

kansas  
working  
papers  
in  
linguistics

volume 11

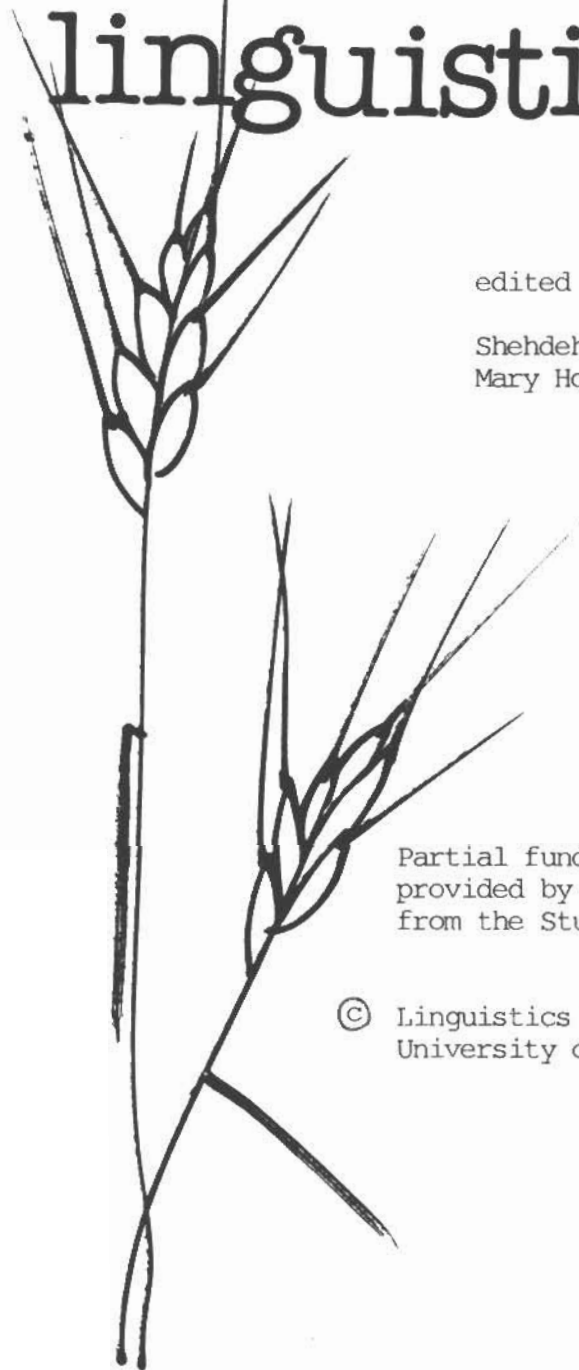
1986

edited by

Shehdeh Fareh  
Mary Howe

Partial funding for this journal is  
provided by the Graduate Student Council  
from the Student Activity Fee.

© Linguistics Graduate Student Association  
University of Kansas, 1986



*Kansas Working Papers in Linguistics* is a regular publication of the Linguistics Graduate Student Association, Department of Linguistics, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS 66045

Linguistics Graduate Student Association Officers,  
1985-1986:

President:	Antonia Folarin
Secretary:	Misaki Shimada
Treasurer:	Charles Schleicher

**Aim:** *Kansas Working Papers in Linguistics* is intended as a forum for the presentation, in print, of the latest original research by the faculty and students of the Department of Linguistics and other related departments at the University of Kansas. Papers contributed by persons not associated with the University of Kansas are also welcome. The papers published in *KWPL* may not be reproduced without written permission from the Linguistics Graduate Association.

Send all manuscripts and inquiries to:

Editors, *KWPL*  
Department of Linguistics  
University of Kansas  
Lawrence, KS 66045 USA

Requests for individual volumes should be addressed to Linguistics Graduate Student Association at the above address. Institutions producing a similar publication may request a reciprocal agreement.

The cost per issue for Volumes 1 through 6 and Volume 8, number 1, is US\$4.50 postpaid. The cost for Volume 7, Volume 8, number 2, Volume 10, number 1 and Volume 11 is US\$7.50 postpaid. The cost for Volume 9 and Volume 10, number 2 is US\$10.00 postpaid. Reprints of individual articles may be requested for US\$1.50 postpaid. For orders outside the United States and Canada, please add US\$1.50 per volume to help defray the costs of postage (a cumulative index to volumes 1-11 can be found at the back of this issue).

We would like to thank the faculty of the Linguistics Department and the Graduate Student Council for their continuing encouragement and support.

