
<i>(...) wyrażam nadzieję, iż każda z moich pięknych kuzyneczek zaszczyci mnie tańcem tego wieczoru.</i> (JAPI 98)	<i>(...) I shall hope to be honoured with the hands of all my fair cousins in the course of the evening.</i> (JAEEng 71)
<i>Jakaż ty jesteś czarująca, kuzyneczko!</i> (JAPI 120)	<i>You are uniformly charming!</i> (JAEEng 88)
<i>Takie wybredne młodziki, co to wzbraniają się wejść w związki z odrobiną głupoty, niewarte twego żalu.</i> (JAPI 240)	<i>Such squeamish youths as cannot bear to be connected with a little absurdity are not worth a regret.</i> (JAEEng 179)
<i>No właśnie, kotku.</i> (ACPI 134)	<i>That's right, pet.</i> (ACEng 176)
<i>Zbyt wiele żądasz ode mnie, moja duszko.</i> (JAPI 6)	<i>It is more than I engage for, I assure you.</i> (JAEEng 6)
<i>Lidia była dla niego niezmiernie czuła. Ciągle, przy każdej sposobności, nazywała go drogim mężulkiem.</i> (JAPI 323)	<i>Lydia was exceedingly fond of him. He was her dear Wickham on every occasion.</i> (JAEEng 244)
<i>Biednaś ty, moja Lizzy!</i> (JAPI 240)	<i>Poor little Lizzy!</i> (JAEEng 179)
<i>Cioteczko (...)</i> (JAPI 159)	<i>My dear aunt (...)</i> (JAEEng 118)
<i>Droga moja siostrzeniczko!</i> (JAPI 327)	<i>My dear niece (...)</i> (JAEEng 246)

Table 36. Diminutives used in a conversation with family members

The use of diminutives intensifies in informal interactions, and especially in conversations with family members, close friends or neighbours, which are characterized by direct and

spontaneous communication and numerous expressive elements. Diminutives often occur in conversations between a husband/man and a wife/woman (e.g. *Obiecuję ci, **duszek**, że jeśli ich się zjawi dwudziestu, złożę wizytę wszystkim, co do jednego.* or *A co, nie lubisz mojego **tiszercika** z misiem?*), between adult siblings (e.g. *Słowo daję, **siostrzyczko**, wydaje mi się, że bardziej prawdopodobne jest zyskanie Pemberley za pomocą pieniędzy niż naśladownictwa.*), between members of distant family (e.g. *wyrażam nadzieję, iż każda z moich pięknych **kuzyneczek** zaszczyci mnie tańcem tego wieczoru.* or *Ach, **cioteczko, ciotusieńko!** Co, **serdeńko?***), between parents and their adult children (e.g. *Takie wybredne **młodziki**, co to wzbraniają się wejść w związki z odrobiną głupoty, niewarte twego żalu.*), and between close friends (e.g. *Jasiek, drużba, słuchaj, **bratku***).

Diminutive forms used in conversations with family members usually express affection, tenderness, and endearment (e.g. *Lidia była dla niego niezmiernie czuła. Ciągle, przy każdej sposobności, nazywała go **drogim mężulkiem**.*), familiarity and friendliness (e.g. *Jesteś **małym karzelkiem** – powiedział, cały czas z uśmiechem (...) i próbował ją pogłaskać.*), intimacy (e.g. *przytul mnie, **Wojtecku**, do siebie.*), informality (e.g. *Ach, **cioteczko, ciotusieńko!** Co, **serdeńko?***), sympathy, pity, compassion, care, and self-pity (e.g. *Nie możesz (...) żądać, by takie **dziewczątka** miały rozum zarówno ojca, jak i matki.*), hospitality and politeness (e.g. *A tak, tak, proszę **wujaszka**...*), joy, amusement, pleasure, and playfulness (e.g. *postawimy se dwór modrzewiowy, **brzózek** przed oknami posadzę.*), as well as satisfaction, content, approval, and admiration (e.g. *Jakaż ty jesteś **czarująca, kuzyneczko!***). Nevertheless, they may also express lack of worth, belittlement, and derogation (e.g. *Takie wybredne **młodziki**, co to wzbraniają się wejść w związki z odrobiną głupoty, niewarte twego żalu.*), irony and sarcasm (e.g. *Słowo daję, **siostrzyczko**, wydaje mi się, że bardziej prawdopodobne jest zyskanie Pemberley za pomocą pieniędzy niż naśladownictwa.*), condescension, insincere politeness, and excessive obsequiousness (e.g. *Byle mnie kochał **stryjaszek** kochany, był mi zawsze zdrów, czerstwy i rumiany!*), criticism and suspicion (e.g. *To doprawdy nieczuły ze mnie **stryjcio!***), as well as insult, annoyance, and anger (e.g. *Kiedy na sofie rozparty szeroko, półgębkiem gada, śpi na jedno oko, mamyż mu śpiewać **arietkę wesolą?***). Although diminutives used in conversations with family members are mostly employed in Polish, there are some examples of applying them in English as well (e.g. *Poor little Lizzy!*).

Diminutives used in a conversation with acquaintances

Polish original version	English translated version
<i>Biedny <b>Gustawek!</b> Wszyscy bij zabij na niego.</i> (AFSPI 43)	<i>Poor <b>boy!</b> They've really got it in for you!</i> (AFSEng 130)
<i>(...) tak podskocznie, tak <b>mileńko</b> (...)</i> (SWPI 37)	<i>(...) <b>tenderly enlivening</b> (...)</i> (SWEng 46)
<i>Tak, powinni to napisać pod <b>orzelkiem</b> przy drzwiach jako nasze zawołanie herbowe.</i> (ZMPI 170)	<i>Yes, they should write that underneath the <b>eagle</b> above the door as our heraldic motto.</i> (ZMEng 172)
<i>Wygląda na to, że <b>wdówka</b> nie będzie musiała pytać w aptece o polskie zamienniki.</i> (ZMPI 217)	<i>It looks as if <b>the widow</b> won't have to ask for cheaper Polish substitutes at the pharmacy.</i> (ZMEng 223)
<i>Dowiedzieliśmy się, że odłożył <b>okrągłą sumkę</b>.</i> (ZMPI 268)	<i>We found out he put aside a large <b>sum</b>.</i> (ZMEng 278)
<i>Może <b>słoweczko</b> z wymówką, bo coś na mnie kiwa <b>główką</b>.</i> (SWPI 34)	<i>Perhaps a <b>word</b> of mild correction, with a nod in my direction...</i> (SWEng 44)
<i>Bo jak żeście drzwi <b>snopkiem</b> zastawiali, to pewnie wiało jak cholera.</i> (ZMPI 89)	<i>But keeping the door propped open with a <b>sheaf of straw</b> must get bloody windy.</i> (ZMEng 87)
<i>O, biedny, biedny <b>Gucio mały</b>.</i> (AFSPI 44)	<i>Poor <b>little Gussie, helpless mite!</b></i> (AFSEng 131)
<i>Zaraz się okaże, że portier przespał pół nocy, że jakiś <b>żulik</b> wpadł ukraść coś na wino, po drodze zderzył się z biednym nerwicowcem, przestraszył bardziej od niego i wsadził mu kosę.</i> (ZMPI 19)	<i>It'll soon turn out the porter slept half the night, some <b>yob</b> went in to steal some money for booze, bumped into the poor neurotic on the way, got even more scared than he was and stuck a knife into him.</i> (ZMEng 13)
<i>A to już nie lo <b>ponienki</b>; Sprawa inso.</i> (SWPI 162)	<i>Not for the likes of you, m'<b>dear!</b> Our cause is different.</i> (SWEng 157)
<i>Dzień dobry, panie prokuratorze, może <b>papieroska</b>?</i> (ZMPI 135)	<i>Good morning, Prosecutor, would you like a <b>cigarette</b>?</i> (ZMEng 136)
<i>Coś nerwowo nasz <b>doktorek</b>.</i> (ZMPI 141)	<i>Our <b>doctor</b>'s rather nervy.</i> (ZMEng 142)



<i>Uuu, niegrzeczny <b>prokurator</b>ek.</i> (ZMPI 82)	<i>Aaaww, what a rude <b>prosecutor</b>.</i> (ZMEng 79)
<i>Panna młoda jakieś <b>słówko</b> ma do ciebie.</i> (SWPI 34)	<i>Your good lady'd like a <b>word</b>, if you've a moment.</i> (SWEng 43)
<i>(...) każdy ma swoje osobne, co go trzyma - a te <b>drobne rzeczki, małe, niepozorne, składają się na jedną wielką rzecz.</b></i> (SWPI 24)	<i>(...) each has his private fish to fry. These <b>little fishes, (...) so small, so unassuming, together form a shoal of vast extent.</b></i> (SWEng 35)
<i>Pamiętam ciebie zupełnie <b>malutką</b> (...)</i> (JIPi 53)	<i>I remember when you were <b>a very little girl</b> (...)</i> (JIEng 40)
<i>Za <b>koniuszek</b>...</i> (AFSPI 94)	<i>Pull <b>the ends</b>...</i> (AFSEng 169)
<i><b>Mało szkoda, krótki żal.</b></i> (SWPI 142)	<i><b>Little damage, brief regret!</b></i> (SWEng 140)
<i>(...) żebyś miał <b>kąt</b> (...) <b>maleńki</b> (...)</i> (SWPI 147)	<i>A private <b>corner</b> (...) some <b>tiny spot</b> (...)</i> (SWEng 144)
<i>Dzik to dziki, lew to śmiały, w moim ręku – jak <b>owieczka</b>...</i> (AFZPI 14)	<i>Wild as a boar? (...) They're meek as <b>new-born lambs</b> (...)</i> (AFZEng 21)
<i>(...) <b>bóg-kobieta, lecz w zazdrości diablík mały</b> (...)</i> (AFZPI 21)	<i>My lady – female divinity – though <b>devilish jealous</b> (...)</i> (AFZEng 26)
<i>Niechże mi tu wolno będzie (...) do <b>maluczkich</b> upaść <b>nózek</b> (...)</i> (AFZPI 90)	<i>To fall at your <b>feet</b> is all I crave (...)</i> (AFZEng 74)
<i>Przy tym zawzięte jak <b>kogucik</b> młody.</i> (AFSPI 90)	<i><b>Cocksure, pig-headed, certain she knows best.</b></i> (AFSEng 165)
<i><b>Wiktorku</b> (...) jak dawno pan tu pracuje?</i> (JIPi 25)	<i><b>Wiktor, dear boy</b> (...) How long have you been working here?</i> (JIEng 12)
<i>Daj mi, luby, <b>kanareczka.</b></i> (AFZPI 62)	<i>What I'd like is <b>a canary!</b></i> (AFZEng 55)
<i><b>Panienska</b> się nie zgniwiąją (...)</i> (SWPI 14)	<i>(...) please don't worry (...)</i> (SWEng 27)
<i>A w <b>kółeczko</b>...</i> (SWPI 14)	<i>Into <b>the circle.</b></i> (SWEng 27)
<i>Proszę, proszę, <b>chwilkę</b> w koło.</i> (SWPI 15)	<i>Come along, then! Join the round.</i> (SWEng 27)
<i><b>Panienska</b> se ta wesola.</i> (SWPI 14)	<i><b>You're a one for larks.</b></i> (SWEng 27)
<i>Spójrz, jakie piękne, <b>krągłe literki.</b></i> (ZMPI 29)	<i>Look what lovely round <b>letters.</b></i> (ZMEng 24)

<i>Ksiądz dobrodziej już niebawem będzie nosić <b>pelerynkę</b>? (SWPI 16)</i>	<i>But, Reverend Father, presently you will wear <b>a canon's cape</b>. (SWEng 28)</i>
<i>Skłońże ku mnie <b>główkę</b>, skłoń. (SWPI 70)</i>	<i>Turn your <b>head</b> towards me, sweet! (SWEng 77)</i>
<i>A przyniosłeś <b>słoiczek</b> swojej rozpuszczalnej z biura, żeby pani zrobiła ci kawy? (ZMPI 29)</i>	<i>Brought <b>a jar</b> of your instant from the Office, eh, so the lady can make you some coffee? (ZMEng 24)</i>
<i>Przygruchaj sobie jakąś posterunkową, niech ci pisze okrągłymi <b>literkami</b>. (ZMPI 23)</i>	<i>Get some lady constable to write it out for you in nice round <b>letters</b>. (ZMEng 18)</i>
<i><b>Chwileczka</b> jeszcze. (JIPi 72)</i>	<i><b>Just a moment</b>. (JIEng 59)</i>
<i><b>Grosik</b> za twoje myśli, prokuratorze. (ZMPI 256)</i>	<i><b>A penny</b> for your thoughts, Prosecutor. (ZMEng 264)</i>
<i>(...) do wozu się <b>koniki</b> zaprzągnie (...) i wszystko. (132)</i>	<i>We'd harness <b>horses</b> to our coach (...) and all. (SWEng 132)</i>
<i>Hola, <b>jaszczureczko!</b> (AFSPi 68)</i>	<i>(...) <b>you salamander</b> (...) (AFSEng 148)</i>
<i>(...) duszy czystej jak <b>śnieżek</b>, co świeżo przyprószy (...) (AFSPi 91)</i>	<i>(...) heart – pure as fresh-sprinkled <b>snow</b> (...) (AFSEng 167)</i>
<b>Polish translated version</b>	<b>English original version</b>
<i>Może <b>troszeczkę</b> zraniłem twoje ego. (MNPI 205)</i>	<i>Perhaps your ego's <b>a teensy bit</b> hurt. (MNEng 189)</i>
<i>Pasuje do sytuacji. Wszystkie informacje są ukryte w jej <b>rozumku</b>. Sama nie wie, kim jest i skąd pochodzi. (DKPI 60)</i>	<i>It suits you perfectly because it's a mystery where you came from and it's a mystery who you are. (DKEng 53)</i>
<i>O, zjadłaś zupkę, <b>kochanieńka</b>. (ACPI 71)</i>	<i>Ah, you've drunk your soup, <b>my dear</b>. (ACEng 92)</i>
<i><b>Biedaczek</b>, tak desperacko pragnie być młody! (ACPI 11)</i>	<i><b>Poor George</b>, how terribly he wanted to be young! (ACEng 14)</i>
<i>Fakt, że się o tym słyszało wcześniej, budzi dodatkowy <b>dreszczyk</b> (...) (ACPI 29)</i>	<i>Knowing about it beforehand gives it an extra <b>thrill</b> (...) (ACEng 39)</i>
<i>Mo, <b>złotko</b>, właśnie dwukrotnie wysłałaś tę samą wiadomość. (MNPI 61)</i>	<i>Mo <b>hon</b>, you just sent me the same message twice. (MNEng 50)</i>

<i>Gdybym nie pracował dla tej cudownej kobiety, sprzedałbym to za niezłą <b>sumkę</b>, moja droga. Niezłą <b>sumkę</b>.</i> (MNPI 24)	<i>If I didn't work for that wonderful woman, I'd have sold this for <b>a fortune</b>, my dear. <b>A fortune</b>.</i> (MNEng 16)
<i>Nietrudno było wybrać jakieś <b>małe narzędzie</b> odpowiednie do pańskiego celu.</i> (ACPI 98)	<i>It was easy to select <b>a neat little tool</b> for your purpose.</i> (ACEng 129)
<i>Nie ma o tym pojęcia. Mieszka sobie w swojej <b>chatce</b>, radośnie uzupełniając albumy z wycinkami oraz karmiąc Zemstę i Słodką.</i> (MNPI 36)	<i>She has no idea, lives in her <b>little cottage</b>, happily filling her scrapbooks and feeding <b>Revenge and Sweet</b>.</i> (MNEng 27)
<i>...ale tak między nami, nie mam pojęcia, co się dzieje w jej ślicznej <b>główce</b>.</i> (MNPI 98)	<i>... But between you and me, I haven't got a clue what's going on inside her pretty <b>little head</b>.</i> (MNEng 85)
<i>To jego <b>przyjaciółeczka!</b></i> (ACPI 43)	<i>She's Reggie's <b>little friend!</b></i> (ACEng 57)
<i>To taki <b>mały prezencik</b>.</i> (ACPI 13)	<i>A <b>little present</b>.</i> (ACEng 17)
<i>- Ach, znalazł pan coś, pułkowniku? - Tylko <b>mały kamyczek</b>.</i> (ACPI 116)	<i>- Ah, you have found something, colonel? - Only <b>a little pebble</b>.</i> (ACEng 153)
<i>Odnoszę wrażenie, że masz <b>leciutką</b> obsesję na punkcie tego człowieka.</i> (MNPI 207)	<i>You seem <b>a bit</b> obsessed with that man.</i> (MNEng 191)
<i>Tak pani wybornie tańczy, panno Elzbieto, że okrucieństwem jest odmawiać mi radości, jaką daje ten widok, a choć ten pan nie lubi na ogół tańca, z pewnością nie będzie miał nic przeciwko temu, by poświęcić na ten cel <b>małe pół godzinki</b>.</i> (JAPI 30)	<i>You excel so much in the dance, Miss Eliza, that it is cruel to deny me the happiness of seeing you; and though this gentleman dislikes the amusement in general, he can have no objection, I am sure, to oblige us for <b>one half-hour</b>.</i> (JAEng 23)
<i>Fredo, <b>aniołku</b> mój, czy mogłabyś...</i> (ACPI 28)	<i>Freda – <b>darling angel</b> – could you ever – I mean (...)</i> (ACEng 38)
<i>Leż tylko spokojnie i zdrowiej, <b>kochanieńka</b>.</i> (ACPI 68)	<i>Just lie still and get well, <b>my dear</b>.</i> (ACEng 89)
<i>Co tam słyhać w twoim uroczym kobiecym <b>pisemku?</b></i> (MNPI 21)	<i>How are things at your lovely <b>little women's mag?</b></i> (MNEng 13)
<i>Powieś pan koniecznie w galerii obrazów w Pemberley portrety <b>wujaszka i cioteczki</b> Philipsów.</i> (JAPI 58)	<i>Do let the portraits of your <b>uncle and aunt Philips</b> be placed in the gallery at Pemberley.</i> (JAEng 43)

