

**Paulina**



# Polish and English

**diminutives**

**in literary translation:  
Pragmatic and cross-cultural  
perspectives**



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# Polish and English diminutives in literary translation:

Pragmatic and cross-cultural perspectives

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*To my children—Witold & Kinga*



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## Introduction

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 diminutivisation is often treated as a separate area of morphology, referred to as expressive/evaluative/affective morphology (see Bauer 1997; Volek 1987). Yet, Dressler and Barbaresi (1994: 55) introduce the term *morphopragmatics* (characterised as morphologised 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 stress 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 pragmatic 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 emphasised 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; Handke 1995: 93–94; Wierzbicka 1999), each area of study emphasises 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 reality or the present state of affairs, or b) he/she wants to achieve something (Data 2000: 246). As mentioned above, diminutives belong to the group of expressive linguistic forms, which are most often used in colloquial language (Skubalanka 1973: 180–181; Zgólkowa 1991: 49; Dunaj et al. 1999: 236; Podracki 2012: 180; Liseling Nilsson 2012: 123)<sup>1</sup>. Familiar character of diminutive forms stems from the fact that, in most cases, they are employed in informal situations, such as family gatherings or small talks with neighbours. 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 by means of which the speaker expresses his/her emotional attitude towards the world he/she lives in, or the features of his/her personality (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; see also Puzynina 1992; Laskowska 1992; Bartmiński 2007: 103), 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 work 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

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

functions and meanings in language, in language communication, and sociolinguistic contexts in which they occur in both languages<sup>2</sup>.

As it is worth examining by means of which methods 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 7 aims at analysing chosen examples of Polish and English literary works.

It seems necessary to analyse diminutives comprehensively, as mostly only the morphology of diminutive forms has been thoroughly discussed (Quirk 1979; Adams 2001; Plag 2003—in English, Grzegorzczkova 1984; Dobrzyński 1988; Szymanek 2010—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 have not been given much attention.

The theoretical part of the book is illustrated by examples of non-literary data, that is, spontaneous spoken utterances taken from authentic dialogues which were witnessed in such places as a restaurant, bus or market and from everyday conversations of parents with their children aged 2–10.

The analytical part of the book 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, I agree with Dressler and Barbaresi (1994: 393) that the pragmatics of diminutives in literary style is the same as in the general use of diminutives.

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<sup>2</sup> Chapters 1, 4, and 6 of the work are based on papers by Biały (Biały 2016a; Biały 2016b; Biały 2016c).

<sup>3</sup> I analysed chosen literary works in their entirety.



# 1. 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”.

## 1.1 *The problem of the definition of culture*

Bednarczyk (2002: 5) defines *culture* as all things which are the result 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 19th century the term culture was synonymous with the term *civilisation*. Later, civilisation began to mean the financial achievements of a society, whereas culture—the spiritual ones. In the 20th century culture was considered to be a system of patterns of behaviour characteristic of a given society.

Hofstede et al. (2010: 6) provide even more modern definition of culture, which is described 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 et al. 2010: 520). Following Singelis and Brown (1995: 355), Bogdanowska-Jakubowska (2010: 262) explains that “culture affects the development of an individual’s psychological make-up, which, in turn, affects communication behavior”.

## 1.2 *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 of methods of conceptualising, categorising, and evaluating reality, established in a given culture (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 symbolises 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).

Anusiewicz (1994: 18) believes that language is one of the most essential manifestations of a given culture. Following Krąpiec (1991: 20–22), 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.

## 1.3 *Translating languages—Translating cultures*

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 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 stresses 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” (Bassnett 1991: 13–14) 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.

Bednarczyk (2002: 21) is of the opinion that when translating a text, which is read by people belonging to the target culture, the translator is at the same time a 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. When it comes to reality, the references may concern the political and social issues which influence the author, although 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 the 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 emphasises the fact that culturally-determined categorisation 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 6.5).

#### *1.4 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 globalisation, Americanisation and marketisation (Diniejko 2008: 70; Bogdanowska-Jakubowska 2010: 179–181). Nevertheless, some aspects of these cultures remain unchanged. Poles living in an English-speaking country very often complain about English insincerity or insincere friendliness, while they themselves are considered over-polite and servile (Jakubowska 1999: 55). Norms of politeness 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 cultures influence the use of diminutives by their members.

##### *1.4.1 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 (Wierzbicka 1985: 150; Linde-Usiekniewicz 2007: 29; Biel 2007: 514; Bogdanowska-Jakubowska 2010: 155; see also Lubecka 2000 and Paxman 2007). According to Hofstede et al. (2010: 92), individualism refers to “societies in which the ties between individuals are loose: everyone is expected to look after himself 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 expressing 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 (Wierzbicka 1985; Kleparski 2000: 34).

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 (Wierzbicka 1999: 215, 217; Szostkiewicz 2005: 88–89, 90–91; Tomczak 2005: 330–331). In her book *Lost in Translation: A Life in a New Language*, Eva Hoffman, a Polish emigrant scholar, 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 exists 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 (Mikes 1987: 30–31; Kleparski 2000: 34). 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 praiseworthy, the desire to be strictly true without exaggerating anything or promising more than you can perform, and on the other hand of something blameworthy, 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 "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>1</sup> (Fox 2005: 361).

#### *1.4.2 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 in-groups which protect them in return for loyalty (Lewicka 2005: 21; Linde-Usiekiewicz 2007: 29; Bogdanowska-Jakubowska 2010: 154, 178–179; see also Lubecka 2000). According to Hofstede et al. (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 (Biel 2007: 514; Bogdanowska-Jakubowska 2010: 179–181). 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>2</sup>.

As Marcjanik (2001: 79) notices, however, socio-political transformations after 1989 did not influence Polish verbal etiquette in a significant way, since, irrespective of these changes, Poles still seem to externalise their feelings. According to Wierzbicka (1999: 258), "Polish culture encourages uninhibited expression of

<sup>1</sup> Cultures such as Polish (Wierzbicka 1990: 77; Lipniacka 2011: 27).

<sup>2</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).

emotions in general”. Poles are very emotional, interested in the interlocutor’s life, direct, and spontaneous. Lewandowski (2008: 123) refers 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.

#### 1.4.2.1 *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 3.1). It was observed for the first time 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:

- a) conversations with children;
- b) men’s attitude towards women;
- c) mutual relations between lovers;
- d) 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; 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) emphasises the fact that Polish culture has a significant influence on the use of diminutives in 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 realisation 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 Dąbrowska 1998: 285; Torr and Chłopicki 2000: 278; Tomczak 2005: 331; Bartmiński 2007: 99; Lipniacka 2011: 23). 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 4.4.1).

Conversations between sellers and buyers at the market or a waiter and guests at the restaurant, when sellers and waiters use diminutive forms, are typical of Poles as well and discussed by many linguists such as Bralczyk or Huszcza (see Chapter 4.4.1). According to Dunaj et al. (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 the diminutives express in fact.

#### 1.4.2.2 Diminutives as signs of infantilisation 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 hand, it can reflect the infantilisation of language (Zgólkowa 1991: 47; Dunaj et al. 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; Handke 2008: 303; Lipniacka 2011: 92). 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 criticise 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 et al. (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 (Niegorska 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 *pieniążki* ‘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 emphasised the fact that Poles more and more often use double or even multiple diminutives in order to “outbid” other speakers, for example, *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 language.



## 2. 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 present in all languages. Nevertheless, it is expressed by means of particular linguistic devices which vary from language to language.

### 2.1 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 their diminutive forms), the nouns are diminutivised by means of suffixation or truncation—two most common ways of forming diminutives<sup>1</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

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<sup>1</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).

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>2</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 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>3</sup>. What is 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:

a) for the nouns of masculine gender:

- suffix *-ak* (*pies—psiak* ‘dog—dog-DIM’),
- suffix *-ek* (*dom—domek* ‘house—house-DIM’),

<sup>2</sup> In some cases, a diminutive suffix is attached to a truncated fragment of the base, e.g. *Stanisław—Stas* (Szymanek 2010: 207).

<sup>3</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).

- suffix *-uszek* (*placek—placuszek* ‘pie—pie-DIM’),
  - suffix *-aszek* (*kij—kijaszek* ‘stick—stick-DIM’),
  - suffix *-ątek* (*kawałek—kawalątek* ‘piece—piece-DIM’),
  - suffix *-ik/-yk* (*but—bucik* ‘shoe—shoe-DIM’),
  - suffix *-czyk* (*ślusarz—ślusarczyk* ‘locksmith—locksmith-DIM’);
- b) for the nouns of feminine gender:
- suffix *-ka* (*kokarda—kokardka* ‘bow—bow-DIM’),
  - suffix *-eczka* (*usta—usteczka* ‘mouth—mouth-DIM’),
  - suffix *-yczka* (*twarz—twarzyczka* ‘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’);
- c) 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* (*pisklą—pisklątko* ‘chick—chick-DIM’),
  - suffix *-ączko* (*strzemię—strzemiączko* ‘stirrup—stirrup-DIM’);
- d) 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’);
- e) other suffixes:
- suffix *-ę* (*kot—kocię* ‘cat—cat-DIM’),
  - suffix *-iszek* (*brat—braciszek* ‘brother—brother-DIM’).
- Grzegorzczkova and Puzynina (1979: 167–168), Dobrzyński (1988: 11–101) and Kaczorowska (1993: 77) provide also the following suffixes:
- a) suffix *-a* (*ciotka—ciocia* ‘aunt—aunt-DIM/auntie’, *noga—nózia* ‘leg—leg-DIM’);
  - b) suffix *-aś* (*chłopiec—chłoptaś* ‘boy—boy-DIM’);
  - c) suffix *-cia* (*babka—babcia* ‘grandmother—grandmother-DIM/granny’, *ryba—rybcia* ‘fish—fish-DIM/sweetheart’);
  - d) suffix *-cio* (*wuj—wujcio* ‘uncle—uncle-DIM’);
  - e) suffix *-eniek* (*gołąb—gołąbeniek* ‘pigeon—pigeon-DIM/turtledove’);
  - f) suffix *-ina* (*dziecko—dziecina* ‘child—child-DIM’);

- g) suffix *-isia/-ysia*—(*panna*—*panisia* ‘young lady—young lady-DIM’);
- h) suffix *-nia* (*suka*—*sunia* ‘bitch—bitch-DIM’);
- i) suffix *-o* (*dziadek*—*dziadzio* ‘grandfather—grandfather-DIM/grandpa’);
- j) suffix *-onek* (*dzień*—*dzionek* ‘day—day-DIM’);
- k) suffix *-sia* (*gospodyni*—*gosposia* ‘housekeeper—housekeeper-DIM, *poduszka*—*podusia* ‘pillow—pillow-DIM’);
- l) suffix *-sio* (*brzuch*—*brzusio* ‘stomach—stomach-DIM/tummy’);
- m) suffix *-siu* (*miś*—*misiu* ‘bear—bear-DIM’);
- n) suffix *-ś* (*psotnik*—*psotniś* ‘prankster—prankster-DIM’);
- o) suffix *-uchna/-ucho/-uchny* (*matka*—*matuchna* ‘mother—mother-DIM/mummy’, *słodki*—*słodziuchny* ‘sweet—sweet-DIM’);
- p) suffix *-ula/-ulek/-ulo* (*ciotka*—*ciotula* ‘aunt—aunt-DIM/auntie’);
- q) suffix *-alek* (*syn*—*synalek* ‘son—son-DIM’);
- r) suffix *-unia/-unio/-uń* (*córka*—*córunia* ‘daughter—daughter-DIM’);
- s) suffix *-usia/-usio/-usiek* (*kaczka*—*kaczusia* ‘duck—duck-DIM’);
- t) suffix *-uś* (*kot*—*kotusiś* ‘cat—cat-DIM/sweetie’);
- u) suffix *-inka/-ynka* (*motor*—*motorynka* ‘motorbike—motorbike-DIM’);
- v) 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 stresses 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; Grzegorzczkowska and Puzynina 1979: 104–105; Długosz 2009: 127–128):

- a) *-ek/-ak* + *-(ecz)ek/- (acz)ek* (*kot*—*kotek*—*koteczek* ‘cat—cat-DIM—cat-DIM DIM’);
- b) *-ka* + *-(ecz)ka* (*kropla*—*kropelka*—*kropelecza* ‘drop—drop-DIM—drop-DIM DIM’);
- c) *-ko* + *-(ecz)ko* (*piwo*—*piwko*—*piweczko* ‘beer—beer-DIM—beer-DIM DIM’);
- d) *-ik* + *-(icz)ek* (*but*—*bucik*—*buciczek* ‘shoe—shoe-DIM—shoe-DIM DIM’);
- e) *-ek* + *-(usz)ek* (*kwiat*—*kwiatek*—*kwiatuszek* ‘flower—flower-DIM—flower-DIM DIM’);
- f) *-ina* + *-ka* (*pies*—*psina*—*psinka* ‘dog—dog-DIM—dog-DIM DIM’);
- g) *-unia* + *-cia* (*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:

- a) *-ek* vs. *-ik/-yk*;
- b) *-ina* vs. *-isko*;
- c) *-ek*, vs. *-ę*, *-ątko*, 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, for example, in colloquial language and baby talk there are many adjectives (and also adverbs, e.g., *czyściutko* ‘cleanly-DIM’) which are diminutivised (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, 1998: 506–507):

- a) suffix *-utki* (*mały—malutki* ‘small—small-DIM’);
- b) suffix *-uteńki* (*mały—maluteńki* ‘small—small-DIM’);
- c) suffix *-usieńki* (*mały—malusieńki* ‘small—small-DIM’);
- d) suffix *-uchny* (*mały—maluchny* ‘small—small-DIM’);
- e) suffix *-uśki* (*mały—maluśki* ‘small—small-DIM’);
- f) suffix *-eńki* (*mały—maleńki* ‘small—small-DIM’);
- g) suffix *-usi* (*mały—malusi* ‘small—small-DIM’);
- h) suffix *-uteczki* (*mały—maluteczki* ‘small—small-DIM’);
- i) suffix *-utenieczki* (*mały—malutenieczki* ‘small—small-DIM’);
- j) 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, among the above-listed methods of adjective intensification one does not observe the principle of blocking. Thus, numerous parallel formations may be identified. Furthermore, he stresses the fact that diminutive forms of adjectives are subject to several degrees of intensi-

fication, for example, *mały—malutki—maluteńki—malutenieczki* ‘small—small-INTENS<sub>1</sub>—small-INTENS<sub>2</sub>—small-INTENS<sub>3</sub>’.

## 2.2 Formation of diminutives in English

It is a common practice to perceive English as a language which does not have many diminutives (Quirk 1979: 994; Dressler and Barbaresi 1994: 112; Sokołowska 2004: 215). The reason for that may be the fact that, as Jespersen writes (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):

### 1. Synthetic formation:

#### a) affixation:

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

#### b) 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;

#### c) compounding (e.g., *baby elephant*);

#### d) truncation (e.g., *Tom*)—deleting a part of the base word<sup>4</sup>; in some cases it requires the use of suffix *-ie/-y* (e.g., *Andrew—Andy*).

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

<sup>4</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.

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

- a) suffixes which are considered “the most productive diminutive suffixes in English today”: *-ie*, *-ette*, and *-let*;
- b) originally Germanic suffixes: *-kin* and *-ling*;
- c) originally Irish English suffix *-een*;
- d) suffixes “referred to as ‘familiarity markers’”, which Schneider (2003: 108) describes as expressive, affective or evaluative, as they all denote an attitude but not smallness: *-s*, *-er*, *-o*, *-a*, and *-le*;
- e) suffixes rarely mentioned in 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):

- a) *-er* + *-s* (*preggers*);
- b) *-ie* + *-kin* + *-s* (*Lizzikins*);
- c) *-ie* + *-o* (*Stevio*);
- d) *-ie* + *-peg* + *-s* (*Daddypegs*);
- e) *-ie* + *-poo* (*Katiepoo*);
- f) *-ie* + *-poo* + *-s* (*kissypoons*);
- g) *-ie* + *-poo* + *-le* + *-s* (*Mikeypoodles*);
- h) *-ie* + *-pop* + *-s* (*Rosiepops*);
- i) *-ie* + *-s* (*milkie*);
- j) *-le* + *-kin* + *-s* (*Franglekins*);
- k) *-le* + *-s* (*Bobbles*);
- l) *-s* + *-a* (*Shazza*);
- m) *-s* + *-ie* (*Momsie*);
- n) *-s* + *-o* (*fatso*).

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

Descriptions of formation of diminutives in Polish and English confirm the opinion that Polish is a highly inflected language, and diminutives are considered the most productive modification category of nouns, whereas English, as it is an example of an analytic language rather than a synthetic one, offers fewer possibilities of forming diminutive forms, basing, in most cases, on adding the adjective belonging to the lexical field of ‘small’ to the noun.



### 3. 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:

- a) emotional functions which indicate speaker's subjective attitude towards a given object;
- b) 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 whose "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).

I depend 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>1</sup>.

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:

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<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, it should be stressed 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.

- a) “pure” diminutives—they denote only the smallness of a given designatum, for example, *nożyk* ‘knife-DIM’;
- b) 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), for example, *mamusia* ‘mummy’;
- c) diminutives denoting both the smallness of a given object and the speaker’s attitude towards it, for example, *wąsik* ‘moustache-DIM’.

Schneider (2003: 1–10) emphasises the fact that diminutives can only be properly interpreted in the context relative to a given situation. Therefore, it could be stated that the meaning of diminutives depends mainly on the context<sup>2</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.

### 3.1 *Different approaches to the prototypical meaning of diminutives*

There is a tendency to associate diminutive forms with the meaning of small size, nevertheless, there is no agreement between scholars as to the prototypical meaning of diminutives. Schneider (2003: 1–10) claims that diminutives refer to words which denote smallness, and also express 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 diminutives is that of smallness of a designatum. Nevertheless, she also claims that diminutives have two other 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.

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<sup>2</sup> Polańska (1967: 117) stresses the fact that the meaning of diminutives depends also on intonation.

All the meanings 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 of *child/young of* is the semantic archetype resulting from the genealogical relation between the father and the 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 of ‘non-serious’ emerged before the semantic meaning of ‘small’.

### 3.2 *The meanings of Polish diminutives*

Szymanek (2010: 206) agrees with Schneider (2003) and Taylor (1995) 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”, for example, *kotku* ‘cat-DIM’, voc.; *mamusiu* ‘mummy’, voc.—here the meaning of affection dominates completely (as in the case of double diminutives [Grzegorzczkowska 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, for example, *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:

- a) proper diminutives—which indicate the smallness of a given object;
- b) 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 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:

1. Proper diminutives—indicating the smallness of a given object (*dom—domek* ‘house—house-DIM’).
2. Formal diminutives—consisting of three subgroups:
  - a) diminutives which are similar in meaning to the designatum (*młyn—młynek* ‘mill—mill-DIM/grinder’);
  - b) diminutives of singulative and partitive meaning (*słoma—słomka* ‘straw—straw-DIM/one piece of straw’);
  - c) 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’).

In general, the hypothesis of the priority of connotative meaning of diminutives over the denotative one 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 on the 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 (Heltberg 1964: 97–98; Kreja 1969: 15–23; Wierzbicka 1984: 123–130; Tabakowska 2001: 134–140; Sokołowska 2004: 215–219; Hejwowski 2009: 119; Szymanek 2010: 208–210):

- a) 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;
- b) 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.

Diverse meanings of diminutives are obtained by means of different methods. As mentioned in Chapter 2.1, 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 emphasised that the words obtained by means 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 specialised meaning, for example, *spis*—*spisek* ‘a list—a plot’ (see Kreja 1969: 12–13). Moreover, particular words have no counterpart without the diminutive suffix, even though they may be analysed as consisting of a base form plus suffix, for example, *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 (Kreja 1969: 92–107, 187; Grzegorzczkowska and Puzynina 1979: 135, Dobrzyński 1988: 11–101; 167; Lubaś 2003: 273–275, 286–292; Nagórko 2003: 223–224, 2007: 240; Długosz 2009: 54–107, 58–59, 63–64, 74–75, 79, 80–82).

Table 1. Most common meanings of Polish diminutive suffixes

Suffix	The meaning of smallness	Hypocorism*	Affectonyme**	Description, additional meaning
-ek	x	x	x	commonly employed in proper names; the meaning of familiarity but also disdain or irony
-uszek	x	x	x	
-aszek		x	x	concerns mainly the rural life
-iszek/ -yszek		x	x	originates from folk dialect
-ik/-yk	x	x	x	the meaning of understanding
-czyk		x		the meaning of disdain

Table 1 continued

-ak		x	x	expresses young age of a designatum and both positive and negative feelings
-ka	x	x	x	the meaning of pretentiousness; commonly employed in abstract nouns and names of places ( <i>nomina loci</i> )
-eczka/ -aczek	x	x	x	
-yczka/ -iczka	x	x	x	originates from Silesian dialect
-ulka	x	x	x	
-uszka	x	x	x	
-etka	x			
-eńka		x	x	originates from folk dialect; commonly employed in proper names and kinship terms; expresses only positive attitude
-ko	x	x	x	
-eczko		x	x	
-eńko		x	x	the meaning of cordiality
-etko		x	x	
-uszko	x	x	x	
-onko		x	x	
-qczko				employed in diminutives which are similar in meaning to the designatum
-qtko		x	x	the meaning of understanding and pitifulness, but also irony, disdain or playfulness; commonly employed in names of animals or children
-ki	x	x	x	
-iki/-yki	x	x	x	
-iczki	x	x	x	
-uszki	x	x	x	
-ę		x	x	commonly employed in names of animals
-ęta				commonly employed in names of animals
-a		x	x	
-aś/-iś /-yś		x	x	belongs to colloquial/familiar language; the meaning of understanding but also disapproval or disdain

Table 1 continued

-cia		x	x	commonly employed in proper names
-cio		x	x	the meaning of familiarity but also disdain
-eniek		x	x	originates from folk dialect
-ina		x	x	the meaning of understanding, compassion, pitifulness, liking or playfulness, but also disapproval or disdain
-isia/ -ysia		x	x	humorous meaning
-nia/ -nio		x	x	commonly employed in proper names
-o		x	x	usually employed in proper names
-onek		x	x	
-sia		x	x	commonly employed in proper names
-sio		x	x	the meaning of familiarity
-siu		x	x	
-ś		x	x	commonly employed in proper names
-uchna/ -uchno/ -uchny		x	x	the meaning of joy and happiness; employed also in adjectives
-ula/ -ulek/ -ulo/ -uleńka		x	x	
-unia/ -unio/ -uńcia/ -uń		x	x	the meaning of genuine affection
-usia/ -usio/ -usiek		x	x	humorous, but also ironic meaning
-uś	x	x	x	commonly employed in proper names
-inka/ -ynka		x	x	singulative meaning
-alek		x	x	

\* 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”, whose main function is to convey the meaning of proximity, familiarity or intimacy.