*Kansas Working Papers in Linguistics*

*Volume 11, 1986*

<i>Julie Bruch</i>	Expressive Phonemes in Japanese	1
<i>Hiroshi Nara</i>	Approaches to Anaphora Resolution in a Natural Language Database Management System	9
<i>Elzbieta Moszczak</i>	Major Address Patterns in Polish and How They Compare with Major Address Patterns in English	27
<i>Shehdeh Fareh</i>	How Far Does the English Teachers' Pronunciation Affect that of Their Students in Jordanian Public Schools?	45
<i>Andrew Pawley</i>	On Speech Formulas and Linguistic Competence	57
<i>Natasha Beery</i>	I Can't Help Myself: A Lexicalized Expression Examined	89
<i>Mary Howe</i>	Conflicting Speech Formulas: About To and Not About To	101
Cumulative contents of Volumes 1-11		114

MAJOR ADDRESS PATTERNS IN POLISH  
AND HOW THEY COMPARE WITH  
MAJOR ADDRESS PATTERNS IN ENGLISH

Elzbieta Moszczak

**Abstract:** The paper deals with some of the differences between Polish and English address patterns. It presents in table form the basic patterns of Polish pronominal and nominal address. It touches upon problems that learners of either Polish or English might encounter in assimilating the patterns of the target language, and also some problems arising in translating address forms into English or into Polish.

A study of major patterns of address and the circumstances of their use provides an interesting insight into social interactions of speakers in a given linguistic community. It is a universal phenomenon that forms of address clearly delineate the relative status and the degree of intimacy between the speaker and the person being addressed. Different forms are used to address the speaker's social equals and those who differ from him in social hierarchy. Most European languages allow a choice between the pronoun of familiar address such as tu, du etc. (henceforth abbreviated as T) and the pronoun of distance and respect such as Vous, Sie etc. (henceforth abbreviated as V). The two pronouns are basically used in two patterns of address: reciprocal, where the same form is given and received, and nonreciprocal, where one form is given and the other is received. These essential similarities, however, allow a lot of room for differences. Some languages have a greater variety of forms than others to choose from. Others may have to resort to other than purely lexical devices to convey every shade of meaning required in a given situation. The learner of a language that has a different system to offer than the system found in his native language may find it very difficult to deal with forms that have no precise equivalents in his native language. It may be equally difficult for him to reverse the process and find in the target language structures equivalent to those of his native language. Literal translation hardly ever proves a satisfactory solution, and may often lead to confusion.

The purpose of this paper was to study areas of similarity and difference in the address patterns of Polish and English and to decide where learners of either Polish or English might encounter difficulties in assimilating the patterns of the target language. Consider the case of pronominal address in Polish and in English. The speakers of present-day English have at their disposal just one second-person pronoun of address, namely you, which is not indicative of the relative status of the speaker and the person being addressed nor of the degree of intimacy

between them. Other clues have to be found in order to determine the difference in status and the degree of intimacy between the speaker and the addressee (Brown and Ford 1961:360-361). Polish offers its speakers a choice between three pronominal forms to address a single individual: the second-person singular pronoun ty(T), the second-person plural pronoun wy(V), and the pseudo third-person form of pan(masculine, singular) or pani(feminine, singular).

For materials describing and presenting the Polish system of address I consulted several books of Polish grammar and Polish dictionaries listed in the references. Illustrative material was provided by a number of plays by contemporary Polish playwrights also listed in the references. The description of the Polish system of address should still be verified by a version of Brown and Gilman questionnaire administered to a number of Polish speakers, and this is what I intend to do in further research.

A rough guide to Polish pronominal address is presented in Tables 1a and 1b. They list the three basic pronominal forms, the patterns in which they appear, the verb forms used with them, the degree of intimacy involved, as well as some information on usage.

pronoun	ty	wy	pan/pani
abbr.	T	V	P
pattern	$T \rightleftarrows T$	$V \rightleftarrows V$	$P \rightleftarrows P$
verb form	2nd pers.sing.	2nd pers.pl.	3rd pers.sing.
degree of intimacy and/or relative status	intimate familiar	nonfamiliar distant respectful	nonfamiliar distant respectful
usage	norm among majority of speakers	- rural dialects - officials dealing with the public	norm among majority of speakers

Table 1a: Pronominal address in Polish, major reciprocal patterns

pronoun	ty	pan/pani	ty	wy
abbr.	T	P	T	V
pattern	T $\leftrightarrow$ P		T $\leftrightarrow$ V	
verb form	2nd pers. sing.	3rd pers. sing.	2nd pers. sing.	2nd pers. pl.
degree of intimacy and/or relative status	younger lower in status	older higher in status	younger lower in status	older higher in status
usage	(majority of speakers) children      adults		(rural dialects) children      adults elder kin	