<i>Niech się <b>trochę</b> podenerwuje.</i> (MNPI 235)	<i>Keep him on his toes <b>a bit</b>.</i> (MNEng 217)
<i>(...) mam tylko dwie <b>małe prośby</b> (...)</i> (JAPI 123)	<i>(...) I have two <b>small favours</b> to request.</i> (JAEng 90)
<i><b>Zdrówko, mała.</b></i> (MNPI 62)	<i><b>Cheers, babe.</b></i> (MNEng 51)
<i>Wezmę prysznic, <b>kotku!</b></i> (MNPI 171)	<i>I'm just having a shower, <b>pussycat!</b></i> (MNEng 155)
<i>A po co psuć nastrój <b>biedaczynie?</b></i> (ACPI 11)	<i>Why should he be upset, <b>poor thing?</b></i> (ACEng 15)
<i><b>Miętuska?</b></i> (MNPI 30)	<i><b>Minto, anyone?</b></i> (MNEng 21)
<i>A przyjemny <b>mały bonus</b> byłby taki (...)</i> (MNPI 40)	<i>And, as a nice <b>little bonus</b> (...)</i> (MNEng 30)
<i>Dobrze wiedzieć, że tak mu się powodzi. Nadziany <b>wieprzek!</b></i> (ACPI 114)	<i>It's nice to know he wouldn't miss the money. Purse-proud <b>hog!</b></i> (ACEng 150)
<i>Ale najgorsze (...) że złamałeś serce mojej uwielbianej siostrze, ty... ty... ty... odpychający <b>człowieczku.</b></i> (MNPI 208)	<i>But worse than all of that (...) you've broken my adored sister's heart, you – you – you odious <b>little man.</b></i> (MNEng 191)
<i>Najlepszy kandydat do roli Darcy'ego to kurdupłowaty aktuariusz, chyba że ulegnę i dam ją temu jadowitemu <b>pismakowi</b>, którego określają mianem krytyka teatralnego.</i> (MNPI 39)	<i>The nearest thing we've got to Darcy is a five-foot-four actuary – unless I succumb and give it to that poisonous <b>hack</b> they call a theatre critic.</i> (MNEng 29)
<i>Ciao, kochanie! Złam boską <b>nóżkę.</b></i> (MNPI 37)	<i>Ciao, honey. Break a divine <b>leg.</b></i> (MNEng 28)
<i>Cześć, <b>laleczko.</b></i> (MNPI 140)	<i>Bye, <b>doll.</b></i> (MNEng 125)
<i><b>Łotrzyk</b> nadal śpi.</i> (ACPI 92)	<i><b>The blighter's</b> asleep still.</i> (ACEng 121)
<i>Nie martw się tym teraz, <b>maleńka.</b></i> (ACPI 27)	<i>Don't worry about that, <b>little girl.</b></i> (ACEng 37)

Table 37. Diminutives used in a conversation with acquaintances

Diminutive forms may be used in conversations with acquaintances in numerous contexts. Diminutives are commonly applied in conversations between women (e.g. *To jego **przyjaciółeczka!***), between friends and acquaintances from work (e.g. *Przygruchaj sobie jakąś posterunkową, niech ci pisze okrągłymi **literkami.***), between old friends (e.g. *O, zjadłaś zupkę, **kochanieńka.***), between new friends (e.g. ***Biedaczek, tak desperacko** pragnie być*

*młody!*) and between a man and a woman who are about to start a relationship (e.g. **Zdrówko, mała.**). Diminutives may express familiarity and friendliness (e.g. **Wiktorku (...)** *jak dawno pan tu pracuje?*), intimacy (e.g. *Wezmę prysznic, kotku!*), informality (e.g. **Zdrówko, mała.**), sympathy, pity, compassion, care, and self-pity (e.g. *Nie martw się tym teraz, maleńka.*), hospitality and politeness (e.g. *Dzień dobry, panie prokuratorze, może **papieroska?***), joy, amusement, pleasure, and playfulness (e.g. *Mo, **złotko**, właśnie dwukrotnie wysłałaś tę samą wiadomość.*), as well as satisfaction, content, approval, and admiration (e.g. *Spójrz, jakie piękne, krągłe **literki.***). Nevertheless, they may also express lack of worth, belittlement, and derogation (e.g. *Przygruchaj sobie jakąś posterunkową, niech ci pisze okrągłymi **literkami.***), irony and sarcasm (e.g. *A przyniosłeś **słoiczek** swojej rozpuszczalnej z biura, żeby pani zrobiła ci kawę?*), contempt, disdain, disrespect, mockery, and maliciousness (e.g. *Bo jak żeście drzwi **snopkiem** zastawiali, to pewnie wiało jak cholera.*), pitifulness and insincere compassion (e.g. *Coś nerwowo nasz **doktorek.***), condescension, insincere politeness, and excessive obsequiousness (e.g. *Cześć, **laleczko.***), criticism and suspicion (e.g. *Uuu, niegrzeczny **prokuratorok.***), as well as insult, annoyance, and anger (e.g. ***Łotrzyk** nadal śpi.*). Although diminutives used in conversations with acquaintances are mostly employed in Polish, there are some examples of applying them in English as well (e.g. *It was easy to select **a neat little tool** for your purpose.*).

#### Diminutives used in a conversation with strangers

Polish original version	English translated version
<i>Proszę nie zwracać uwagi. Jest jeszcze <b>malutka.</b></i> (ZMPI 232)	<i>Please take no notice. She's still <b>little.</b></i> (ZMEng 238)
<i><b>Monia</b> mówiła mi (...)</i> (ZMPI 251)	<i><b>Monika</b> told me (...)</i> (ZMEng 258)
<i>W moim <b>domku</b> zimno mnie.</i> (SWPI 68)	<i>My <b>little house</b> is chill.</i> (SWEng 75)
<i>Wybrałem dziś weselisko, twój <b>dworek, dróżkę</b> (...)</i> (SWPI 110)	<i>Your wedding-feast I chose today – your <b>home, your path</b> (...)</i> (SWEng 113)
<i>A przed szkołą zawsze wystają różne <b>typki.</b></i> (ZMPI 86)	<i>And there are always various <b>guys</b> hanging around outside school.</i> (ZMEng 84)
<i>To był <b>studenciak</b> z inteligenckiego domu.</i> (ZMPI 238)	<i>He was <b>a college boy</b> from an intelligentsia home.</i> (ZMEng 245)

<i>Domek mały, chata skąpa.</i> (SWPI 72)	<i>Peasant homestead, hut and shed.</i> (SWEng 79)
<i>Musiałem przecież wypełniać rubryczki w protokołach.</i> (ZMPI 237)	<i>I must have filled in <b>the boxes</b> in the witness-statement forms.</i> (ZMEng 244)
<i>(...) jak zobaczyłem tę zniechęconą twarz, ten cyniczny błysk w oku, kpiący uśmiezek...</i> (ZMPI 313)	<i>(...) when I saw that hateful face, that cynical glint in his eye, that mocking sneer...</i> (ZMEng 324)
<i>Jedna mnie tu zwiódła chmurka.</i> (SWPI 31)	<i>A little cloudlet helped me steer.</i> (SWEng 41)
<i>Tak z nudy (...) bywam wiele; (...) partyjka, kolacyjka (...)</i> (SWPI 140)	<i>When life's a bore (...) I make quite sure I have (...) games of whist and meals (...)</i> (SWEng 138)
<i>Wyście sobie, a my sobie. Każdy sobie rzepkę skrobie.</i> (SWPI 13)	<i>You have your ways, we have ours.</i> (SWEng 26)
<i>Cóż ta, gosposiu, na roli?</i> (SWPI 15)	<i>How's it going on your farm?</i> (SWEng 28)
<i>W sensie: czy marchewka, czy kotlecik?</i> (ZMPI 102)	<i>You mean was it the carrot or <b>the chops</b>?</i> (ZMEng 100)
<i>Pozwala ci sprowadzić twoje dzieciństwo i życie twoich starych do "ostatniej paróweczki"?</i> (ZMPI 266)	<i>Allow you to reduce your childhood and your parents' lives to a silly satire full of jokes about sausages?</i> (ZMEng 275)
<i>Pali pieniążek moskieski?</i> (SWPI 88)	<i>Muscovite money burns, you say...</i> (SWEng 94)
<i>Hej, panie, panie Branecki, nie żałuj grosika, nie żałuj, (...) nie żałuj dukacika, nie żałuj, dajże go nam z tej kieski!</i> (SWPI 88)	<i>Hetman Branecki, hey! (...) You'll surely spare us a copper! (...) a ducat, we're sure, you will not deny! Come, sir, open your purse!</i> (SWEng 93)
<i>Za resztę kupi pan córce małe mieszkanie, żeby na nią czekało i zyskiwało na wartości.</i> (ZMPI 275)	<i>For the rest you can buy your daughter a small flat that can gain in value while it waits for her.</i> (ZMEng 285)
<i>Mój majstruniu, mówcie śmiało.</i> (AFZPI 69)	<i>Come, Master Mason, don't be shy!</i> (AFZEng 60)
<i>Bądź, serdeńko, bez obawy.</i> (AFZPI 87)	<i>He need fear nothing for the nonce...</i> (AFZEng 72)

<i>Propozycja jest poważna, więc proszę sobie darować <b>żarciki</b>.</i> (ZMPI 275)	<i>It's a serious offer, so please spare yourself <b>the little jokes</b>.</i> (ZMEng 285)
<i>Idź <b>serdeńko</b>, bo cię trzepnę.</i> (AFZPI 74)	<i>Or must I help you on your way?! (AFZEng 63)</i>
<i>Jeszcze <b>momencik</b>.</i> (ZMPI 235)	<i>Just <b>a moment</b>.</i> (ZMEng 241)
<i><b>Momencik</b>, zaraz sprawdzę.</i> (ZMPI 282)	<i>Just <b>a moment</b>, I'll go and check.</i> (ZMEng 292)
<i>(...) pomówię z <b>matusią</b> (...)</i> (SWPI 13)	<i>(...) I'd have a word with <b>mum</b> (...)</i> (SWEng 26)
<i>Chciałem coś powiedzieć czule, chciałem zapukać w <b>serduszko</b>.</i> (SWPI 19)	<i>My words were just a tender call – a gentle tap to wake your <b>heart</b>.</i> (SWEng 31)
<i>To sprawka pani wdzięku, pani jest bardzo miła, pani tak <b>główkę</b> schyliła...</i> (SWPI 11)	<i>It's your grace and charm that prompted what I said... I love the way you bow your <b>head!</b></i> (SWEng 24)
<i>Pani to taki <b>kozaczek</b>; jak zesiądzie z <b>konika</b>, jest smutny.</i> (SWPI 10)	<i>A <b>little Cossack</b> to the life – out of <b>the saddle</b>, you look sad!</i> (SWEng 24)
<i>Gówno prawda, pomyślał Szacki. Chcesz zatrzeć złe wrażenie, <b>kłamczuszkę</b>.</i> (ZMPI 225)	<i>Like hell you did, thought Szacki. You're trying to put me off the scent, you <b>lying bastard</b>.</i> (ZMEng 231)
<i>Aha, <b>bratku</b>, mom cie.</i> (SWPI 148)	<i>I've got you, <b>brother!</b></i> (SWEng 145)
<b>Polish translated version</b>	<b>English original version</b>
<i>Kiedy się jej <b>ubranko</b> nie podoba, to przesikuje je na wylot.</i> (MNPI 228)	<i>She goes through <b>clothes</b> like they're going out of fashion.</i> (MNEng 211)
<i>On jest taki biedny, zagubiony jak <b>mały chłopiec</b>.</i> (ACPI 128)	<i>He is so pathetic, so <b>child-like</b>.</i> (ACEng 169)
<i>Myślę, że zawzięła się na biednego <b>wujaszka</b> (...)</i> (ACPI 131)	<i>I think she had a down on poor <b>little Nunks</b> (...)</i> (ACEng 172)
<i>Zagrać <b>rundkę</b> golfa czy tenisa.</i> (ACPI 41)	<i>I like <b>a round</b> of golf and <b>a good set</b> of tennis.</i> (ACEng 54)
<i>Mam też miły <b>domek</b> w pobliżu Cobham.</i> (ACPI 17)	<i>I've a nice <b>cottage</b> near Cobham.</i> (ACEng 23)

<i>Mam całą tę <b>milutką</b> korespondencję, z listem o kapsułce włócznie. (ACPI 132)</i>	<i>I've got all that <b>pretty</b> correspondence, including the one about the cachet. (ACEng 174)</i>
<i>Odkąd zaczęłam pracować z panem i pańskimi <b>koleżkami</b> (...) (MNPI 206)</i>	<i>Since working with you and your <b>cronies</b> (...) (MNEng 190)</i>
<i>(...) a on był zawsze najśłodszym, najszlachetniejszym <b>chłopaczkiem</b> na świecie. (JAPI 254)</i>	<i>(...) and he was always the sweetest-tempered, most generous-hearted <b>boy</b> in the world. (JAEng 190)</i>
<i>Ależ byłam <b>gluptasem</b>, że uwierzyłam w to ogłoszenie (...) (ACPI 30)</i>	<i>What a <b>silly little fool</b> I was to believe in that advertisement (...) (ACEng 40)</i>
<i>Widać tutaj <b>maleńki</b> ślad. (ACPI 97)</i>	<i>You can just see <b>the tiny</b> puncture. (ACEng 127)</i>
<i><b>Mała broń</b>, ale skuteczna. (ACPI 55)</i>	<i>A <b>small weapon</b> but efficacious. (ACEng 72)</i>
<i>(...) więc pan dokłada <b>mały</b> szczegół własnego pomysłu o przecieku w wydziale Henslera. (ACPI 98)</i>	<i>(...) and you add a <b>damaging little invention</b> of your own about a leakage in Hensley's department. (ACEng 129)</i>
<i><b>Mała odmiana</b> każdemu dobrze robi. (ACPI 72)</i>	<i>A <b>bit of change</b> does one good. (ACEng 94)</i>
<i>Mniej więcej tak, jak <b>drobna rólka</b> (...) ciągnie się za klasycznym aktorem. (MNPI 90)</i>	<i>Much in the same way that a <b>bit-part</b> (...) would follow a classic actor. (MNEng 77)</i>
<i>(...) inteligentna piękna kobieta ma po <b>dziurki</b> w nosie takiego pacana jak ja. (ACPI 41)</i>	<i>(...) a clever, beautiful woman getting fed up with an ass like me. (ACEng 55)</i>
<i>To są ciężko zapracowane pieniądze (...) Jeśli myśli pan, że zamierzam je oddać ciepłą <b>rączką</b>, to się pan myli. (ACPI 64)</i>	<i>That money was worked for (...) hard. If you think I'm going to <b>hand it out</b> like so much dirt – well, you're mistaken. (ACEng 83)</i>
<i>Edward jest łagodny jak <b>baranek</b>. (ACPI 79)</i>	<i>He's such a mild <b>lamb</b>. (ACEng 103)</i>
<i>Nie martw się tym teraz, <b>maleńka</b>. (ACPI 27)</i>	<i>Don't worry about that, <b>little girl</b>. (ACEng 37)</i>
<i>Czy to wszystko nonsens, czy też jest w tym <b>ziarnko</b> prawdy? (ACPI 6)</i>	<i>Was this nonsense, or could it, perhaps be true? (ACEng 8)</i>



<i>Niech mi pani pokaże ten <b>kuferek</b>. (ACPI 23)</i>	<i>Show me this <b>chest</b> of your father's. (ACEng 31)</i>
<i>Proszę się o nic teraz nie martwić. (...) Za <b>minutkę</b> złapiemy taksówkę i pojedziemy gdzieś napić się kawy. (ACPI 20)</i>	<i>Don't worry about anything now (...) In <b>a minute or two</b> we'll be able to get a taxi. Then we'll drive somewhere and have a cup of coffee. (ACEng 27)</i>
<i>Kiedy tylko odzyskam mojego <b>chłopczyne</b>, naślę na nich całą policję z okolicy (...) (ACPI 139)</i>	<i>The very minute I get my <b>boy</b> back, Mr Pyne, I shall set the whole police of the neighbourhood on them (...) (ACEng 183)</i>
<i>Ja za to opowiem pani krótką <b>historyjkę</b>. (ACPI 38)</i>	<i>I want to tell you <b>a little story</b>, Mrs St John. (ACEng 50)</i>
<i>Obrzydliwa, wytapetowana <b>latawica!</b> Wie pan, szminka, jedwabne pończochy i <b>loczki</b>. (ACPI 6)</i>	<i>A nasty made-up <b>little minx</b>, all lipstick and silk stockings and <b>curls</b>. (ACEng 9)</i>
<i><b>Mała idiotka</b>. Tym właśnie byłam - <b>idiotką</b>. (ACPI 108)</i>	<i><b>Little fool</b>. That's what I was, <b>a little fool</b>. (ACEng 142)</i>
<i>Zuch <b>dziewczynka!</b> (DKPI 101)</i>	<i><b>You're brilliant</b>. (DKEng 86)</i>
<i>Kiedy pogoda się poprawi, chętnie zabiorę ciebie i twoją <b>rodzinkę</b> w rejs naszym jachtem. (DKPI 103)</i>	<i>I could take you and your <b>family</b> out sailing when the weather improves. (DKEng 89)</i>

Table 38. Diminutives used in a conversation with strangers

Diminutives can often be applied in conversations with strangers, e.g. between men (e.g. *Za resztę kupi pan córce **male mieszkanko**, żeby na nią czekało i zyskiwało na wartości.*) or women (e.g. *Kiedy się jej **ubranko** nie podoba, to przesikuje je na wylot.*) or between a man and a woman (e.g. *Ja za to opowiem pani krótką **historyjkę**.*). They may express affection, tenderness, and endearment (e.g. *Kiedy tylko odzyskam mojego **chłopczyne**, naślę na nich całą policję z okolicy*), sympathy, pity, compassion, care, and self-pity (e.g. *Myślę, że zawzięła się na biednego **wujaszka***), hospitality and politeness (e.g. *Kiedy pogoda się poprawi, chętnie zabiorę ciebie i twoją **rodzinkę** w rejs naszym jachtem.*), joy, amusement, pleasure, and playfulness (e.g. *Pani to taki **kozaczek**; jak zesiądzie z **konika**, jest smutny.*), as well as satisfaction, content, approval and/or admiration (e.g. *Mam też miły **domek** w pobliżu Cobham.*). Nevertheless, they may also express lack of worth, belittlement, and derogation (e.g. *To był **studenciak** z inteligenckiego domu.*), irony and sarcasm (e.g. *Mam całą tę **milutką***

korespondencję, z listem o kapsulce włącznie.), contempt, disdain, disrespect, cockery, and maliciousness (e.g. *Obrzydliwa, wytapetowana latawica! Wie pan, szminka, jedwabne pończochy i loczki.*), pitifulness and insincere compassion (e.g. *Domek mały, chata skąpa.*), condescension, insincere politeness, and excessive obsequiousness (e.g. *Za resztę kupi pan córce male mieszkanko, żeby na nią czekało i zyskiwało na wartości.*), criticism and suspicion (e.g. *Propozycja jest poważna, więc proszę sobie darować żarciki.*), insult, annoyance, and anger (e.g. *Gówno prawda, pomyślał Szacki. Chcesz zatrzeć złe wrażenie, kłamczuszk.*), as well as distance and aversion (e.g. *jak zobaczyłem tę znieawidzoną twarz, ten cyniczny błysk w oku, kpiący uśmiezek...*). Although diminutives used in conversations with strangers are mostly employed in Polish, there are some examples of applying them in English as well (e.g. *What a silly little fool I was to believe in that advertisement.*).