\*\* 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 Morton 2003; Bańko and Zygmunt 2011).

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 stresses the fact that the emotional function of these suffixes often occurs when the intellectual function cannot be applied, for example, 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, for example, in the cases of diminutive forms of nouns referring to a child. Diminutives of abstract nouns also convey emotions, but rather negative ones. Those 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 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 emphasise that a given object is better or more delicate than its designatum, so that there is a 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) emphasise 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’, *fiótek* ‘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., *chlorek* ‘chloride’).

Nagórko (2010: 189) mentions also the example of metaphorisation when names of objects derive from names of body parts, for example, *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 some names of food, for example, *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).

### 3.3 *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, 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 (1969: 89), 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 British 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’, for example, *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 names: there may occur the form *Charlie* on the one hand, but on the other hand—*Johnny*, 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 (1931: 141), 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 stress the fact that this suffix is applied to

express amelioration and intimacy, but also degradation. Following Leisi (1969: 89), Schneider 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>3</sup>);
- b) kinship terms—they refer to the closest family members and relatives (e.g., *daddy*).

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 evoke positive feelings. Relevant examples are as follows:
  - diminutives referring to body parts, for example, *handy*,
  - diminutives referring to food, for example, *fishy*,
  - diminutives referring to utensils, for example, *dishy*;
- b) when “the nouns denote everyday objects, but display a complex structure” (e.g., *shopyy* [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 have 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, for example, *Jenny-Penny*.

Following Jespersen (1961: 217), Charleston (1960: 124–125) points out that many diminutives of this type formed from Christian names are used as common names in colloquial language, for example, *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, for example, *goody goody*.

In Table 2, the description and different kinds of meaning of the remaining diminutive suffixes are provided (see also Charleston 1960: 121–123).

<sup>3</sup> For more examples, see: Biały 2012b.

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

Suffix	Description and meaning
-ette	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).
-let	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>kingleet</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): – diminutives referring to animals and plants “young one of the category denoted by the base word” (e.g., <i>catling</i> , <i>seedling</i> ) – diminutives referring to adult humans gain negative connotations of being petty, unimportant (e.g., <i>princeling</i> ) (Schneider 2003: 103–105).
-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 (1983), Schneider uses the term “nursery -s” as such formations occur mostly in caretaker speech (e.g., <i>milkies</i> ) <sup>a</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 property ( <i>fats</i> ) (Schneider 2003: 108).
-er	It adds an affective component to truncated base words (e.g., <i>football</i> — <i>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).

Table 2 continued

-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), for example, <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).

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

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:

- a) *-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 with *-er* are “register or in-group markers”;
- b) *-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;
- c) *-ie* vs. *-s* (e.g., *Mommie/Moms*)—the suffix *-ie* refers to child-oriented discourse, whereas the suffix *-s* to informal adult conversation;
- d) *-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 originate from the same base (then they are regional variants); the suffix *-ie* puts emphasis on the positive attitude towards the referent;
- e) *-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, for example, parent—child, older child—younger child, adult/child—pet, husband—wife (Schneider 2003: 234).

It is important to note that the words obtained by means 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 specialised meaning, for example, *book—booklet* (Schneider and Strubel-Burgdorf 2012: 18),

or *frozen diminutives*, for example, *toilet* (Gillis 1997: 167; 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):

- a) informal/colloquial/childish used by or to children: *tiny, teeny, teensy, teeny-weeny, teensy-weensy, wee*;
- b) neutral: *small, little*;
- c) 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, for example, 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 only have 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 the adjective *little*:

- a) personal nouns:
  - names—the connotations are usually positive; in some cases *little* may become a permanent constituent of a given name, for example, *Little Joe*,

- titles—the meaning of deprecation, for example, *little Miss*,
  - neutral terms—in most cases it is the meaning of youngness and appreciation, for example, *little boy*; but sometimes it refers to the meaning of negative evaluation such as deprecation, for example, *little man*,
  - evaluative terms—the majority of nouns from this category express negative evaluation, thus, when it refers to children, the meaning of the diminutive is mitigation, for example, *little beast*, and, when it refers to adults, it is intensification, for example, *little bastard*<sup>4</sup>.
- b) 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 4 of this work;
- c) abstract nouns: often the meaning depends on pragmatic factors (see Chapter 4), but sometimes it is clearly ironic, for example, *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 a particular expression. It is also worth mentioning that in some cases two ways of forming diminutives (both analytic and synthetic) can be applied simultaneously, for example, *little drinkies*, *little wifelet* or *little mommy*. This type of double diminutivisation aims at intensifying particular meaning (Schneider 2003: 137).

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<sup>4</sup> This is why these formations are usually employed in insults, when the speaker wants to express contempt, annoyance or deprecation.

## 4. Pragmatic functions of diminutives in language communication

Following Dressler and Barbaresi (1994), I am of the opinion that diminutives are strictly related to the pragmatics of communication, which investigates “how to analyse 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:

- a) volition;
- b) intentions;
- c) goals and super-goals;
- d) plans;
- e) pragmatic strategies;
- f) topics;
- g) (non-conventional) conversational implicatures;
- h) 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):

- a) participants' roles with their properties and interrelations;
- b) place, time, and general setting of communication;
- c) the conventional verbal and non-verbal means of communication available to the participants.

The participants of the speech situation include:

- a) the speaker (text producer);
- b) the addressee (direct destinee, recipient);
- c) side-participants (audience considered by the speaker);
- d) bystanders (marginally).

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

- a) presuppositions;
- b) cognitive properties<sup>1</sup>;
- c) attitudes;
- d) 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:

- a) the relationship between the interlocutors;
- b) the illocutionary force of the utterance;
- c) the relevant politeness maxims;
- d) the co-text of the diminutive form;
- e) 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 a 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 work, the following ones are introduced<sup>2</sup>:

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

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<sup>1</sup> They derive from objectively-definable factors such as biography, experiences, and previous knowledge (Dressler and Barbaresi 1994: 19).

<sup>2</sup> The above-mentioned types of phrases form the basis for the analysis of different pragmatic functions of diminutives taken from the chosen examples of Polish and English literary texts, which is presented in Chapter 8 of this work.

According to Schneider (2003: 54), the general pragmatic function of diminutives is minimisation, 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 allows “multiple conceivable interpretations”.

#### 4.1 *Diminutives and their relation with the concept 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:

1. The person:
  - a) the representation of a human visage;
  - b) the representative.
2. The (person’s) look:
  - a) the look of the place/institution/phenomenon.
3. The person’s inner self:
  - a) the expression of emotion;
  - b) the mirror of the mind/soul;
  - c) the person’s personality/character:
    - the characteristics of the place/institution/phenomenon.
4. An image of self/good name/reputation.
5. The presence of/confrontation with somebody/something.
6. A mask.
7. A bold front/self-confidence which is disrespectful or rude.
8. A façade/the front, outer or most important surface of something.

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

The usage of diminutives is connected with Erving Goffman’s strategy of *maintaining one’s face*. According to Goffman, the interlocutors, in the course of a 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, and warnings and critical comments, which infringe on positive face.

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

1. Leech’s Theory of Politeness
2. Brown and Levinson’s Theory of Politeness.

#### 4.1.1 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):

- a) the negative version—“minimize (other things being equal) the expression of impolite beliefs”;
- b) the positive version—“maximize (other things being equal) the expression of polite beliefs”.

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

1. Tact Maxim (in directives and commissives):
  - a) minimise cost to *other*;
  - b) maximise benefit to *other*.
2. Generosity Maxim (in directives and commissives):
  - a) minimise benefit to *self*;
  - b) maximise cost to *self*.

3. Approbation Maxim (in expressives and assertives):
  - a) minimise dispraise of *other*;
  - b) maximise praise of *other*.
4. Modesty Maxim (in expressives and assertives):
  - a) minimise praise of *self*;
  - b) maximise dispraise of *self*.
5. Agreement Maxim (in assertives):
  - a) minimise disagreement between *self* and *other*;
  - b) maximise agreement between *self* and *other*.
6. Sympathy Maxim (in assertives):
  - a) minimise antipathy between *self* and *other*;
  - b) maximise sympathy between *self* and *other*.

#### 4.1.2 Brown and Levinson's Theory of Politeness

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

- a) acts threatening the hearer's negative face—when the speaker wants to impede the 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);
- b) 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 the hearer's positive face (e.g., expressions of disapproval or criticism, use of address terms in an offensive or embarrassing way);
- c) acts threatening the speaker's negative face (e.g., expressing promises, thanks or excuses);
- d) acts threatening the speaker's positive face (e.g., apologies or acceptance of a compliment).

Brown and Levinson (1990: 60) distinguish five strategies for performing face-threatening acts. First of all, the speaker may avoid doing a face-threatening act. He/she 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 inten-

tion 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:

- a) positive politeness—oriented toward the hearer’s positive face. The face threat is minimised “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);
- b) negative politeness—oriented toward redressing the hearer’s negative face. The face threat is minimised 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 minimise 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 minimise it (Plag et al. 2007: 197–199).

Diminutives are often used as a mitigating device in order to minimise 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.

#### *4.2 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:

- (1) *O ja biedna, nieszczęśliwa Martusia!*  
 ‘Oh, I’m a poor, unhappy Marta-DIM!’<sup>3</sup>

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:

- (2) *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:

- (3) *I te twoje małe, czerwone oczka jak u myszy.*  
 ‘And your small, red eyes-DIM like in a mouse’.
- (4) *Jej spektakularna kariereka skończy się szybciej, niż zaczęła.*  
 ‘Her spectacular career-DIM will end faster than it started’.
- (5) *Proszę, jak się warszawka bawi.*  
 ‘Well, well, look at Warsaw-DIM having fun’.
- (6) *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 minimise their significance, maintaining his/her positive face. Following Staverman (1953: 409–410), Schneider (2013: 146) refers to such diminutives as *diminutivum modestum*:

- (7) *Ostatnio kupiłem 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 minimise benefit to the other, but rather to minimise cost and praise to the self.

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<sup>3</sup> As Polish offers greater variety of possible contexts of using diminutives, the theory discussed in this section is illustrated in most cases with the use of Polish examples. Nevertheless, there are also some situations when diminutives may be quite easily employed in such pragmatic functions in English as well. Therefore, some examples come from English conversations. Besides, to a considerable number of native speakers of English, some of the translations given in brackets sound natural and may also be used in a given context.

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):

(8) *I've got a little surprise for you!*

### 4.3 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 minimise the cost to the hearer (Leech's Tact Maxim). The requested action or thing is presented 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):

#### 1. 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 minimise the impact of a statement by using diminutive forms, which:

a) soften the command:

(9) *Podaj mi maselko.*

'Pass me the butter-DIM'.

b) minimise the imposition on the hearer as using the diminutive:

– minimises the object of the request, making it seem easy to cope with/insignificant:

(10) *Proszę otworzyć buzię, muszę zobaczyć ząbki.*

'Open your mouth, please. I need to see the teeth-DIM'.

– makes the request appear less obligatory/important:

(11) *Proszę przyjść do mnie na słówko.*

'Please, come to my place to have a word-DIM with me'.

c) mark friendly or close relations among interlocutors as the use of diminutive forms reduces the distance between interlocutors (see also Ronowicz 1995: 38):

- (12) *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 the hearer’s cost, but indicates irony, as in the following example when a man is talking to another man in a car park:

- (13) *Can you move your little car?*

## 2. Asking for material goods

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

- (14) *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:

- (15) *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):

- (16) *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’.

## 3. 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):

- (17) *Mogę wyjść na chwilkę?*  
 ‘Can I leave for a moment-DIM?’

#### 4. 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 present this time as short (Schneider 2003: 173):

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

#### 5. 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:

- (19) *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:

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

To conclude, it is worth mentioning Charleston (1960: 124) who 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).

### 4.4 *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 at a cost to the speaker. Leech's politeness maxims which apply 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).

## 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 at a cost to the speaker and to the benefit of the hearer. As a result, it could be stated that offering something threatens the speaker's negative face, and, at the same time, indicates positive politeness. Two categories of offers may be distinguished (Schneider 2003: 181):

- a) offers of assistance—not discussed in this book, as diminutives do not occur in this type of offers;
- b) 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 emphasise the hosts' cordial, sincere, and solicitous attitude towards the guests. Moreover, they praise the quality of what is offered and minimise its quantity as well as the effort which the hosts put into its preparation (Wierzbicka 1984: 128, 1985: 166–167; Lubecka 2000: 136–137; Handke 2008: 213–214).

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

'Would you like a little sandwich? A little piece of cheesecake?'

(22) *Napijcie 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 (Niegorska 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":

(23) *Który staniczek podać?*

'Which bra-DIM shall I hand to you?'

- (24) *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!’
- (25) *Rzodkieweczki! Tylko po 3 złote! Winogronka przepyszne!*  
 ‘Radish-DIM! For only 3 zlotys! Delicious grapes-DIM!’
- (26) *Proponuję ziemniaczki z kotlecikiem schabowym, do tego smaczne buraczki.*  
 ‘I suggest potatoes-DIM with pork cutlet-DIM, along with tasty beetroots-DIM<sup>4</sup>.’
- (27) *Herbatka z cytrynką czy bez?*  
 ‘Tea-DIM with or without lemon-DIM?’
- (28) *Chlebuś podać?*  
 ‘Would you like some bread-DIM?’

It is worth adding that, even though Example (28) 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.

## 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 “minimise benefit to self” is adhered to (Schneider 2003: 180, 193–195).

- (29) *Shall we have a little dance?*

## 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 minimising benefit to self (Schneider 2003: 191):

- (30) *Zdrzemnę się troszeczkę.*  
 ‘I’ll take a little nap’.

<sup>4</sup> Dressler and Barbaresi (1994: 305–306), following Staverman (1953), refer to such forms of diminutives as *diminutiva culinaria* which indicate that favourite dishes have a tendency to be diminutivised.

### 4.5 *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. The following chapter discusses the use of diminutives in greetings, compliments, and insults.

#### 1. Diminutives in greetings

It happens quite often in Polish culture that the speaker greets the hearer by means 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 (Ożóg 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”:

(31) *Padam do stópek szanownej pani!*

‘I’m falling at your feet-DIM, dear madam!’

(32) *Dzieńdoberek!*

‘Good morning-DIM!’

#### 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:

(33) *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 a praise minimiser:

- (34) *Ta bluzeczka jest cudna!*  
 ‘This blouse-DIM is gorgeous!’

It may seem that praise minimisation violates the Approbation Maxim, but minimised compliments are considered more sincere and convincing (Schneider 2003: 204).

Compliments which praise persons refer to people closely related to the addressee, for instance, 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):

- (35) *Masz śliczną córeczkę!*  
 ‘You’ve got a lovely daughter-DIM!’

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 patronising, offensively flattering, or even sarcastic. Holmes (1995: 121) also points out that there are some compliments, called *stranger compliments* or *street remarks*, which make women feel embarrassed and are treated as verbal harassment:

- (36) *Wow, what legs, 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 minimising the evaluated thing (Schneider 2003: 208). Thus, it is the speaker who threatens his/her own positive face:

- (37) *Eee... Taki tam domek.*  
 ‘Oh, it’s just a house-DIM’.

### 3. Diminutives in insults

By definition, insults are 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 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 stranger compliments mentioned before, diminutives can also be applied in insults, not minimising 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):

(38) *You dirty little swine!*

#### 4.6 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 realised by nominal terms of address, which can be divided into four categories (Schneider 2003: 141, 152):

1. Titles — these are professional, military, or religious titles, and M-forms.

Diminutives in titles are used either to express positive politeness:

(39) *Dzień dobry, paniusiu, ładny dzisiaj dzień, prawda?*  
'Hello Missey! Nice day, isn't it?'<sup>5</sup>

or negative politeness:

(40) *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:

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

2. Personal names—further subdivided into first names and last names.
3. 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*).

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<sup>5</sup> It must be stated that Example (39) may also be considered mocking, patronising, and offensive.

4. 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*).

Simple diminutives (e.g., *Katie*, *Basia*) are by some native speakers considered as neutral forms or variants of their first names. But more often, together with multiple diminutives (e.g., *Katiepoo*, *Basieńka*), they reflect the 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 minimise the impact of a statement by using diminutives which:

a) soften the command:

(42) *Heniu, podaj mi sól.*

'Henryk-DIM DIM, pass me the salt'.

b) minimise the imposition on the hearer as using the diminutive makes the request appear less obligatory/important:

(43) *Pani Basiu, proszę przyjść do mnie do gabinetu*<sup>6</sup>.

'Miss Barbara-DIM, come to my office, please'.

(44) *Tomeczku, pomożesz mi ze sprzątniem?*

'Tomasz-DIM DIM, will you help me with the cleaning?'

c) mark friendly or close relations among interlocutors as the use of diminutive forms reduces the distance between them:

(45) *Pani Basiu, proszę się nie martwić, zajmiemy się wszystkim.*

'Miss Barbara-DIM, don't worry, we'll take care of everything'.

Nevertheless, diminutives used in the sentences above may be applied in face-threatening acts done off record, when the speaker wants to express irony (Example 41), superiority (Example 43) or pitifulness (Example 45). Diminutives used in sentences such as:

(46) *Pani Aniu, czy Pani nie potrafi właściwie używać kierunkowskazu?*

'Miss Anna-DIM, can't you use the indicator properly?'

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<sup>6</sup> Marcjanik (2007: 49) treats such forms of addressing young women by their male superiors as patronising and condescending.

- (47) *Czy moja żoneczka przygotowała już śniadanie?*  
 ‘Has my wifey prepared the breakfast yet?’
- (48) *A oto i ona, nasza córeczka tatusia!*  
 ‘And there she is, our daddy’s little girl!’
- (49) *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:

- (50) *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, for example, he/she wants to express meanings such as familiarity, intimacy, or liking (Handke 2008: 212):

- (51) *Witaj Jadzinko! Co słyhać?*  
 ‘Welcome Jadwiga-DIM DIM! What’s up?’

Example (45) 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. Example (48) may be perceived as a sign of excessive familiarity or blattancy, but, at the same time, it 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:

- (52) *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 minimise 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:

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

serves as an example of an act threatening the hearers' positive face, as diminutives used in this context may deprecate a given person. Using 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 minimises 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 on a bus, can also arouse some contradictory impressions:

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

On the 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 minimises the distance between the interlocutors. Then, it may be treated as an expression of negative politeness.

A diminutive form may also reflect the speaker's contempt, as he/she can make fun of the hearer:

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

In the sentence:

(56) *Poczekaj złotko, jeszcze z tobą nie skończyłem.*  
'Wait a moment, my sugar-DIM, I'm not 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/her positive face is threatened. The following sentence was uttered by a man talking to another man who seduced his wife:

(57) *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:

(58) *Chodź no tu, ty mały draniu!*  
 ‘Come here, you little bastard!’<sup>7</sup>

Polish linguists pay special attention to the use of diminutives in names, also combined with the pronoun *pan/pani* ‘Mr/Mrs’, for example, *pani Basia* (Linde-Usiekniewicz 2007: 16–17). Markowski (2005: 102) emphasises the fact that diminutive forms of names cannot be applied in official contexts. Nevertheless, people nowadays use such forms more and more often<sup>8</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 stresses the fact that such forms are applied in English but there their meaning is associated with informal and friendly attitude, whereas in Polish their meaning indicates intimacy and cordiality. Therefore, using such forms may be perceived by the addressees as infringement of their privacy (Marcjanik 2007: 48–49; see also Wierzbicka 1999: 212–223):

(59) *Dzień dobry. Nazywam się Basia Kowalska.*  
 ‘Good morning. My name is Basia Kowalska’.

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

It is worth emphasising that the use of 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 individuals (Schneider 2003: 141–142).

In general, it can be stated that diminutives in vocative acts either realise Leech’s Sympathy Maxim (“maximize sympathy between self and other”) or ne-

<sup>7</sup> More references concerning talking to children are presented in Chapter 6.

<sup>8</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.

gate 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. Sociolinguistic contexts of using diminutives in Polish and English

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

### *5.1 Social context and its role in interpersonal communication*

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, relationship between participants, or the topic of conversation [Romaine 1994: 75]). Expressing our thoughts, whether in formal or informal style, depends on a given situation and the purpose of conversation (Trudgill 1988: 100). A significant feature of social context is the attitude of 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), for example, *Pan Nowak—Pan Stanisław—Pan Staszek—Stanisław—Stasio—Staś—Stasieniek*. 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 (Skubalanka 1972: 124; Warchoń 1974: 72; Grabias 1978: 92, 2001: 293; Zgółkowska 1991: 45; see also Grabias 1981), which are applied in various social contexts, representing the proper meaning of words in a given situation.

## 5.2 *Social relationships and the use of particular linguistic forms*

According to Lubaś (1979: 203), language is what characterises a particular person. Bernstein (1972: 29) presents the opinion of some linguists and anthropologists who believe that the way of speaking of a given person indicates his/her worldview. Moreover, Bernstein (1972: 29–30) refers to Whorf (1956: 158), 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). Using too many diminutives by some people in their speech, and restricting their amount to the essential minimum by others can clearly illustrate the above-mentioned theory.

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

- a) the content of an utterance;
- b) social position of the interlocutors;
- c) applied linguistic code (written or oral);
- d) type of contact (direct or indirect);
- e) the situation;
- f) the purpose of conversation.

Lubaś (1979: 202) defines these circumstances as *speech situation* (*sytuacja mowy*). Bokszański et al. (1977: 79) emphasise 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 (Bokszański et al. 1977: 79–80). Bokszański et al. (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 occurs in a particular *functional variant* (*wariant funkcjonalny*). The production of a given variant depends solely on the sociolinguistic situation (Bokszański et al. 1977: 88). Bokszański et al. (1977: 90) distinguish the following stylistic variants, which are determined by mutual attitudes of the interlocutors and social context:

- a) consultative;
- b) formal;
- c) respectful;
- d) cold;
- e) cordial;
- f) intimate;
- g) 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*:

- a) frozen;
- b) formal;
- c) consultative;
- d) casual;
- e) intimate.

Taking into consideration this division, it may be stated that diminutives are applied in casual and intimate styles. In some situations they may be used in consultative or frozen style.

### 5.3 Classification of linguistic roles in conversation

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) stress 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 the interlocutors) may be distinguished (Grabias 1988: 39–40)<sup>1</sup>:

- a) in a situation when the status is equal:  
– a conversation with acquaintances (e.g., in a café)

(60) *Witaj Jadzinko! Co słycać?*  
‘Welcome Jadwiga-DIM DIM! What’s up?’<sup>2</sup>

- a conversation with strangers (e.g., on a bus)

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

- b) in a situation when the status is unequal:  
– a conversation between a subordinate and a superior (professional relation)

(62) *Pani Bożenko, kawusię poproszę.*  
‘Mrs Bożena-DIM, coffee-DIM DIM please’.