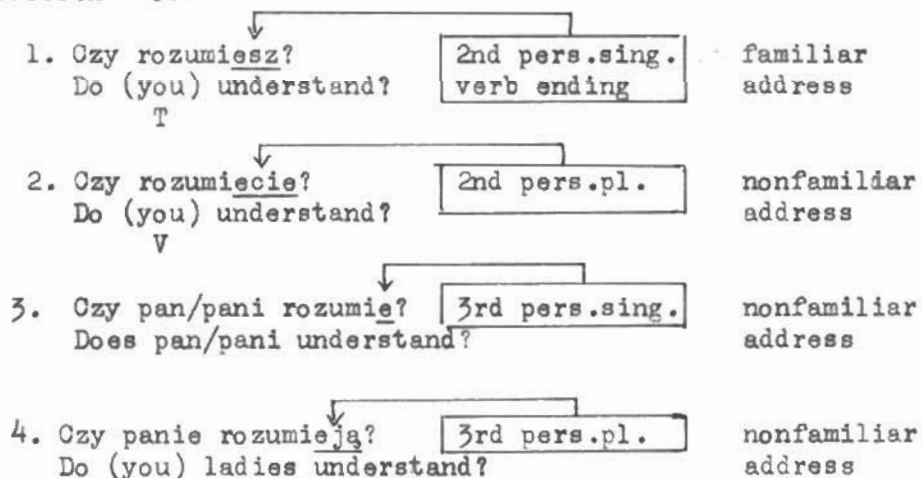
Table 1b: Pronominal address in Polish, major nonreciprocal patterns

Polish shares with other Slavonic languages the use of T to express familiarity and intimacy. It differs from them, however, in the use of forms expressing distance and respect. The use of V, a typical mode of distant and respectful address in other Slavonic languages, is in Polish characteristic only of certain groups of the population, rural dialect speakers and officials in their dealings with the public. Apart from all other reasons, it is quite easy to understand why official use seems to favour the V form of address. V can very conveniently be used to address a single man, a single woman, several men, several women or several men and women together. V makes it also possible to avoid excessive use of professional titles, which are frequent in the language (Doroszewski 1968: vol.2,40). A majority of speakers of the language, however, use forms of address other than V to express distance and respect.

In Polish, nonfamiliar address is realized mainly by the words pan (masc.sing.), pani (femin.sing.), panie (femin.pl.), panowie (masc.pl.), and państwo (mixed sex pl.). Thus pan wie, pani wie, panie wiedzą, panowie wiedzą and państwo wiedzą are all translated into English as you know. All

these words (pan, pani etc.) are accompanied by verb forms which in other grammatical contexts have third person reference. In other words, verbs following these words assume 3rd person endings, singular or plural as the case might require. The English learner of Polish, faced with this conflict between semantic and grammatical structure of pan/pani utterances, may find them ambiguous as to person. According to Stone all pan/pani utterances are, in fact, ambiguous. '... Pan wie may have second or third person reference, and may be translated into English as You know, He knows or The man knows. This means that in actual address situation ambiguity of reference can only be avoided to some extent by body position, gestures, intonation etc.' (Stone 1977:497) In fact, in actual address situation there is very little ambiguity as to the reference of pan wie. It is true that the word pan has many meanings. It can mean either man (a single male individual), or gentleman as in panowie i panie (gentlemen and ladies), or Mr as in pan Kowalski (Mr. Kowalski). The word can also be used pronominally as an address form.<sup>1</sup> It is very hard, however, to envisage an ambiguous linguistic context for pan wie. In present day Polish the word pan, when used in isolation and not as part of a nominal group, is hardly ever used in the meaning of man (a single male individual). Thus in order to be translated as The man knows, the pan of pan wie would have to be preceded by the determiner ten (Ten pan wie). The only plausible context that would allow pan wie to refer to somebody who is not the addressee would be that of a pupil referring to his teacher, because in school language pan stands for teacher (male) and pani stands for teacher (female). Even then, the context would probably make the reference of pan very clear.<sup>2</sup>

Translating terms of address may, in fact, be quite difficult and problems often arise regardless of whether the text is translated into English or into Polish. Polish learners of English are usually quite happy to encounter a system which seems to be far simpler than the one provided by their native language. English learners of Polish, on the other hand, often find themselves baffled by the multiplicity of Polish address forms. Let us consider, for instance, the English Do you understand? It will appear in a Polish translation in one of six different forms:<sup>3</sup>





5. Czy panowie rozumieją?      3rd pers.pl.      nonfamiliar address  
Do (you) gentlemen understand?
6. Czy państwo rozumieją?      3rd pers.pl.      nonfamiliar address  
Do (you) ladies and gentlemen understand?