#### Diminutives used in a conversation between a subordinate and a superior

Polish original version	English translated version
Przy <i>samiuśkim</i> koniu stałem. (SWPI 117)	<i>I stood beside that horse an' all.</i> (SWEng 119)
Wiesz, co, <i>Papciu</i> – spraw się ładnie, a w <i>kieszonkę</i> grubo wpadnie. (AFZPI 68)	Come, <i>Papkin</i> , don't disgrace yourself! You'll not refuse a wad of pelf? (AFZEng 59)
<i>Papkin nóżki</i> ściska, za przyjęcie dzięki składa. (AFZPI 95)	<i>I am prostrate at your feet! So warm a welcome for a stranger!</i> (AFZEng 77)
Dzięki, <i>Ewuniu</i> . (ZMPI 50)	Thanks, <i>Ewa</i> . (ZMEng 46)
Polish translated version	English original version
W pociągu nie było żadnych Anglików, z wyjątkiem tego <i>małego urzędnika</i> . (ACPI 62)	<i>There was no Englishman on the train except a little clerk.</i> (ACEng 81)
Oczywiście Claude, <i>biedaczyna</i> , nie jest zbyt bystry. (ACPI 37)	Of course Claude, <i>poor fellow</i> , hasn't many brains. (ACEng 49)
(...) a moja <i>opowiadka</i> o pani St John wydawałaby się bardzo grubymi nićmi szyta. (ACPI 39)	(...) my <i>story</i> of a Mrs St John would seem feeble in the extreme. (ACEng 51)
Och, nawiasem mówiąc, musisz wziąć na siebie <i>drobniutkie zobowiązanie</i> . (MNPI 183)	Oh, by the way, there is one <i>tiny weeny stipulation</i> . (MNEng 167)

<i>Będziesz musiała udzielić <b>maleńkiego wywiadziku</b> dla „Heralda”. (MNPI 184)</i>	<i>You’ll have to do <b>an itsy bitsy interview</b> for the ‘Herald’. (MNEng 167)</i>
<i>(...) bądź grzeczną <b>dziewczynką</b>. (MNPI 184)</i>	<i>(...) there’s a good <b>girl</b>. (MNEng 167)</i>

Table 39. Diminutives used in a conversation between a subordinate and a superior

Diminutives may be applied in conversations between a subordinate and a superior and it is usually the superior who uses them, as he/she imposes certain rules on the conversation and emphasizes his/her higher position in the official hierarchy (e.g. *Och, nawiasem mówiąc, musisz wziąć na siebie **drobniutkie zobowiązanie**. or bądź grzeczną **dziewczynką**.*). Nevertheless, they may also be used by the subordinate, who, by applying a diminutive form, express his/her subordination (e.g. *Przy **samiuśkim** koniu stałem. or Papkin **nóżki** ściska, za przyjęcie dzięki składa.*). Diminutives may express familiarity and friendliness (e.g. *Dzięki, **Ewuniu**.*), as well as satisfaction, content, approval, and admiration (e.g. *Wiesz, co, **Papciu** – spraw się ładnie, a w **kieszonkę** grubo wpadnie.*). Nevertheless, they may also express pitifulness and insincere compassion (e.g. *Oczywiście Claude, **biedaczyna**, nie jest zbyt bystry.*), or lack of worth, belittlement, and derogation (e.g. *W pociągu nie było żadnych Anglików, z wyjątkiem tego **małego urzędnika**.*). In some cases the superior may use a diminutive in requests in order to make them appear less obligatory and insignificant. Therefore, a diminutive expresses the meaning of non-importance and mitigation (e.g. *Będziesz musiała udzielić **maleńkiego wywiadziku** dla „Heralda”.*). Although diminutives used in conversations between a subordinate and a superior are mostly employed in Polish, there are some examples of applying them in English as well (e.g. *Oh, by the way, there is one **tiny weeny stipulation**.*).

#### Diminutives used in a conversation between a parent and a small child

Polish original version	English translated version
<i>Nie, nie póde, <b>matusiu</b>. (SWPI 64)</i>	<i>No, please, <b>mama!</b> I can’t go yet! (SWEng 72)</i>
<i><b>Mamo</b>, wiesz, ile razy wygrałam z <b>tatą</b> w <b>chińczyka</b>? (ZMPI 57)</i>	<i><b>Mummy</b>, do you know how many times I beat <b>Daddy</b> at ludo? (ZMEng 53)</i>
<i>Czy w takim razie umyjesz teraz <b>ząbki</b> (...)? (ZMPI 97)</i>	<i>In that case will you go and brush your <b>teeth</b> now (...)? (ZMEng 96)</i>

(...) <i>muse widzieć cepiny, matusieńku, matusiu, ino dziś, ino dziś.</i> (SWPl 64)	<i>Please, ma, please – do let me stay! Just this once – today’s the day!</i> (SWEng 72)
<b>Polish translated version</b>	<b>English original version</b>
<i>Dzieciątka, tatuś już wrócił.</i> (DKPl 20)	<i>Daddy’s here.</i> (DKEng 20)
<i>Będzie wzorową koteczką.</i> (DKPl 57)	<i>He’ll be perfect.</i> (DKEng 50)
<i>Bidulka.</i> (DKPl 50)	<i>Poor old thing.</i> (DKEng 44)

Table 40. Diminutives used in a conversation between a parent and a small child

Diminutives are commonly used in conversations between a parent and a small child. As stated in chapter 6.3.2.3., according to Wierzbicka, in Polish it is required to use a diminutive while talking to or referring to a child. Adults want to give a child a sense of security and certainty that he/she is loved and is of special importance (e.g. *Dzieciątka, tatuś już wrócił.*). Diminutives express care, as adults want to soften the world people live in, so that it would not seem so menacing and strange for the child (e.g. *Bidulka.*). As already mentioned before, diminutives may be used to soften commands and requests. It also applies to conversations with children (e.g. *Czy w takim razie umyjesz teraz ząbki?*).

Children use diminutive forms as well, both adopting them from adult speech and creating them on their own. They may attempt to sound nice or less demanding in order to obtain adults’ agreement or compliance (e.g. *muse widzieć cepiny, matusieńku, matusiu, ino dziś, ino dziś.*). In some cases a diminutive may express affection or joy (e.g. *Będzie wzorową koteczką.*). Sometimes it may be applied in order to flatter or butter up the hearer (e.g. *Mummy, do you know how many times I beat Daddy at ludo?*). The child may as well use diminutives to diminish his/her fault, when he/she does something wrong (e.g. *Nie, nie póde, matusiu.*). Although diminutives used in conversations between a parent and a small child are mostly employed in Polish, there are some examples of applying them in English as well (e.g. *Daddy’s here.*).

## 9. Conclusions and final remarks

This dissertation discusses Polish and English diminutives in literary translation from the point of view of pragmatics and cultural studies. The author of the paper found it necessary to analyze diminutives comprehensively, as mostly only the morphology of diminutive forms was thoroughly discussed (Adams, 2001; Plag, 2003; Quirk, 1979 – in English, Szymanek, 2010; Grzegorzczkowska, 1984; Dobrzyński, 1988 – in Polish), whereas the issues concerning the influence of culture on the presence of diminutives in a given language, pragmatic functions of diminutives in language communication or translation equivalence of diminutives were not given much attention. The issue of translating diminutive forms into English and Polish is especially worth analyzing, since it was not given as much attention as it deserves, although there appeared scholarly works on this issue reviewed in the previous chapters. Besides, analyses to date were based on a limited corpus (e.g. Jarniewicz, 2012). Moreover, in most cases, they concerned children's literature only (e.g. Adamczyk-Garbowska, 1988; Rajewska, 2002). As diminutives may be used in a number of contexts, all of them worth taking into account, a more comprehensive analysis should be carried out.

The analysis of chosen Polish and English examples of literary texts presented in chapter 8 of this paper is qualitative but supplemented with some quantitative data. The texts chosen for the analysis represent various literary styles and various time they were written in order to underline the fact that diminutives are present not only in the contemporary literature but also in the classical one. The texts illustrate as well that diminutives in each example play different role and emphasise different meanings and contexts. It should be recalled that for the purpose of obtaining suitable material for research, the author of this dissertation analysed 10 original texts and 10 translated versions. The following literary texts were analyzed:

- ✓ Polish texts:
  - *Uwikłanie* by Zygmunt Miłoszewski,
  - *Wesele* by Stanisław Wyspiański,
  - *Panny z Wilka* and *Brzezina* by Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz,
  - *Zemsta* and *Śluby panięskie* by Aleksander Fredro.
- ✓ English texts:
  - *Amy Wild, Animal Talker. The Mystery Cat* by Diana Kimpton,
  - *Parker Pyne Investigates* by Agatha Christie,
  - *Acting Up* by Melissa Nathan,
  - *Pride and Prejudice* by Jane Austen.

On the basis of the above-mentioned analysis, the author of this thesis aimed at confirming two hypotheses:

- there are more diminutives in Polish translations of English books than in the original version, as Polish translators tend to enrich their translations with diminutive forms,
- English translations of Polish literature are deprived of many diminutives, as it may be difficult for English translators to render all the meanings and contexts of Polish diminutive forms.

Moreover, the author of this thesis also attempted to answer the following questions:

- What is the most common way of forming diminutives in Polish and English in the texts examined in chapter 8?
- Are diminutives used in all types of speech acts and in all sociolinguistic contexts? In which types of speech acts and sociolinguistic contexts are they used most often?
- Do the corpus data confirm the hypothesis that the use of diminutives in English and Polish is related to culture?
- In which types of meanings are diminutives employed most frequently? Are there more denotative or connotative meanings of diminutives in English and Polish in the texts under investigation? Which meanings are applied more often?
- What are the most common strategies of translating diminutives into English and Polish? Is it possible to render the meaning of a given diminutive properly?

The dissertation provides support for the hypothesis that translation of diminutives into Polish and English may pose some problems for translators. It is due to the fact that the process of diminutivization is associated with various areas of study, such as morphology, semantics, pragmatics, sociolinguistics and cultural studies (see chapter 1.). It is impossible to translate diminutives without careful analysis of their meaning, function in conversation and linguistic, cultural and social context. As diminutive forms belong to the group of expressive linguistic forms, they are in most cases applied in colloquial language (see chapter 1.), which makes it even harder to translate into another language.

The analysis of Polish literary texts presented in chapter 8 shows that the most common way of forming diminutives in Polish is suffixation. Table 41. confirms this claim:

<b>FORMATION OF DIMINUTIVES IN POLISH</b>		
<b>SYNTHETIC FORMATION</b>	<b>SUFFIXATION:</b>	<b>number of examples:</b>
	<i>-ak</i>	4
	<i>-ek</i>	109
	<i>-ki</i>	67
	<i>-ka</i>	167
	<i>-ko</i>	35
	<i>-ik/yk</i>	68
	<i>-iki/yki</i>	14
	<i>-eczek/eczka/eczko/eczki</i>	74
	<i>-iczek/yczek/iczki/yczka/iczka</i>	16
	<i>-uszek/uszka/uszko/uszki</i>	7
	<i>-aszek/aszki</i>	9
	<i>-oczki/oczka</i>	2
	<i>-ina/yna/yny</i>	7
	<i>-eńka/eńko</i>	7
	<i>-qtko/qtką</i>	4
	<i>-cia/cio/cie</i>	9
	<i>-sia/sie</i>	3
	<i>-unia/unio/uń</i>	4
	<i>-usia/usio/usiek/usieńka</i>	10
	<i>-ynka</i>	1
	<i>-ulek</i>	1
	<i>-aczek</i>	3
	<i>-czyk</i>	2
	<i>-onko</i>	1
	<i>-isia</i>	1
	<i>-etka</i>	1
	<i>-aś</i>	1
<i>-ęta</i>	1	
<i>-uś</i>	8	
<i>-ś</i>	2	
<i>-ę</i>	3	

	<i>-utki/utka/utko/utkie</i>	64
	<i>-uteńki/uteńko</i>	2
	<i>-uśki</i>	1
	<i>-eńki</i>	9
	<i>-awy</i>	5
	<b>Total number:</b>	<b>722</b>
	<b>TRUNCATION:</b>	<b>number of examples:</b>
	feminine proper names	4
	masculine proper names	1
	<b>Total number:</b>	<b>5</b>
	<b>Total number of diminutives formed synthetically:</b>	<b>727</b>
<b>ANALYTIC FORMATION</b>	<b>TYPE OF AN ADJECTIVE:</b>	<b>number of examples:</b>
	<i>mały/mala/male</i>	124
	<i>niewielki/niewielka/niewielkie</i>	8
	<i>nieduży/nieduża</i>	4
	<i>miniaturowy</i>	3
	<i>mikroskopijny</i>	2
	<i>najmniejszy</i>	1
	<b>Total number of diminutives formed analytically:</b>	<b>142</b>

Table 41. Formation of diminutives in Polish

Table 41. clearly shows that suffixation is the most often encountered way of forming diminutive forms in Polish, as out of 869 diminutives collected from the corpus, 727 diminutive forms are formed synthetically, and only 142 – analytically. It is also worth noting that in the case of analytic formation, the most commonly used adjective is the adjective *mały/mala/male* (e.g. *mała idiotka* ‘a little fool’), as there are 124 examples of this kind. There are some examples of using the adjective *niewielki/niewielka/niewielkie* (e.g. *niewielki pistolet* ‘a small pistol’), or *nieduży/nieduża* (e.g. *nieduża walizka* ‘a small suitcase’). The corpus gives few examples of using such adjectives as *miniaturowy* (e.g. *miniaturowy park* ‘a tiny park) or *mikroskopijny* (e.g. *mikroskopijny gabinet* ‘a tiny study’). There is also one example of using the superlative form of the adjective *mały* (*najmniejszy szczegół* ‘the smallest detail’). In the case of synthetic formation, it must be underlined that the most



common way of obtaining diminutives is suffixation, as there are 722 examples of this kind, whereas the corpus gives only five examples of truncation (e.g. *Monia* from *Monika*). The percentage graph (Figure 6.) provided below illustrates the process of suffixation, as it is worth indicating the most commonly used suffix:

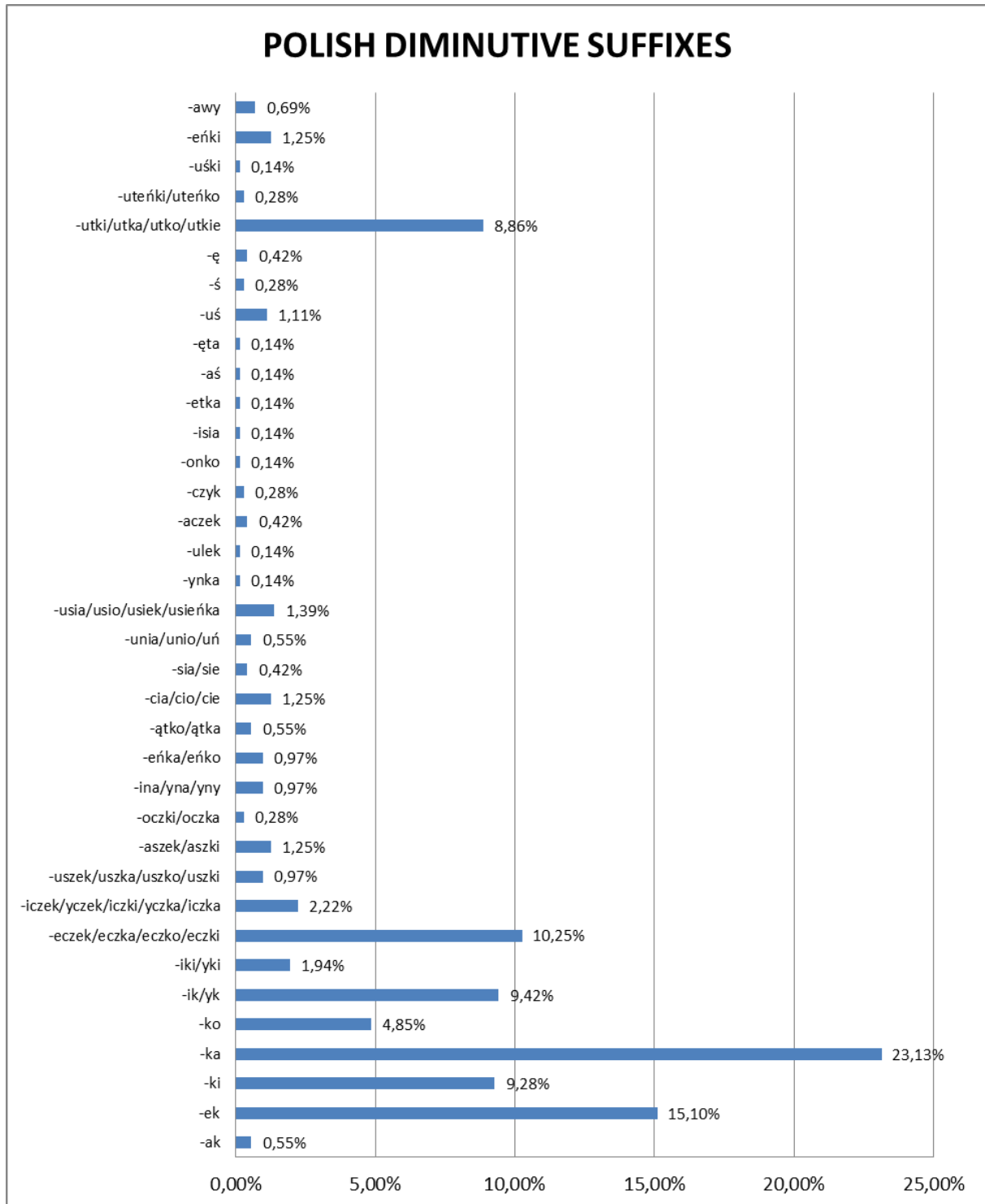


Figure 6. Polish diminutive suffixes

The percentage graph (Figure 6.) provided above clearly indicates that the most commonly used suffix is the suffix *-ka*. It may stem from the fact that this suffix is used to form diminutives from nouns of feminine gender (e.g. *kanapka* ‘a small sofa’ from *kanapa* ‘a sofa’) as well as from the nouns in the plural and plurale tantum nouns (e.g. *krzeselka* ‘small chairs’ from *krzesła* ‘chairs’). Other often used suffixes include the suffix *-ek* (e.g. *domek* ‘a small house’), *-eczek/eczka/eczko/eczki* (e.g. *miasteczko* ‘a small city’), *-ik/yk* (e.g. *nożyk* ‘a small knife’), *-ki* (e.g. *chmurki* ‘small clouds’) and *-ko* (e.g. *mieszkanko* ‘a small apartment’). As far as adjectives are concerned, the most commonly used diminutive suffix is the suffix *-utki/utka/utko/utkie* (e.g. *świeżutki* ‘very fresh’).