- a conversation between a seller and a buyer (service organisation)

(63) *Co podać, złotko?*  
‘What shall I get 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>3</sup>.

(64) *Padam do stópek szanownej pani!*  
‘I’m falling at your feet-DIM, dear madam!’

<sup>1</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 work.

<sup>2</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>3</sup> In general, in traditional cultures, women hold a lower social status than men (Mandal 2012: 51).

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

(65) *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.

### 5.3.1 *Diminutives used in a situation when the status of interlocutors is equal*

This chapter discusses the following sociolinguistic contexts of using diminutives:

#### 1. A conversation between 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, characterised 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 (Tomczak 1991; Handke 1995: 72; Dunaj et al. 1999: 236). As an example of multiplicity of diminutive forms commonly used in familial language, Handke (2008: 105), following Szymczak (1966), 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 (Lubecka 1993: 98; Handke 1995: 101; Jakubowska 1999: 50):

- (55) *Tomcinku, kupiłeś mi gazetkę?*  
 ‘Thomas-DIM DIM, did you buy me the newspaper-DIM?’
- (56) *Czy moja żoneczka zrobiła już śniadanko?*  
 ‘Has my wife-DIM DIM made the breakfast-DIM yet?’
- (57) *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 who almost omit them. It depends mostly on certain personal features of character of family members and the culture they function in.

## 2. A conversation between 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 1 and 4.4).

Diminutives are commonly applied in conversations between women (Jakubowska 1999: 50). Charleston (1960: 124), following Ball (1953: 119), 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.

## 3. A conversation between strangers.

Diminutives can often be applied in conversations with strangers. Various examples of using diminutive forms in this context are presented in Chapters 1 and 4.4 of this work. Apart from 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, Poles use them excessively, even though this may be perceived as a sign of language infantilisation (see Chapter 1).

The language of CB users is characterized by humour, unaffected emotionality, spontaneity, linguistic freedom, and creativity (Jaros 2011: 191, 2012: 298). Therefore, one can come across numerous diminutive forms (Nowik 2007: 125; Jaros 2011: 186) which denote both positive and negative meanings<sup>4</sup>. Nevertheless, their main function is to reduce 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 drivers indicates positive politeness.

### 5.3.2 *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. Galbraith (1983: 2) defines it as "the possibility of imposing one's will upon other persons". Holmes (1995: 17) adds that power can be as well understood as 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 social role (e.g., the power of an older child over a younger child, of a male over a female).

This section discusses the use of diminutives in conversations between a subordinate and a superior, between a seller and a buyer, and between a parent and a small child.

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<sup>4</sup> Jaros (2011: 190–191) notices that they may express irony or disdain (e.g., when referring to policemen).

1. A conversation between a subordinate and a superior.

In a 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 emphasises 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 emphasise their relative power by condescending, scorning, or ridiculing, as they are contemptuous, do not treat other people seriously and belittle them by using diminutives.

2. A conversation between a seller and a buyer.

In service organisation the seller wants to encourage the buyer in every possible way to purchase a particular thing. Diminutives may express the seller's politeness and evoke positive feelings in the buyer as they create an atmosphere of familiarity (see Chapters 1 and 4.4).

3. A conversation between a parent and a small child.

Charleston (1960: 123), following Ball (1953: 118), believes that diminutives play an important role in the child and parent relationship and in the husband-wife relationship as well (see Chapter 6.4.1). Wierzbicka (1984: 124) states that "Polish sociolinguistic usage requires a diminutive" while talking to or referring to a child. Following Staverman (1953), Dressler and Barbaresi (1994: 173) define the use of diminutives in conversations with children as *diminutivum puerile*. Schneider (2003: 233–234) also emphasises the fact that diminutives occur in the parent-child interaction<sup>5</sup>. He even states that this kind of interaction and caretaker speech are considered prototypical domains for the use of diminutives<sup>6</sup>. Some accounts consider them an element of child language, while others an element of motherese, or parentese, caretaker, or caregiver 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, for example, Handke (1990: 23, 1994: 20, 26, 1995: 92–93, 110), Lubecka (1993: 99), Nagórko (2003: 223), Tereszkievicz (2007: 195–196), Jabłońska (2012: 47, 49–50).

By using diminutive forms, adults want to give a child a sense of security and certainty that he/she is loved by them. By this, they want the child to know that he/she is of special importance to them (see Dobrzyński 1988: 113). Therefore, using diminutives is a good way to establish emotional contact with the child.

<sup>5</sup> Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003: 17) state that parents use more diminutives when they speak to girls than to boys.

<sup>6</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').

- (58) *Witusiu, ty mój skarbeczku!*  
 ‘Witold-DIM DIM, my sweetheart-DIM DIM!’
- (59) *Brawo, namalowałaś słiczego kotka, córeczko!*  
 ‘Bravo, you’ve painted a lovely cat-DIM, my daughter-DIM’.
- (60) *Aniołku, główka boli?*  
 ‘Angel-DIM, is your head-DIM aching?’
- (61) *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 to the child. We tend to encourage the child to think 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 familiarise the child with reality and everyday life:

- (62) *Nie bój się, myszko, to tylko duży piesek.*  
 ‘Don’t be afraid, my mouse-DIM, it’s just a big dog-DIM’.
- (63) *Popatrz, jak świeci słoneczko.*  
 ‘Just look at the sun-DIM DIM shining’.

As mentioned in Chapter 4, we use diminutives to soften commands and requests. It also applies to conversations with children:

- (64) *Zjedz jeszcze zupki, to pójdziemy na spacerek.*  
 ‘Eat some more soup-DIM and we will go for a walk-DIM’.
- (65) *Otwórz tamtą książeczkę.*  
 ‘Open that book-DIM over there’.
- (66) *Wituniu, przestań rzucać samochodzikiem.*  
 ‘Witold-DIM DIM, stop throwing this car-DIM’.
- (67) *Podnieś rączki do góry, mamusia założy ci sweterek.*  
 ‘Lift your arms-DIM, mummy will put a sweater-DIM on you’.

We also use diminutives to refer to objects belonging to or made by a child, for example, *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, for example, *bródka* ‘chin-DIM’ or *twarzązka* ‘face-DIM’. To conclude, it could be stated that we use child-specific language as we want to enter children’s world, for example, *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 it 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).

## 6. 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 foreignisation 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.

### 6.1 *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 diminu-

tives serve as a good example here, as they allow one to express various shades of emotional attitudes which are not given in a precise way, and, consequently, are very difficult to render 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 the 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 structures 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).

## 6.2 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 realise 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: 18–19):

- a) give a complete transcript of the ideas and sentiments in the original passage;
- b) maintain the character of the style;
- c) 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):

- a) making sense;
- b) conveying the spirit and manner of the original;
- c) having a natural and easy form of expression;
- d) 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 their cultural heritage, reading experience and images to the translation, 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 are 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 characterised 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).

### 6.3 Levels of translation

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

- a) level denoted by lexis and syntax;
- b) level denoted by stylistics;
- c) level denoted by sociology and literature.

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

- a) the translation should be equivalent to the original when it comes to all levels;
- b) 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: 31–36):

- a) level denoted by lexis and syntax—deals mainly with such issues as 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;
- b) level denoted by stylistics—covers types and ways of using 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;
- c) level denoted by sociology and literature—deals with such issues as the analysis of the influence of the target language literature on translation, comparison of various translations of one work, reactions of readers and critics to a translation, method of translation chosen by the translator (whether it is domestication or foreignisation), as well as the addressee of the original in comparison with the one of the translation, and illustrations in both the original and the translation.

All the 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.

## 6.4 *Translation of culture*

According to Hejwowski (2009: 153–154), knowledge of culture of both source and target language is one of the elements of translation competence. As mentioned in Chapter 1.3, a translator has to find a way to overcome many obstacles during his/her work, and cultural barriers are some 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 closely 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 1.3).

## 6.5 *Difficulties in translation of diminutive forms*

Lockyer (2012: 21) is of the opinion that the use of diminutives reflects the translator's individual conceptualisation and his/her preferences. What is 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, the 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, as she writes afterwards (Wierzbicka 2007: 99):

In Polish I could say that she now has a lot of *loczki* (dear-little-curly), 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 'curly', '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', 'noseie' 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), for example, there are more diminutive name forms in Polish translations than in English original texts (Fornalczyk 2010: 161).

One of the most famous examples 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 a child) with respect and seriousness. Therefore, his style of writing is not infantile or sentimental at all.

In Polish children's literature, an author wants to imitate child's way of thinking and speaking by using many diminutives and hypocorisms. It produces the effect of "mawkish naivety" (Adamczyk-Garbowska 1988: 113). 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" (Adamczyk-Garbowska 1988: 114). 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 translators (Rajewska 2002: 59). Tuwim’s translation is “rooted” in Polish, that is, it exists in 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) summarises his discussion by stating that, while translating, Adamczyk-Garbowska was driven by the faithfulness to 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 *Kompleks polski*, a Polish novel by Tadeusz Konwicki, that is, *The Polish Complex* by Richard Lourie. They both notice that the meanings of irony, contempt, malice, irritation, disrespect, as well as familiarity, intimacy, cordiality, solidarity, and compassion, expressed by means of diminutives, are in most cases omitted and the translator does not even try to render them 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.

## 6.6 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 other methods which are specific to the target language, for example, the meaning of irony can be read from the context in English, whereas in Polish it is obtained by means 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”, for example, an English word *hand* used to describe child’s body part will most probably be translated as *rączka* ‘hand-DIM’, since in Polish a diminutive form would sound more natural in this particular context. Another example would be the translation of an English word *mummy*, as in Polish it can be rendered by means 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 emphasisers is for “the clarification of sentence perspective”.

### *6.7 Domestication and foreignisation in translating diminutives into Polish*

Oittinen (2003: 129) makes a clear division between the two technical terms, that is, *domestication* and *foreignisation*. 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 the role of foreignisation is to “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, foreignisation 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 stresses 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 of the source culture for an element characteristic of the target culture in order to make it sound more natural and comprehensible to the readers (Bednarczyk 2002: 63), whereas foreignisation 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 values prevalent in a given culture. Thus, it is obvious that when a particular book is translated into another language, the translator has to decide whether he/she wants to present the same values to the target text readers, or whether he/she wants to introduce modifications to the text in order to make it fit better in 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 polonisation) (Liseling Nilsson 2012: 298–299).

Domestication as a translator's approach aimed at adapting the original text to Polish reality is discussed by Biały while analysing Polish versions of *Mary Poppins* by Pamela Travers. Biały (2012a: 121) stresses the fact that it is a common practice to use diminutive forms of proper names which in the original version were given in their full forms, for example, *Michael*—*Michaś*, *John*—*Jaś*, *Ellen*—*Helenka* (see also Chapter 6.5).

### 6.8 Translation methods for rendering the meanings of diminutives

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

- a) omission of problematic fragments of the source text;
- b) exchange of particular elements of the source text for more suitable ones in the target text;
- c) use of functional equivalents;
- d) 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, however, may as well be indicated by means 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 often than Polish does (e.g., *moja szatka* ‘my fair garment’). Ronowicz (1995: 38) claims that English does not have as rich a range of diminutives as Polish and uses more elaborate modifications of the message instead. Sokołowska (2004: 221–223) provides some examples of such practices:

- a) 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’);
- b) 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., *szybciutko* ‘very quickly’); nevertheless, in some cases it is impossible to render Polish diminutive form of an adjective (e.g., *żółciutki* \*‘very yellow’);
- c) 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:

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

The above-mentioned strategies are taken into account while analysing translation of diminutives in Chapter 7. Nevertheless, the analysis shows that the already introduced list of translation strategies is incomplete, as there are far more methods of rendering the meanings of both Polish and English diminutives.



## 7. The analysis of chosen examples from Polish and English literary texts and their translations

Translation of diminutives into English and Polish has not been given as much attention as it deserves, although there appeared scholarly works on this issue reviewed in the previous chapters. Besides, analyses to date have been 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.

### 7.1 *The chosen Polish literary texts and their translations into English*

The texts chosen for the analysis represent various literary styles and various time they were written at in order to stress 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 analysed:

a) *Uwikłanie* by Zygmunt Miłoszewski

*Uwikłanie* is a contemporary crime novel for adult readers first published in 2007. It tells the story of Teodor Szacki, a State Prosecutor, 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 emphasise not only the irony, but also other meanings and contexts reflecting negative evalua-

tion, 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 skillfully 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 stilted. 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.

b) *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 the 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 accompanying 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 emphasise 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.

c) *Panny z Wilka* and *Brzezina* by Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz

*Panny z Wilka* (*The Wilko Girls* in English translation) and *Brzezina* (*The Birch Grove*) are some 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 characterised 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 emphasise his exceptionally emotional attitude towards nature.

*Panny z Wilka* and *Brzezina*, as well as two other stories by Iwaszkiewicz, 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 choices to some extent. What is more, as far as the usage of diminutives in the dialogues between the protagonists of the stories is concerned, 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.

d) *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 a 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 between the characters, situational as well as verbal humour, the wit and spontaneity. Frequent

usage of diminutives reflects and emphasises 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 translations follow the original versions very accurately, but at the same time they are 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.

## 7.2 *The chosen English 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 double or multiple ones. Instead, they rely on the context or introduce suitable vocabulary. Kozielski (2008: 103) provides an example of a 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 the English original version they are expressed by means of situational context, whereas in the Polish translation—by means 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 analysed:

- a) *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;
- b) *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;

- c) *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;
- d) *Pride and Prejudice* by Jane Austen—a classic novel of manners first published in 1813; translated into Polish by Anna Przedpełska-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.

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

The analysis of diminutives and their translation is divided into three parts referring to different contexts of diminutive usage:

1. Meanings of diminutives.
2. Pragmatic functions of diminutives.
3. Sociolinguistic contexts of using diminutives.

#### 7.3.1 *Translation of meanings of diminutives*

As in Schneider and Strubel-Burgdorf's work (2012), diminutives are treated here as an onomasiological category, subsuming both synthetic diminutives (e.g., *okienko*) and analytic ones (e.g., *mała 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 emphasised 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 the most common connotative meanings of diminutive forms, both appreciative and depreciative ones (see Chapter 3.2). It should be emphasised that in the case of connotative meanings of diminutive forms, I had to take into account the context of use of a given diminutive as, following Dressler and Barbaresi (1994: 171),

it could be stated that the pragmatics of diminutives often allows for “multiple conceivable interpretations”.

Furthermore, the diminutive meanings provided by Długosz (see Chapter 3.2) are also analysed, and, in order to illustrate cultural differences between Polish and English (see Chapter 1), the analysis of translation of diminutives used in proverbs, sayings, and fixed expressions is provided as well.

The lists given in Tables 3–6 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.

### 7.3.1.1 Denotative meanings of diminutives

The meanings presented in Tables 3–8 are the examples of denotative meanings of diminutives. According to Długosz (see Chapter 3.2), diminutives listed below 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:

- the meaning of smallness,
- a given object in its diminutive form is similar in meaning to the designatum,
- partitive/singulative meaning,
- the meaning of young age,
- the meaning of short duration,
- the meaning of reduced intensity.

a) the meaning of smallness

**Table 3. The meaning of smallness**

Example number	Polish original version	English translated version
(68)	<i>mała kamera wideo</i> (ZMPI 65)	<i>a small video camera</i> (ZMEng 63)
(69)	<i>mała kanapka</i> (ZMPI 166)	<i>a small sandwich</i> (ZMEng 169)
(70)	<i>małe tapczaniki</i> (ZMPI 190)	<i>small couches</i> (ZMEng 195)
(71)	<i>niewielki pistolet</i> (ZMPI 278)	<i>a small pistol</i> (ZMEng 288)
(72)	<i>małe krzeselka</i> (ZMPI 294)	<i>small chairs</i> (ZMEng 305)
(73)	<i>okienko</i> (SWPI 7)	<i>a small window</i> (SWEng 20)
(74)	<i>mała kanapka</i> (JIPi 81)	<i>a small sofa</i> (JIEng 68)

Table 3 continued

(75)	<i>niewielka sala</i> (ZMPI 156)	<i>the small conference room</i> (ZMEng 158)
(76)	<i>mała salka</i> (ZMPI 293)	<i>the small classroom</i> (ZMEng 304)
(77)	<i>mały folwarczek</i> (JIPI 23)	<i>a small farm</i> (JIEng 10)
(78)	<i>skwerek</i> (ZMPI 171)	<i>the small square</i> (ZMEng 174)
(79)	<i>nieduża kotlinka</i> (JIPI 27)	<i>a small hollow</i> (JIEng 14)
(80)	<i>mały ganeczek</i> (JIPI 66)	<i>a small porch</i> (JIEng 54)
(81)	<i>małe zatoczki</i> (JIPI 74)	<i>small creeks</i> (JIEng 62)
(82)	<i>mieszkanko</i> (JIPI 110)	<i>a small apartment</i> (JIEng 97)
(83)	<i>chlewik</i> (JIPI 110)	<i>small pigsty</i> (JIEng 97)
(84)	<i>mały pokoik</i> (JIPI 89)	<i>the small room</i> (JIEng 76)
(85)	<i>małe wzniesienie</i> (ZMPI 257)	<i>a small hillock</i> (ZMEng 265)
(86)	<i>niewielkie miasto</i> (ZMPI 9)	<i>small town</i> (ZMEng 3)
(87)	<i>niewielki dom</i> (JIPI 41)	<i>small house</i> (JIEng 29)
(88)	<i>lasek</i> (JIPI 27)	<i>a small wood</i> (JIEng 15)
(89)	<i>(nieduża) salka</i> (ZMPI 12)	<i>(small) classroom</i> (ZMEng 6)
(90)	<i>(niewielki) stolik</i> (ZMPI 101)	<i>(a small) table</i> (ZMEng 99)
(91)	<i>małe okienko</i> (JIPI 134)	<i>a very small window</i> (JIEng 123)
(92)	<i>małe miasteczko</i> (ZMPI 177)	<i>a very small town</i> (ZMEng 180)
(93)	<i>galeryjka</i> (ZMPI 132)	<i>the little gallery</i> (ZMEng 132)
(94)	<i>kamieniczki</i> (ZMPI 164)	<i>little tenements</i> (ZMEng 167)
(95)	<i>wąwoziki</i> (JIPI 94)	<i>little gullies</i> (JIEng 81)
(96)	<i>mały salonik</i> (JIPI 36)	<i>the little parlour</i> (JIEng 24)
(97)	<i>mały buduar</i> (JIPI 88)	<i>the little boudoir</i> (JIEng 76)
(98)	<i>pokoik</i> (JIPI 110)	<i>little room</i> (JIEng 97)
(99)	<i>izdebka</i> (JIPI 135)	<i>the little room</i> (JIEng 123)
(100)	<i>miasteczko</i> (ZMPI 219)	<i>little city</i> (ZMEng 225)
(101)	<i>ogródek</i> (JIPI 25)	<i>the little garden</i> (JIEng 12)
(102)	<i>niewielki ogród</i> (JIPI 43)	<i>the little garden</i> (JIEng 31)
(103)	<i>lasek</i> (JIPI 86)	<i>the little wood</i> (JIEng 73)
(104)	<i>nożyk</i> (JIPI 90)	<i>a little knife</i> (JIEng 77)
(105)	<i>mały stołeczek</i> (JIPI 105)	<i>a little table</i> (JIEng 92)
(106)	<i>małe guziczki</i> (JIPI 125)	<i>little buttons</i> (JIEng 113)
(107)	<i>okienko</i> (JIPI 134)	<i>a little window</i> (JIEng 123)
(108)	<i>mała filiżanka</i> (ZMPI 277)	<i>the little cup</i> (ZMEng 287)
(109)	<i>mostek</i> (ZMPI 152)	<i>the little bridge</i> (ZMEng 154)

Table 3 continued

(110)	<i>mała łódeczka</i> (JIPI 36)	<i>the little boat</i> (JIEng 24)
(111)	<i>mikroskopijna lodówka</i> (ZMPI 11)	<i>tiny fridge</i> (ZMEng 6)
(112)	<i>malutkie chmurki</i> (ZMPI 24)	<i>tiny clouds</i> (ZMEng 19)
(113)	<i>malutkie kolczyki</i> (ZMPI 191)	<i>tiny earrings</i> (ZMEng 195)
(114)	<i>stołeczek</i> (ZMPI 203)	<i>a tiny table</i> (ZMEng 208)
(115)	<i>mikroskopijny gabinet</i> (ZMPI 156)	<i>tiny study</i> (ZMEng 158)
(116)	<i>miniaturowy park</i> (ZMPI 255)	<i>tiny park</i> (ZMEng 263)
(117)	<i>malutkie poletki</i> (JIPI 121)	<i>tiny plots of land</i> (JIEng 108)
(118)	<i>pokoik</i> (ZMPI 12)	<i>tiny room</i> (ZMEng 6)
(119)	<i>malutkie czółno</i> (JIPI 74)	<i>a tiny canoe</i> (JIEng 62)
(120)	<i>miniaturowe rzeźby</i> (ZMPI 9)	<i>miniature carvings</i> (ZMEng 4)
(121)	<i>okienka</i> (JIPI 110)	<i>windows</i> (JIEng 97)
(122)	<i>szybki</i> (JIPI 117)	<i>window</i> (JIEng 105)
(123)	<i>mostek</i> (ZMPI 59)	<i>the bridge</i> (ZMEng 55)
(124)	<i>młoteczki</i> (ZMPI 10)	<i>hammers</i> (ZMEng 4)
(125)	<i>klamerki</i> (ZMPI 20)	<i>buckles</i> (ZMEng 14)
(126)	<i>karteczka</i> (ZMPI 90)	<i>a card</i> (ZMEng 89)
(127)	<i>stolik</i> (ZMPI 129)	<i>coffee table</i> (ZMEng 128)
(128)	<i>pojemniczek</i> (ZMPI 133)	<i>container</i> (ZMEng 133)
(129)	<i>dywanik</i> (ZMPI 137)	<i>rug</i> (ZMEng 138)
(130)	<i>balonik</i> (ZMPI 153)	<i>balloon</i> (ZMEng 154)
(131)	<i>pantofle z paseczkiem</i> (ZMPI 176)	<i>court shoes with a strap</i> (ZMEng 179)
(132)	<i>sandały z rzemyczkiem</i> (ZMPI 191)	<i>sandals with thongs</i> (ZMEng 195)
(133)	<i>łyżeczka do kawy</i> (ZMPI 192)	<i>coffee spoon</i> (ZMEng 197)
(134)	<i>łyżeczka</i> (ZMPI 277)	<i>teaspoon</i> (ZMEng 287)
(135)	<i>buteleczka</i> (ZMPI 208)	<i>the bottle</i> (ZMEng 214)
(136)	<i>flakonik</i> (ZMPI 305)	<i>bottle</i> (ZMEng 316)
(137)	<i>drabinki</i> (ZMPI 256)	<i>ladders</i> (ZMEng 263)
(138)	<i>firaneczka</i> (SWPI 7)	<i>curtain</i> (SWEng 20)
(139)	<i>święty obrazek</i> (SWPI 55)	<i>the image of a saint</i> (SWEng 63)
(140)	<i>miseczka</i> (JIPI 24)	<i>a bowl</i> (JIEng 11)
(141)	<i>łóżeczko</i> (JIPI 112)	<i>bed</i> (JIEng 100)
(142)	<i>kropelki</i> (JIPI 130)	<i>raindrops</i> (JIEng 118)
(143)	<i>kropelki potu</i> (ACPI 27)	<i>the perspiration</i> (ACEng 36)
(144)	<i>refektarzyk</i> (ZMPI 12)	<i>refectory</i> (ZMEng 6)