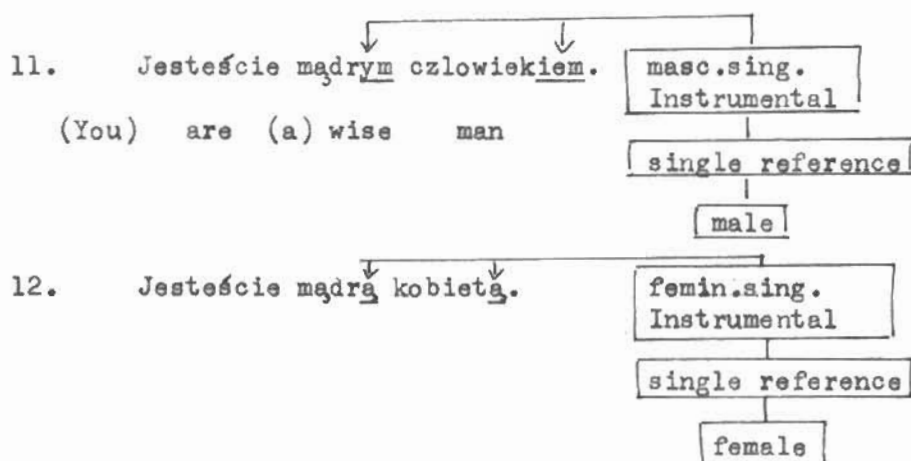
The V forms of address in Polish require the use of masculine plural verb forms with both a single male and a single female referent. This may seem puzzling to the learner of Polish. In fact, even some Polish speakers find it confusing. Consider the following pair of sentences.

7. Czy zrozumieliście?      masc.pl. verb form  
Did (you) understand?  
V
8. Czy zrozumiałyście?      fem.pl. verb form  
Did (you) understand?  
V

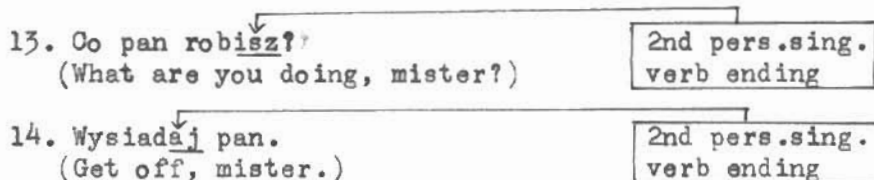
Of the two 7 is the accepted norm. Correct usage, as prescribed by grammarians, and following a long established tradition, demands masculine plural agreement with V regardless of the sex of the addressee. There is a historical justification for this kind of usage in the fact that V evolved earlier than the masculine plural category (Doroszewski 1968: vol.1,41). The use of the masculine plural verb to address a single woman is by no means an attempt to place a female in the same grammatical category as a man. It is a historically justified way of expressing the speaker's respect for the person being addressed. The structure shown in 5) is frequently encountered in urban usage. It has obviously been derived from an attempt to solve what seems an apparent conflict between semantic and grammatical roles. This innovation, although frequent, has not been accepted by the majority of speakers, and is considered by grammarians to be substandard and incorrect. The correct usage insists on the use of masculine plural verb forms with V. It also insists on the use of masculine plural adjective forms with V. When the adjective, however, is part of a noun phrase, semantic agreement with V is preferred. See examples given below.

9. Jesteście sprawiedliwi.      masc.pl.  
(You) are just      single reference  
V      male      female
10. Jesteście mądrzyży.      masc.pl.  
(You) are wise      single reference  
V      male      female

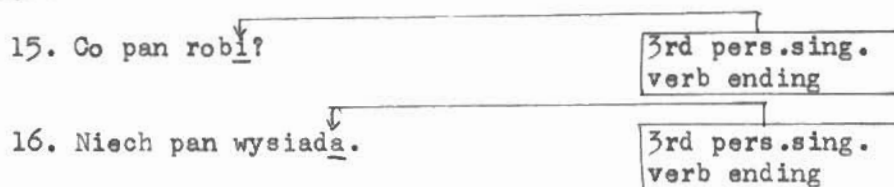




An interesting trait of the language is the existence of what may be referred to as 'compromise forms', where the nonfamiliar address pronoun of pan/pani and its plural equivalent państwo are used with verb forms otherwise characteristic of familiar address.



Ordinarily, the forms pan/pani and państwo appear with the 3rd person verb endings:



The forms of 13 and 14 sound rude and aggressive and are considered to be substandard. The use of the familiar ty, implied here by the verb endings, may sound offensive and provocative when addressed to a stranger. When two strangers, in the course of an argument, switch from the distant pan to the familiar ty, it is not unreasonable to assume that verbal abuse may soon be followed by physical abuse.