The analysis of English literary texts presented in chapter 8 shows that, contrary to Polish, the most common way of forming diminutives is analytic formation. Table 42. confirms this claim:

<b>FORMATION OF DIMINUTIVES IN ENGLISH</b>		
<b>SYNTHETIC FORMATION</b>	<b>SUFFIXATION:</b>	<b>number of examples:</b>
	<i>-ie/-y</i>	12
	<i>-let</i>	1
	<i>-a</i>	1
	<i>-o</i>	1
	<b>Total number:</b>	<b>15</b>
	<b>PREFIXATION:</b>	<b>number of examples:</b>
	<i>mini-</i>	2
	<b>Total number:</b>	<b>2</b>
	<b>COMPOUNDING:</b>	<b>number of examples:</b>
	<i>baby + noun</i>	2
	<b>Total number:</b>	<b>2</b>
	<b>TRUNCATION:</b>	<b>number of examples:</b>
	feminine proper names	1
	masculine proper names	2
	other names	2
	<b>Total number:</b>	<b>5</b>
	<b>Total number of diminutives formed synthetically:</b>	<b>24</b>

<b>ANALYTIC FORMATION</b>	<b>TYPE OF AN ADJECTIVE:</b>	<b>number of examples:</b>
	<i>small</i>	70
	<i>little</i>	118
	<i>tiny</i>	24
	<i>miniature</i>	1
	<i>tiny weeny</i>	1
	<i>teensy</i>	1
	<i>itsy bitsy</i>	1
	<b>Total number of diminutives formed analytically:</b>	<b>216</b>

Table 42. Formation of diminutives in English

Table 42. clearly shows that analytic formation is the most often encountered way of forming diminutive forms in English, as out of 240 diminutives collected from the corpus, 216 diminutive forms are formed analytically, and only 24 – synthetically. It is also worth noting that in the case of synthetic formation, the most commonly used method is suffixation, as there are 15 examples of this kind. It must be emphasized that out of these 15 formations, 12 diminutives are obtained with the suffix *-ie/-y* (e.g. *sweetie*). There is only one example of using suffix *-let* (*piglet*), *-a* (*mama*), and *-o* (*minto*). Other methods of forming diminutives synthetically include prefixation (there are only two examples, both with the use of the prefix *mini-*, e.g. *mini-kitchen*), compounding (there are only two examples, both with the use of the attribute *baby*, e.g. *baby sparrows*), and truncation (there are five examples, e.g. *Ben* from *Benjamin*, or *hon* from *honey*). In the case of analytic formation, it must be underlined that the most commonly used adjective is the adjective *little*, as there are 118 examples of this kind (e.g. *a little window*), which confirms Schneider's hypothesis (2003). It also validates Charleston's observations (1960), who states that the adjective *little* is the most common English equivalent for the diminutives of other languages. Furthermore, the corpus gives 70 examples of using the adjective *small* (e.g. *a small sofa*) and also 24 examples of using the adjective *tiny* (e.g. *a tiny canoe*). There is only one example of using the adjective *miniature* (*miniature carvings*) and three informal or even childish adjectives such as *tiny weeny* (*Oh, by the way, there is one **tiny weeny stipulation.***), *teensy* (*Perhaps your ego's **a teensy bit** hurt.*), and *itsy bitsy* (*You'll have to do **an itsy bitsy interview** for the 'Herald'.*). The percentage graph (Figure 7.) provided below illustrates the above-mentioned observations concerning analytic formation of diminutives:

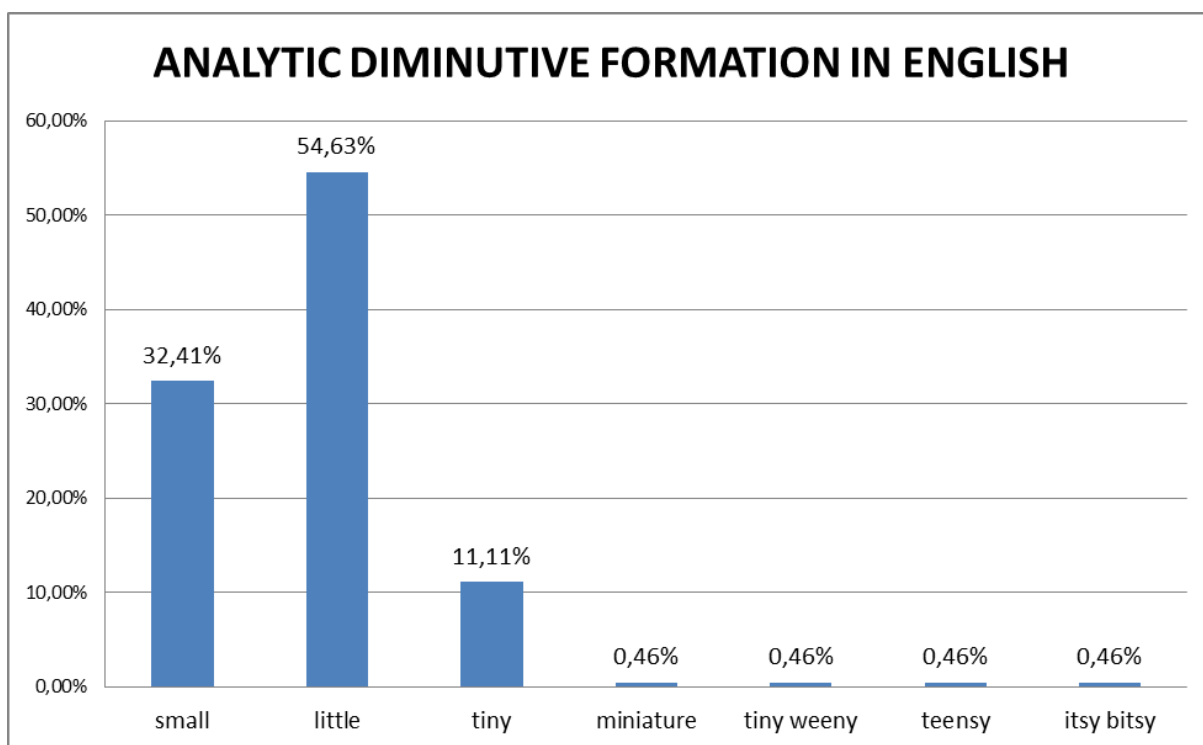


Figure 7. Analytic diminutive formation in English

Even though in Polish most diminutives are formed synthetically and in English – analytically, their meanings and pragmatic functions in everyday conversations are similar. Nevertheless, while analyzing the corpus, it was observed that the scope of use of Polish diminutives is much broader than of the English ones, but, as mentioned in chapter 2 of this paper, it is culturally-determined, since it reflects some particular cultural values, views and patterns of behaviour. As the English and Poles belong to two disparate cultures (individualistic and collectivistic), they represent two different approaches to the use of diminutives (see chapter 2.), which is reflected in translation. As, according to Wierzbicka (1999), Poles are more emotional than the English, they use diminutives more frequently, both in original and translated texts. This observation is supported by the corpus data examined in chapter 8.

As the analysis in chapter 8 has shown, diminutives are used in all speech acts, which belong to different categories of illocutionary acts. Table 43 illustrates this claim:

<b>DIMINUTIVES IN SPEECH ACTS</b>		
<b>Type of a speech act</b>	<b>Number of examples in the corpus</b>	
	<b>Polish texts</b>	<b>English texts</b>
assertive act	116	27
directive act	67	13
commissive act	28	6
expressive act	28	6
vocative act	68	10
<b>Total number: 5</b>	<b>Total number: 307</b>	<b>Total number: 62</b>

Table 43. Diminutives in speech acts

As the table shows, diminutive forms are most often used in assertive acts, both in Polish and in English. They also occur in directive and vocative acts. There are not many examples of using them in commissive acts. This may stem from the fact that the corpus examined in chapter 8 gives no examples of using diminutives in conversations between a seller and a buyer, whereas, as Bralczyk (2009) believes, it is the best illustration of employing diminutive forms in offers, which belong to the group of commissive acts. What is also worth mentioning is that, although diminutives are considered to belong to the group of expressive linguistic forms (Zgólkowa, 1991; Skubalanka, 1973), there is not a significant number of examples of their usage in expressive acts. Nevertheless, the reason for this may be the fact that greetings, compliments, and insults, all of them belonging to the group of expressive acts, occur in conversations only in specific situations. Percentage graphs (Figure 8. and Figure 9.) provided below illustrate the above-mentioned observations concerning both Polish and English diminutives used in speech acts:

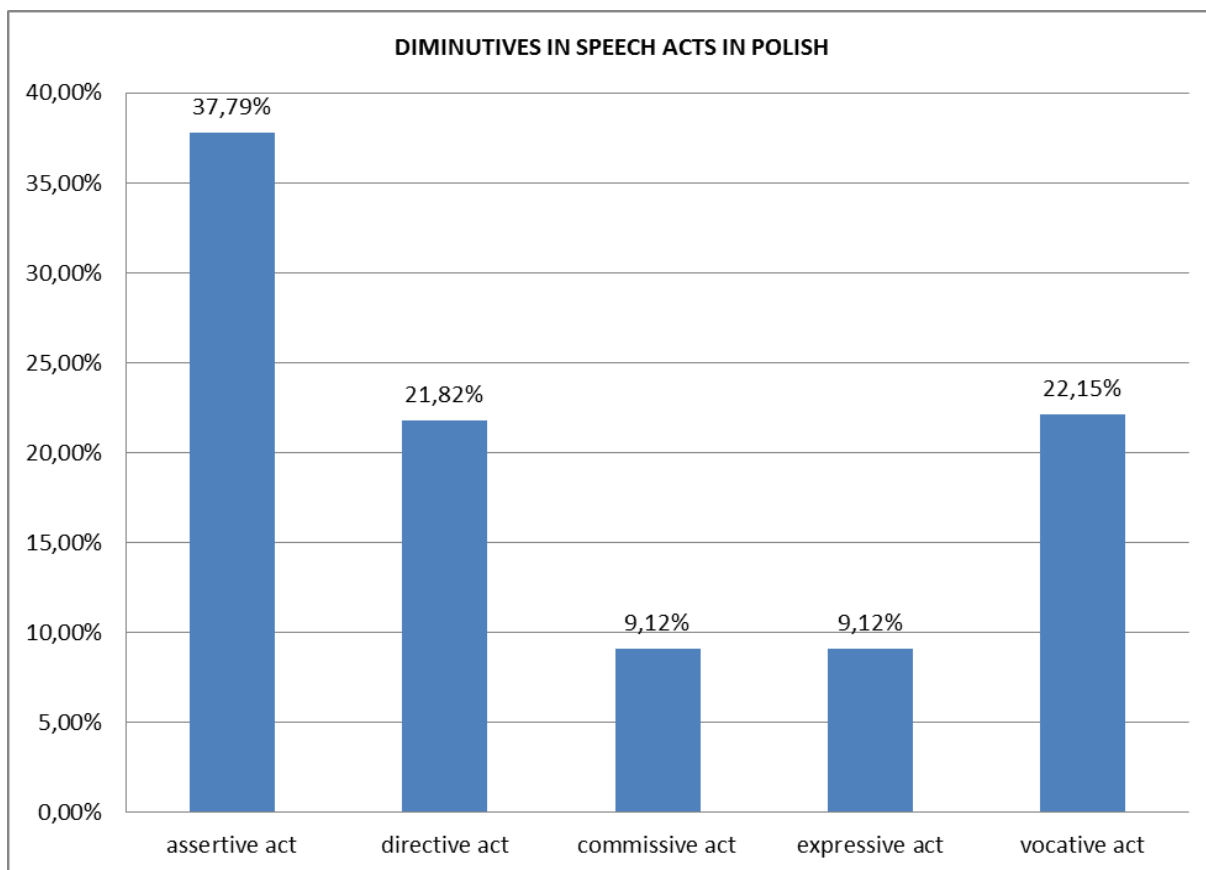


Figure 8. Diminutives in speech acts in Polish

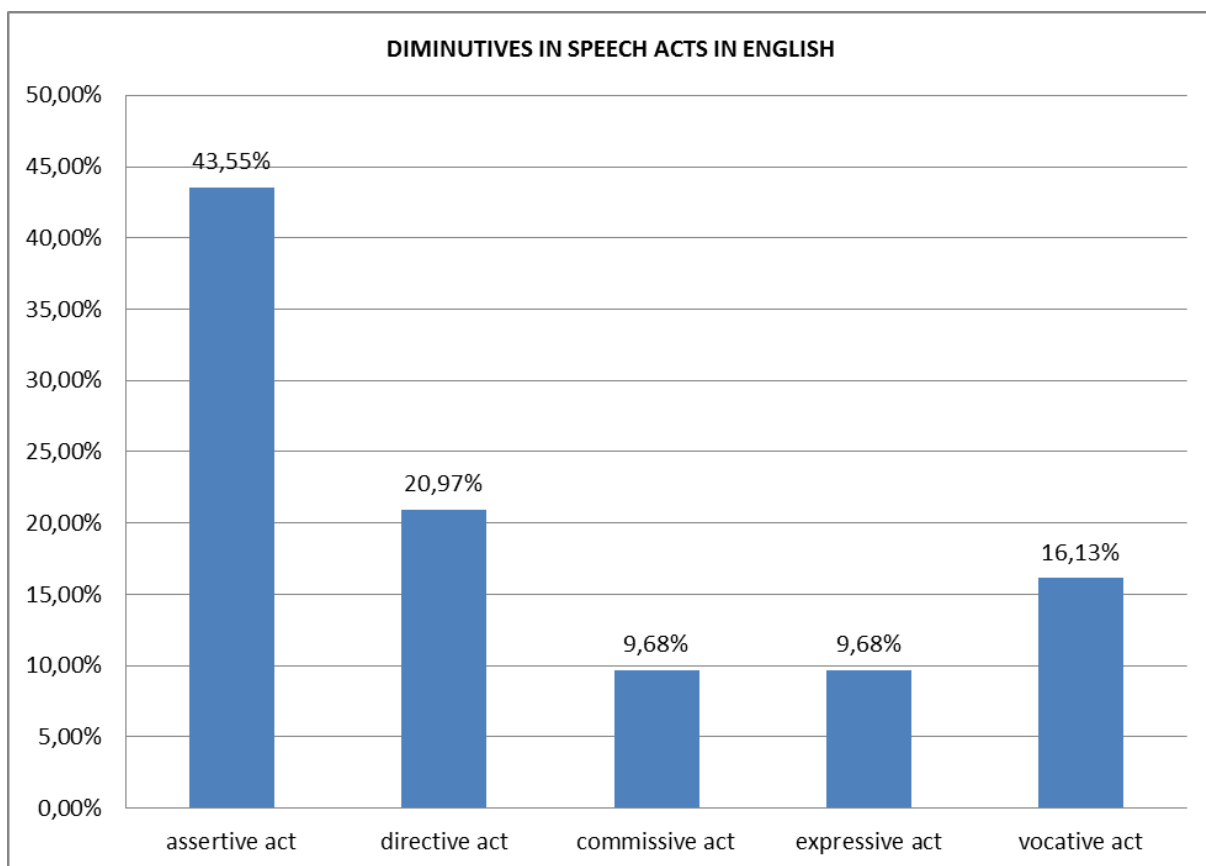


Figure 9. Diminutives in speech acts in English

The analysis in chapter 8 has shown as well that diminutive forms are used in almost all sociolinguistic contexts. Table 44 illustrates this claim:

<b>DIMINUTIVES IN SOCIOLINGUISTIC CONTEXTS</b>		
<b>Type of a sociolinguistic context</b>	<b>Number of examples in the corpus</b>	
	<b>Polish texts</b>	<b>English texts</b>
a conversation with family members	94	15
a conversation with acquaintances	74	16
a conversation with strangers	61	16
a conversation between a subordinate and a superior	11	3
a conversation between a parent and a small child	8	5
a conversation between a seller and a buyer	0	0
<b>Total number: 5</b>	<b>Total number: 248</b>	<b>Total number: 55</b>