Table 3 continued

(145)	<i>korytarzyk</i> (ZMPI 12)	<i>corridor</i> (ZMEng 7)
(146)	<i>schodki</i> (ZMPI 124)	<i>the stairwell</i> (ZMEng 123)
(147)	<i>biblioteczka</i> (ZMPI 128)	<i>bookcase</i> (ZMEng 127)
(148)	<i>salonik prasowy</i> (ZMPI 184)	<i>press emporia</i> (ZMEng 189)
(149)	<i>wąski balkonik</i> (ZMPI 269)	<i>a narrow balcony</i> (ZMEng 278)
(150)	<i>boczna alejka</i> (ZMPI 323)	<i>a side alley</i> (ZMEng 335)
(151)	<i>alkierzyk</i> (SWPI 7)	<i>an alcove</i> (SWEng 20)
(152)	<i>łązka</i> (JIPI 27)	<i>a meadow</i> (JIEng 15)
(153)	<i>dotek</i> (JIPI 60)	<i>hollow</i> (JIEng 47)
(154)	<i>schodki</i> (JIPI 109)	<i>stairs</i> (JIEng 97)
(155)	<i>wąska uliczka</i> (JIPI 116)	<i>the narrow street</i> (JIEng 104)
(156)	<i>polanka</i> (JIPI 139)	<i>clearing</i> (JIEng 128)
(157)	<i>jeziorko</i> (JIPI 155)	<i>lake</i> (JIEng 144)
(158)	<i>izdebka</i> (JIPI 147)	<i>room</i> (JIEng 136)
(159)	<i>górką</i> (ZMPI 258)	<i>the hillock</i> (ZMEng 266)
(160)	<i>górką</i> (JIPI 26)	<i>the hilltop</i> (JIEng 14)
(161)	<i>małe wzgórki</i> (JIPI 56)	<i>mounds</i> (JIEng 43)
(162)	<i>gaik</i> (JIPI 76)	<i>coppice</i> (JIEng 63)
(163)	<i>miasteczko</i> (ZMPI 9)	<i>town</i> (ZMEng 3)
(164)	<i>domek w górach</i> (ZMPI 170)	<i>a holiday home</i> (ZMEng 173)
(165)	<i>fińskie domki</i> (ZMPI 258)	<i>Finnish cottages</i> (ZMEng 266)
(166)	<i>domek kolonijny</i> (JIP1 24)	<i>the camp house</i> (JIEng 11)
(167)	<i>domki</i> (JIPI 63)	<i>huts</i> (JIEng 51)
(168)	<i>chatka</i> (JIPI 121)	<i>tumbledown cottage</i> (JIEng 108)
(169)	<i>domek leśniczówki</i> (JIPI 138)	<i>lodge</i> (JIEng 127)
(170)	<i>kawiarniany ogródek</i> (ZMPI 91)	<i>the café garden</i> (ZMEng 90)
Example number	Polish translated version	English original version
(171)	<i>mały stolik</i> (ACPI 10)	<i>a small table</i> (ACEng 13)
(172)	<i>mała skrzyneczka</i> (ACPI 36)	<i>a small box</i> (ACEng 47)
(173)	<i>małe pudełeczko</i> (ACPI 37)	<i>a small box</i> (ACEng 49)
(174)	<i>mały kuferek</i> (ACPI 77)	<i>a small case</i> (ACEng 100)
(175)	<i>małe narzędzie</i> (ACPI 97)	<i>small instrument</i> (ACEng 127)
(176)	<i>mały ołówek</i> (ACPI 120)	<i>a small pencil</i> (ACEng 157)
(177)	<i>mała paczuszka</i> (ACPI 142)	<i>a small packet</i> (ACEng 187)

Table 3 continued

(178)	<i>mała piwnica</i> (ACPI 26)	<i>a small cellar</i> (ACEng 35)
(179)	<i>nieduże centrum handlowe</i> (MNPI 41)	<i>a small shopping mall</i> (MNEng 32)
(180)	<i>małe miasteczko</i> (JAPI 20)	<i>a small market town</i> (JAEng 16)
(181)	<i>mały letni pokój</i> (JAPI 85)	<i>the small summer parlour</i> (JAEng 61)
(182)	<i>małe pokoiki</i> (JAPI 224)	<i>small rooms</i> (JAEng 167)
(183)	<i>małe miasteczko</i> (JAPI 269)	<i>a small market-town</i> (JAEng 202)
(184)	<i>niewielki park</i> (JAPI 358)	<i>small park</i> (JAEng 271)
(185)	<i>nieduża walizka</i> (MNPI 72)	<i>a small suitcase</i> (MNEng 61)
(186)	<i>malutka filiżanka</i> (ACPI 84)	<i>the little cup</i> (ACEng 109)
(187)	<i>maleńkie lusterko</i> (ACPI 77)	<i>the little mirror</i> (ACEng 101)
(188)	<i>mały przedmiot</i> (ACPI 114)	<i>a little object</i> (ACEng 150)
(189)	<i>mała poduszka</i> (ACPI 121)	<i>little pillow</i> (ACEng 160)
(190)	<i>niewielka torba</i> (ACPI 141)	<i>little bag</i> (ACEng 185)
(191)	<i>małe miasteczko</i> (JAPI 249)	<i>the little town</i> (JAEng 186)
(192)	<i>lasek</i> (JAPI 306)	<i>the little copse</i> (JAEng 230)
(193)	<i>mały zagajnik</i> (JAPI 327)	<i>the little copse</i> (JAEng 246)
(194)	<i>mała kawiarenka</i> (ACPI 83)	<i>a little café</i> (ACEng 109)
(195)	<i>małe sklepiki</i> (ACPI 106)	<i>little shops</i> (ACEng 139)
(196)	<i>mały woreczek</i> (ACPI 141)	<i>a little bag</i> (ACEng 185)
(197)	<i>maleńkie podwyższenie</i> (MNPI 118)	<i>the tiny stage</i> (MNEng 104)
(198)	<i>sklepik</i> (DKPI 89)	<i>the tiny supermarket</i> (DKEng 77)
(199)	<i>malutka sypialenka</i> (ACPI 23)	<i>a tiny bedroom</i> (ACEng 31)
(200)	<i>maleńki salon</i> (MNPI 131)	<i>tiny lounge</i> (MNEng 117)
(201)	<i>maleńka filiżaneczka</i> (ACPI 67)	<i>a tiny cup</i> (ACEng 87)
(202)	<i>malutka kuchenka</i> (DKPI 51)	<i>the mini-kitchen</i> (DKEng 45)
(203)	<i>koszyczek</i> (DKPI 19)	<i>bundle</i> (DKEng 20)
(204)	<i>łódki</i> (DKPI 97)	<i>boats</i> (DKEng 83)
(205)	<i>haczyk</i> (ACPI 59)	<i>a hook</i> (ACEng 77)
(206)	<i>miseczka zupy</i> (ACPI 69)	<i>a bowl of soup</i> (ACEng 89)
(207)	<i>lusterko</i> (ACPI 9)	<i>a mirror</i> (ACEng 12)
(208)	<i>drzewka pomarańczowe</i> (ACPI 103)	<i>orange trees</i> (ACEng 135)
(209)	<i>batonik wielkości domu</i> (MNPI 43)	<i>a chocolate bar</i> (MNEng 33)
(210)	<i>mostek</i> (JAPI 252)	<i>the bridge</i> (JAEng 188)
(211)	<i>gniazdko</i> (DKPI 20)	<i>the nest</i> (DKEng 20)
(212)	<i>domek</i> (DKPI 22)	<i>nest</i> (DKEng 22)

Table 3 continued

(213)	<i>pokoik</i> (DKPl 80)	<i>attic bedroom</i> (DKEng 70)
(214)	<i>miasteczko</i> (ACPl 17)	<i>village</i> (ACEng 23)
(215)	<i>mieszkancko</i> (ACPl 23)	<i>lodgings</i> (ACEng 31)
(216)	<i>salonik</i> (ACPl 23)	<i>sitting-room</i> (ACEng 31)
(217)	<i>schodki</i> (ACPl 28)	<i>stairs</i> (ACEng 37)
(218)	<i>schodki</i> (ACPl 76)	<i>the steps</i> (ACEng 99)
(219)	<i>korytarzyk</i> (ACPl 28)	<i>a passage</i> (ACEng 38)
(220)	<i>wioska</i> (ACPl 140)	<i>the village</i> (ACEng 184)
(221)	<i>chatka</i> (MNPl 24)	<i>cottage</i> (MNEng 16)
(222)	<i>domek na wsi</i> (MNPl 66)	<i>country home</i> (MNEng 55)
(223)	<i>okno na pięterku</i> (JAPl 12)	<i>an upper window</i> (JAEng 10)
(224)	<i>wioska</i> (JAPl 14)	<i>the village</i> (JAEng 12)
(225)	<i>salonik</i> (JAPl 41)	<i>the dining-parlour</i> (JAEng 31)
(226)	<i>salonik</i> (JAPl 177)	<i>the drawing-room</i> (JAEng 132)
(227)	<i>alejka</i> (JAPl 59)	<i>the avenue</i> (JAEng 43)
(228)	<i>izdebki</i> (JAPl 76)	<i>the closets</i> (JAEng 54)
(229)	<i>ścieżynki</i> (JAPl 165)	<i>cross walk</i> (JAEng 123)
(230)	<i>dróżka</i> (JAPl 204)	<i>the lane</i> (JAEng 152)
(231)	<i>alejka</i> (JAPl 218)	<i>the lane</i> (JAEng 163)
(232)	<i>domek odźwiernego</i> (JAPl 251)	<i>the lodge</i> (JAEng 187)
(233)	<i>mały salonik</i> (JAPl 359)	<i>the dining-parlour</i> (JAEng 271)
(234)	<i>kamieniczka</i> (DKPl 40)	does not occur (DKEng 36)
(235)	<i>miasteczko</i> (DKPl 80)	does not occur (DKEng 70)
(236)	<i>naczynko</i> (DKPl 77)	does not occur (DKEng 67)
(237)	<i>alejka</i> (ACPl 21)	does not occur (ACEng 29)

The diminutive form used to express smallness 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 (241 diminutive forms), and the most common suffixes used for that purpose are the suffixes *-ek*, *-ko*, *-ik/-yk*, *-eczek/-iczek/-yczek*, and *-eczka*. The table also provides some examples of diminutives formed with adjectives (100 diminutive forms) such as *mały/-a/-e*, *niewielki*, *nieduży*, *mikroskopijny*, *miniaturowy* and diminutivised adjectives such as *malutki* and *maleńki*. Nevertheless, it must be stressed that in most cases, regardless of the occurrence of one of the above-mentioned adjectives or even diminutivised adjectives, the nouns are diminutivised 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 *maleńka filiżaneczka*), as these forms sound more natural for Poles. It is worth emphasising that all nouns given in Table 3 are the examples of non-human and inanimate entities, as these are names of objects (except for *drzewka pomarańczowe*).

Double/multiple diminutives do not necessarily have to be formed by means of adjectives. In Polish, it is very frequent to attach two or more different diminutive suffixes to the same base (e.g., *łódeczka* or *firanezka*). As stated in Chapter 2.1, 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 an adjective of opposite meaning and still it is considered to be a diminutive form (e.g., *duży dzbanek* [ZMPI 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* [MNP1 43] as *a chocolate bar* [MNEng 33]).

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 3.3), 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.

b) a given object in its diminutive form is similar in meaning to the designatum

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

Example number	Polish original version	English translated version
(238)	<i>mały słupek</i> (JIPI 26)	<i>a small post</i> (JIEng 13)
(239)	<i>mała lampka</i> (SWPI 64)	<i>small lamp</i> (SWEng 72)
(240)	<i>szczypczyki</i> (JIPI 68)	<i>a little pair of tongs</i> (JIEng 55)
(241)	<i>kluczyk</i> (ZMPI 27)	<i>the car key</i> (ZMEng 22)
(242)	<i>ramki</i> (ZMPI 50)	<i>a frame</i> (ZMEng 46)
(243)	<i>skrzydełko poradnika</i> (ZMPI 106)	<i>the jacket of the manual</i> (ZMEng 104)
(244)	<i>miseczka biustonosza</i> (ZMPI 131)	<i>bra cups</i> (ZMEng 131)
(245)	<i>fotelik Helci</i> (ZMPI 190)	<i>Helka's child seat</i> (ZMEng 194)

Table 4 continued

(246)	<i>wsteczne lusterko</i> (ZMPI 191)	<i>the side mirror</i> (ZMEng 195)
(247)	<i>nożyk do listów</i> (ZMPI 216)	<i>a paper knife</i> (ZMEng 222)
(248)	<i>okularki do pływania</i> (ZMPI 243)	<i>swimming goggles</i> (ZMEng 250)
(249)	<i>zatonczka autobusowa</i> (ZMPI 281)	<i>a bus bay</i> (ZMEng 291)
(250)	<i>kolumnienki zegara</i> (SWPI 7)	<i>columns</i> (SWEng 21)
(251)	<i>plotek</i> (JIPI 106)	<i>fence</i> (JIEng 93)
(252)	<i>saneczki</i> (JIPI 107)	<i>sledge</i> (JIEng 94)
(253)	<i>wąsiki</i> (JIPI 146)	<i>moustache</i> (JIEng 135)
(254)	<i>jednokonnny powozik</i> (JIPI 78)	<i>the one-horse gig</i> (JIEng 65)
(255)	<i>bryczuszka</i> (JIPI 78)	<i>the gig</i> (JIEng 66)
(256)	<i>lampka</i> (ZMPI 128)	<i>a lamp</i> (ZMEng 127)
(257)	<i>widelki telefonu</i> (ZMPI 279)	omitted in translation (ZMEng 289)
Example number	Polish translated version	English original version
(258)	<i>mała lampka oliwna</i> (ACPI 104)	<i>a small oil lamp</i> (ACEng 136)
(259)	<i>miniaturowe spódniczki</i> (MNPI 56)	<i>little mini-skirts</i> (MNEng 45)
(260)	<i>mały jednopłatowiec</i> (ACPI 100)	<i>the little monoplane</i> (ACEng 131)
(261)	<i>mała szafka</i> (ACPI 35)	<i>a little cupboard</i> (ACEng 46)
(262)	<i>dzwoneczek</i> (ACPI 77)	<i>little bell</i> (ACEng 101)
(263)	<i>malutka lampka</i> (ACPI 59)	<i>the tiny light</i> (ACEng 77)
(264)	<i>kołderka</i> (DKPI 81)	<i>quilt</i> (DKEng 70)
(265)	<i>plaszczyk</i> (JAPI 40)	<i>the gown</i> (JAEng 30)
(266)	<i>porcelanowy aniołek</i> (DKPI 61)	<i>a china angel</i> (DKEng 53)
(267)	<i>miseczka</i> (DKPI 77)	<i>bowl</i> (DKEng 67)
(268)	<i>książeczka czekowa</i> (ACPI 8)	<i>a cheque book</i> (ACEng 11)
(269)	<i>wieczorowa pelerynka</i> (ACPI 11)	<i>an evening wrap</i> (ACEng 15)
(270)	<i>zegarek</i> (ACPI 25)	<i>watch</i> (ACEng 34)
(271)	<i>kartonowe kubeczki</i> (ACPI 91)	<i>cardboard cups</i> (ACEng 119)
(272)	<i>pasemka</i> (MNPI 51)	<i>highlights</i> (MNEng 40)
(273)	<i>kluczyk</i> (MNPI 76)	<i>the key</i> (MNEng 65)
(274)	<i>szczoteczka do zębów</i> (MNPI 78)	<i>toothbrush</i> (MNEng 66)
(275)	<i>książeczki czekowe</i> (MNPI 82)	<i>chequebooks</i> (MNEng 70)
(276)	<i>wagonik kolejki linowej</i> (MNPI 165)	<i>a ski-lift</i> (MNEng 149)
(277)	<i>drzwiczki</i> (JAPI 226)	<i>the door</i> (JAEng 168)

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’). Moreover, usually it is connected with the change of 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 Polish, as the above-mentioned distinction hardly exists in the case of morphological diminutives in English (except, perhaps, for the formations unattested to in the corpus examined here, e.g., *laundrette* derived from *laundry*).

c) partitive/singulative meaning

**Table 5. Partitive/singulative meaning**

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

It is worth stressing that, while it is quite frequent to observe such formations in Polish, in English a diminutive form is not used for this purpose.

d) the meaning of young age

**Table 6. The meaning of young age**

Example number	Polish original version	English translated version
(280)	<i>mała blondynka</i> (ZMPI 233)	<i>the small blonde girl</i> (ZMEng 239)
(281)	<i>mała</i> (ZMPI 55) (about a small girl)	<i>the little one</i> (ZMEng 52)
(282)	<i>dziewczynka</i> (ZMPI 96)	<i>the little girl</i> (ZMEng 95)
(283)	<i>mała dziewczynka</i> (ZMPI 221)	<i>a little girl</i> (ZMEng 227)
(284)	<i>mała siostra</i> (ZMPI 232)	<i>little sister</i> (ZMEng 238)
(285)	<i>mała Helena Szacka</i> (ZMPI 324)	<i>little Helka Szacka</i> (ZMEng 336)
(286)	<i>mała Zosia</i> (JIPI 50)	<i>little Zosia</i> (JIEng 38)
(287)	<i>mały Antoś</i> (JIPI 78)	<i>little Antoś</i> (JIEng 65)
(288)	<i>chłopczyk</i> (JIPI 32)	<i>the little boy</i> (JIEng 18)
(289)	<i>mała</i> (ZMPI 149) (about a small girl)	<i>the child</i> (ZMEng 150)
(290)	<i>mały</i> (JIPI 50) (about a small boy)	<i>the baby</i> (JIEng 38)
(291)	<i>dziewczynka</i> (ZMPI 142)	<i>girl</i> (ZMEng 143)
(292)	<i>chłopczyk</i> (JIPI 30)	<i>a boy</i> (JIEng 18)

Table 6 continued

(293)	<i>synek</i> (JIPI 32)	<i>son</i> (JIEng 19)
(294)	<i>córeczki</i> (JIPI 77)	<i>daughters</i> (JIEng 65)
(295)	<i>młoda panienczka</i> (AFZPI 62)	<i>maids</i> (AFZEng 55)
(296)	<i>Prosiaczek</i> (ZMPI 153)	<i>Piglet</i> (ZMEng 154)
(297)	<i>żabki</i> (SWPI 35)	<i>frogs</i> (SWEng 45)
(298)	<i>małe roślinki</i> (JIPI 26)	<i>small shoots</i> (JIEng 13)
(299)	<i>drzewka</i> (JIPI 121)	<i>trees</i> (JIEng 109)
(300)	<i>lipka</i> (JIPI 178)	<i>lime tree</i> (JIEng 167)
(301)	<i>jabłonka</i> (SWPI 153)	<i>the apple trees</i> (SWEng 150)
Example number	Polish translated version	English original version
(302)	<i>mały chłopiec</i> (ACPI 124)	<i>little boy</i> (ACEng 164)
(303)	<i>synek</i> (MNPI 282)	<i>a little boy</i> (MNEng 262)
(304)	<i>mały Tarquin</i> (MNPI 365)	<i>little Tarquin</i> (MNEng 343)
(305)	<i>mali chłopcy i dziewczynki</i> (JAPI 161)	<i>little boys and girls</i> (JAEng 120)
(306)	<i>mały chłopiec</i> (ACPI 22)	<i>the boy</i> (ACEng 30)
(307)	<i>mały Ben</i> (MNPI 282)	<i>Ben</i> (MNEng 262)
(308)	<i>dziewczęta</i> (JAPI 6)	<i>girls</i> (JAEng 5)
(309)	<i>wróbelki</i> (DKPI 16)	<i>baby birds</i> (DKEng 17)
(310)	<i>małe wróbelki</i> (DKPI 80)	<i>baby sparrows</i> (DKEng 70)
(311)	<i>wróbelki</i> (DKPI 22)	<i>babies</i> (DKEng 22)
(312)	<i>koźlą</i> (ACPI 114)	<i>kid</i> (ACEng 150)
(313)	<i>jagnię</i> (ACPI 124)	<i>lamb</i> (ACEng 164)
(314)	<i>malutkie wróbelki</i> (DKPI 21)	does not occur (DKEng 21)

In the case of expressing young age, Polish and English rely on a similar method, as in both languages this meaning is obtained mostly by means of analytic formation. The most common adjectives used for this purpose are *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 referring to young age, as usually young creatures evoke positive feelings in the adults.

As stated in previous chapters, in English, diminutives are not used as frequently as in Polish, since the analysis of Tables 3–6 shows that in the Polish texts there are almost four times more diminutive forms than in the English ones. There are 117 examples of the most common way of forming diminutives in English, that is, analytic formation with adjectives such as *small*, *little*, *tiny* or *miniature* (*small* and *little* being used most often). 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, obtained by means of an adverb *very* (e.g., *a very small window*).

As far as translation is concerned, rendering the meanings of English diminutives seems 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 diminutivised adjectives, such as *malutki* and *maleńki*, which 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*—*małe pokoiki*),
- attaching diminutive suffixes to nouns which in the original version are not diminutivised in any way (e.g., *legs*—*nóżki*; *In Meryton they<sup>1</sup> 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 used (e.g., *Amy grabbed Mystery before he could get into more trouble*—(...) *żeby uniknąć kolejnej katastrofy, podniosła Skrytkę, chwyciłszy 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 read naturally. Therefore, the above-mentioned kinds of additions 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

<sup>1</sup> The emphasis is mine and it refers to all examples in this chapter in order to detail particular elements of the discussed sentence.

were translated into English or they were translated inadequately. Nevertheless, English translators found some ways to overcome most obstacles and managed to render at least part of the 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 the 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 the 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.