If singular compromise forms are considered to be substandard, plural compromise forms such as 17 and 18 below lie somewhere on the borderline between standard and nonstandard and maybe used colloquially by speakers of the standard.<sup>4</sup>



13. Słuchajcie, państwo.  
(Listen)

2nd pers.sing.  
verb ending

They seem, in fact to be particularly favoured by radio and television presenters in addressing their audiences.<sup>5</sup>

The basic patterns of pronominal address in Polish are, as shown in Tables 1a and 1b, the reciprocal T, the reciprocal V, the reciprocal pan/pani, and the two nonreciprocal patterns  $T \leftrightarrow P$  and  $T \leftrightarrow V$ . The reciprocal T is used to express intimacy and familiarity. The reciprocal pan/pani is used to express distance and respect. It is used in addressing strangers and it is also used by people who are acquainted with one another but for some reason wish to maintain distance or perhaps do not wish to offend by undue familiarity. Most rural dialect speakers use V under similar circumstances.<sup>6</sup> The semantic distinction between the T pattern on the one hand and the V and P patterns on the other is on the intimacy dimension, with mutual T being the most intimate pattern. In nonreciprocal patterns the distinction lies in terms of status (and age) with the higher using T and the lower using either pan/pani or V.

In their study of nominal address in American English, Brown and Ford (1961) maintain that the major option open to the speakers of English is that between the first name (FN) and the use of title followed by the last name (TLN). Titles for the purpose of their classification include Mr, Mrs, Miss, Ms and occupational titles such as Dr., Senator, Major and the like. Table 2 is based on their classification.

reciprocal		nonreciprocal
FN $\leftrightarrow$ FN	TLN $\leftrightarrow$ TLN	FN $\leftrightarrow$ TLN
more intimate	less intimate	distinction of status and age
(not particularly revealing of the level of intimacy)	(new acquaintances)	lower in status      higher in status younger              older

Table 2: Major address patterns in American English

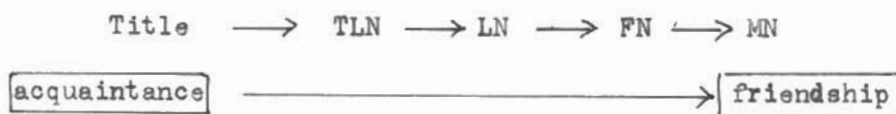
pattern	FN ↔ FN	PFN ↔ PFN	PTitle ↔ PTitle	Title ↔ Title
pronominal equivalent	T T	P P	P P	V V
verb form	2nd pers. sing.	3rd pers. sing.	3rd pers. sing.	2nd pers. pl.
degree of intimacy	intimate	half-way between intimate and distant	distant respectful	distant respectful
examples of usage	Zofio Zosiu Zosieńko  Józefie Józku Józciu	pani Zofio pani Zosiu pani Zosieńko	panie profesorze (professor) panie doktorze (doctor) panie dyrektorze (director)	obywatelu (citizen) towarzyszu (comrade) kolego (colleague)
			proszę pana (sir) proszę pani (Miss, ma'am) proszę siostry (nurse or nun) proszę księdza (priest)	

Table 3a: Nominal address in Polish. Major reciprocal patterns.

pattern	FN ↔ Title		LN ↔ Title		PFN ↔ Title	LN ↔ Title
	FN ↔ pan/pani	FN ↔ kinship titles	LN ↔ pan/pani	LN ↔ obywatelu		
verb form	2nd pers. sing. 3rd pers. sing.	2nd pers. sing. 3rd pers. sing.	2nd pers. sing. 3rd pers. sing.	2nd pers. pl. 2nd pers. pl.	3rd pers. sing. 3rd pers. sing.	3rd pers. sing. 3rd pers. sing.
usage	children adults	children elder kin	pupils teachers	private officer	subor-dinate	subor-dinate superior
exam- ples of use	Zosiu Józziu	Zosiu Józziu	Nowak proszę pana/pani	Nowak obywatelu generale (citizen general)	pani Zosiu	panie dyrektorz e
	proszę pana/pani	Mamo (Mother) Ojciec (Father) Babcia (Granny)	proszę pana/pani		panie dyrektorz e	panie dyrektorz e

Table 3b: Polish nominal address. Major nonreciprocal patterns.

Variant forms of address include title without name (Title), last name alone (LN), and multiple names (MN) used by one speaker to address a single person. The use of title without name, such as sir, madam, ma'am, Miss, implies less intimacy and more deference than the use of TLN. The use of last name alone (Jones, Brown etc.) seems a degree more intimate than TLN, but less intimate than FN. The use of MN (these include sometimes saying TLN), sometimes FN or nickname or various diminutives) to address a single individual is characteristic of intimate relationships (Brown and Ford 1961: 378-380). The following pattern could be used to describe the temporal progression from acquaintance to friendship:



This model of progression of address forms from the distant to the intimate could be roughly applied to Polish usage. What constitutes the difference is a greater variety of choices in Polish nominal address, starting with the use of the first name (FN), pan/pani followed by the first name (PFN), pan/pani followed by the occupational title (PTitle), and the title alone (Title).<sup>7</sup> See Tables 3a and 3b for a listing of major patterns in Polish nominal address.