Table 44. Diminutives in sociolinguistic contexts

As the table shows, in Polish, diminutive forms are most commonly employed in conversations between family members, which underlines the emotional character of diminutives. There are not many examples of using them in conversations with small children, but, perhaps, it depends on choosing such literary texts which would illustrate this type of a sociolinguistic context in a better way. Diminutives in Polish are also quite frequently employed in conversations between acquaintances as well as between strangers, which underlines the informal character of diminutive forms. The corpus does not provide many examples of using them in conversations between a subordinate and a superior, but this may stem from the fact that it is a very specific type of a sociolinguistic context. Unfortunately, the corpus examined in this work gives no examples of using diminutives in conversations between a seller and a buyer, although such a use is typical of Polish culture and discussed by many linguists, such as Bralczyk or Huszcza (as noted in chapter 2. and 5.4.1.). The percentage graph (Figure 10.) provided below illustrates the above-mentioned observations concerning Polish diminutives used in sociolinguistic contexts:

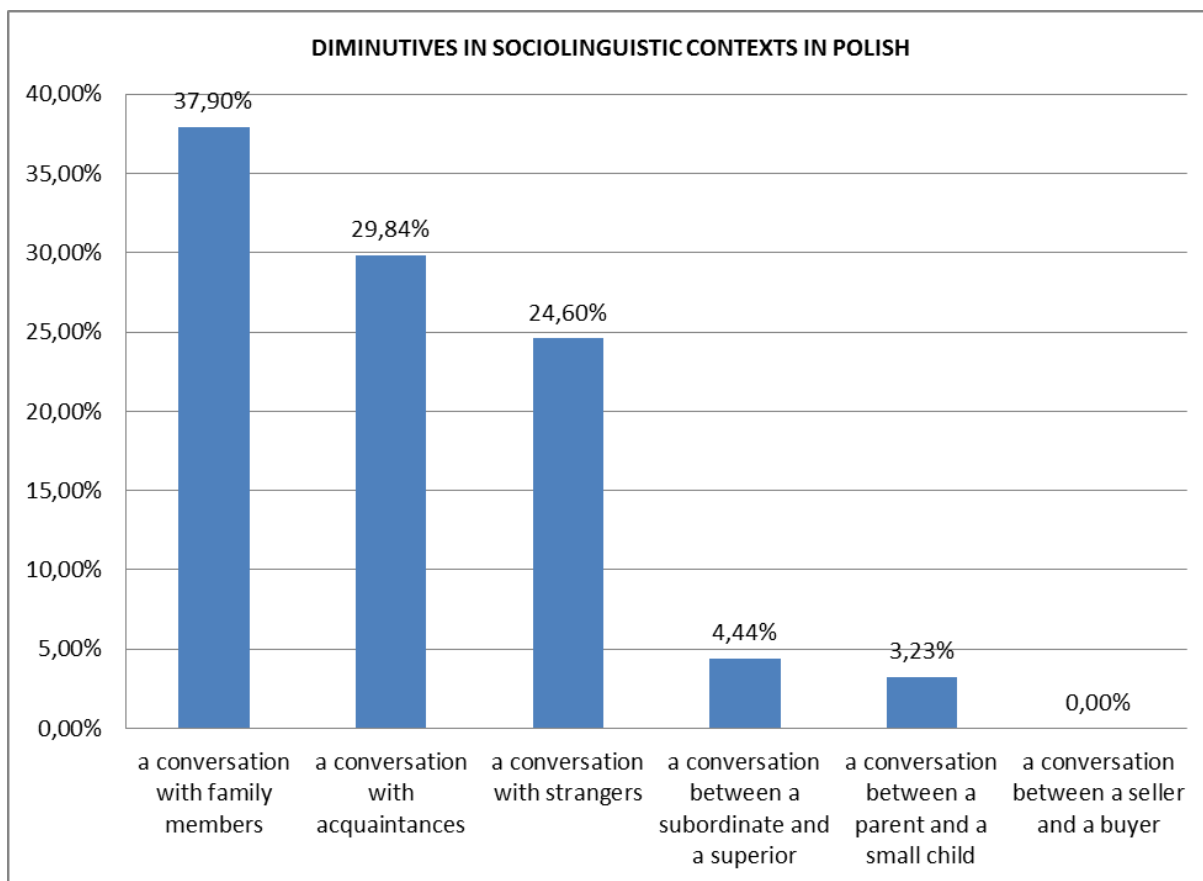


Figure 10. Diminutives in sociolinguistic contexts in Polish

As far as English is concerned, the use of diminutives in sociolinguistic contexts slightly differs from Polish. Similarly to Polish, there are not many examples of employing diminutive forms in conversations with children or between a subordinate and a superior, but, contrary to Polish, the number of examples illustrating the use of diminutives in conversations between family members, acquaintances, and strangers is almost the same. It confirms the hypothesis that the English do not like expressing emotions (Miall and Milsted, 2011; Jespersen, 1972), even in the circle of family (Hoffman, 1989; Fox, 2005). The percentage graph (Figure 11.) provided below illustrates the above-mentioned observations concerning English diminutives used in sociolinguistic contexts:



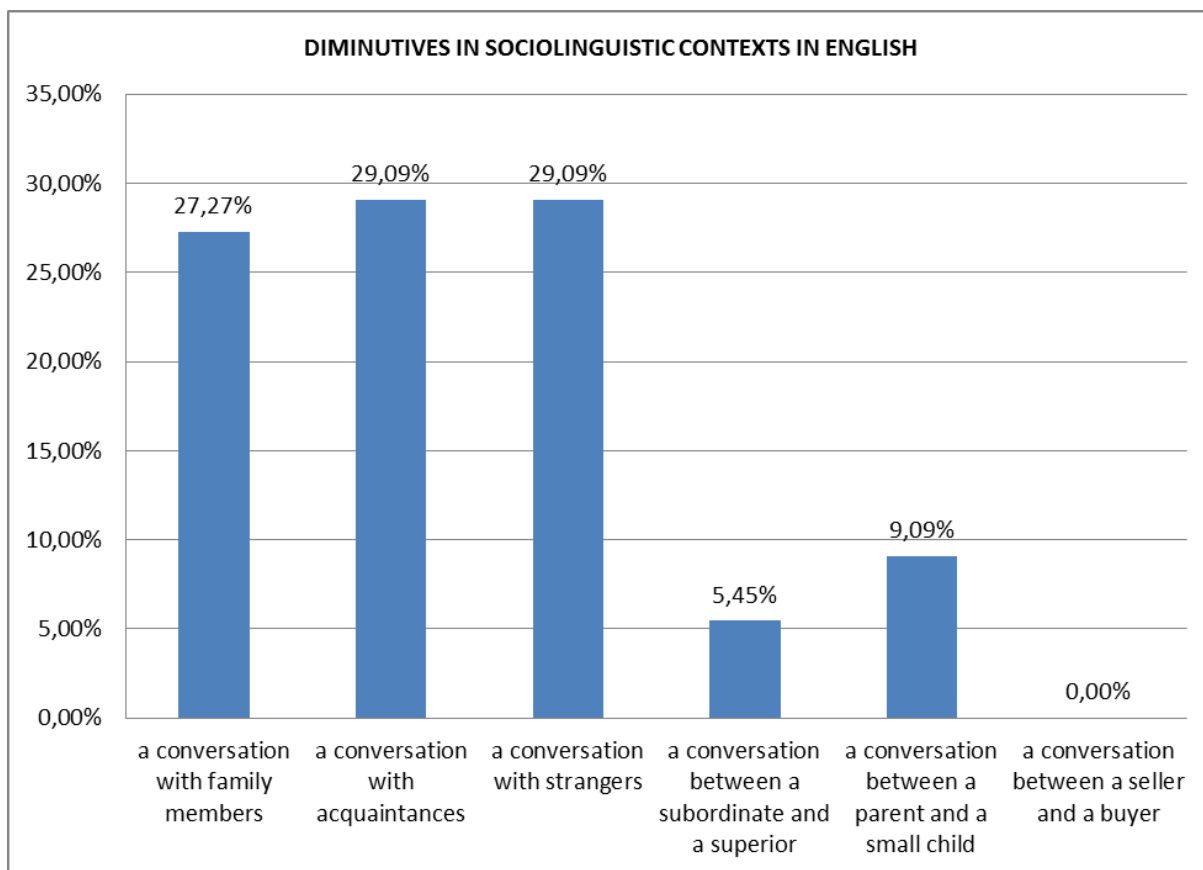


Figure 11. Diminutives in sociolinguistic contexts in English

The author of this thesis depended on the maximalist view, which attributes the denotative meanings of diminutives to semantics and the connotative meanings of diminutive forms to pragmatics, due to the fact that the semantic connotations can be derived from pragmatics. The analysis of different types of literary texts suggests that in the case of Polish diminutives, Jurafsky's model of the range of semantic functions of diminution seems insufficient as it does not contain all the meanings exhibited by synthetic diminutives in Polish. Furthermore, the primary, and denotative, meaning of smallness in most cases seems to be accompanied by various connotative meanings, which confirms Dressler and Barbaresi's claim that "the meaning of diminutives is not limited to a denotation of smallness but contains indication of contextual and communicative conditions" (Dressler and Barbaresi, 1994: 3). What is even more, as believed by such linguists as Stankiewicz (1954), Szymanek (2010) or Gawroński (1928), the analysis of the meanings of Polish diminutives presented in chapter 8 confirms the assumption that, as far as the frequency of usage, the connotative meanings prevail over the denotative ones (as noted in chapter 4.3.). Tables 45. and 46. illustrate this claim:

<b>DENOTATIVE MEANINGS OF DIMINUTIVES</b>		
<b>Type of meaning</b>	<b>Number of examples in the corpus</b>	
	<b>Polish texts</b>	<b>English texts</b>
‘smallness’	74	37
‘similarity’	40	9
‘partitive/singulative’	2	0
‘young age’	35	15
‘reduced scale’	101	48
‘short temporal duration’	12	3
‘reduced strength’	20	3
‘reduced extent or intensity’	38	10
<b>Total number: 8</b>	<b>Total number:</b> 322	<b>Total number:</b> 125

Table 45. Denotative meanings of diminutives

<b>CONNOTATIVE MEANINGS OF DIMINUTIVES</b>		
<b>Type of meaning</b>	<b>Number of examples in the corpus</b>	
	<b>Polish texts</b>	<b>English texts</b>
‘approximation’	4	0
‘intensification’	32	8
‘non-importance/mitigation’	51	23
‘affection/tenderness/endearment’	40	15
‘familiarity/friendliness’	27	7
‘intimacy’	12	0
‘informality’	12	2
‘sympathy/pity/compassion/care/self-pity’	49	13
‘hospitality/politeness’	12	1
‘joy/amusement/pleasure/playfulness’	27	6
‘satisfaction/content/approval/admiration’	25	2
‘lack of worth/belittlement/derogation’	20	5
‘irony/sarcasm’	33	7
‘contempt/disdain/disrespect/mockery/maliciousness’	28	10

‘pitifulness/insincere compassion’	5	1
‘condescension/ insincere politeness/ excessive obsequiousness’	13	1
‘criticism/suspicion’	9	1
‘insult/annoyance/anger’	17	2
‘distance/aversion’	8	1
<b>Total number: 19</b>	<b>Total number:</b> 424	<b>Total number:</b> 105

Table 46. Connotative meanings of diminutives

As the tables show, out of 746 diminutive forms collected from Polish literary texts, 424 diminutives express connotative meanings, and 322 – denotative ones. This confirms the theories that diminutive meanings concerning emotions are prevalent in languages rich in expressive forms (Gawroński, 1928), and that Poles are very emotional (Wierzbicka, 1999). The pie graph (Figure 12.) provided below illustrates this observation:

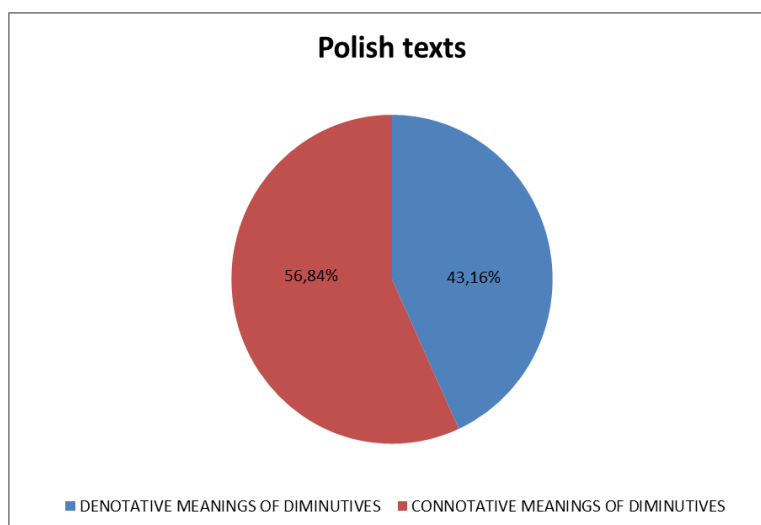


Figure 12. Connotative and denotative meanings of Polish diminutives

As far as English is concerned, the use of diminutives to express various denotative and connotative meanings is opposite to Polish, as, according to tables 45. and 46., out of 230 diminutive forms collected from English literary texts, 125 diminutives express denotative meanings, and 105 – connotative ones. Nevertheless, this confirms the theories that the English pay more attention to objective reasoning than to subjective attitude (Jespersen, 1972), and that they are very restrained and matter-of-fact (Miall and Milsted, 2011;

Szostkiewicz, 2005; Wierzbicka, 1999; Tomczak, 2005; Hoffman, 1989; Mikes, 1987). The pie graph (Figure 13.) provided below illustrates this observation:

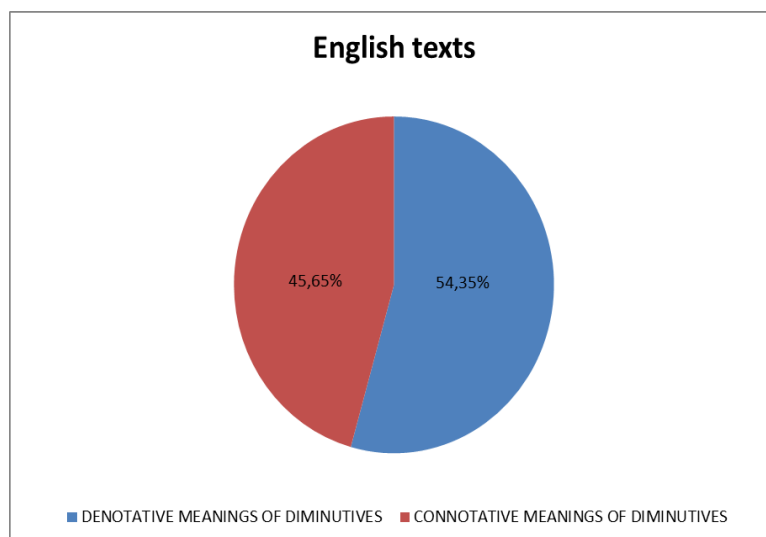


Figure 13. Connotative and denotative meanings of English diminutives

Table 45., presenting the denotative meanings of diminutive forms, shows that, both in Polish and in English, diminutives are most often used to express the meaning of reduced scale of an entity and the meaning of smallness of a given object. In Polish, they are also quite frequently employed to express the meaning of similarity, young age, as well as reduced extent or intensity. In English, they often express the meaning of young age as well. Percentage graphs (Figure 14. and Figure 15.) provided below illustrate the above-mentioned observations concerning both Polish and English diminutives used to express denotative meanings:

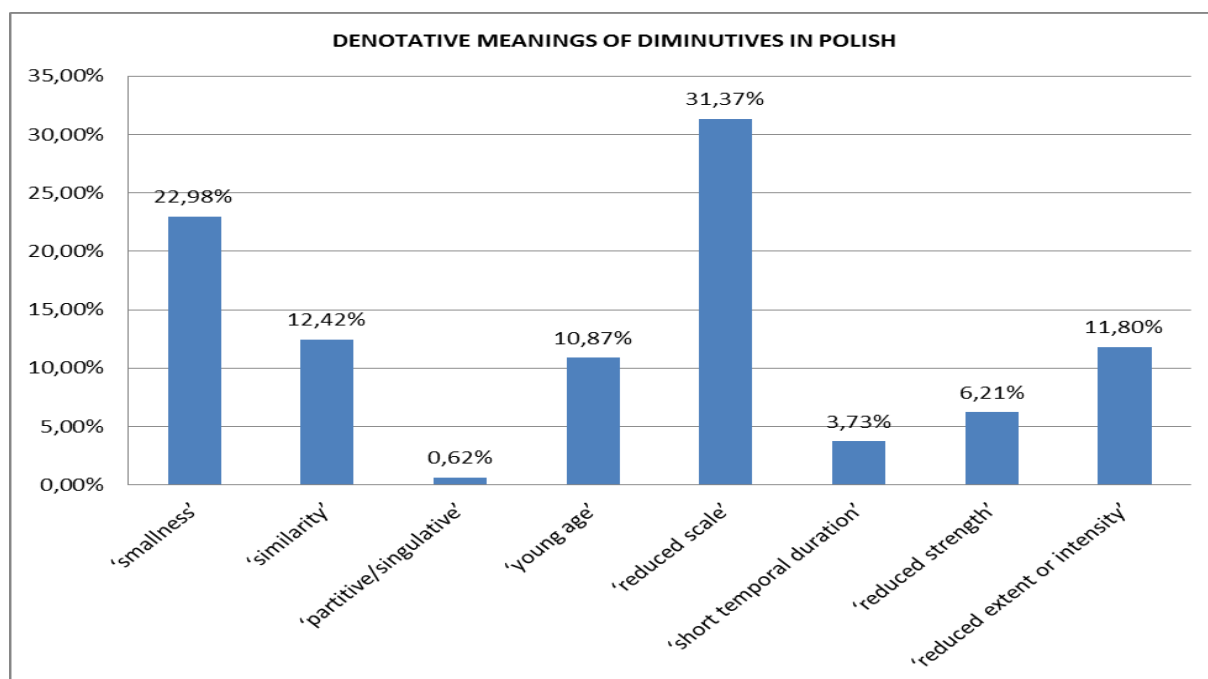


Figure 14. Denotative meanings of diminutives in Polish

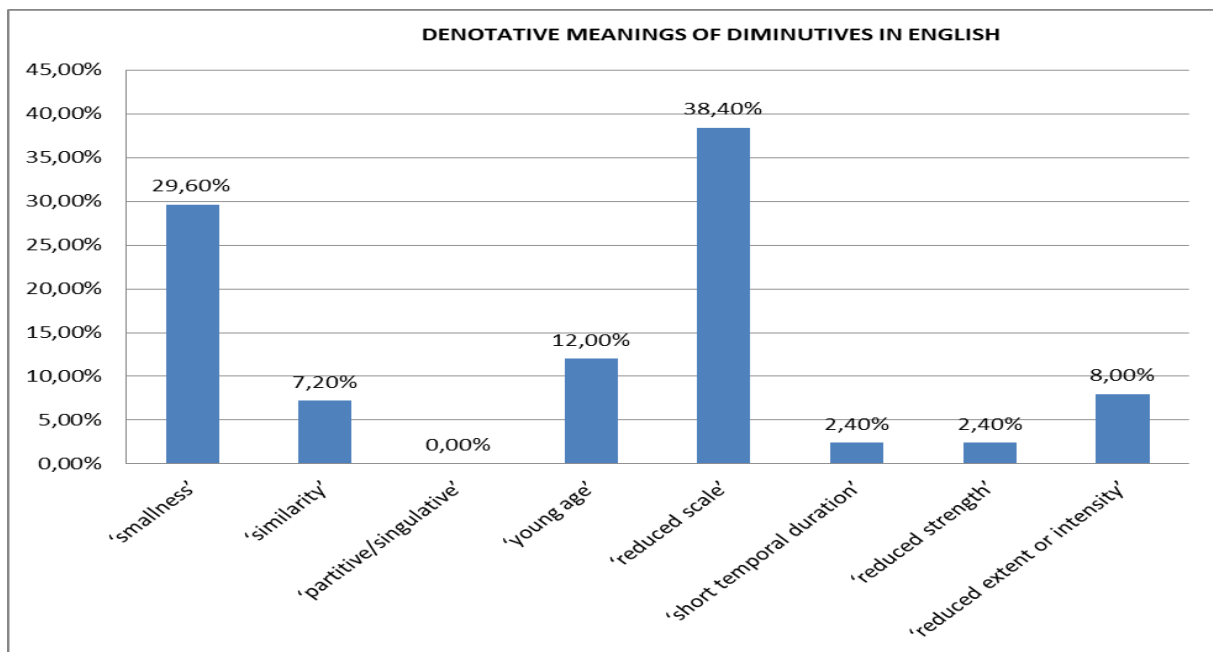


Figure 15. Denotative meanings of diminutives in English

Table 46., presenting the connotative meanings of diminutive forms, shows that, in Polish, diminutives are most often used to express the meaning of non-importance/mitigation, sympathy/pity/compassion/care/self-pity, as well as of affection/tenderness/endearment. The corpus also gives many examples of using diminutive forms to express the following meanings:

- 'irony/sarcasm',
- 'intensification',
- 'contempt/disdain/disrespect/mockery/maliciousness',
- 'familiarity/friendliness',
- 'joy/amusement/pleasure/playfulness',
- 'satisfaction/content/approval/admiration'.

The percentage graph (Figure 16.) provided below illustrates the above-mentioned observations concerning Polish diminutives used to express connotative meanings:

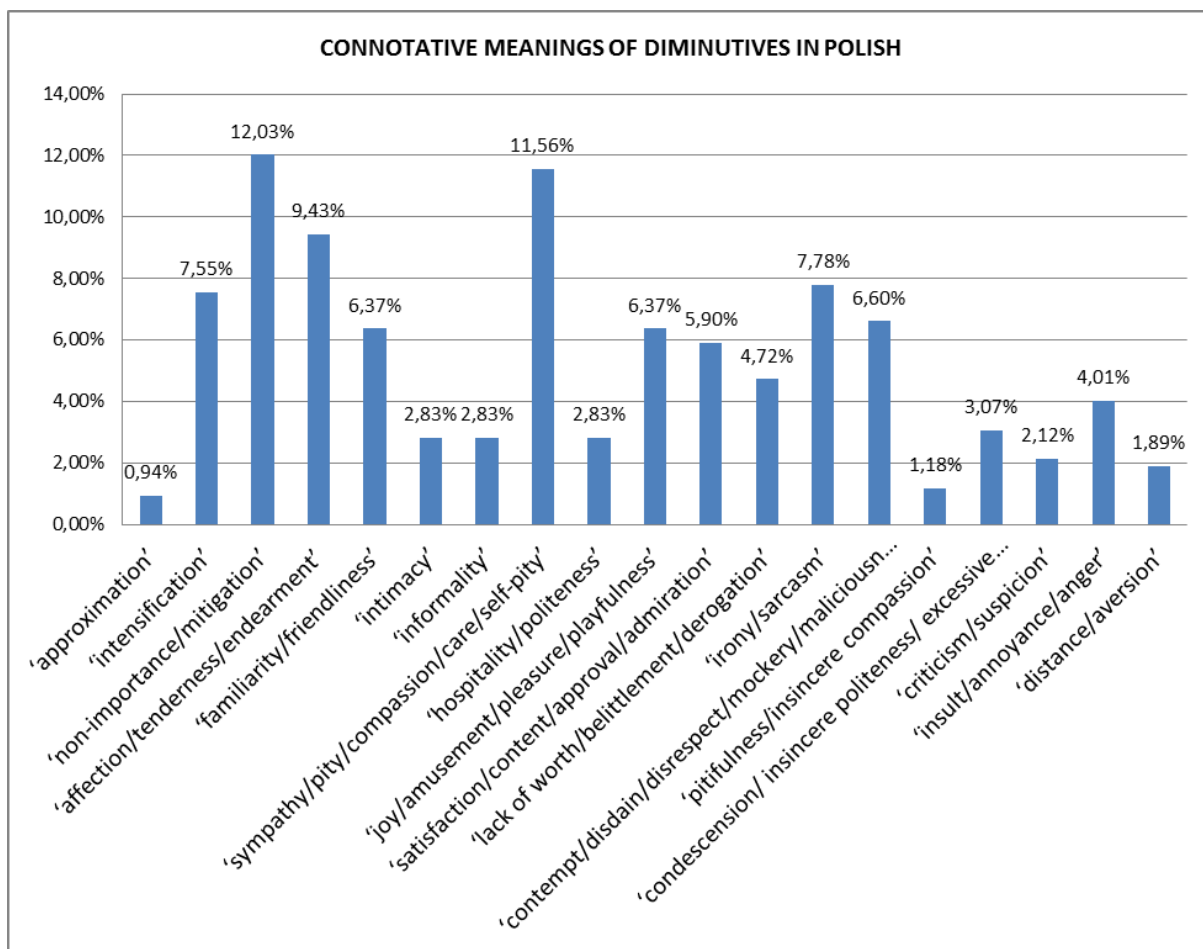


Figure 16. Connotative meanings of diminutives in Polish

As far as English is concerned, table 46. shows that diminutives are most often used to express the meaning of non-importance/mitigation. The corpus also gives many examples of using diminutive forms to express the following meanings:

- 'affection/tenderness/endearment',
- 'sympathy/pity/compassion/care/self-pity',
- 'contempt/disdain/disrespect/mockery/maliciousness'.

The percentage graph (Figure 17.) provided below illustrates the above-mentioned observations concerning English diminutives used to express connotative meanings:

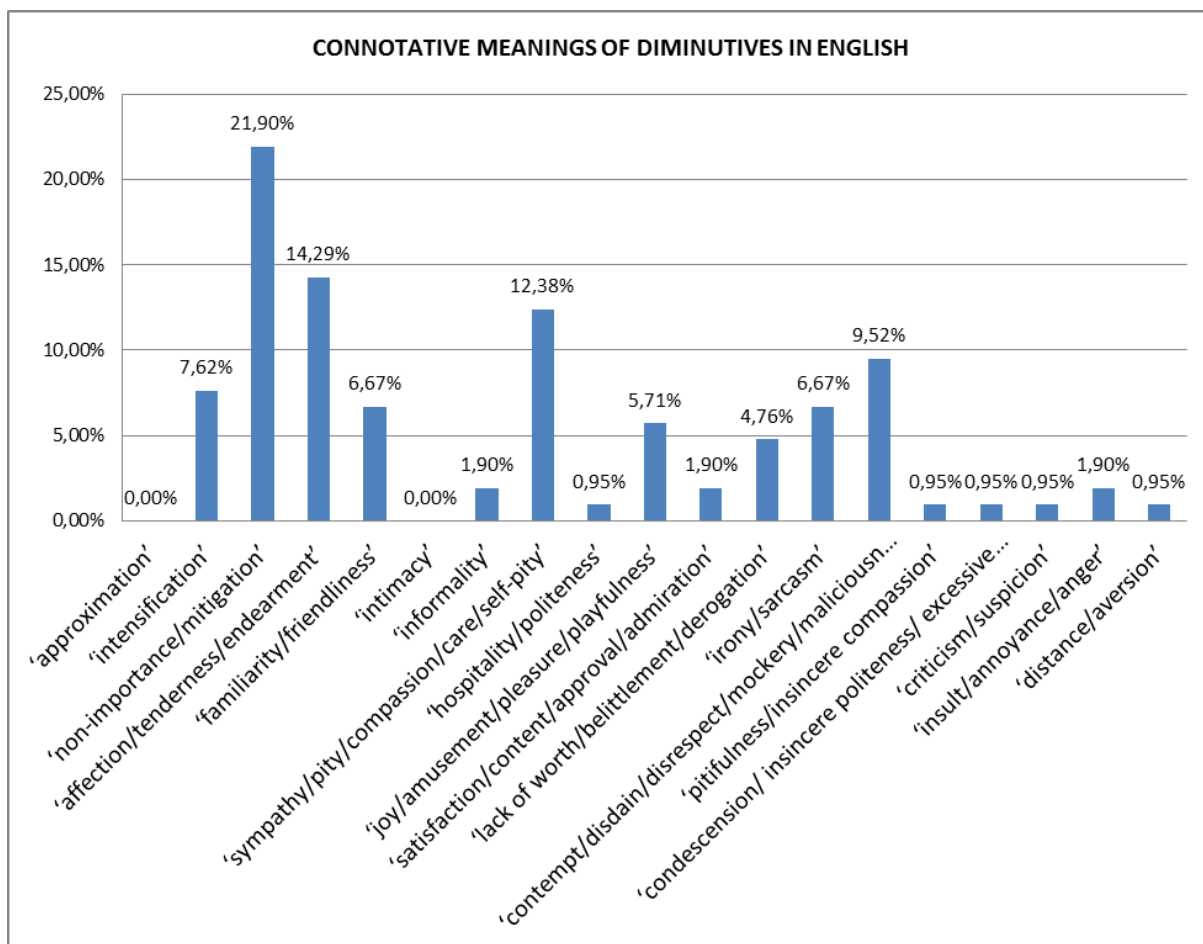


Figure 17. Connotative meanings of diminutives in English

The analysis also shows that the scope of the meanings of Polish diminutives is much broader than of the English ones. In Polish diminutives are commonly used in the following types of meanings:

- the denotative meanings:
  - ✓ the meaning of smallness of a given object, e.g. *okienko*,
  - ✓ a given object in its diminutive form is similar in meaning to the designatum, e.g. *szczypczyki*,
  - ✓ partitive/singulative meaning, e.g. *trawka*,
  - ✓ the meaning of young age, e.g. *chłopczyk*,
  - ✓ the meaning of reduced scale of an entity, e.g. *mała salka*,
  - ✓ the meaning of short temporal duration, e.g. *spotkać się na chwilkę*,
  - ✓ the meaning of reduced strength, e.g. *cichutko*,
  - ✓ the meaning of reduced extent or intensity, e.g. *żółtawa koszula*;
- the connotative meanings:
  - ✓ the meaning of approximation, e.g. *Jeszcze momencik*,

- ✓ the meaning of intensification, e.g. *nowiuteńki apartamentowiec*,
- ✓ the meaning of non-importance/mitigation, e.g. *szklaneczka whisky*,
- ✓ the meaning of affection/tenderness/endearment, e.g. *Kochany chłopczyzna!*,
- ✓ the meaning of familiarity/friendliness, e.g. *Dzięki, Ewuniu.*,
- ✓ the meaning of intimacy, e.g. *Przystaw gęby, żonisiu.*,
- ✓ the meaning of informality, e.g. *Górka, czyli pięterko, składała się z korytarza i czterech jednakowych pokoi.*,
- ✓ the meaning of sympathy/pity/compassion/care/self-pity, e.g. *Pot oblewa całe czółko; możesz się zaziębić wnet.*,
- ✓ the meaning of hospitality/politeness, e.g. *Dzień dobry, panie prokuratorze, może papieroska?*,
- ✓ the meaning of joy/amusement/pleasure/playfulness, e.g. *obiad w rewelacyjnej greckiej knajpce*,
- ✓ the meaning of satisfaction/content/approval/admiration, e.g. *Spójrz, jakie piękne, krągłe literki.*,
- ✓ the meaning of irony/sarcasm, e.g. *Wygląda na to, że wdówka nie będzie musiała pytać w aptece o polskie zamienniki.*,
- ✓ the meaning of contempt/disdain/disrespect/mockery/maliciousness, e.g. *Chłopak nędzny jak oni wszyscy w tym pokoleniu. Chude rączki, chude nóżki*,
- ✓ the meaning of lack of worth/belittlement/derogation, e.g. *To był studenciak z inteligenckiego domu.*,
- ✓ the meaning of pitifulness/insincere compassion, e.g. *Czy on się zakochał w tej dziewczyninie z małymi piersiami?*,
- ✓ the meaning of condescension/insincere politeness/excessive obsequiousness, e.g. *Papkin nóżki ściska, za przyjęcie dzięki składa.*,
- ✓ the meaning of criticism/suspicion, e.g. *W tej kurteczce lata – jeszcze kataru, u diaska, dostanie.*,
- ✓ the meaning of insult/annoyance/anger, e.g. *Gówno prawda, pomyślał Szacki. Chcesz zatrzeć złe wrażenie, kłamczuszku.*,
- ✓ the meaning of distance/aversion, e.g. *kiedy spotkali się wszyscy ponad miesiąc temu w salce architektonicznego potworka na Łazienkowskiej.*

In English, diminutive forms are commonly used in the following types of meaning:

- the denotative meanings:
  - ✓ the meaning of smallness of a given object, e.g. *little buttons*,



- ✓ the meaning of young age, e.g. *the little boy*,
- ✓ the meaning of reduced scale of an entity, e.g. *small rooms*,
- the connotative meanings:
  - ✓ the meaning of non-importance/mitigation, e.g. *A little present.*,
  - ✓ the meaning of affection/tenderness/endearment, e.g. *Daddy's here.*,
  - ✓ the meaning of sympathy/pity/compassion/care/self-pity, e.g. *Poor little Lizzy!*,
  - ✓ the meaning of contempt/disdain/disrespect/mockery/maliciousness, e.g. *But worse than all of that (...) you've broken my adored sister's heart, you – you – you odious little man.*,
  - ✓ the meaning of irony/sarcasm, e.g. *How are things at your lovely little women's mag?*.

The following meanings are either not present in English texts or there is only one or few examples given:

- the denotative meanings:
  - ✓ a given object in its diminutive form is similar in meaning to the designatum,
  - ✓ partitive/singulative meaning,
  - ✓ the meaning of short temporal duration,
  - ✓ the meaning of reduced strength,
  - ✓ the meaning of reduced extent or intensity,
- the connotative meanings:
  - ✓ the meaning of approximation,
  - ✓ the meaning of intensification,
  - ✓ the meaning of familiarity/friendliness,
  - ✓ the meaning of intimacy,
  - ✓ the meaning of informality,
  - ✓ the meaning of hospitality/politeness,
  - ✓ the meaning of joy/amusement/pleasure/playfulness,
  - ✓ the meaning of satisfaction/content/approval/admiration,
  - ✓ the meaning of lack of worth/belittlement/derogation,
  - ✓ the meaning of pitifulness/insincere compassion,
  - ✓ the meaning of condescension/insincere politeness/excessive obsequiousness,
  - ✓ the meaning of criticism/suspicion,
  - ✓ the meaning of insult/annoyance/anger,
  - ✓ the meaning of distance/aversion.

It should also be observed that Taylor's classification of diminutive meanings portrays the nature of Polish diminutives more adequately than Jurafsky's model, as it emphasizes the role of metonymy in the development of diminutive meanings. As claimed by many linguists (see Bierwiaczonek 2013, Peirsman and Geeraerts 2006), metonymy is one of the most crucial mechanisms of obtaining connotative meanings. What is more, the multiplicity of connotative meanings of Polish diminutives shows the need for supplementing Taylor's classification with additional meanings such as hospitality, playfulness or admiration.

As far as translation of diminutives is concerned, the most characteristic feature of Polish translations of English literary texts is the employment of a diminutive form in places where in the original version there is no diminutive used. Four kinds of such additions were listed in chapter 8.3.1.:

- forming double/multiple diminutives both analytically and synthetically, whereas in the original version there is only analytic formation applied (e.g. *small rooms* – *male pokoiki*);
- attaching diminutive suffixes to nouns which in the original version are not diminutivized in any way (e.g. *In Meryton they parted.* – *W Meryton grupka się rozdzieliła.*);
- adding new words (in this case – diminutives) to the translated version in places where in the original version there is no such noun or its diminutive form (e.g. *Amy grabbed Mystery before he could get into more trouble.* – (...) *żeby uniknąć kolejnej katastrofy, podniosła Skrytkę, chwyciwszy ją pod boczki.*);
- modifying translated version in order to make it possible to apply a diminutive form, even though it could change the original meaning of a particular sentence (e.g. *luvvies* – *aktorski świątek*).