#### e) the meaning of short duration

**Table 7. The meaning of short duration**

Example number	Polish original version	English translated version
(315)	<i>krótki spacerek</i> (ZMPI 24)	<i>short walk</i> (ZMEng 19)
(316)	<i>spotkać się na chwilkę</i> (ZMPI 280)	<i>meet briefly</i> (ZMEng 289)
(317)	<i>ta jedyna chwilka</i> (SWPI 60)	<i>a moment</i> (SWEng 68)
(318)	<i>krótka chwilka</i> (ZMPI 306)	<i>a short while</i> (ZMEng 317)
(319)	<i>Milczeli chwilkę (...)</i> . (JIPI 174)	<i>For a short while they were silent (...)</i> . (JIEng 163)
Example number	Polish translated version	English original version
(320)	<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)

Table 7 continued

(321)	<i>malutka pauza</i> (MNPl 103)	<i>tiny pause</i> (MNEng 90)
(322)	<i>Tak pani wybornie tańczy, panno Elźbie-to, 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> (JAPl 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> (JA-Eng 23)
(323)	<i>z małymi przerwami</i> (JAPl 242)	<i>with little intermission</i> (JAEng 180)
(324)	<i>(...) pastor zatrzymał ich jeszcze chwilkę (...).</i> (JAPl 165)	<i>(...) with no other delay (...).</i> (JA-Eng 122)
(325)	<i>Ustępując mu z drogi, na chwilkę weszła w drzwi sąsiedniego przedziału.</i> (ACPl 77)	<i>To avoid him, Elsie stepped back for a moment into the doorway of the adjoining compartment.</i> (ACEng 101)

In this case 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.

f) the meaning of reduced intensity

Table 8. The meaning of reduced intensity

Example number	Polish original version	English translated version
(326)	<i>zielonkawe linoleum</i> (ZMPl 19)	<i>greenish lino</i> (ZMEng 14)
(327)	<i>czerwonawa luna</i> (ZMPl 181)	<i>reddish glow</i> (ZMEng 184)
(328)	<i>żółtawa koszula</i> (ZMPl 173)	<i>yellow shirt</i> (ZMEng 176)
(329)	<i>słodkawy zapach</i> (ZMPl 55)	<i>a smell</i> (ZMEng 51)
(330)	<i>leciutki szmer</i> (JIPl 114)	<i>a faint hum</i> (JIEng 102)
(331)	<i>leciutka jak ptaszek</i> (JIPl 137)	<i>light as a bird</i> (JIEng 126)
(332)	<i>lekki kuferek</i> (JIPl 102)	<i>a light trunk</i> (JIEng 89)
(333)	<i>cieniutkie nitki</i> (JIPl 130)	<i>fine threads</i> (JIEng 118)
(334)	<i>cieniutki golf</i> (ZMPl 220)	<i>thin polo neck</i> (ZMEng 226)
(335)	<i>cichutko grać</i> (ZMPl 78)	<i>play very quietly</i> (ZMEng 75)
(336)	<i>(...) piosenki (...), które tak cichutko wygrywał Staś.</i> (JIPl 119)	<i>(...) songs which Staś kept playing so quietly.</i> (JIEng 107)

Table 8 continued

(337)	Łzy <b>cichutko</b> spływały jej z oczu. (JIPI 137)	The tears dropping <b>silently</b> from her eyes. (JIEng 126)
(338)	(...) odpowiedziała <b>cichutko</b> . (JIPI 154)	(...) she had answered <b>very softly</b> . (JIEng 143)
(339)	(...) a jak kto po <b>cichuteńku</b> powie (...). (SWPI 89)	(...) yet someone only needs to <b>gasp</b> (...). (SWEng 94)
(340)	Ola ciągnęła <b>pomalutku</b> wątek swych myśli. (JIPI 106)	(...) said Ola, <b>ever so slowly</b> unwinding the thread of her thoughts. (JIEng 93)
(341)	<b>mała czarna</b> (ZMPI 92)	<b>a small black coffee</b> (ZMEng 90)
(342)	<b>małe espresso</b> (ZMPI 273)	<b>a small espresso</b> (ZMEng 283)
(343)	<b>mały tyk</b> (ZMPI 277)	<b>a small sip</b> (ZMEng 287)
(344)	<b>małe rysy</b> (ZMPI 308)	<b>little cracks</b> (ZMEng 319)
(345)	Miliony <b>igiełek</b> wbiły się w jego ciało. (ZMPI 117)	Millions of <b>tiny needles</b> stuck into his body. (ZMEng 115)
(346)	<b>resztką soku</b> (ZMPI 82)	<b>the dregs of juice</b> (ZMEng 80)
(347)	<b>resztką kawy</b> (ZMPI 143)	<b>the rest of the coffee</b> (ZMEng 144)
(348)	<b>soczek w kartoniku</b> (ZMPI 190)	<b>a fruit-juice carton</b> (ZMEng 194)
(349)	<b>mały kawałek drogi</b> (JIPI 96)	<b>the short stretch of road</b> (JIEng 83)
(350)	<b>mgielka</b> (JIPI 116)	<b>haze</b> (JIEng 104)
(351)	<b>ciężarki</b> (ZMPI 259)	<b>weights</b> (ZMEng 267)
(352)	<b>szmerek piasku</b> (JIPI 114)	<b>the humming of the sand</b> (JIEng 102)
(353)	<b>dymek</b> (JIPI 174) (from a cigarette)	<b>thread of smoke</b> (JIEng 163)
Example number	Polish translated version	English original version
(354)	<b>małe usta</b> (MNPI 253)	<b>little mouth</b> (MNEng 234)
(355)	<b>małe czerwone usta</b> (MNPI 255)	<b>little red lips</b> (MNEng 236)
(356)	Właściwie jest <b>trochę tępawy</b> . (MNPI 366)	He's <b>a bit dull</b> actually. (MNEng 344)
(357)	Może <b>troszeczkę</b> zraniłem twoje ego. (MNPI 205)	Perhaps your ego's <b>a teensy bit</b> hurt. (MNEng 189)
(358)	Freda załkała <b>cichutko</b> . (ACPI 28)	Freda gave <b>a little sob</b> . (ACEng 38)
(359)	(...) odparła dziewczyna <b>cichutko</b> . (MNPI 185)	(...) said Jazz <b>in a small voice</b> . (MNEng 168)
(360)	(...) wstał po <b>cichutku</b> (...). (ACPI 57)	(...) then he <b>slipped to his feet</b> (...). (ACEng 74)

Table 8 continued

(361)	<i>Cichutko</i> uchylił drzwi. (ACPI 59)	He opened the door <b>softly</b> . (ACEng 77)
(362)	(...) <i>cichutko</i> odpowiedział Mohammed. (ACPI 121)	(...) said Mohammed <b>calmly</b> . (ACEng 160)
(363)	<i>Cichutko</i> zapukała. (MNPI 257)	She knocked <b>feebly</b> on the door. (MNEng 238)
(364)	<i>cieniutkie</i> popiskiwanie (DKPI 16)	the <b>high-pitched</b> tweeting (DKEng 17)
(365)	<i>cieniutkie</i> głosiki (DKPI 20)	<b>high voices</b> (DKEng 20)
(366)	(...) zabrzmiał podniecony <b>głosik</b> panny Netty Pryce. (ACPI 87)	It was the eager <b>voice</b> of Miss Netta Pryce. (ACEng 114)
(367)	<i>cieniutki</i> papier (ACPI 76)	<b>flimsy</b> paper (ACEng 99)
(368)	<i>wąziutkie</i> siedzenie (ACPI 100)	<b>the small width of the seats</b> (ACEng 131)
(369)	Jeden z zębów miał <b>leciutko</b> ukruszony. (MNPI 360)	One of his teeth had <b>a tiny</b> chip in it. (MNEng 338)
(370)	<i>Powolutku</i> otworzył drzwi. (ACPI 26)	<b>Inch by inch</b> he opened the door. (ACEng 34–35)
(371)	<i>Mała suma</i> nie wystarczyłaby na to wszystko. (JAPI 309)	<b>A small sum</b> could not do all this. (JAEng 233)
(372)	W Meryton <i>grupka</i> się rozdzieliła. (JAPI 37)	In Meryton <b>they</b> parted. (JAEng 28)
(373)	<i>plamka</i> (ACPI 97)	<b>bloodstain</b> (ACEng 127)
(374)	<i>żyłka</i> (MNPI 143)	<b>a blood vessel</b> (MNEng 128)
(375)	<i>włoski na przedramionach</i> (MNPI 255)	<b>hairs on forearms</b> (MNEng 236)
(376)	<i>stróżka mleka</i> (DKPI 70)	<b>the rest of the milk</b> (DKEng 61)
(377)	wodna <i>mgiełka</i> (DKPI 96)	<b>clouds of spray</b> (DKEng 83)
(378)	<i>liścik</i> (ACPI 18)	<b>a note</b> (ACEng 25)
(379)	<i>strofka</i> (ACPI 87)	<b>lines</b> (ACEng 115)
(380)	Pan Pyne wziął filiżankę i z zadowoleniem zaczął popijać <b>małymi łykami</b> . (ACPI 105)	Mr Parker Pyne took his cup and <b>sipped</b> appreciatively. (ACEng 137)
(381)	<i>bilecik</i> (JAPI 34)	<b>a note</b> (JAEng 25)
(382)	<i>mała rzeczka</i> (JAPI 251)	<b>stream</b> (JAEng 187)
(383)	Czuję, że do mnie pasuje. Mam chęć na <b>małą wyprawę</b> . (DKPI 61)	And that's exactly how I feel. (DKEng 53)

Here, diminutives indicate an objective change in the intensity of a given phenomenon. In this case the intensity of a particular phenomenon (e.g., *czzerwona łuna*—*reddish glow*) is reduced. As mentioned previously, this change of denotation can be observed mostly in Polish, as in English, in most cases, it is expressed by means of suitable lexis and not by means of diminutive forms. Nevertheless, in the case of Polish “adjectival diminutives” such as *zielonkawe* or *czzerwonawa*, the meaning of which can be described as approximating the quality denoted by the base-adjective (see Chapter 2.1), and which are obtained by means of the suffix *-awy/a/e*, there are equivalent adjectives in English, formed by means of the suffix *-ish* (e.g., *greenish* or *reddish*).

### 7.3.1.2 Connotative meanings of diminutives

The meanings presented in Tables 9–27 are the examples of connotative meanings of diminutives, where the diminutive affectively indicates the speaker’s subjective attitude towards a given object. Those are the meanings of:

- approximation,
- intensification,
- non-importance/mitigation,
- affection/tenderness/endearment,
- familiarity/friendliness,
- intimacy,
- sympathy/pity/compassion/care/self-pity,
- hospitality/politeness,
- joy/amusement/pleasure/playfulness,
- satisfaction/content/approval/admiration,
- lack of worth/belittlement/derogation,
- irony/sarcasm,
- contempt/disdain/disrespect/mockery/maliciousness,
- pitifulness/insincere compassion,
- condescension/insincere politeness/excessive obsequiousness,
- criticism/suspicion,
- insult/annoyance/anger,
- distance/aversion.

Most commonly they are used according to the context of a given situation, see (559), (597), (604), (641), (648), (658), (678), (706), (720), (726), (732), (748), (757) or (768). Furthermore, diminutives used in Tables 21–27 deprecate a given person as, using them, the speaker may humiliate or disqualify somebody, see (684), (700), (725), (736), (741), (742), (749) or (769).

## a) the meaning of approximation

Table 9. The meaning of approximation

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

As stated before, in the case of the meaning of approximation, the exact value is unimportant, and the speaker excuses himself/herself 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.

## b) the meaning of intensification

Table 10. The meaning of intensification

Example number	Polish original version	English translated version
(388)	<i>każdy <b>najmniejszy szczegół</b></i> (ZMPl 320)	<i>every <b>last little detail</b></i> (ZMEng 332)
(389)	<i>(...) każdy ma swoje osobne, co go trzyma — a te <b>drobne rzeczki, małe, niepozorne, składają się na jedną wielką rzecz.</b></i> (SWPl 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)
(390)	<i>Pamiętam ciebie zupełnie <b>malutką</b> (...)</i> (JIPl 53)	<i>I remember when you were <b>a very little girl</b> (...)</i> (JIEng 40)
(391)	<i><b>bledziutka sukienka</b></i> (JIPl 102)	<i><b>pale little dress</b></i> (JIEng 89)
(392)	<i><b>maleńka toaletka</b></i> (JIPl 105)	<i><b>little dressing table</b></i> (JIEng 92)
(393)	<i><b>ciasny malutki kaftaniczek</b></i> (JIPl 125)	<i><b>a small, tight-fitting jacket</b></i> (JIEng 113)
(394)	<i><b>Folwarczek</b> był <b>malutki</b> (...).</i> (JIPl 41)	<i>Their farm was <b>tiny</b> (...).</i> (JIEng 29)
(395)	<i>każde <b>słówko</b></i> (ZMPl 23)	<i>every <b>single word</b></i> (ZMEng 17)
(396)	<i>Tyle zapłacił, to zje wszystko do ostatniego <b>okruszka</b>.</i> (ZMPl 30)	<i>He'd paid enough — he was going to eat every last <b>crumb</b> of it.</i> (ZMEng 26)

Table 10 continued

(397)	<i>nowiuteńki</i> apartamentowiec (ZMPI 60)	a <b>brand-new</b> apartment block (ZMEng 57)
(398)	<i>czyściutko</i> (ZMPI 236)	<b>nice and clean</b> (ZMEng 242)
(399)	Przy <i>samiuśkim</i> koniu stałem. (SWPI 117)	I stood beside that horse <b>an' all</b> . (SWEng 119)
(400)	Kokietowała go raczej Jola, <i>młodziutka</i> wówczas, szesnastoletnia i prześliczna panna. (JIPI 35)	Rather, it was Jola, then a dazzling <b>young</b> sixteen-year-old, who had paid him court. (JIEng 24)
(401)	Ola usiadła w <i>kąciku</i> (...). (JIPI 105)	Ola sat down in a <b>nook</b> (...). (JIEng 92)
(402)	Taki świat a tutaj <i>bliziutko</i> . (JIPI 106)	It's such a long way, and it's <b>nice and close</b> here. (JIEng 93)
(403)	Dziewczynka wraz z lalką siedziała (...) w <i>kąciku</i> za łóżkiem. (JIPI 110)	She and her doll were sitting (...) in a <b>corner</b> behind the bed. (JIEng 98)
(404)	niebo bez <i>chmurki</i> (JIPI 155)	the sky had been <b>cloudless</b> (JIEng 144)
(405)	(...) duszy czystej jak <i>śnieżek</i> , co świeżo przyprószy (...). (AFSPI 91)	(...) heart – pure as fresh-sprinkled <b>snow</b> (...). (AFSEng 167)
(406)	Za <i>koniuszek</i> (...). (AFSPI 94)	Pull <b>the ends</b> (...). (AFSEng 169)
Example number	Polish translated version	English original version
(407)	Widać tutaj <i>maleńki</i> ślad. (ACPI 97)	You can just see <b>the tiny</b> puncture. (ACEng 127)
(408)	Gdy producent wykonał pasaż, cofając się na <i>paluszkach</i> w stylu Scooby'ego Doo (...). MNPI 45–46)	As Matt Jenkins did a scene-hogging Scoobydoo- <b>tiptoe</b> to the front corner of the room (...). (MNEng 36)
(409)	<i>chudziutkie</i> tułowia (DKPI 23)	<b>skinny</b> bodies (DKEng 22)
(410)	<i>nowiutkie</i> filiżanki (DKPI 41)	<b>brand-new</b> cups (DKEng 37)
(411)	<i>nowiutki</i> ekspres do parzenia kawy i herbaty (DKPI 52)	<b>the gleaming new</b> tea and coffee machine (DKEng 46)
(412)	<i>świeżutki</i> biały dres (MNPI 80)	a <b>fresh</b> white tracksuit (MNEng 68)
(413)	<i>tłuściutki</i> mąż (MNPI 92)	<b>porcine</b> husband (MNEng 79)
(414)	Co za pyszny figiel, żeby pojechać rano i do tej chwili ani <i>słówkiem</i> o niczym nie pisać! (JAPI 10)	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. (JAEng 8)
(415)	Dlatego też Jane powinna wykorzystać każde <i>pół godzinki</i> , kiedy nadarza się okazja, by przykuć jego uwagę. (JAPI 25)	Jane should therefore make the most of every <b>half-hour</b> in which she can command his attention. (JAEng 19)

Table 10 continued

(416)	<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)
(417)	<i>Nie powiedziałaś mi ani słówka!</i> (JAPI 69)	<i>Why, Jane – you never dropped <b>a word</b> of this!</i> (JAEng 50)
(418)	<i>(...) przycupnęła na <b>brzeżku</b> krzeselka (...).</i> (JAPI 171)	<i>(...) sat on <b>the edge</b> of her chair (...).</i> (JAEng 126)
(419)	<i>pończochy <b>cieniutkie</b> niczym pajęczyna</i> (ACPI 31)	<i>the cobweb stockings</i> (ACEng 41)

Here, the diminutive informs one about the speaker's tendency to exaggerate or it emphasises a given way of speaking. In the case of the meaning of intensification, the centre of an entity is necessarily of smaller dimension than the entity in its totality. Therefore, the diminutive denotes the very essence of a thing (e.g., *przycupnęła na **brzeżku** krzeselka*—meaning 'she sat on the very **edge of the chair**' or *bledziutka sukienka*—meaning 'a **very pale** dress'). It is worth stressing the fact that in Polish, by means of different diminutive suffixes, diminutive forms may be employed to express two opposing meanings, for example, the meaning of intensification (with the suffix *-utki*) and the meaning of reduced intensity presented in Table 7 (with the suffix *-awy*). As it was observed in the case of the meaning of approximation, the meaning of intensification is applied most often in Polish, whereas in English, in most cases, it is expressed by means of suitable lexis and not by means of diminutive forms<sup>2</sup>.

c) the meaning of non-importance/mitigation

Table 11. The meaning of non-importance/mitigation

Example number	Polish original version	English translated version
(420)	<i>Jedna mnie tu zwiódła <b>chmurka</b>.</i> (SWPI 31)	<i>A <b>little cloudlet</b> helped me steer.</i> (SWEng 41)
(421)	<i><b>Mało szkoda</b>, krótki żal.</i> (SWPI 142)	<i><b>Little damage</b>, brief regret!</i> (SWEng 140)
(422)	<i>(...) to tylko polana, na której chata Maryjki jest <b>wysepka</b>.</i> (JIPI 121)	<i>(...) it was just a clearing, with Maryjka's cottage as <b>a little island</b> in the middle.</i> (JIEng 109)
(423)	<i><b>mała uwaga</b></i> (ZMPI 49)	<i><b>a small comment</b></i> (ZMEng 45)
(424)	<i>(...) żebym miał <b>kąt</b> (...) <b>maleńki</b> (...).</i> (SWPI 147)	<i>A private <b>corner</b> (...) some <b>tiny spot</b> (...).</i> (SWEng 144)

<sup>2</sup> If a diminutive form is used in English, it is usually an analytic diminutive with *little*, which emphasises the emotional function of this adjective.

Table 11 continued

(425)	<i>szklaneczka whisky</i> (ZMPI 132)	<i>a glass of whisky</i> (ZMEng 132)
(426)	<i>małe przyzwyczajenia</i> (ZMPI 273)	<i>a minor habit</i> (ZMEng 283)
(427)	(...) <i>do wozu się koniki zaprzągnie (...) i wszystko.</i> (SWPI 132)	We'd harness <b>horses</b> to our coach (...) and all. (SWEng 132)
(428)	<i>Tak z nudy (...) bywam wiele; (...) partyjka, kolacyjka (...).</i> (SWPI 140)	When life's a bore (...) I make quite sure I have (...) <b>games of whist and meals</b> (...). (SWEng 138)
(429)	<i>Wszystko to do pewnego stopnia było tej pogardy i antypatii leciutkim wyrazem i pokrywką.</i> (JIPI 50)	All this was to some extent <b>a thinly veiled</b> expression of that old contempt and antipathy. (JIEng 38)
(430)	<i>To tylko taki majowy deszcz.</i> (JIPI 106)	It's just a May <b>shower</b> . (JIEng 93)
(431)	<i>z leciutką pogardą</i> (JIPI 125)	with <b>a touch</b> of scorn (JIEng 114)
(432)	<i>prosta melodyjka</i> (JIPI 156)	<i>simple tune</i> (JIEng 145)
(433)	<i>Przy tym zawzięte jak kogucik młody.</i> (AFSPi 90)	<b>Cocksure</b> , pig-headed, certain she knows best. (AFSEng 165)
(434)	<i>Dzik to dziki, lew to śmiały, w moim ręku – jak owieczka (...).</i> (AFZPI 14)	Wild as a boar? (...) They're meek as <b>new-born lambs</b> (...). (AFZEng 21)
(435)	(...) <i>bóg-kobieta, lecz w zazdrości diablik mały (...).</i> (AFZPI 21)	My lady – female divinity – though <b>devilish</b> jealous (...). (AFZEng 26)
Example number	Polish translated version	English original version
(436)	<i>To taki mały prezencik.</i> (ACPI 13)	<b>A little present.</b> (ACEng 17)
(437)	<i>Ja za to opowiem pani krótką historyjkę.</i> (ACPI 38)	I want to tell you <b>a little story</b> , Mrs St John. (ACEng 50)
(438)	(...) <i>więc pan dokłada mały szczegół własnego pomysłu o przecieku w wydziale Henslera.</i> (ACPI 98)	(...) and you add <b>a damaging little invention</b> of your own about a leakage in Hensley's department. (ACEng 129)
(439)	<i>– Ach, znalazł pan coś, pułkowniku?</i>	<i>– Ah, you have found something, Colonel?</i>
	<i>– Tylko mały kamyczek.</i> (ACPI 116)	<i>– Only a little pebble.</i> (ACEng 153)
(440)	<i>ciekawe, codzienne szczegółiki z życia Greków</i> (ACPI 134)	<i>interesting, friendly little details about the Greek</i> (ACEng 177)
(441)	<i>Uśmiezek, odkaslnięcie.</i> (MNPI 315)	<b>A little smile, a little cough.</b> (MNEng 295)
(442)	<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)