The use of FN in Polish corresponds with the 2nd person singular pronoun of familiar address (ty), which is reflected in the synonymy of the expression 'to be on FN terms' (po imieniu) and 'to be on T terms' (na ty). The first name can be used in its full or abbreviated form, the short form being more intimate than the full form. The choice between the two, however, is very often a matter of personal preference. First names can also be used in a variety of forms with suffixes of subjective assessment, reflecting various degrees of intimacy and emotional bond between the speaker and the person being addressed.<sup>8</sup> See Table 4 for a presentation of first name forms in Polish:

form	full	short	forms with evaluative suffixes <sup>9</sup>		
tone	formal	neutral	diminutive caressing	familiar teasing vulgar	scornful contemptuous
exam- ples	Zofia (Sophia)	Zosia	Zosieńka Zochna Zosiunia Zosieczka	Zośka	Zocha

Table 4. First name forms in Polish.

Where the English learner of Polish may be baffled by the variety of choices in the form of FN, the Polish learner of English encounters a different problem. The use of FN in Polish is a clear indication of familiarity and intimacy, whereas the use of FN in English is not particularly revealing of intimacy between speakers. It is quite common in English for new acquaintances to switch from the distant TLN to FN after five minutes of conversation (Brown and Ford 1961:377). Most adult Poles tend to use pan/pani with new acquaintances. A great many use the pan/pani form to indicate their wish to keep their distance from the other person, the duration of the acquaintance being quite an irrelevant factor. Sometimes a step towards familiarity may be taken by replacing the pan/pani form with PFN (half-way between intimate and distant). Even then the pan/pani form can be followed by either the full, the short or the evaluative form of FN, indicating how formal or how intimate the speaker desires to be. It does not necessarily follow, however, that the PFN form will, at some future time, be replaced by FN alone. By drawing analogies with their native language, Polish learners of English might assume that the use of FN in English is an indication of intimacy, and they have to be made aware of the fact that it is only indicative of the duration of acquaintance and not of intimacy (Brown and Ford 1961:377).

Age, of course, plays a considerable role in the choice of forms of address in Polish. Young people up to the age of twenty five tend to address their peers (equal age and status) with FN alone, but they usually grow out of the habit in their late twenties.

The distant and respectful TLN form of English (e.g. Mr.Fox, Dr.Brown, Mrs.Smith, Miss Smith) does not find its exact equivalent in Polish; Polish usage does not allow for a frequent use of last name in address forms. Mr.Fox would be translated as proszę pana (please, sir), Miss Smith or Mrs.Smith as proszę pani (please, Miss or please, ma'am), the form pani replacing the word panna to refer equally to married and unmarried women.<sup>10</sup> Dr.Brown would be translated as panie doktorze (when addressed to a man) or pani doktor (when addressed to a woman). It is interesting to observe that certain professional and occupational titles (e.g., doctor, professor, director, manager, chairman, engineer, attorney) retain their masculine form regardless of the sex of the person they refer to. However, where male professional titles assume declensional endings, their female counterparts always remain in the nominative. See Table 5.

male reference		title		female reference
	Vocative			Nominative
panie	profesorze	profesor (professor)		pani profesor
panie	doktorze	doktor (doctor)		pani doktor
panie	prezesie	prezes (chairman)		pani prezes
panie	inżynierze	inżynier (engineer)		pani inżynier
panie	kierownik	kierownik (manager)		pani kierownik
panie	mecenasie	mecenas (attorney)		pani mecenas

Table 5. Professional titles as address forms.

Where the majority of the speakers of the standard use proszę pana or proszę pani to address a stranger and somebody distant and/or deserving respect, the official use has developed the forms obywatelu/obywatelko (citizen) and towarzyszu/towarzyszko (comrade) used with V and the second person plural verb, as shown in 19 and 20.

19. Pozwólcie, obywatelu. [2nd pers.pl.]  
(Please come closer, citizen)
20. Słuchajcie, towarzyszu. [2nd pers.pl.]  
(Listen, comrade)

The use of last name alone (LN) is not very frequent and is acceptable only in certain situations, e.g., schools and the armed forces (See Table 3b for examples of use). In schools, at pre-university level, LN is used as a formal way of addressing students, and in the armed forces it is a way of addressing a private or a lower rank officer by his superior officers. Schoolchildren and soldiers often address their peers by LN, which is then accompanied by 2nd person singular verb forms, as shown in 22. This stage (LN) often precedes switching to the more intimate FN (See 22).

21. Słuchaj, Kowalski. [2nd pers.sing.]  
(Listen, Kowalski)



22. Słuchaj, Janku. 2nd pers.sing.  
 (Listen, Janek)

There is an interesting correlation between Polish and English usage in respect to kinship terms of address. According to Brown and Ford (1961:377), kinship terms of address in American English show a nonreciprocity of status. Members of ascending generations are commonly addressed with kinship titles e.g., mother, father, grandmother, grandfather etc., but respond by calling their children, grandchildren, nephews and nieces by FN. Similarly, in Polish, children are addressed by their first names, and they, in turn, respond by using kinship titles (with the third person singular verb reference).