Other strategies of translating diminutives into Polish include:

- using synthetic diminutive (e.g. *Daddy's here.* - (...) *tatusz już wrócił.*);
- using analytic diminutive (e.g. *a little object* – *mały przedmiot*);
- using functional equivalents (in this case – diminutives) (e.g. *That's right, pet.* – *No właśnie, kotku.*);
- exchanging particular elements of the original text for more suitable ones (in this case – diminutives) in translated version (e.g. *He'd only been walking for few months and it still gave Jazz jolt of excitement to see him upright on his two fat legs.* – *Chodził zaledwie od paru miesięcy i Jasmin wciąż nie mogła opanować podniecenia, widząc go stojącego na tłustych nóżkach.*).

The English, contrary to Poles, are considered rather reserved, which is reflected in translation. English translators employ diminutives less frequently, when rendering Polish texts into English, exploiting the following strategies of translation (see chapter 8.3.1.):

- using synthetic diminutive (e.g. *Matusiu, jesce ino w kółko raz.* - *Oh, mummy, please! One more dance and then I'll go.*);
- using analytic diminutive (e.g. *mała uwaga* – *a small comment*);
- translating double/multiple diminutives as single ones (e.g. *mały pokoik* – *the small room*);
- using suitable lexis: a separate word which semantically constitutes a diminutive (e.g. *dywanik* – *rug*);
- using suitable lexis: an attribute semantically associated with a diminutive (e.g. *fotelik* – *child seat*);
- using suitable lexis: an adjective semantically associated with the meaning of smallness (e.g. *owieczka* – *new-born lambs*);
- using suitable lexis: an adverb which expresses the meaning of Polish diminutive (e.g. *spotkać się na chwilkę* – *meet briefly*) or intensifies English meaning (e.g. *cichutko grać* – *play very quietly*);
- using suitable lexis: a verb which expresses the meaning of Polish diminutive (e.g. *a jak kto po cichuteńku powie* – *yet someone only needs to gasp*);
- using suitable lexis: a noun which expresses the meaning of Polish diminutive (e.g. *z leciutką pogardą* – *with a touch of scorn*);
- using suitable lexis: a word which intensifies English meaning (e.g. *każde słówko* – *every single word*, *nowiuteńki* – *a brand-new*);
- using an adjective with the suffix *-ish* (e.g. *czerwonawa luna* – *reddish glow*);
- using elaborate modification (e.g. *tak podskocznie, tak mileńko* – *tenderly enlivening*);
- exchanging diminutive forms of the original text for more suitable elements in the translated version (e.g. *czyściutko* – *nice and clean*, *bliziutko* – *nice and close*);
- using functional equivalents (e.g. *półświatek* – *the underworld*);
- employing no diminutive form (e.g. *cieniutki golf* – *thin polo neck*, *szklaneczka whisky* – *a glass of whisky*);
- relying on the context (e.g. *Jeszcze momencik.* – *Just a moment*);
- omitting problematic diminutive forms (e.g. *szmer silniczka magnetofonu* – *the whirr of the tape recorder*).

Basing on the above-mentioned strategies of translating diminutives into English and Polish, it was proved that Polish translators enrich translated versions with diminutive forms, as there are 111 diminutives in English original texts and 351 diminutives in Polish translations. The graph (Figure 18.) provided below illustrates this observation:

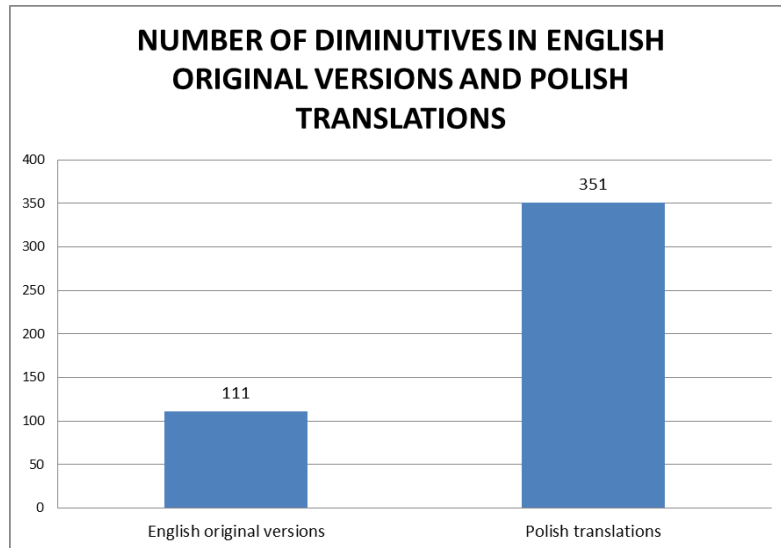


Figure 18. Number of diminutives in English original versions and Polish translations

It was confirmed as well that English translators, on the other hand, deprive translated versions of most diminutive forms, as there are 436 diminutives in Polish original texts and 126 diminutives in English translations. The graph (Figure 19.) provided below illustrates this observation:

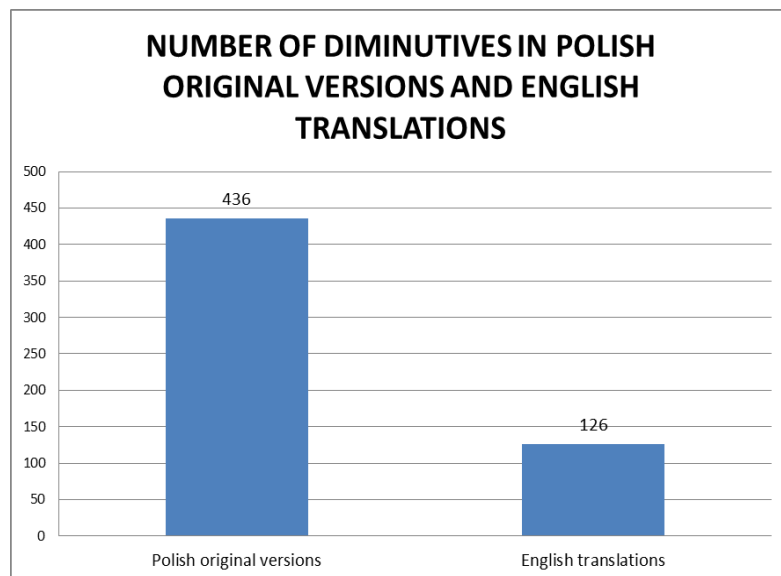


Figure 19. Number of diminutives in Polish original versions and English translations

As mentioned before, translation of diminutives is considered by many linguists such as Wierzbicka (1980) or Hejwowski (2009) to be problematic and questionable. Tabakowska (2002) believes that translation of such linguistic forms as diminutives involves a clash between two cultures, forcing the translator to become a mediator between them. As mentioned before, the translator has to understand not only the text, but also the cultural background, in order to decide about the concrete diminutive form to be used. Moreover, the translation is as well affected by the translator's own cultural heritage and point of view (Lockyer, 2012).

It is as well worth recalling that the meanings of diminutives are not clear-cut but subjected to the contextual influence. Due to the multiplicity of diminutive meanings, the translator has to aptly interpret them on the basis of a particular sociolinguistic context and the type of a speech act, as, following Dressler and Barbaresi (1994), it could be stated that the pragmatics of diminutives often allow "multiple conceivable interpretations". Therefore, the translator must infer an ironic, sympathetic, loving or jocular intention of a given protagonist. It concerns both English (e.g. in a particular context the sentence *O, biedny, biedny **Gucio mały*** does not express the meaning of compassion, but the meaning of mockery, and was translated as *Poor **little Gussie, helpless mite!***) and Polish (e.g. in a particular context the sentence *How are things at your lovely **little** women's **mag**?* does not express the meaning of familiarity, but the meaning of irony, and was translated as *Co tam słychać w twoim uroczym kobiecym **pisemku**?*) translations.

Contrary to Polish translators, who managed to translate the meanings of all English diminutive forms, English translators found it more difficult to render the original character of Polish diminutives. In some cases, the meaning of a given Polish diminutive form is rendered accurately (e.g. the sentence *Chodź, chodź – mam cię, **ptaszku*** was translated as *You **cheeky sparrow!** Caught you nicely!*). Unfortunately, it happened quite often that the translator's interpretation of the meaning of a given diminutive form was not correct or his/her decision about the choice of a suitable translation strategy was inappropriate, as in the corpus under investigation there are many examples of different kinds of modifications, which resulted in losing the original character of a given diminutive form, e.g. the sentence *Ino, **matuś**, zaś nie swarście* was translated as *Let's not start to quarrel now!*, which made the translated sentence sound cold, or even harsh, and inadequate to a given situation.

Nevertheless, it needs to be underlined that both Polish and English translators applied the above-mentioned strategies in order to make the translated versions read naturally. Therefore, the use of diminutives in Polish translations and lack of diminutives in English

translations serve as an example of domestication. What is more, adding diminutives while translating into Polish is also an example of explicitation (e.g. the sentence *Lydia was exceedingly fond of him. He was her **dear Wickham** on every occasion.* was translated as *Lidia była dla niego niezmiernie czuła. Ciągle, przy każdej sposobności, nazywała go **drogim mężulkiem**.* or the sentence *He'd only been walking for few months and it still gave Jazz jolt of excitement to see him upright on his two fat **legs**.* was translated as *Chodził zaledwie od paru miesięcy i Jasmin wciąż nie mogła opanować podniecenia, widząc go stojącego na tłustych **nózkach**.*) as well as compensation (e.g. the sentence *But it is a comfort to think that whatever of that kind may befall you, you have an affectionate **mother** who will always make the most of it.* was translated as *Możesz się jednak pocieszyć, że jeśli ci się zdarzy cokolwiek w tym guście, masz kochającą **mamusię**, która to z pewnością odpowiednio rozgłosi.*).

Despite the analysis presented in chapter 8 of his dissertation, the use of diminutives in Polish and in English may still give rise to some questions. As far as perspectives for further studies on diminutives are concerned, it is worth presenting and analyzing those literary texts which would illustrate the use of diminutive forms in conversations between a seller and a buyer, as the corpus discussed in chapter 8 does not provide any examples of this type of a sociolinguistic context. Moreover, it must be underlined that, as far as English examples are concerned, the corpus examined in chapter 8 concerned English English only. Due to some significant differences concerning cultural as well as national background, it is worth presenting and analyzing the use and formation of diminutives in other dialects of English such as American English, Australian English, Scottish English, Welsh English, Irish English or Canadian English. Furthermore, in order to analyse the presence of diminutive forms in Polish or in English from a different perspective, one can collect a corpus which would consist of other types of texts (e.g. dramas, or newspapers and magazines) or which would be collected on the basis of different television or radio programmes. Other kinds of corpora may provide more examples which would illustrate issues discussed in this paper even more evidently and allow for even more in-depth analysis. Nevertheless, the author of this dissertation hopes she has managed to answer at least some of the questions concerning Polish and English diminutive formation, application and translation, which should make it easier for the readers to understand the complicated nature of diminutive forms.

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## SUMMARY IN POLISH

Niniejsza rozprawa doktorska poświęcona jest zdrobnieniom w języku angielskim i polskim. Zdrobnienia są środkami językowymi wyrażającymi dosłownie lub metaforycznie denotatywne znaczenie „małości”. Jednakże, posiadają również znaczenie konotatywne, odnoszące się do wyrażania pozytywnych lub negatywnych emocji. Szczegółowa analiza zdrobnień obejmuje wiele dziedzin językoznawstwa, począwszy od morfologii, przez semantykę, pragmatykę, socjolingwistykę, studia nad przekładem, aż po badania międzykulturowe. Jak twierdzi Schneider (2003: 57), naturę zdrobnień można w pełni poznać tylko wtedy, kiedy wzięte zostaną pod uwagę wszystkie aspekty gramatyczne i pragmatyczne oraz występujące pomiędzy nimi interakcje. Należy tu podkreślić korelację występującą pomiędzy semantyką, która analizuje znaczenia zdrobnień poza kontekstem, a pragmatyką, która bierze pod uwagę zastosowanie i funkcje zdrobnień w kontekście. Jak wykazuje analiza tekstów literackich w języku polskim i angielskim, poszczególne znaczenia zdrobnień zależą od okoliczności ich zastosowania w konwersacji. Można więc stwierdzić, iż to pragmatyka odgrywa ważniejszą rolę w przypadku badań nad zdrobnięciami, jako że istotne jest tu zrozumienie w jaki sposób rozmówcy używają form zdrobniających w swoim języku.

Dotychczasowy stan badań wskazuje na potrzebę przeprowadzenia przekrojowej analizy zagadnień związanych ze zdrobnięciami, zwłaszcza dotyczących wpływu kultury na obecność tych elementów w języku. Podczas gdy wielu autorów omawiało procesy morfologiczne służące tworzeniu zdrobnień (Adams, 2001; Plag, 2003; Quirk, 1979 – w języku angielskim, Szymanek, 2010; Grzegorzczkova, 1984; Dobrzyński, 1988 – w języku polskim), mniej uwagi poświęcano problemom ekwiwalencji tłumaczeniowej zdrobnień, czy aspektom pragmatycznym ich zastosowania w konwersacji.

Niniejsza rozprawa doktorska, składająca się z dziewięciu rozdziałów, ma na celu zbadanie zdrobnień we wszystkich ich aspektach, kładąc szczególny nacisk na występujące pomiędzy nimi różnice w języku polskim i angielskim. Omówione są tu sposoby wyrażania przez zdrobnienia emocji w języku polskim i angielskim. Porównane są zarówno polskie jak i angielskie zdrobnienia pod względem ich tworzenia, częstotliwości użycia, funkcji i znaczeń w komunikacji językowej oraz kontekstów socjolingwistycznych, typowych dla zastosowania formacji deminutywnych.

Jako że zdrobnienia prawie nigdy nie wyrażają tylko swojego podstawowego, denotatywnego znaczenia „małości”, ponieważ zazwyczaj towarzyszy im zabarwienie

emocjonalne (Gawroński, 1928; Zarębina, 1954; Wierzbicka, 1999; Handke, 1995: 93-94), każda dziedzina językoznawstwa podkreśla fakt, iż zdrobnienia są nierozzerwalnie związane z pozytywnymi lub negatywnymi emocjami mówiącego (Foolen, 1997; Gąsiorek, 2000). Za pomocą zdrobnień mówiący chce wyrazić swój stosunek do rzeczywistości (Grabias, 1988: 37; Lubaś, 2003: 181; Przybyła, 2001: 188) lub coś osiągnąć (Data, 2000: 246). Formy zdrobniałe należą do ekspresywnych środków językowych, zazwyczaj stosowanych w mowie potocznej (Zgółkowa, 1991: 49; Skubalanka, 1973: 180-181; Dunaj, Przybylska, and Sikora, 1999: 236; Podracki, 2012: 180; Liseling Nilsson, 2012: 123). Kaproń-Charzyńska (2007: 149) dodaje, iż formy zdrobniałe pomagają także mówiącemu wartościować poszczególne zjawiska (Dressler and Barbaresi, 1994: 153; Bartmiński, 2007: 103; Puzynina, 1992; Laskowska, 1992) oraz sygnalizują dany sposób mówienia i typ osobowości. Dlatego więc część teoretyczna pracy (obejmująca rozdziały 1-7, z których pierwszy ma charakter wprowadzenia) ilustrowana jest przykładami użycia zdrobnień w spontanicznych wypowiedziach zaczerpniętych przez autorkę z autentycznych rozmów w miejscach takich, jak restauracja, autobus lub targ miejski oraz z codziennych konwersacji rodziców z dziećmi w wieku od 2 do 10 lat.

Część analityczna niniejszej pracy (tj. rozdział 8) oparta jest na wybranych przez autorkę rozprawy tekstach literackich (omawianych w całości), reprezentujących polską i angielską literaturę dziecięcą oraz literaturę skierowaną do dorosłych czytelników. Korpus potrzebny do analizy składa się z wybranych przez autorkę niniejszej pracy dzieł literackich charakteryzujących się dużą częstotliwością występowania zdrobnień oraz mnogością ich funkcji:

- dzieła literackie reprezentujące polską literaturę:

- *Uwikłanie* Zygmunta Miłoszewskiego,
- *Wesele* Stanisława Wyspiańskiego,
- *Panny z Wilka* oraz *Brzezina* Jarosława Iwaszkiewicza,
- *Zemsta* oraz *Śluby panięskie* Aleksandra Fredry.

- dzieła literackie reprezentujące angielską literaturę:

- *Amy Wild*, *Animal Talker*. *The Mystery Cat* Diany Kimpton,
- *Parker Pyne Investigates* Agathy Christie,
- *Acting Up* Melissy Nathan,
- *Pride and Prejudice* Jane Austen.

Celem analizy materiału korpusowego jest próba odpowiedzi na następujące pytania:

- Jaki jest najczęstszy sposób tworzenia form zdrobniałych w badanych tekstach w języku polskim i angielskim?
- Czy zdrobnienia są stosowane we wszystkich rodzajach wypowiedzi i we wszystkich kontekstach socjolingwistycznych? W których rodzajach wypowiedzi i kontekstach socjolingwistycznych występują one najczęściej?
- Czy użycie zdrobnień przez Polaków i Anglików jest związane z ich kulturą?
- W których typach znaczeń zdrobnienia są używane najczęściej? Czy jest więcej znaczeń denotatywnych czy konotatywnych polskich i angielskich formacji deminutywnych? Które znaczenia są częściej stosowane?
- Jakie są najpowszechniejsze metody tłumaczenia zdrobnień na język polski i angielski? Czy możliwe jest wierne oddanie znaczenia danego zdrobnienia?