Table 11 continued

(443)	To takie <b>małe drobiazgi</b> , które sprawiają lady Katarzynie przyjemność (...). (JAPI 77)	These are the kind of <b>little things</b> which please her ladyship (...). (JAEng 55)
(444)	<b>mała rozmówka</b> (JAPI 125)	<b>a little conversation</b> (JAEng 91)
(445)	<b>Mała broń</b> , ale skuteczna. (ACPI 55)	<b>A small weapon</b> but efficacious. (ACEng 72)
(446)	(...) z nadzieją, że ta załapie się na jakąś <b>rólkę</b> . (MNPI 15)	(...) to see if she could get herself <b>a small part</b> . (MNEng 7)
(447)	<b>małe czasopismo teatralne</b> (MNPI 20)	<b>a small theatre magazine</b> (MNEng 12)
(448)	To była <b>mała produkcja</b> . (MNPI 192)	It was just <b>a small production</b> . (MNEng 176)
(449)	(...) mam tylko dwie <b>małe prośby</b> (...). (JAPI 123)	(...) I have two <b>small favours</b> to request. (JAEng 90)
(450)	Zajmuje nas teraz tylko <b>mały zakątek</b> hrabstwa Derby. (JAPI 249)	<b>A small part</b> of Derbyshire is all the present concern. (JAEng 186)
(451)	Och, nawiasem mówiąc, musisz wziąć na siebie <b>drobniutkie zobowiązanie</b> . (MNPI 183)	Oh, by the way, there is one <b>tiny weeny stipulation</b> . (MNEng 167)
(452)	Będziesz musiała udzielić <b>maleńkiego wywiadziku</b> dla „Heralda”. (MNPI 184)	You'll have to do <b>an itsy bitsy interview</b> for the 'Herald'. (MNEng 167)
(453)	<b>Mała odmiana</b> każdemu dobrze robi. (ACPI 72)	<b>A bit of change</b> does one good. (ACEng 94)
(454)	Mniej więcej tak, jak <b>drobna rółka</b> (...) ciągnie się za klasycznym aktorem. (MNPI 90)	Much in the same way that <b>a bit-part</b> (...) would follow a classic actor. (MNEng 77)
(455)	Odnoszę wrażenie, że masz <b>leciutką</b> obsesję na punkcie tego człowieka. (MNPI 207)	You seem <b>a bit</b> obsessed with that man. (MNEng 191)
(456)	Niech się <b>troszkę</b> podenerwuje. (MNPI 235)	Keep him on his toes <b>a bit</b> . (MNEng 217)
(457)	To za <b>małą sprawą</b> jak dla gazet (...). (MNPI 280)	It's <b>not big enough</b> for the tabloids (...). (MNEng 259)
(458)	Marzyło mi się tylko <b>malutkie co nieco</b> . (DKPI 21)	I was only thinking about <b>it</b> . (DKEng 21)
(459)	<b>zadek</b> (DKPI 30)	<b>backside</b> (DKEng 29)
(460)	Niech mi pani pokaże ten <b>kuferek</b> . (ACPI 23)	Show me this <b>chest</b> of your father's. (ACEng 31)

Table 11 continued

(461)	(...) 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)
(462)	<b>opowiadki</b> o ludziach z towarzystwa (ACPI 108)	<b>the chatter</b> of Mayfair (ACEng 142)
(463)	<b>aktorski świątek</b> (MNPI 82)	<b>luvvies</b> (MNEng 70)
(464)	Ogródek, w którym stoi mój skromny <b>domek</b> (...). (JAPI 76)	The garden in which stands my humble <b>abode</b> (...). (JAEng 54)
(465)	uboga <b>chatka</b> (JAPI 165)	humble <b>abode</b> (JAEng 122)
(466)	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)
(467)	skromny rodzinny <b>obiadek</b> (JAPI 114)	a family <b>dinner</b> (JAEng 83)
(468)	(...) zaszczyci cię <b>chwilką</b> uwagi. (JAPI 166)	(...) you will be honoured with <b>some portion</b> of her notice (...). (JAEng 124)
(469)	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)

In the case of the meaning of non-importance, the dismissive sense of a diminutive comes to the fore, 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 deszcz*—*It's just a May shower*). What is worth stressing 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. While in English, diminutive forms are obtained only by means 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 common). Moreover, in many cases, double or even multiple diminutives are introduced (e.g., *mała rozmówka* or *maleńki wywiadzik*).

The tables presented above 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 effectively. In some cases, nevertheless, there is no method introduced and, therefore, a Polish diminutive remains untranslated, even though its meaning is significant (e.g., *cieniutki golf*—*thin polo neck*, *szklaneczka whisky*—*a glass of whisky*). Fortunately, the translators managed to find solutions to 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 a 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 a 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 a 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*—*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 a single diminutive was 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 were not diminutivised in any way (e.g., *a family dinner*—*rodzinny obiadek*). The tables also show some examples of adding new words (in this case—diminutives) to the translated version in places where in the original version there was no such noun or its diminutive form applied (e.g., *I was only thinking about it*—*Marzyło mi się tylko malutkie co nieco*). What is 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., *luvvies*—*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.

## d) the meaning of affection/tenderness/endearment

Table 12. The meaning of affection/tenderness/endearment

Example number	Polish original version	English translated version
(470)	<i>Mamo, wiesz, ile razy wygrałam z tatą w chińczyka?</i> (ZMPI 57)	<i>Mummy, do you know how many times I beat Daddy at ludo?</i> (ZMEng 53)
(471)	<i>Tatusiu, zrobiłam to dla ciebie.</i> (ZMPI 75)	<i>Daddy, I did it for you.</i> (ZMEng 73)
(472)	(...) <i>pomówię z matusią</i> (...). (SWPI 13)	(...) <i>I'd have a word with mum</i> (...). (SWEng 26)
(473)	<i>Matusiu, jesce ino w kółko raz.</i> (SWPI 64)	<i>Oh, mummy, please! One more dance and then I'll go.</i> (SWEng 72)
(474)	<i>Nie, nie póde, matusiu.</i> (SWPI 64)	<i>No, please, mama! I can't go yet!</i> (SWEng 72)
(475)	(...) <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)
(476)	<i>Tatuś sie Weselem cieszą...</i> (SWPI 142)	<i>Are you enjoying it, Papa?</i> (SWEng 140)
(477)	<i>Kotek</i> (ZMPI 93) (about a wife)	<i>Kitten</i> (ZMEng 91)
(478)	<i>Dzieciątko, które rączkę ku błogosławieniu wzniosło</i> (SWPI 8)	<i>the Holy Child, whose hand is raised in blessing</i> (SWEng 21)
(479)	<i>Odpocnijze haw, Wojtecku</i> (...). (SWPI 67)	<i>Wojtek, love, come take a rest</i> (...). (SWEng 74)
(480)	<i>Helcia</i> (ZMPI 180)	<i>Helka</i> (ZMEng 183)
(481)	<i>Kamilku, będziemy kochali cię wiecznie.</i> (ZMPI 200)	<i>Dearest Kamil, we will love you for ever.</i> (ZMEng 205)
(482)	<i>małe ciałko</i> (ZMPI 179)	<i>small body</i> (ZMEng 182)
(483)	<i>Proszę nie zwracać uwagi. Jest jeszcze malutka.</i> (ZMPI 232)	<i>Please take no notice. She's still little.</i> (ZMEng 238)
(484)	<i>Obok niej, w wózecku przykrytym gazą, spał jej synek.</i> (JIPI 48)	<i>Beside her in a gauze-fronted pram her little son was sleeping.</i> (JIEng 36)
(485)	(...) <i>a Malina idzie malutka, malutka</i> (...). (JIPI 177)	(...) <i>while Malina was a tiny little figure</i> (...). (JIEng 167)
(486)	<i>Jak Hela miała trzy latka i zachorowała na zakażenie krwi. Jak leżała ledwo żywa (...) – blade do przezroczystości, wychudzone ciałko 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)

Table 12 continued

(487)	Czy w takim razie umyjesz teraz <b>zabki</b> (...)? (ZMPI 97)	In that case will you go and brush your <b>teeth</b> now (...)? (ZMEng 96)
(488)	(...) <i>pobiegł na parking, pewien, że jego ukochana <b>cytrynka</b> stoi w płomieniach</i> (...). (ZMPI 185)	He (...) ran to the car park, sure his beloved <b>Citroën</b> had gone up in flames (...). (ZMEng 189)
(489)	<i>białe włoski</i> Oli (JIPI 113)	Ola's flaxen <b>hair</b> (JIEng 101)
(490)	<i>Niechaj lubym śpiew szelestem w lube, drogie <b>uszko</b> wpadnie.</i> (AFZPI 19)	A song! Let music's soothing tone the loved one's gentle <b>ear</b> rejoice. (AFZEng 25)
(491)	<i>Kochany <b>chłopczyzna!</b></i> (AFSPI 19)	The darling <b>boy!</b> (AFSEng 112)
(492)	(...) <i>synku drogi.</i> (AFZPI 77)	omitted in translation (AFZEng 65)
Example number	Polish translated version	English original version
(493)	<i><b>Dzieciątka, tatuś</b> już wrócił.</i> (DKPI 20)	<b>Daddy's</b> here. (DKEng 20)
(494)	(...) <i>choć muszę jednak dodać jakieś dobre <b>słówko</b> za moją <b>małą Lizzy.</b></i> (JAPI 7)	(...) though I must throw in a good <b>word</b> for my <b>little Lizzy.</b> (JAEng 6)
(495)	<i>Lidia była dla niego niezmiernie czuła. Ciągle, przy każdej sposobności, nazywała go <b>drogim mężulkiem.</b></i> (JAPI 323)	Lydia was exceedingly fond of him. He was her <b>dear Wickham</b> on every occasion. (JAEng 244)
(496)	<i>Fredo, <b>aniółku</b> mój, czy mogłabyś...</i> (ACPI 28)	Freda – <b>darling angel</b> – could you ever – I mean (...) (ACEng 38)
(497)	<i>No właśnie, <b>kotku.</b></i> (ACPI 134)	That's right, <b>pet.</b> (ACEng 176)
(498)	<i>Willard, jej <b>chłopczyk</b>, jej <b>kotek</b>, ten delikatny, poważny Willard...</i> (ACPI 136)	Willard, her <b>boy</b> , her <b>pet</b> , her delicate, serious Willard. (ACEng 178)
(499)	<i>Kiedy tylko odzyskam mojego <b>chłopczyngę</b>, naślę na nich całą policję z okolicy</i> (...) (ACPI 139)	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)
(500)	<i>Chodził zaledwie od paru miesięcy i Jamin wciąż nie mogła opanować podniecenia, widząc go stojącego na tłustych <b>nózkach.</b></i> (MNPI 72)	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)
(501)	<i>Kiedy się jej <b>ubranko</b> nie podoba, to przesikuje je na wylot.</i> (MNPI 228)	She goes through <b>clothes</b> like they're going out of fashion. (MNEng 211)
(502)	<i>Obiecuję ci, <b>duszek</b>, że jeśli ich się zjawi dwudziestu, złożę wizytę wszystkim, co do jednego.</i> (JAPI 7)	Depend upon it, my <b>dear</b> , that when there are twenty, I will visit them all. (JAEng 7)
(503)	(...) <i>a on był zawsze najśłodszy, najszlachetniejszym <b>chłopaczkiem</b> na świecie.</i> (JAPI 254)	(...) and he was always the sweetest-tempered, most generous-hearted <b>boy</b> in the world. (JAEng 190)
(504)	<i>Zbyt wiele żądasz ode mnie, moja <b>dusko.</b></i> (JAPI 6)	It is more than I engage for, I assure you. (JAEng 6)

This type of meaning is appreciative. 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., *aniolek* or *duszka*). Moreover, they are most frequently applied while talking to or about a child (see 487 or 499). Apart from that, diminutive forms are used by children (e.g., 470), in conversation between a husband/man and a wife/woman (e.g., 496) or while referring to a beloved car (488). 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., 471).

e) the meaning of familiarity/friendliness

**Table 13. The meaning of familiarity/friendliness**

Example number	Polish original version	English translated version
(505)	<i>Dzięki, Ewuniu.</i> (ZMPI 50)	<i>Thanks, Ewa.</i> (ZMEng 46)
(506)	<i>Monia mówiła mi (...).</i> (ZMPI 251)	<i>Monika told me (...).</i> (ZMEng 258)
(507)	<i>(...) i ty, i Hanusia, i ja (...).</i> (SWPI 141)	<i>You (...) with Hanna and myself (...).</i> (SWEng 139)
(508)	<i>Wiktorku (...) jak dawno pan tu pracuje?</i> (JIPI 25)	<i>Wiktor, dear boy (...) How long have you been working here?</i> (JIEng 12)
(509)	<i>(...) za chwilę zjawi się w progu malutka Tunia i zawoła: "Pan Wiktor przyjechał!"</i> (JIPI 29)	<i>(...) at any moment little Tunia would appear in the doorway and cry out, 'It's Wiktor!'</i> (JIEng 17)
(510)	<i>Jasiek, drużba, słuchaj, bratku (...).</i> (SWPI 55)	<i>Jasiek, fellow-groomsman - here!</i> (SWEng 63)
(511)	<i>Ale tatuś nie lubi listów stryjcia.</i> (JIPI 107)	<i>But Daddy doesn't like your letters, Uncle.</i> (JIEng 94)
(512)	<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)
(513)	<i>Jesteś małym karzełkiem - powiedział, cały czas z uśmiechem (...) i spróbował ją pogłaskać.</i> (ZMPI 233)	<i>You are a little midget, he said, smiling the while, and tried to stroke her.</i> (ZMEng 239)
(514)	<i>Z tapczanu podniósł się malutki mężczyzna o drobnej twarzy.</i> (ZMPI 234)	<i>A very small man with a tiny face got up from the couch.</i> (ZMEng 240)
(515)	<i>To sprawka pani wdzięku, pani jest bardzo miła, pani tak główkę schyliła...</i> (SWPI 11)	<i>It's your grace and charm that prompted what I said... I love the way you bow your head!</i> (SWEng 24)
(516)	<i>Wstań, serdeńko, i chodź ze mną.</i> (AFZPI 125)	<i>Rise, my son, and come with me!</i> (AFZEng 98)

Table 12 continued

Example number	Polish translated version	English original version
(517)	Cześć, <b>wujciu</b> . (ACPI 123)	Hallo, <b>Nunks</b> . (ACEng 162)
(518)	Leż tylko spokojnie i zdrowiej, <b>kochanieńka</b> . (ACPI 68)	Just lie still and get well, <b>my dear</b> . (ACEng 89)
(519)	O, zjadłaś zupkę, <b>kochanieńka</b> . (ACPI 71)	Ah, you've drunk your soup, <b>my dear</b> . (ACEng 92)
(520)	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. (JAPI 296)	I am going to Gretna Green, and if you cannot guess with who, I shall think you <b>a simpleton</b> , for there is but one man in the world I love, and he is an angel. (JAEEng 223)
(521)	Sympatyczny niski <b>człowieczek</b> obdarzył ją promiennym uśmiechem. (ACPI 136)	The pleasant <b>little man</b> beamed at her. (ACEng 179)
(522)	<b>wiejska chatka</b> (MNPI 56)	<b>a little country cottage</b> (MNEng 45)
(523)	syjamska <b>kicia</b> (DKPI 5)	the Siamese <b>cat</b> (DKEng 7)
(524)	czarny <b>grubasek</b> (DKPI 11)	<b>the fat black cat</b> (DKEng 12)
(525)	<b>mały rudzielec</b> (DKPI 55)	<b>he</b> (DKEng 49)
(526)	psotna <b>koteczka</b> (DKPI 79)	<b>Mystery</b> (DKEng 69)
(527)	<b>okrągłutka</b> kobieta (ACPI 68)	<b>the plump</b> woman (ACEng 88)
(528)	Jane jednak bardzo im się podobała (...), nazwały ją słodkim <b>dziewczęciem</b> (...). (JAPI 19)	But still they admired her and liked her, and pronounced her to be a sweet <b>girl</b> (...). (JAEEng 15–16)
(529)	Pasuje do sytuacji. Wszystkie informacje są ukryte w jej <b>rozumku</b> . Sama nie wie, kim jest i skąd pochodzi. (DKPI 60)	It suits you perfectly because it's a <b>mystery</b> where you came from and it's a <b>mystery</b> who you are. (DKEng 53)

Diminutives expressing the appreciative meaning of familiarity and/or friendliness are most often used in personal names (e.g., *Ewunia*), kinship terms (e.g., *wujcio*), descriptors, such as pet names (e.g., *gąska*), and terms of endearment (e.g., *serdeńko* or *kochanieńka*). They are applied in conversations between friends (505), between members of family (517) or when talking about friendly people (521) 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 (see 521).

## f) the meaning of intimacy

Table 14. The meaning of intimacy

Example number	Polish original version	English translated version
(530)	<i>Maryś, Maryś, narzeczona.</i> (SWPl 69)	<i>Mary, my betrothed.</i> (SWEng 76)
(531)	(...) przytul mnie, <i>Wojteku</i> , do siebie. (SWPl 71)	<i>Wojtek, hug me to your chest.</i> (SWEng 78)
(532)	<i>Żono, słuchaj no, żonisia, pódź no, Hanuś!</i> (SWPl 112)	<i>Listen darling wife!</i> (SWEng 114)
(533)	<i>Przystaw gęby, żonisiu.</i> (SWPl 68)	<i>Say no more about it, love!</i> (SWEng 75)
(534)	<i>Ino, matuś, zaś nie swarzcie (...).</i> (SWPl 103)	<i>Let's not start to quarrel now!</i> (SWEng 106)
(535)	<i>A co, nie lubisz mojego tiszercika z mi-siem?</i> (ZMPl 134)	<i>Don't you like my teddy-bear T-shirt?</i> (ZMEng 135)
(536)	<i>Chciałem coś powiedzieć czule, chciałem zapukać w serduszko.</i> (SWPl 19)	<i>My words were just a tender call – a gentle tap to wake your heart.</i> (SWEng 31)
(537)	<i>Buciki mom troche ciasne.</i> (SWPl 23)	<i>My boots are pinching.</i> (SWEng 34)
(538)	<i>Skłoniże ku mnie główkę, skłoni.</i> (SWPl 70)	<i>Turn your head towards me, sweet!</i> (SWEng 77)
(539)	<i>Daj mi, luby, kanareczka.</i> (AFZPl 62)	<i>What I'd like is a canary!</i> (AFZEng 55)
Example number	Polish translated version	English original version
(540)	<i>Wezmę prysznic, kotku!</i> (MNPl 171)	<i>I'm just having a shower, pussycat!</i> (MNEng 155)

The use of diminutives expressing the appreciative meaning of intimacy is most common 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., 532 or 535). Diminutives expressing the meaning of intimacy are only used in Polish. There are no examples of their use in English.

g) the meaning of informality

**Table 15. The meaning of informality**

Example number	Polish original version	English translated version
(541)	<i>Ach, cioteczko, ciotusieńko!</i>	<i>Dearest Auntie!</i>
	<i>Co, serdeńko?</i> (SWPI 11)	<i>Why, what ails you, precious pearl?</i> (SWEng 25)
(542)	<i>Tatusiowi powiadaj, że tu gości będzie miał.</i> (SWPI 66)	<i>Tell your daddy this, my dear: guests are coming (...).</i> (SWEng 73)
(543)	<i>Panienka se ta wesola.</i> (SWPI 14)	<i>You're a one for larks.</i> (SWEng 27)
(544)	<i>Górka, czyli pięterko, 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)
(545)	<i>(...) siekąc cebulkę do obiadu.</i> (JIPI 149)	<i>(...) as she chopped onions for lunch.</i> (JIEng 138)
(546)	<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)
Example number	Polish translated version	English original version
(547)	<i>Zdrówko, mała.</i> (MNPI 62)	<i>Cheers, babe.</i> (MNEng 51)

The examples illustrating the use of diminutive forms to express the appreciative meaning of informality emphasise the fact that the context of a given situation disambiguates the interpretation of the connotations a given diminutive has, 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 Barbarese 1994: 23), for example, *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 accentuates 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 emphasise the colloquial style of writing or speaking (e.g., 544). They are most often used in Polish and there are only few examples of their application in English (e.g., *Auntie*).