23. Czy Mama rozumie? 3rd pers.sing.  
 (Does Mother understand?)  
 Do you understand, Mother?

In urban usage, however, there is a growing tendency among the young to address their elder kin with kinship titles accompanied by second person singular verb forms, as shown in 24. The form of the verb implies the use of the pronoun of familiar address *ty* (T). Even though nonreciprocal address still survives between children and their elder kin in a number of families, in a substantial majority of urban families mutual T is becoming the norm between younger and older generations.

24. Czy rozumiesz, Mamo? 2nd pers.sing.  
 Do you understand, Mother?

A study of urban usage shows another interesting development, namely a tendency for masculine kinship titles to appear in address either in their full or diminutive form, whereas feminine kinship titles tend to appear in their diminutive form only. See Table 6 below for a listing of major kinship titles in their reference and address forms.

	title	Reference terms (Nominative)		Address terms (Vocative)	
		full	diminutive	full	diminutive
male	father	Ojciec	Tatus	Ojczy	Tatusiu
	grand- father	Dziadek	Dziadzio	Dziadku	Dziadziu
	uncle	Wuj	Wujek	Wuju	Wujku
female	mother	Matka	Mama Mamusia	*Matko	Mamo Mamusiu
	grand- mother	Babka	Babcia	*Babko	Babciu
	aunt	Ciotka	Ciocia	*Ciotko	Ciociu

Table 6. Major kinship terms

As shown in Table 6, feminine kinship titles tend to appear in address in their diminutive form only. Thus, the literal translation of the English Yes, Mother - Tak, Matko does not sound quite right in Polish. What follows is that it should perhaps be translated as Tak, Mamo. The phrase Yes, Father, however, could easily be translated as Tak, Ojczy.

Translation, on the whole, poses problems which cannot always be solved easily. While translating a Polish text into English, how does the translator decide what form to use to substitute the PFN, eg., pani Zofio, pani Zosiu, pani Zosienko? How can he express the various shades of meaning implied by those forms? How does he decide when the familiar form should replace the non-familiar? How does he make similar decision when translating an English text into Polish? What clues must he look for in the text that allow him to say that Come in should be translated as Wejdź (T reference), Wejdźcie (V reference), Niech pan/pani wejdzie or the impersonal Proszę wejść.

While making those decisions, one has to consider the age and the relative status of the speakers as well as the context

of the speech event. One should also bear in mind the fact that different generations make different choices, and that address forms change with the passing of time. Some of these changes happen in a relatively short period of time, others take longer to be accepted. According to Brown and Gilman (1960), most European languages seem to be moving away from the power semantic, the familiar form is given and the nonfamiliar form is received. This is definitely true of Polish. But Brown and Gilman have also noted an extension of the solidarity semantic among power equals (mutual T) at the expense of the nonsolidary mutual V (the Polish pan/pani). If Polish is moving in that direction, it certainly has a long way to go.

#### FOOTNOTES

1 Doroszewski (1968:vol.3,47) recognizes the pronominal character of pan/pani.

2 Consider the following context:

Parent: Czy pan wie? (Does the teacher know?)

Schoolboy A:

Schoolboy B: Tak, pan wie o tym. (Yes, the teacher knows about it)

It is quite clear in this context that the pan of Czy pan wie? cannot refer to the addressee. Neither would the parent use pan to address the son, nor would one pupil use this form either to address or to refer to another pupil unless this was meant as a joke. In this case, intonation and gestures would certainly help to clarify the meaning.

3 Personalized verb endings in Polish often make the use of personal pronouns unnecessary. In No.1 and No.2 pronouns are left out, but the verb forms make the personal reference quite clear.

4 By the speakers of the standard I mean here the educated speakers of the language.

5 According to Doroszewski (1968:vol.2,83), compromise plural forms sound patronizing and condescending, and thus are

not recommended in polite address.

6 In addition to the three pronominal forms listed in Tables 1a and 1b, rural dialect speakers in certain regions of the country e.g., Silesia, Orawa still tend to use the third person plural pronoun oni (they) as an address form of distance and respect. The form is used to a select category of people who deserve special respect e.g., parents, village school teacher, village doctor.

Niech siada <sup>v</sup> .	Please sit down	<u>3rd pers.pl.</u>
Let (them) sit down.		
Czy zjedza <sup>v</sup> ?	Will you eat	<u>3rd pers.pl.</u>
Will (they) eat?		

The third person plural pronoun oni can also be used as a reference form, not only as an address form.

Matka umar <sup>v</sup> li.	Mother has died.	<u>3rd pers.pl.</u>
Mother have died.		