Jedna z głównych tez niniejszej pracy głosi, że kultura, w jakiej żyją użytkownicy danego języka, ma znaczący wpływ na to, jakimi środkami językowymi się oni posługują (Kramsch, 2000: 3). W rozdziale 2 niniejszej pracy omówione są kwestie dotyczące kultury Polaków i Anglików oraz jej wpływu na obecność zdrobnień w języku polskim i angielskim. Język angielski postrzegany jest jako język „dorosłego mężczyzny”, nie ma w nim zatem zbyt wielu elementów żeńskich czy dziecięcych (Jespersen, 1972: 2). Powyższa opinia oparta jest między innymi na występowaniu niewielkiej ilości zdrobnień w tym języku oraz nielicznych sposobów ich tworzenia. Wierzbicka (1985: 150) podziela ten pogląd, twierdząc, że „męskość” języka angielskiego wynika z indywidualistycznego charakteru angielskiej kultury.

W porównaniu z angielskim, język polski cechuje znacznie większe użycie zdrobnień, zarówno w literaturze, jak i codziennych rozmowach (Wierzbicka, 1985; Bogdanowska-Jakubowska, 2010: 184-185). Zjawisko to może być odzwierciedleniem faktu, iż polska kultura, mimo iż obecnie nabiera cech typowych dla kultury indywidualistycznej, nadal przez większość badaczy postrzegana jest jako kultura kolektywistyczna (Bogdanowska-Jakubowska, 2010: 154, 178-179). Polacy znacznie chętniej od Anglików wyrażają swoje emocje za pomocą języka. Formy zdrobnień stosowane są w rozmaitych kontekstach społecznych, wyrażając stosunek mówiącego do poruszanych przez niego kwestii. Niniejsza rozprawa opiera się na analizie różnic międzykulturowych przedstawionych w pracach m.in. Wierzbickiej (1985, 1990), Kryk-Kastovsky (2000), czy Jakubowskiej (1999).

Niezależnie od języka, zdrobnienia wyrażają wiele znaczeń, czasem nawet sprzecznych ze sobą (Taylor, 1995: 146). Po omówieniu syntetycznych i analitycznych sposobów tworzenia zdrobnień w rozdziale 3, w rozdziale 4 przedstawione są koncepcje

dotyczące prymarnego znaczenia zdrobnień oraz analizy ich znaczeń, oparte na pracach m.in. Dresslera i Barbaresi (1994), Taylora (1995), Schneidera (2003), Jurafsky'ego (1996), Kreji (1969) czy Heltberg (1964).

Ukazanie wielości znaczeń, jakie niosą ze sobą zdrobnienia stanowi punkt wyjścia do badań omawianych w niniejszej rozprawie. Zdrobnienia stosowane są bowiem nie tylko do wyrażania „małości” danego przedmiotu, osoby bądź zjawiska, ale, przede wszystkim, do odzwierciedlenia pozytywnego lub negatywnego stosunku mówiącego do adresata (Gawroński, 1928). Schneider (2003) uważa, iż prawidłowa interpretacja znaczenia danego zdrobnienia jest uzależniona od kontekstu poszczególnych wypowiedzi. W rozdziale 5 niniejszej rozprawy ukazane są główne funkcje, jakie zdrobnienia pełnią w poszczególnych illokucyjnych aktach mowy, takich jak asercje, dyrektywy, komisywy, ekspresywy, czy wypowiedzi w formie wołacza. Ponadto, zbadana jest relacja pomiędzy zdrobnięciami a pojęciami „twarzy” oraz „grzeczności językowej” (Brown i Levinson, 1990).

Grabias (1988: 38) jest zdania, iż, tak jak w przypadku innych ekspresywnych elementów języka, formy zdrobnień są uwarunkowane społecznie. Ważna jest bowiem nie tylko sytuacja, w jakiej znajduje się mówiący, ale także osoba, z którą rozmawia. W rozdziale 6 niniejszej pracy wyszczególnione są konkretne konteksty socjolingwistyczne, w których zdrobnienia występują najczęściej. Dotyczą one równorzędnego statusu rozmówców (relacje rodzinne czy przyjacielskie) oraz nierównorzędnego statusu rozmówców (relacje przełożony – podwładny, sprzedawca – klient, rodzic (zazwyczaj matka) – dziecko).

Głównym celem badań prowadzonych przez autorkę niniejszej pracy jest ukazanie, iż sposoby tłumaczenia zdrobnień z języka polskiego na angielski oraz z języka angielskiego na polski są uwarunkowane przez kulturę i język. Zasadnicza hipoteza oparta jest na przekonaniu, iż w polskich tłumaczeniach występuje większa ilość zdrobnień niż w angielskich oryginałach. W rozdziale 7 niniejszej pracy omówione są główne metody tłumaczenia zdrobnień z języka polskiego na angielski (Hejwowski, 2009: 119), takie jak dodawanie do rzeczownika przydawki *little* lub *small*, użycie po angielsku słowa określającego obiekty mniejsze niż podstawa zdrobnienia (np. *dróżka* – *path*), użycie słowa o pozytywnych bądź negatywnych konotacjach, czy inne formy kompensacji. Ponadto, przedstawione są główne sposoby tłumaczenia zdrobnień z języka angielskiego na polski. W niniejszej pracy wykazane jest, że polscy tłumacze mają tendencję do wzbogacania swoich przekładów (z języka angielskiego) formami zdrobniałymi. Autorka niniejszej pracy stawia hipotezę, iż jest to jeden ze sposobów udomowienia tekstu docelowego. Ponadto, rozważona jest hipoteza, iż angielskie tłumaczenia polskiej literatury pozbawione są wielu zdrobnień, co

może być skutkiem odmienności kulturowej rodzimych użytkowników tych dwóch języków. Celem badań jest udowodnienie, że angielscy tłumacze mają trudności w oddaniu wszystkich znaczeń i kontekstów polskich zdrobnień oraz sposobach ich tworzenia (np. w przypadku zdrobnień wielokrotnych, takich jak *mamusieńka*), co może być spowodowane brakiem w języku angielskim wystarczającej ilości środków językowych niezbędnych do wiernego oddania treści tekstu źródłowego.

Mimo tego, iż w języku polskim zdrobnienia są zazwyczaj tworzone syntetycznie, a w języku angielskim – analitycznie, ich znaczenia i funkcje pragmatyczne w codziennych rozmowach są podobne. Jak ukazuje analiza tekstów literackich w rozdziale 8 niniejszej pracy, oraz wnioski końcowe sformułowane w rozdziale 9, formy deminutywne stosowane są we wszystkich illokucyjnych aktach mowy oraz prawie we wszystkich kontekstach socjolingwistycznych, jako że w korpusie tekstów literackich zebranych do analizy nie zanotowano użycia zdrobnień w rozmowach pomiędzy sprzedawcą a kupującym. Niemniej jednak, zjawisko to jest typowe dla polskiej kultury i omawiane jest przez wielu językoznawców, takich jak Bralczyk (2009) czy Huszcza (2005). Można więc stwierdzić, iż jedyną różnicą pomiędzy polskimi a angielskimi zdrobzeniami jest fakt, że zakres użycia polskich form zdrobniałych jest znacznie szerszy niż w przypadku angielskich. Jest to jednak uwarunkowane kulturowo, jako że stosowanie zdrobnień odzwierciedla poszczególne wartości kulturowe i wzorce zachowań. Biorąc pod uwagę wspomniany już wcześniej fakt, iż Anglicy i Polacy należą do dwóch zasadniczo różnych kultur, reprezentują oni dwa odmienne podejścia do użycia formacji deminutywnych, co widoczne jest w tłumaczeniu. Powołując się na Wierzbicką (1999), można sądzić, iż Polacy są bardziej emocjonalni niż Anglicy, tak więc używają zdrobnień znacznie częściej, zarówno w tekstach oryginalnych jak i tłumaczonych z angielskiego.

Analiza korpusu językowego przeprowadzona w rozdziale 8 udowadnia, iż zakres znaczeń polskich zdrobnień jest znacznie szerszy niż angielskich. W języku polskim formy zdrobniałe są powszechnie stosowane w celu wyrażenia następujących typów znaczeń:

- Znaczenia denotatywne:

- ✓ Znaczenie “małości” danego obiektu (*okienko*),
- ✓ Dany obiekt w formie zdrobniałej jest podobny znaczeniowo do desygnatu (*szczypczyki*),
- ✓ Znaczenie partytywne/syngulatywne (*trawka*),
- ✓ Znaczenie młodego wieku (*chłopczyk*),
- ✓ Znaczenie zredukowanej skali (*mała salka*),

- ✓ Znaczenie krótkiego czasu trwania (*spotkać się na **chwilkę***),
- ✓ Znaczenie zredukowanej siły (***cichutko***),
- ✓ Znaczenie zredukowanego zakresu bądź intensywności (***żółtawa** koszula*);
- Znaczenia konotatywne:
  - ✓ Znaczenie przybliżenia (*Jeszcze **momencik***),
  - ✓ Znaczenie intensyfikacji (***nowiuteńki** apartamentowiec*),
  - ✓ Znaczenie nieistotności/złagodzenia (***szklaneczka** whisky*),
  - ✓ Znaczenie afektacji/czułości (*Kochany **chłopczyzna!***),
  - ✓ Znaczenie poufałości/życzliwości (*Dzięki, **Ewuniu.***),
  - ✓ Znaczenie zażyłości (*Przystaw gęby, **żonisiu.***),
  - ✓ Znaczenie potoczności (***Górka**, czyli **pięterko**, składała się z korytarza i czterech jednakowych pokoi.*),
  - ✓ Znaczenie współczucia/litości/troski/rozczulania się nad sobą (*Pot oblewa całe **czołko**; możesz się zaziębić wnet.*),
  - ✓ Znaczenie gościnności/uprzejmości (*Dzień dobry, panie prokuratorze, może **papieroska?***),
  - ✓ Znaczenie radości/rozbawienia/przyjemności/zartobliwości (*obiad w rewelacyjnej greckiej **knajpce***),
  - ✓ Znaczenie satysfakcji/zadowolenia/aprobaty/podziwu (*Spójrz, jakie piękne, krągłe **literki.***),
  - ✓ Znaczenie ironii/sarkazmu (*Wygląda na to, że **wdówka** nie będzie musiała pytać w aptece o polskie zamienniki.*),
  - ✓ Znaczenie pogardy/lekceważenia/braku szacunku/drwiny/złośliwości (*Chłopak nędzny jak oni wszyscy w tym pokoleniu. Chude **rączki**, chude **nóżki***),
  - ✓ Znaczenie braku wartości/deprecjacji/umniejszenia (*To był **studenciak** z inteligenckiego domu.*),
  - ✓ Znaczenie politowania/nieszczerego współczucia (*Czy on się zakochał w tej **dziewczyninie z małymi piersiami?***),
  - ✓ Znaczenie protekcyjności/nieszczerej uprzejmości/nadmiernej służalczości (*Papkin **nóżki** ściska, za przyjęcie dzięki składa.*),
  - ✓ Znaczenie krytyki/podejrzliwości (*W tej **kurteczce** lata – jeszcze kataru, u diaska, dostanie.*),
  - ✓ Znaczenie zniewagi/irytacji/złości (*Gówno prawda, pomyślał Szacki. Chcesz zatrzeć złe wrażenie, **klamczuszkę.***),

- ✓ Znaczenie dystansu/niechęci ( *kiedy spotkali się wszyscy ponad miesiąc temu w salce architektonicznego **potworka** na Łazienkowskiej.*

W języku angielskim zdrobnienia mogą natomiast wyrażać następujące typy znaczeń:

- Znaczenia denotatywne:
  - ✓ Znaczenie “małości” danego obiektu ( *little buttons*),
  - ✓ Znaczenie młodego wieku ( *the little boy*),
  - ✓ Znaczenie zredukowanej skali ( *small rooms*),
- Znaczenia konotatywne:
  - ✓ Znaczenie nieistotności/złagodzenia ( *A little present.*),
  - ✓ Znaczenie afektacji/czułości ( *Daddy’s here.*),
  - ✓ Znaczenie współczucia/litości/troski/rozczulania się nad sobą ( *Poor little Lizzy!*),
  - ✓ Znaczenie ironii/sarkazmu ( *How are things at your lovely little women’s mag?*),
  - ✓ Znaczenie pogardy/lekceważenia/braku szacunku/drwiny/złośliwości ( *But worse than all of that (...) you’ve broken my adored sister’s heart, you – you – you odious little man.*).

Pozostałe typy znaczeń albo w ogóle nie występują w angielskiej części korpusu, albo podany jest jeden lub tylko kilka przykładów.

Analiza wybranych tekstów literackich pokazuje, że najbardziej charakterystyczną cechą polskich tłumaczeń angielskich tekstów jest obecność zdrobnień w miejscach, w których w tekście oryginalnym zdrobnienie nie występuje. Autorka niniejszej pracy rozróżnia w rozdziale 8.3.1. cztery rodzaje dodawania form zdrobniających w ten sposób:

- Tworzenie zdrobnień podwójnych lub nawet wielokrotnych zarówno analitycznie jak i syntetycznie w miejscach, w których w oryginalnej wersji występuje tylko zdrobnienie analityczne ( *small rooms – małe pokoiki*),
- Dodawanie sufiksów deminutywnych do rzeczowników, które w wersji oryginalnej nie podlegają zdrobnieniu ( *In Meryton they parted. – W Meryton grupka się rozdzieliła.*),
- Dodawanie nowych wyrazów (w tym przypadku są to zdrobnienia) w wersji tłumaczonej w miejscu, w którym w wersji oryginalnej nie ma rzeczownika tego typu lub jego formy zdrobniającej ( *Amy grabbed Mystery before he could get into more trouble. – (...) żeby uniknąć kolejnej katastrofy, podniosła Skrytkę, chwyciwszy ją pod boczki.*),



- Modyfikacja danego fragmentu tłumaczonego tekstu w taki sposób, by możliwym było zastosowanie zdrobnienia, nawet mimo faktu, iż może to zmienić znaczenie oryginalne danego wyrażenia (*luvvies – aktorski światek*).

Ponadto, przy tłumaczeniu zdrobnień na język polski tłumacze stosują również poniższe metody:

- Użycie zdrobnienia syntetycznego (*Daddy's here. - (...) tatuś już wrócił.*),
- Użycie zdrobnienia analitycznego (*a little object – mały przedmiot*);
- Użycie ekwiwalentu funkcjonalnego (w tym przypadku jest to zdrobnienie) (*That's right, pet. – No właśnie, kotku.*),
- Wymiana konkretnych elementów tekstu oryginalnego na odpowiedniejsze w języku polskim (w tym przypadku na zdrobnienia) (*He'd only been walking for few months and it still gave Jazz jolt of excitement to see him upright on his two fat legs. – Chodził zaledwie od paru miesięcy i Jasmin wciąż nie mogła opanować podniecenia, widząc go stojącego na tłustych nóżkach.*).

Analiza wykazuje również, że angielscy tłumacze rzadziej stosują formy zdrobniałe, bazując na następujących metodach tłumaczenia z języka polskiego na angielski:

- Użycie zdrobnienia syntetycznego (*Matusiu, jescze ino w kółko raz. - Oh, mummy, please! One more dance and then I'll go.*),
- Użycie zdrobnienia analitycznego (*mała uwaga – a small comment*),
- Tłumaczenie zdrobnień podwójnych/wielokrotnych jako zdrobnienia pojedyncze (*mały pokoik – the small room*),
- Zastosowanie odpowiedniej leksyki – słowa, które w swoim znaczeniu wyraża zdrobnienie (*dywanik – rug*),
- Zastosowanie odpowiedniej leksyki – przydawki powiązanej znaczeniowo ze zdrobnieniem (*fotelik – child seat*),
- Zastosowanie odpowiedniej leksyki – przymiotnika powiązanego semantycznie ze znaczeniem “małości” (*owieczka – new-born lambs*),
- Zastosowanie odpowiedniej leksyki – przysłówka, który wyraża znaczenie polskiego zdrobnienia (*spotkać się na chwilkę – meet briefly*) lub intensyfikuje angielskie znaczenie (*cichutko grać – play very quietly*),
- Zastosowanie odpowiedniej leksyki – czasownika, który wyraża znaczenie polskiego zdrobnienia (*a jak kto po cichuteńku powie – yet someone only needs to gasp*),
- Zastosowanie odpowiedniej leksyki – rzeczownika, który wyraża znaczenie polskiego zdrobnienia (*z leciutką pogardą – with a touch of scorn*),

- Zastosowanie odpowiedniej leksyki – słowa, które intensyfikuje angielskie znaczenie (*każde słówko – every single word, nowiuteńki – a brand-new*),
- Zastosowanie przymiotnika z sufiksem *-ish* (*czerwonawa luna – reddish glow*),
- Zastosowanie rozbudowanej modyfikacji (*tak podskocznie, tak mileńko – tenderly enlivening*),
- Wymiana polskich form zdrobniałych na elementy odpowiedniejsze w języku angielskim (*czyściutko – nice and clean, bliżutko – nice and close*),
- Użycie ekwiwalentu funkcjonalnego (*półświatek – the underworld*),
- Brak zastosowania jakiegokolwiek formy zdrobniającej (*cieniutki golf – thin polo neck, szklaneczka whisky – a glass of whisky*),
- Bazowanie na kontekście użycia danego zdrobnienia (*Jeszcze momencik. – Just a moment*),
- Pominięcie problematycznych form zdrobniałych (*szmer silniczka magnetofonu – the whirr of the tape recorder*).

Opierając się na wyżej wymienionych sposobach tłumaczenia zdrobnień na język polski i angielski, udowodnione jest, iż polscy tłumacze wzbogacają tłumaczenia zdrobnieniami, podczas gdy angielscy tłumacze pozbawiają tłumaczone wersje większości form zdrobniałych. Niemniej jednak należy podkreślić fakt, iż zarówno polscy jak i angielscy tłumacze stosują powyższe techniki tak, aby wersja tłumaczona brzmiała naturalnie w danym języku docelowym. Użycie zdrobnień w polskich tłumaczeniach i brak form zdrobniałych w angielskich przekładach są więc przykładami udomowienia tekstu docelowego. Poza tym, dodawanie formacji deminutywnych podczas tłumaczenia na język polski jest przykładem eksplicytacji i kompensacji.