## h) the meaning of sympathy/pity/compassion/care/self-pity

Table 16. The meaning of sympathy/pity/compassion/care/self-pity

Example number	Polish original version	English translated version
(548)	<i>Nie płacz, <b>Jadziu</b> (...).</i> (ZMPI 145)	<i>Don't cry, <b>Jadzia</b> (...).</i> (ZMEng 146)
(549)	<i>Gdzież <b>Hanusia</b>? <b>Hanus!</b></i> (SWPI 149)	<i><b>Hannah, dear!</b> Where are you?</i> (SWEng 145)
(550)	<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)
(551)	<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)
(552)	<i><b>Guciu, Gucuniu</b>, (...) bądź też rozsądny.</i> (AFSPL 40)	<i><b>Gustave!</b> Think before you speak! Be sensible (...).</i> (AFSEng 127)
(553)	<i><b>Biedny Gustawek!</b> Wszyscy bij zabij na niego.</i> (AFSPL 43)	<i>Poor <b>boy!</b> They've really got it in for you!</i> (AFSEng 130)
(554)	<i>No, no, <b>Guciu, Gucuniu</b> mój!</i> (AFSPL 89)	<i>How, now, <b>Gustave!</b> Don't take offence!</i> (AFSEng 165)
(555)	<i>Tak, <b>tatusiu</b>, razem ci pomożemy.</i> (ZMPI 75)	<i>Yes, <b>Daddy</b>, we'll both help you.</i> (ZMEng 73)
(556)	<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 play-school.</i> (ZMEng 291)
(557)	<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)
(558)	<i>Zdradź go, zdradź, <b>moja duszko!</b></i> (AFSPL 86)	<i>Betray him!</i> (AFSEng 163)
(559)	<i>Zobaczył, iż delikatna i ładna <b>kobiecina</b> przepłoszyła się (...).</i> (JIPI 90)	<i>He could see that this delicate, pretty <b>woman</b> was startled (...).</i> (JIEng 77)
(560)	<i>(...) powiedziała poważnie <b>malutka</b>.</i> (JIPI 105)	<i>(...) said <b>the little girl</b> solemnly.</i> (JIEng 93)
(561)	<i>W moim <b>domku</b> zimno mnie.</i> (SWPI 68)	<i>My <b>little house</b> is chill.</i> (SWEng 75)
(562)	<i>W przeciwieństwie do Wilka, Rożki był to <b>domek</b> bardzo skromny i skromnie prowadzony.</i> (JIPI 41)	<i>Compared with Wilko, Rożki was a very modest <b>little place</b>, and modestly run.</i> (JIEng 29)
(563)	<i>Nad grobem stał krzyż brzozy (...), ale <b>mogiłka</b> była zaniedbana.</i> (JIPI 56)	<i>Over the tomb stood a birchwood cross (...), but <b>the little grave</b> was neglected.</i> (JIEng 43)

Table 16 continued

(564)	<i>chudziutka rączka</i> (JIPI 105)	<i>little paw</i> (JEng 92)
(565)	<i>serduszko dziewczynki</i> (JIPI 137)	<i>the little girl's heart</i> (JEng 125)
(566)	<i>chudziutkie rączyny</i> (JIPI 137)	<i>skinny little arms</i> (JEng 126)
(567)	Włosy jej jasne sterczały jak <i>strączki</i> wokół <i>małej główki</i> . (JIPI 168)	Her blonde hair was sticking out like <i>ears of corn</i> around her <i>little head</i> . (JEng 157)
(568)	(...) zamieni swoje budowane z mozołem przez tyle lat życie w <i>kupkę</i> dymiących zgliszcz. (ZMPI 257)	(he) would turn the life he'd toiled away at building all these years into <i>a heap</i> of steaming rubble. (ZMEng 264)
(569)	Pot oblewa całe <i>czołko</i> ; możesz się zaziębić wnet. (SWPI 25)	The sweat's just pouring from your <i>brow!</i> Take care! You'll catch a fearful chill. (SWEng 36)
(570)	W połowie kolacji, <i>cichutka</i> i <i>potulna</i> , wypłynęła z dalszych pokojów "mama". (JIPI 34)	Halfway through supper, meek and <i>quiet</i> , 'Mama' emerged from the back rooms. (JEng 22)
(571)	To <i>nóżki</i> , to <i>główka dziewczynki</i> potraçały o liście (...). (JIPI 138)	Now <i>her feet</i> , now <i>her head</i> kept nudging the leaves (...). (JEng 126)
(572)	Ona skromna, <i>rączka</i> <i>spiekła</i> . (AFZPI 48)	A modest soul, (...) <i>with fiery cheeks</i> (...). (AFZEng 45)
Example number	Polish translated version	English original version
(573)	Biednaś ty, moja <i>Lizy!</i> (JAPI 240)	Poor <i>little Lizzy!</i> (JEng 179)
(574)	Myślę, że zawzięła się na biednego <i>wujaszka</i> (...). (ACPI 131)	I think she had a down on poor <i>little Nunks</i> (...). (ACEng 172)
(575)	Nie możesz (...) żądać, by takie <i>dziewczątka</i> miały rozum zarówno ojca, jak i matki. (JAPI 34)	(...) you must not expect such <i>girls</i> to have the sense of their father and mother. (JEng 25)
(576)	Biedna <i>mamusia</i> naprawdę cierpi i nie opuszcza swego pokoju. (JAPI 280)	My poor <i>mother</i> is really ill, and keeps her room. (JEng 210)
(577)	Nie martw się tym teraz, <i>maleńka</i> . (ACPI 27)	Don't worry about that, <i>little girl</i> . (ACEng 37)
(578)	Kotka wzruszyła <i>ramionkami</i> . (DKPI 60)	The cat <i>shrugged</i> . (DKEng 52)
(579)	(...) żeby uniknąć kolejnej katastrofy, podniosła Skrytkę, chwyciwszy ją pod <i>boczki</i> . (DKPI 73)	Amy <i>grabbed</i> Mystery before he could get into more trouble. (DKEng 64)
(580)	Co się dzieje, <i>słoneczko</i> ? (ACPI 124)	What's the matter, <i>my sweet</i> ? (ACEng 164)

Table 16 continued

(581)	<i>On jest taki biedny, zagubiony jak mały chłopiec.</i> (ACPI 128)	<i>He is so pathetic, so child-like.</i> (ACEng 169)
(582)	<i>Kruszynko?</i> (MNPI 175)	<i>Poppet?</i> (MNEng 159)
(583)	<i>Biedaczek, tak desperacko pragnie być młody!</i> (ACPI 11)	<i>Poor George, how terribly he wanted to be young!</i> (ACEng 14)
(584)	<i>A po co psuć nastrój biedaczynie?</i> (ACPI 11)	<i>Why should he be upset, poor thing?</i> (ACEng 15)
(585)	<i>Moja biedulka.</i> (MNPI 232)	<i>Oh poor heart.</i> (MNEng 215)
(586)	<i>Bidulka.</i> (DKPI 50)	<i>Poor old thing.</i> (DKEng 44)
(587)	<i>wróbelek</i> (DKPI 11)	<i>the tiny sparrow</i> (DKEng 12)
(588)	<i>wróbelki</i> (DKPI 14)	<i>the sparrows</i> (DKEng 15)

Diminutives expressing the appreciative meaning of sympathy, pity, compassion, care, and/or self-pity are mostly 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 (584), between members of family (553), or when talking to or about a child (see 564 or 569). 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., 573 or 574). Diminutives used to express the meaning of sympathy, pity, compassion, care, and/or self-pity are most often used in Polish, there are, however, some examples of applying them in English as well (e.g., 566).

i) the meaning of hospitality/politeness

Table 17. The meaning of hospitality/politeness

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

Table 17 continued

Example number	Polish translated version	English original version
(595)	<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)
(596)	<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)
(597)	<i>Pozwolę też sobie wykorzystać okazję i poprosić cię, <b>kuzyneczko</b> Elźbie-to, 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)
(598)	<i><b>Cioteczko</b> (...).</i> (JAPL 159)	<i>My dear <b>aunt</b> (...).</i> (JAEng 118)
(599)	<i>Droga moja <b>siostrzeniczko!</b></i> (JAPL 327)	<i>My dear <b>niece</b> (...).</i> (JAEng 246)
(600)	<i><b>Miętuska?</b></i> (MNPI 30)	<i><b>Minto</b>, anyone? (MNEng 21)</i>

The diminutives that express the appreciative meaning of hospitality and/or politeness are most frequently employed 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 (591), in greetings (593), in offers (594), and at the beginning of a letter (599). There is only one example of a diminutive expressing the meaning of hospitality and/or politeness in English (see 574), as most of them are used in Polish.

j) the meaning of joy/amusement/pleasure/playfulness

Table 18. The meaning of joy/amusement/pleasure/playfulness

Example number	Polish original version	English translated version
(601)	<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)
(602)	<i><b>Mały zakątek</b> szczególnie ulubiony w swoim czasie przez Wiktora i Jolę (...).</i> (JIPI 67)	<i>A <b>small nook</b> (...) had been Wiktor's and Jola's favourite corner once upon a time.</i> (JIEng 54–55)
(603)	<i>obiad w rewelacyjnej greckiej <b>knajpce</b></i> (ZMPI 37)	<i>lunch at a fabulous Greek <b>restaurant</b></i> (ZMEng 33)
(604)	<i><b>Grosik</b> za twoje myśli, prokuratorze.</i> (ZMPI 256)	<i>A <b>penny</b> for your thoughts, Prosecutor.</i> (ZMEng 264)
(605)	<i>A w <b>kółeczko</b> (...).</i> (SWPI 14)	<i>Into <b>the circle</b>.</i> (SWEng 27)

Table 18 continued

(606)	(...) <i>tak podskocznie, tak <b>mileńko</b></i> (...). (SWPl 37)	(...) <i>tenderly enlivening</i> (...). (SWEng 46)
(607)	(...) <i>postawimy se dwór modrzewiowy, <b>brzózek</b> przed oknami posadzę.</i> (SWPl 97)	<i>We'll have a house like this – a sturdy manor built of larch – and I'll plant <b>birch-trees</b> all around.</i> (SWEng 101)
(608)	(...) <i>ja wolę <b>gaik</b> spokojny</i> (...). (SWPl 146)	(...) <i>I prefer a peaceful <b>glade</b></i> (...). (SWEng 144)
(609)	<i>Proszę, proszę, <b>chwilkę</b> w koło.</i> (SWPl 15)	<i>Come along, then! Join the round.</i> (SWEng 27)
Example number	Polish translated version	English original version
(610)	<i>Mo, <b>złotko</b>, właśnie dwukrotnie wysłałaś tę samą wiadomość.</i> (MNPl 61)	<i>Mo <b>hon</b>, you just sent me the same message twice.</i> (MNEng 50)
(611)	(...) <i>aż w końcu odmalował swojski obraz Londynu wieczorem, z (...) tłumami spieszącymi po pracy do domów, do czekających na nich <b>małych mieszkańek</b>, a zakończył ciepłym opisem życia angielskiej rodziny.</i> (ACPl 106)	(...) <i>and he came last to a homely description of London in the evening, with (...) the hurrying crowds going homeward after the day's work and of <b>the little homes</b> awaiting them, and of the whole strange intimate pattern of English family life.</i> (ACEng 139)
(612)	<i>A przyjemny <b>mały bonus</b> byłby taki</i> (...). (MNPl 40)	<i>And, as a nice <b>little bonus</b></i> (...). (MNEng 30)
(613)	<i>Miała w swym czarnym <b>notesiku</b> więcej nazwisk, niż można było znaleźć w Who's Who.</i> (MNPl 66)	<i>Her <b>little black book</b> now had more names in it than Who's Who.</i> (MNEng 54–55)
(614)	<i>Pozostali wybuchnęli śmiechem i dorzucili własne znaczące <b>żarciki</b> w rodzaju "ja też".</i> (MNPl 107–108)	<i>The others laughed and added meaningful <b>little quips</b> like 'me too'.</i> (MNEng 94)
(615)	<i>Fakt, że się o tym słyszało wcześniej, budzi dodatkowy <b>dreszczyk</b></i> (...). (ACPl 29)	<i>Knowing about it beforehand gives it an extra <b>thrill</b></i> (...). (ACEng 39)
(616)	<i>śmiesznie <b>mała chusteczka</b></i> (ACPl 32)	<i>an inadequate <b>handkerchief</b></i> (ACEng 43)
(617)	<i>Zagrać <b>rundkę</b> golfa czy tenisa.</i> (ACPl 41)	<i>I like <b>a round</b> of golf and <b>a good set</b> of tennis.</i> (ACEng 54)
(618)	<i><b>ploteczki</b> z towarzystwa</i> (ACPl 106)	<i>society <b>gossip</b></i> (ACEng 139)
(619)	<i>filmowe <b>nowinki</b></i> (ACPl 106)	<i>film <b>news</b></i> (ACEng 139)
(620)	<i>jazda na <b>osiołku</b></i> (ACPl 124)	<i>riding on <b>a donkey</b></i> (ACEng 164)
(621)	<i><b>partyjka wista</b></i> (JAPl 75)	<i><b>pool of quadrille</b></i> (JAEng 54)
(622)	<i>Kupię trochę <b>satynki</b> w ładniejszym kolorze, żeby go trochę ożywić</i> (...). (JAPl 229)	<i>And when I have bought some prettier-coloured <b>satin</b> to trim it with fresh</i> (...). (JAEng 170)

Table 18 continued

(623)	<i>Wie, kim jest tajemnicza postać, która ma uświetnić waszą imprezkę?</i> (DKPl 5)	<i>Even the name of the mystery celebrity?</i> (DKEng 7)
(624)	<i>Będzie wzorową koteczką.</i> (DKPl 57)	<i>He'll be perfect.</i> (DKEng 50)
(625)	<i>Pan Thompson przyglądał się tej scence z dobrotliwym uśmiechem.</i> (ACPl 142)	<i>Mr Thompson stood looking benignly on.</i> (ACEng 186)
(626)	<i>chytra minka</i> (DKPl 5)	does not occur (DKEng 7)

The appreciative meaning of joy, amusement, pleasure, and/or playfulness is most often expressed by the diminutives used in conversations between members of family (e.g., 622), and between friends (610). In most cases they are applied in order to emphasise the humorous style of writing or speaking (613). The examples of diminutives expressing the meaning of joy, amusement, pleasure, and/or playfulness are, again, most often observed in Polish, whereas there are only few examples of their application in English (612).

k) the meaning of satisfaction/content/approval/admiration

Table 19. The meaning of satisfaction/content/approval/admiration

Example number	Polish original version	English translated version
(627)	<i>Wiesz, co, <b>Papciu</b> – spraw się ładnie, a w <b>kieszonkę</b> grubo wpadnie.</i> (AFZPl 68)	<i>Come, <b>Papkin</b>, don't disgrace yourself! You'll not refuse a wad of pelf?</i> (AFZ-Eng 59)
(628)	<i>Ma dochody wprawdzie znaczne – Podstolina ma znaczniejsze; z <b>wdówką</b> zatem działać zaczę.</i> (AFZPl 8)	<i>Though Clara's fairly well-to-do – <b>the widow Anna's</b> got much more... I'll start by knocking at her door!</i> (AFZEng 18)
(629)	<i>Spójrz, jakie piękne, krągłe <b>literki</b>.</i> (ZMPl 29)	<i>Look what lovely round <b>letters</b>.</i> (ZMEng 24)
(630)	<i>kawałek przepysznego <b>pierożka</b></i> (ZMPl 276)	<i>a delicious piece of <b>tortellini</b></i> (ZMEng 286)
(631)	<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)
(632)	<i>Wybrałem dziś weselisko, twój <b>dworek, dróżkę</b> (...).</i> (SWPl 110)	<i>Your wedding-feast I chose today – your <b>home, your path</b> (...).</i> (SWEng 113)
Example number	Polish translated version	English original version
(633)	<i><b>Złotko</b>, i tak wyglądasz dziesięć razy lepiej niż ktokolwiek za tymi drzwiami.</i> (MNPl 202)	<i><b>Georgie, sweetie</b>, you still look ten times better than anyone else in there.</i> (MNEng 186)

Table 19 continued

(634)	<i>Jesteś na to za mądra, złotko.</i> (ACPl 113)	<i>You're too smart for that, honey.</i> (ACEng 149)
(635)	<i>(...) ale jestem przekonana, że teraz, kiedy drogi wujaszek przyjechał, wszystko będzie dobrze.</i> (JAPl 291)	<i>But now that my dear uncle is come, I hope everything will be well.</i> (JAEng 219)
(636)	<i>(...) wyrażam nadzieję, iż każda z moich pięknych kuzyneczek zaszczyci mnie tańcem tego wieczoru.</i> (JAPl 98)	<i>(...) I shall hope to be honoured with the hands of all my fair cousins in the course of the evening.</i> (JAEng 71)
(637)	<i>Jakaż ty jesteś czarująca, kuzyneczko!</i> (JAPl 120)	<i>You are uniformly charming!</i> (JAEng 88)
(638)	<i>Zuch dziewczynka!</i> (DKPl 101)	<i>You're brilliant.</i> (DKEng 86)
(639)	<i>Dzięki, piesku.</i> (DKPl 4)	<i>Thanks, Hilton.</i> (DKEng 6)
(640)	<i>śliczny mały wzorek na haft</i> (JAPl 53)	<i>beautiful little design for a table</i> (JAEng 39)
(641)	<i>Mam też miły domek w pobliżu Cobham.</i> (ACPl 17)	<i>I've a nice cottage near Cobham.</i> (ACEng 23)
(642)	<i>(...) wesolutko oznajmił pan Pyne.</i> (ACPl 49)	<i>(...) said Mr Pyne cheerfully.</i> (ACEng 64)
(643)	<i>Bardzo sprawna osóbką.</i> (ACPl 123)	<i>She's an efficient creature.</i> (ACEng 163)
(644)	<i>Nie warto było chyba narażać się na takie upokorzenia tylko po to, by pooglądać zgrabne tyłeczki obciągnięte lycrą?</i> (MNPl 143)	<i>It couldn't be worth humiliating himself so much just to get a look at tight buns in Lycra, surely?</i> (MNEng 128)
(645)	<i>Szeptał jej coś do ucha, a ona wyglądała jak kot, który dostał śmietankę.</i> (MNPl 360)	<i>He was whispering in her ear and she looked like the cat who'd got the cream.</i> (MNEng 338)
(646)	<i>dobrze obiadki</i> (JAPl 50)	<i>good dinners</i> (JAEng 38)
(647)	<i>(...) dorobiwszy się wcale znośnej fortunki (...).</i> (JAPl 20)	<i>(...) he had made a tolerable fortune (...).</i> (JAEng 16)
(648)	<i>Gdybym nie pracował dla tej cudownej kobiety, sprzedałbym to za niezłą sumkę, moja droga. Niezłą sumkę.</i> (MNPl 24)	<i>If I didn't work for that wonderful woman, I'd have sold this for a fortune, my dear. A fortune.</i> (MNEng 16)
(649)	<i>smaczne jedzonko</i> (DKPl 76)	does not occur (DKEng 66)

Diminutives expressing the appreciative 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., 629), between members of family (637), or between a superior and a subordinate (627). These

diminutives are also mostly used in Polish, and few examples of their use can be found in English (640).

The Tables from 12 to 19 present the translation of diminutives associated with positive evaluation. They confirm the hypothesis formulated, among others, by Wierzbicka (1999) and 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 the English translators to render the meaning of Polish diminutives. Therefore, some diminutivised 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., *Dzięki, Ewuniu*—*Thanks, Ewa*). Due to such modifications, the meaning of Polish diminutives has been lost, but the translation reads more naturally for the English (e.g., *Czy w takim razie umyjesz teraz ząbki?*—a sentence 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., *Dzień dobry, panie prokuratorze, może papieroska?*—a sentence 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 a Polish diminutive (e.g., *Wojtecku*—*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 the 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 diminutives), for example, *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*).

## l) the meaning of lack of worth/belittlement/derogation

Table 20. The meaning of lack of worth/belittlement/derogation

Example number	Polish original version	English translated version
(650)	<i>Moja <b>duszeko</b>, tu się mówi o kościelnej dostojności (...).</i> (SWPl 17)	<i>My <b>dear</b>, the subject we're discussing's how the Church may dignify our Reverend Father.</i> (SWEng 29)
(651)	<i>A to już nie lo <b>ponienki</b>; Sprawa inso.</i> (SWPl 162)	<i>Not for the likes of you, m'dear! Our cause is different.</i> (SWEng 157)
(652)	<i>Uważał Felę za "<b>małą</b>", coś zaledwie starszego od Zosi, i nigdy nie patrzył na nią inaczej, jak na dziecko.</i> (JIPl 55)	<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.</i> (JIEng 42)
(653)	<i>Pokiwała głową i rozejrzała się po jego zapyziałym <b>pokoiku</b>.</i> (ZMPl 41)	<i>She nodded and glanced around his shabby <b>little room</b>.</i> (ZMEng 37)
(654)	<i><b>mały chudy żołnierz</b></i> (JIPl 29)	<i><b>a small, thin soldier</b></i> (JIEng 16)
(655)	<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> (ZMPl 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)
(656)	<i>Nidziecka jest gorszą morderczynią od bezlitosnych <b>żulików</b> (...).</i> (ZMPl 150)	<i>Nidziecka was a worse murderer than the merciless <b>thugs</b> (...).</i> (ZMEng 152)
(657)	<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)
(658)	<i><b>młódka</b> o radiowej urodzie</i> (ZMPl 40)	<i><b>a young thing</b>, only good-looking enough to work in radio</i> (ZMEng 36)
(659)	<i>Obok jakaś <b>parka</b> dwudziestoparolatków leżała tak blisko (...).</i> (ZMPl 117)	<i>Next to him a twenty-something <b>couple</b> were lying so close to each other (...).</i> (ZMEng 116)
(660)	<i>To był <b>studenciak</b> z inteligenckiego domu.</i> (ZMPl 238)	<i>He was <b>a college boy</b> from an intelligentsia home.</i> (ZMEng 245)
Example number	Polish translated version	English original version
(661)	<i>W pociągu nie było żadnych Anglików, z wyjątkiem tego <b>małego urzędnika</b>.</i> (ACPl 62)	<i>There was no Englishman on the train except <b>a little clerk</b>.</i> (ACEng 81)

Table 20 continued

(662)	Była to kobieta <b>małego umysłu, miernego wykształcenia</b> (...). (JAPL 7)	She was a woman of <b>mean understanding, little information</b> (...). (JAEng 7)
(663)	Widział wyraźnie zazdrość w oczach kilku <b>młodzieniaszków</b> . (ACPL 8)	He could see several <b>young fellows</b> were envying him. (ACEng 11)
(664)	Najlepszy kandydat do roli Darcy'ego to kurduplowaty aktuariusz, chyba że ulegnę i dam ją temu jadowitemu <b>pismakowi</b> , którego określają mianem krytyka teatralnego. (MNPL 39)	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)
(665)	Panna Bennet jest rzeczywiście <b>ładniutka</b> , ale zbyt często się śmieje. (JAPL 19)	Miss Bennet he acknowledged to be <b>pretty</b> , but she smiled too much. (JAEng 15)
(666)	Kiedy jednak znaleźli się w miasteczku, młodsze panienki całkowicie straciły zainteresowanie <b>kuzynkiem</b> . (JAPL 81)	The attention of the younger ones was then no longer to be gained by <b>him</b> . (JAEng 58)
(667)	Dziewczęta nużyła rozmowa, miały już bowiem dość gadania <b>kuzynka</b> (...). (JAPL 86)	To the girls, who could not listen to their <b>cousin</b> (...). (JAEng 61)
(668)	Takie wybredne <b>młodziki</b> , co to wzbraniają się wejść w związku z odrobiną głupoty, niewarte twego żalu. (JAPL 240)	Such squeamish <b>youths</b> as cannot bear to be connected with a little absurdity are not worth a regret. (JAEng 179)
(669)	W Brighton będzie osobą o dużo mniejszym znaczeniu niż tutaj, nawet jako zwykła, <b>mała kokietka</b> . (JAPL 241)	At Brighton she will be of less importance even as a common <b>flirt</b> than she has been here. (JAEng 180)

This type of meaning is depreciative. 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*), and descriptors, such as generic terms (e.g., *mały żołnierz*), terms of endearment (e.g., *duszka*), functional terms (e.g., *pismak*) or obscene terms (e.g., *żulik*). They are applied in conversations between friends (e.g., 657), and between members of family (668). In some cases diminutives are modified by certain adjectives (e.g., *zapyziały* or *shabby*), which intensifies negative evaluation. These diminutives can also be found mostly in Polish examples, yet among the few examples in English see (653).

m) the meaning of irony/sarcasm

Table 21. The meaning of irony/sarcasm

Example number	Polish original version	English translated version
(670)	<i>A przyniosłeś <b>słoiczek</b> swojej rozpuszczalnej z biura, żeby pani zrobiła ci kawy?</i> (ZMPI 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)
(671)	<b>łobuziak</b> (ZMPI 47)	<b>rogue</b> (ZMEng 43)
(672)	<i>W sensie: czy marchewka, czy <b>kotlecik</b>?</i> (ZMPI 102)	<i>You mean was it the carrot or <b>the chops</b>?</i> (ZMEng 100)
(673)	<i><b>Loczki</b> wyglądały jak przeszczepione od pudla.</i> (ZMPI 114)	<i>Her <b>curls</b> looked as if they'd been transplanted from a poodle.</i> (ZMEng 112)
(674)	<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)
(675)	<i>Uraczył ją kilkoma zabawnymi <b>historijkami</b> o kolegach z prokuratury.</i> (ZMPI 192)	<i>He amused her with a few funny <b>stories</b> about his colleagues at the prosecutor's office.</i> (ZMEng 196)
(676)	<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)
(677)	<i>To musiało być jego ulubione <b>powie-dzonko</b>.</i> (ZMPI 239)	<i>That must have been his favourite <b>phrase</b>.</i> (ZMEng 245)
(678)	<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)
(679)	<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)
(680)	<i>Miał jeszcze kilka pytań do kociego <b>dok-torka</b>.</i> (ZMPI 292)	<i>He still had a few questions for the feline <b>doctor</b>.</i> (ZMEng 303)
(681)	<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)
(682)	<i>Pali <b>pieniązek</b> moskieski?</i> (SWPI 88)	<i>Muscovite <b>money</b> burns, you say...</i> (SWEng 94)
Example number	Polish translated version	English original version
(683)	<i>Nietrudno było wybrać jakies <b>małe na-rzędzie</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)