The use of the third person plural pronoun oni to address a single individual is not restricted to Polish alone, and can also be found in other Slavonic languages. See Comrie and Stone 1977:177-179 and Stone 1977:497-499.

7 Forms referred to under Title (title alone) include: proszę pana (sir, in literal translation please, sir), proszę pani (ma'am, Miss, in literal translation please, ma'am, please, Miss), certain occupational titles: doktorze (doctor), siostro (sister to a nurse or a nun) and some other terms such as obywatelu (citizen), towarzyszu (comrade), kolego (colleague).

8 For an interesting discussion of evaluative suffixes in Russian see Comrie and Stone 1977:183. They name seven categories of evaluative suffixes that can be used with first names. My attempts at producing a similar system for Polish first names have resulted in only three distinct types of categories: caressing and diminutive (produced by a wide variety of suffixes), 2.familiar and teasing, 3.pejorative and scornful.

9 An interesting correspondence between English and Polish usage can be observed in the fact that in both languages male first names appear in their short form far more often than female first names. Brown and Ford (1961:376) state '... male first names in American English very seldom occur in full form (Robert, James

or Gerald) but are almost always either abbreviated (Bob, Jim) or diminutized (Jerry) or both (Bobbie, Jimmy). Female first names are more often left unaltered.<sup>1</sup> This is also true of Polish, where male first names such as Jan (John), Jerzy (George), Józef (Joseph) are almost always shortened or diminutized (Janek, Jurek, Józek). Female first names seem to be left in their full form far more often. It must be borne in mind, however, that the choice between the full and the short form of a name is often a matter of personal preference. The full form of a name may simply be considered to sound more attractive than its short form.

10 The word panna is an address term which, until several decades ago, was used to address an unmarried woman, whereas the word pani was used to address a married woman. At the moment, however, the term pani is used to refer to both married and unmarried women. The word panna as an address form, has practically disappeared. The process began prior to World War II as a manifestation of women's resentment against address terms revealing their marital status. Where English seems to have settled on an in-between form Ms, Polish has picked out one of the existing forms and expanded its meaning. Some grammarians resent this phenomenon, but it apparently is in the language to stay.

#### REFERENCES

- Bates, Elizabeth and Laura Begni 1975. Rules of address in Italy: a sociological survey. Language in Society, 4.3. 271-288.
- Brown, Roger and Marguerite Ford 1961. Address in American English. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 62. 375-385.
- Brown, Roger and Albert Gilman 1960. The Pronouns of Power and Solidarity. In Thomas E. Sebeok (ed.), Style in Language, Cambridge, Mass. 25-276.
- Comrie, Bernard and Gerald Stone 1977. Modes of address and speech etiquette. In The Russian Language Since the Revolution, Oxford University Press.
- Corbett, G.G. 1976. Address in Russian. Journal of Russian Studies, 31. 3-15.
- Doroszewski, Witold 1968. O kulturę słowa. PIW, Warszawa.

- Doroszewski, Witold 1951-52. Rozmowy o języku, vol.1, vol.2. Biura Wydawnictw Polskiego Radia, Warszawa.
- Doroszewski, Witold and Stanisław Skorupka (eds.) 1958-69. Słownik Języka Polskiego, PWN, Warszawa.
- Doroszewski, Witold and Halina Kurkowska (eds.) 1973. Słownik Poprawnej Polszczyzny, PWN, Warszawa.
- McIntire, Marina 1972. Terms of Address in an Academic Setting. Anthropological Linguistics 14.3. 286-291
- Nakhimovsky, A.D. 1976. Social Distribution of Forms of Address in Contemporary Russian. International Review of Slavic Linguistics, 1.1. 79-118.
- Slobin, Dan I. 1963. Some Aspects of Pronoun Address in Yiddish. Word, 19. 193-202.
- Stone, Gerald 1977. Address in the Slavonic Languages. The Slavonic and East European Review 55.4. 491-505.

Plays by contemporary Polish playwrights consulted for illustrative materials:

- Górczycka, Joanna. Odmieniec. Dialog, 4. April 1969.
- Gruza, Jerzy and Krzysztof Teodor Toeplitz. Akwarium 2. Dialog, 7. July 1970.
- Krasiński, Janusz. Filip z prawdą w oczach. Dialog, 7. July 1968
- Mrozek, Sławomir. Męczeństwo Piotra Ohey'a. In Wybór Dramatów i Opowiadań. Wydawnictwo Literackie, Krakow, 1975.
- Otwinowski, Stefan. Szansa. Dialog, 1. January 1972
- Rozewicz, Tadeusz. Stara kobieta wysiaduje. Dialog, 8. August 1972.
- Siekierski, Albin. Sprawa osobista. Dialog, 5. May 1969.
- Skolimowski, Jerzy. Poślizg. Dialog, 4/5. April/May 1972