Table 21 continued

(684)	Z roztargnieniem skubał <b>mały wąsik</b> , wpatrując się w pana Pyne'a z czujnością niemego <b>zwierzątka</b> . (ACPI 40)	He sat pulling absentmindedly at <b>a little moustache</b> while he looked at Mr Parker Pyne with all the pathos of a dumb <b>animal</b> . (ACEng 53)
(685)	kochana <b>siostrzyczka</b> (MNPI 30)	<b>little Katie</b> (MNEng 21)
(686)	Nie ma o tym pojęcia. Mieszka sobie w swojej <b>chatce</b> , radośnie uzupełniając albumy z wycinkami oraz karmiąc Zemstę i Słodką. (MNPI 36)	She has no idea, lives in her <b>little cottage</b> , happily filling her scrapbooks and feeding Revenge and Sweet. (MNEng 27)
(687)	<b>perelki mądrości</b> (MNPI 87)	<b>little gem</b> (MNEng 75)
(688)	Co tam słycać w twoim uroczym kobiecym <b>pisemku</b> ? (MNPI 21)	How are things at your lovely <b>little women's mag</b> ? (MNEng 13)
(689)	...ale tak między nami, nie mam pojęcia, co się dzieje w jej ślicznej <b>główce</b> . (MNPI 98)	... But between you and me, I haven't got a clue what's going on inside her pretty <b>little head</b> . (MNEng 85)
(690)	zakulisowe <b>ploteczki</b> Gilberta (MNPI 83)	Gilbert's regular <b>titbits of gossip</b> from the play (MNEng 70)
(691)	Mam całą tę <b>milutką</b> korespondencję, z listem o kapsulce włącznie. (ACPI 132)	I've got all that <b>pretty</b> correspondence, including the one about the cachet. (ACEng 174)
(692)	(...) zaczął jak zwykle, gdy zamierzał odstąpić innemu <b>pismakowi</b> jakąś <b>perelkę</b> . (MNPI 24)	(...) he began, as he always did when about to sell <b>a gem to a hack</b> . (MNEng 16)
(693)	<b>kochaś</b> tabloidów (MNPI 83)	the tabloid <b>darling</b> (MNEng 70)
(694)	Aktorka bardzo głośno westchnęła, udając zakłopotane <b>dziewczę</b> (...). (MNPI 126)	Sara then sighed a very loud, <b>girlish</b> sigh (...). (MNEng 113)
(695)	Słowo daję, <b>siostrzyczko</b> , wydaje mi się, że bardziej prawdopodobne jest zyskanie Pemberley za pomocą pieniędzy niż naśladownictwa. (JAPI 43)	Upon my word, <b>Caroline</b> , I should think it more possible to get Pemberley by purchase than by imitation. (JAEng 32)
(696)	Powieś pan koniecznie w galerii obrazów w Pemberley portrety <b>wujaszka</b> i <b>cioteczki</b> Philipsów. (JAPI 58)	Do let the portraits of your <b>uncle and aunt</b> Philips be placed in the gallery at Pemberley. (JAEng 43)
(697)	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)	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)
(698)	Tu pan Collins mógł zręcznie wtrącić jakieś pochlebstwo i <b>aluzyjkę</b> , na którą i matka, i córka łaskawie się uśmiechnęły. (JAPI 220)	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)

Here, diminutives denote the smallness of a given object, but being small may be treated as something negative—*small* meaning ‘laughable’. Diminutive forms used to express irony and/or sarcasm indicate the speaker’s standard of personal culture (e.g., 688), his/her intellect (672), or emotional condition (682). This type of diminutives is 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 (676), and between members of family (695). They also emphasise the ironic style of writing or speaking (e.g., 697). In some cases diminutives are modified by certain adjectives (e.g., *śliczny* or *pretty*), which intensifies negative evaluation. Some examples of applying diminutives expressing the meaning of irony and/or sarcasm in English include (688).

n) the meaning of contempt/disdain/disrespect/mockery/maliciousness

**Table 22. The meaning of contempt/disdain/disrespect/mockery/maliciousness**

Example number	Polish original version	English translated version
(699)	O, <i>biedny, biedny Gucio mały</i> . (AFSP1 44)	Poor <i>little Gussie, helpless mite!</i> (AFSEng 131)
(700)	<i>Chłopak nędzny jak oni wszyscy w tym pokoleniu. Chude rączki, chude nóżki (...)</i> . (ZMP1 117)	<i>The boy was weedy, like all of them in that generation. Skinny little arms, skinny little legs (...)</i> . (ZMEng 116)
(701)	<i>O maskę opierał się mały i chudy facecik w za dużej na niego czarnej kurtce</i> . (ZMP1 185)	<i>A small skinny guy in a black jacket that was too big for him was leaning on the bonnet</i> . (ZMEng 189)
(702)	<i>Takim trudno było znaleźć nawet dzinsy w odpowiednim rozmiarze, a co dopiero dobrać garnitur z asortymentu przeznaczonego przede wszystkim dla małych tłuścioszków</i> . (ZMP1 187)	<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 small fat blokes</i> . (ZMEng 191)
(703)	<i>A przed szkołą zawsze wystają różne typki</i> . (ZMP1 86)	<i>And there are always various guys hanging around outside school</i> . (ZMEng 84)
(704)	<i>Bo jak żeście drzwi snopkiem zastawiali, to pewnie wiało jak cholera</i> . (ZMP1 89)	<i>But keeping the door propped open with a sheaf of straw must get bloody windy</i> . (ZMEng 87)
(705)	<i>terapeutyczny uśmieszek, jednocześnie życzliwy i kpiący</i> . (ZMP1 220)	<i>therapeutic smirk, kindly and mocking all at once</i> . (ZMEng 226)

Table 22 continued

(706)	<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>
(707)	<i>Znów był królem polskich terapeutów – (...) <b>uśmiezek</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 – (...) <b>a simpering smile</b> encouraging you to confess, “what are you really feeling as you talk about this?” (ZMEng 306)</i>
(708)	<i>Hej, panie, panie Braneczki, 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 Braneczki, 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! (SWEng 93)</i>
Example number	Polish translated version	English original version
(709)	<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>
(710)	<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>
(711)	<i>To jego <b>przyjaciółeczka!</b> (ACPI 43)</i>	<i>She's Reggie's <b>little friend!</b> (ACEng 57)</i>
(712)	<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 sordid <b>little secrets</b> to the tabloids. (MNEng 243)</i>
(713)	<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>
(714)	<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>
(715)	<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>
(716)	<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>
(717)	<i><b>kolesie</b> Gilberta (MNPI 323)</i>	<i>Gilbert's <b>cronies</b> (MNEng 303)</i>
(718)	<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>

Table 22 continued

(719)	<i>Główki</i> tych młodych dam były, w przeciwieństwie do starszych siostr, puste, a panienki z braku rozrywki uprzyjemniały sobie poranne godziny spacerkiem do Meryton (...). (JAPI 32)	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)
(720)	Ani ciotki, ani oficerów, ani <b>nowinek</b> . (JAPI 99)	No aunt, no officers, no <b>news</b> (...). (JAEng 72)
(721)	(...) całą sprawę traktowały jedynie jako nową <b>ploteczkę</b> do rozgłoszenia w Meryton. (JAPI 138)	(...) it affected them in no other way than as <b>a piece of news</b> to spread at Meryton. (JAEng 102)
(722)	Były to <b>osóbki</b> puste, leniwe i głupie. (JAPI 222)	<b>They</b> were ignorant, idle, and vain. (JAEng 166)

Diminutives expressing the depreciative 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 (699) and between enemies (709). They also emphasise the mocking style of writing or speaking (e.g., 719). In some cases diminutives are modified by certain adjectives (e.g., *odpychający*—*odious* or *chudy*—*skinny*), which intensifies negative evaluation. The diminutives used to express the meaning of contempt, disdain, disrespect, mockery, and/or maliciousness are, as the other types analysed above, most frequently used in Polish. One of the examples of applying them in English is (711).

o) the meaning of pitifulness/insincere compassion

Table 23. The meaning of pitifulness/insincere compassion

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

In this case, analogically to the diminutives expressing irony and/or sarcasm, these diminutives denote the smallness of a given object, where *small* means 'laughable'. Diminutives expressing the depreciative meaning of pitifulness and/or insincere compassion are applied mostly in conversations between friends (723) and there is only one example of their application in English (725).

p) the meaning of condescension/insincere politeness/excessive obsequiousness

**Table 24. The meaning of condescension/insincere politeness/excessive obsequiousness**

Example number	Polish original version	English translated version
(727)	<i>mała</i> (ZMPI 92) (about a woman)	<i>babe</i> (ZMEng 90)
(728)	<i>A Klarunia niech pamięta nie powiadać nic nikomu.</i> (AFZPI 57)	<i>Clara, my dear</i> (...) remember, quiet as a mouse! (AFZEng 50)
(729)	<i>Mój majstruniu, mówcie śmiało.</i> (AFZPI 69)	Come, <i>Master Mason</i> , don't be shy! (AFZEng 60)
(730)	<i>Bądź, serdeńko, bez obawy.</i> (AFZPI 87)	<i>He need fear nothing for the nonce...</i> (AFZEng 72)
(731)	<i>Byle mnie kochał stryjaszek kochany, był mi zawsze zdrow, czerstwy i rumiany!</i> (AFSPI 11)	So long as my dear <i>Uncle</i> loves me ever, I shall be hale and hearty – perish never! (AFSEng 106)
(732)	<i>Za resztę kupi pan córce małe mieszkanie, żeby na nią czekało i zyskiwało na wartości.</i> (ZMPI 275)	For the rest you can buy your daughter a <i>small flat</i> that can gain in value while it waits for her. (ZMEng 285)
(733)	<i>Co skłoniło Podstolinę, wdówkę taną, wdówkę gładką, za takową iść gadzinę.</i> (AFZPI 80)	How that Squire persuaded her – a tempting <i>widow</i> , suave, urbane – such a reptile to prefer. (AFZEng 67)
(734)	<i>Niechże mi tu wolno będzie (...) do maluczkich upaść nóżek (...).</i> (AFZPI 90)	To fall at your <i>feet</i> is all I crave (...). (AFZEng 74)
(735)	<i>Papkin nóżki ściska, za przyjęcie dzięki składa.</i> (AFZPI 95)	I am prostrate at your <i>feet</i> ! So warm a welcome for a stranger! (AFZEng 77)
Example number	Polish translated version	English original version
(736)	Cześć, <i>laleczko</i> . (MNPI 140)	Bye, <i>doll</i> . (MNEng 125)
(737)	Ciao, kochanie! Złam boską <i>nóżkę</i> . (MNPI 37)	Ciao, honey. Break a divine <i>leg</i> . (MNEng 28)
(738)	<i>Ta mała</i> wygląda jak futrzana pomarańcza. (DKPI 58)	<i>He</i> looks like a furry orange. (DKEng 51)
(739)	(...) ładna <i>przyjaciółeczka</i> pastorowej wyraźnie mu się podobała. (JAPI 181)	(...) and Mrs Collins's pretty <i>friend</i> had moreover caught his fancy very much. (JAEng 135)

In the case of the meaning of pitifulness or insincere compassion, being small denotes something insignificant or laughable. These diminutives 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 (737), between members of family (731) and between a subordinate and a superior (735). Diminutives expressing the meaning of condescension, insincere politeness, and/or excessive obsequiousness are rarely used in English, as only one example of their application was found (732).

q) the meaning of criticism/suspicion

**Table 25. The meaning of criticism/suspicion**

Example number	Polish original version	English translated version
(740)	<i>Propozycja jest poważna, więc proszę sobie darować żarciki.</i> (ZMPI 275)	<i>It's a serious offer, so please spare yourself <b>the little jokes</b>.</i> (ZMEng 285)
(741)	<i>Uuu, niegrzeczny <b>prokurator</b>ek.</i> (ZMPI 82)	<i>Aaaww, what a rude <b>prosecutor</b>.</i> (ZMEng 79)
(742)	<i>Bęben ci urośnie, a ja nie lubię facetów z <b>brzuszk</b>iem.</i> (ZMPI 284)	<i>You'll get a fat tum, and I don't like guys with <b>pot bellies</b>.</i> (ZMEng 294)
(743)	<i>Panna młoda jakież <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)
(744)	<i>To doprawdy niezcuły ze mnie <b>stryjcio!</b></i> (JIPi 102)	<i>What a thoughtless <b>uncle</b> I am!</i> (JIEng 89)
(745)	<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)
Example number	Polish translated version	English original version
(746)	<i>Ale przecież narzekala na chłód, a ten jej tweedowy <b>paltocik</b> był wiatrem podszyty.</i> (ACPI 8)	<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.</i> (ACEng 11)
(747)	<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)	<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 under your orders.</i> (JAEng 27)
(748)	<i>(...) ujawniono też jego <b>miłostki</b>, wszystkie zaszczycone mianem uwiedzeń, w większości kupieckich rodzin.</i> (JAPI 300)	<i>(...) and his <b>intrigues</b>, all honoured with the title of seduction, had been extender into every tradesman's family.</i> (JAEng 225)

The diminutives that express the depreciative meaning of criticism and/or suspicion are applied mostly in conversations between friends (e.g., 743) and between members of family (745). There is only one example of their application in English (740).

r) the meaning of insult/annoyance/anger

Table 26. The meaning of insult/annoyance/anger

Example number	Polish original version	English translated version
(749)	<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)
(750)	<i>Aha, <b>bratku</b>, mom cie.</i> (SWPI 148)	<i>I've got you, <b>brother!</b></i> (SWEng 145)
(751)	<i>Hola, <b>jaszczureczko!</b></i> (AFSP1 68)	<i>(...) you <b>salamander</b> (...).</i> (AFSEng 148)
(752)	<i>Chodź, chodź – mam cię, <b>ptaszku</b>.</i> (AFSP1 87)	<i>You <b>cheeky sparrow!</b> Caught you nicely!</i> (AFSEng 164)
(753)	<i>Idź <b>serdeńko</b>, bo cię trzepnę.</i> (AFZPI 74)	<i>Or must I help <b>you</b> on your way?!</i> (AFZEng 63)
(754)	<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)
(755)	<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 <b>a fruit juice</b> for Helka for one zloty fifty. She gave him the change.</i> (ZMEng 189)
(756)	<i>Dostaniesz karę, zobaczysz! Nie pozwolą ci jeść <b>tłuszczku</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)
(757)	<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)
(758)	<i><b>sprzedawczyk</b></i> (ZMPI 266)	<i><b>traitor</b></i> (ZMEng 275)
(759)	<i>Kiedy na sofie rozparty szeroko, półgębkiem gada, śpi na jedno oko, mamyż mu śpiewać <b>arietkę</b> wesołą?</i> (AFSP1 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)

Table 26 continued

Example number	Polish translated version	English original version
(760)	<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)
(761)	<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)
(762)	<i><b>Łotrzyk</b> nadal śpi.</i> (ACPI 92)	<i><b>The blighter's</b> asleep still.</i> (ACEng 121)
(763)	<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> (JEng 82)

Diminutives expressing the depreciative meaning of insult, annoyance, and/or anger intensify the negative evaluation and indicate superiority (755). 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*), in titles (e.g., *panek*) and kinship terms (e.g., *serdeńko*). They are applied mostly in conversations between friends (750) and between members of family (756). In some cases the diminutives are modified by adjectives such as *silly* in English, which intensifies negative evaluation. There is only one example of their application in English (*little fool* in examples 760 and 761).

s) the meaning of distance/aversion

Table 27. The meaning of distance/aversion

Example number	Polish original version	English translated version
(764)	<i>Nic w nim nie budziło takiego obrzydzenia jak <b>mały</b>, brązowy, nadspodziewanie szybki <b>prusak</b>.</i> (ZMPI 234)	<i>Nothing aroused such revulsion in him as the <b>small</b> brown, unexpectedly speedy <b>cockroach</b>.</i> (ZMEng 240)
(765)	<i>(...) spojrział na Szackiego wzrokiem, jakim dzieci w klasie patrzą na (...) <b>pupilka</b> wychowawczynie.</i> (ZMPI 102)	<i>(...) gave Szacki the sort of look children in class give the teacher's <b>pet</b>.</i> (ZMEng 100)
(766)	<i>Szacki przegiął z obcesowością, ale musiał usadzić <b>doktorka</b> na wstępie.</i> (ZMPI 297)	<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.</i> (ZMEng 307)
(767)	<i>(...) jak zobaczyłem tę znienawidzoną twarz, ten cyniczny błysk w oku, kpiący <b>uśmieszek</b>...</i> (ZMPI 313)	<i>(...) when I saw that hateful face, that cynical glint in his eye, that mocking <b>sneer</b>...</i> (ZMEng 324)

Table 27 continued

(768)	(...) kiedy spotkali się wszyscy ponad miesiąc temu w salce architektonicznego <b>potworka</b> na Łazienkowskiej (...). (ZMPI 319)	(...) when they'd all met a month ago in the classroom at the architectural <b>monstrosity</b> on Łazienkowska Street (...). (ZMEng 330)
(769)	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)	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)
Example number	Polish translated version	English original version
(770)	<i>paskudny, długowłosy</i> <b>typek</b> (ACPI 41)	<i>nasty, long-haired</i> <b>chap</b> (ACEng 55)
(771)	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)	Every feeling of displeasure against <b>the former</b> was so sharpened by immediate disappointment, that she could hardly reply with tolerable civility (...). (JA-Eng 72)

The diminutives presented in Table 27 are mostly used in Polish. The only example of their application in English is (764).

The Tables from 20 to 27 present the translation of diminutives associated with negative evaluation. The strategies applied by the translators have already been mentioned. 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.

### 7.3.1.3 Proverbs/sayings/fixed expressions

Table 28. Proverbs/sayings/fixed expressions

Example number	Polish original version	English translated version
(772)	<i>mała ojczyzna</i> (ZMPI 17)	<i>mini-homeland</i> (ZMEng 11)
(773)	<i>kupka nieszczęścia</i> (ZMPI 35)	<i>a heap of misery</i> (ZMEng 31)
(774)	<i>dziurka od klucza</i> (ZMPI 40)	<i>keyhole</i> (ZMEng 36)
(775)	<i>z miną aniołka</i> (ZMPI 96)	<i>with an angelic expression</i> (ZMEng 95)
(776)	<i>zwyczajowa formułka</i> (ZMPI 111)	<i>the usual formula</i> (ZMEng 109)

Table 28 continued

(777)	<i>papierkowa robota</i> (ZMPI 116)	<i>paperwork</i> (ZMEng 114)
(778)	<i>półoświatek</i> (ZMPI 132)	<i>the underworld</i> (ZMEng 132)
(779)	<i>kącik ust</i> (ZMPI 149)	<i>the corner of her mouth</i> (ZMEng 150)
(780)	<i>ślepa uliczka</i> (ZMPI 160)	<i>blind alley</i> (ZMEng 163)
(781)	<i>Potem poszło z górki.</i> (ZMPI 243)	<i>Then it had gone downhill.</i> (ZMEng 250)
(782)	(...) przyklejając (jej) <i>etykietkę</i> (ZMPI 295)	(...) <i>labelling her</i> (ZMEng 306)
(783)	<i>Zamieniał stryjek za siekierkę kijek.</i> (AFZPI 126)	<i>For me, as uncle, profit lacks – I've swapped a cudgel for my axe!</i> (AFZEng 99)
(784)	(...) wykrzywił usta w <i>podkówkę.</i> (ZMPI 250)	(he) <i>turned down the corners of his mouth.</i> (ZMEng 258)
(785)	(...) usta wygięły jej się w <i>podkówkę.</i> (ZMPI 323)	(...) <i>the corners of her mouth turned down in dismay.</i> (ZMEng 335)
(786)	<i>odsylać z kwitkiem</i> (ZMPI 131)	<i>sending away (...) untreated</i> (ZMEng 132)
(787)	(...) <i>nie zostawili na nim suchej nitki.</i> (ZMPI 149)	(they) <i>had picked him to shreds.</i> (ZMEng 151)
(788)	<i>Wyście sobie, a my sobie. Każdy sobie rzepkę skrobie.</i> (SWPI 13)	<i>You have your ways, we have ours.</i> (SWEng 26)
Example number	Polish translated version	English original version
(789)	<i>Ilekróć Jack spojrział na George, wyglądał, jakby w oczach zapalały mu się żaróweczki rozjaśniające jego spojrzenie.</i> (MNPI 121)	<i>Whenever he looked at George, Jack's eyes looked like they had little lightbulbs behind them, they were so bright.</i> (MNEng 107)
(790)	<i>mała czarna</i> (MNPI 163) (about a dress)	<i>little black number</i> (MNEng 147)
(791)	<i>Następnego ranka</i> (...) (ACPI 9)	(...) <i>the following morning.</i> (ACEng 12)
(792)	<i>ślepa uliczka</i> (ACPI 19)	<i>a cul-de-sac</i> (ACEng 26)
(793)	<i>To są ciężko zapracowane pieniądze (...) Jeśli myśli pan, że zamierzam je oddać ciepłą rączką, to się pan myli.</i> (ACPI 64)	<i>That money was worked for (...) hard. If you think I'm going to hand it out like so much dirt – well, you're mistaken.</i> (ACEng 83)
(794)	<i>iskierki w oczach</i> (ACPI 72)	<i>twinkle in eyes</i> (ACEng 94)
(795)	<i>Edward jest łagodny jak baranek.</i> (ACPI 79)	<i>He's such a mild lamb.</i> (ACEng 103)

Table 28 continued

(796)	<i>Był młodzieńcem o urodzie <b>cherubinka</b>.</i> (ACPI 94)	<i>He was a <b>cherubic</b>-looking youth.</i> (ACEng 123)
(797)	<i>złośliwy <b>uśmieszek</b></i> (MNPI 117)	<i><b>smirk</b></i> (MNEng 104)
(798)	<i>(...) bądź grzeczną <b>dziewczynką</b>.</i> (MNPI 184)	<i>(...) there's a good <b>girl</b>.</i> (MNEng 167)
(799)	<i><b>kąciki</b> ust</i> (MNPI 253)	<i><b>the edges</b> of the mouth</i> (MNEng 234)
(800)	<i><b>kąciki</b> oczu</i> (MNPI 261)	<i><b>the corner</b> of the eyes</i> (MNEng 241)
(801)	<i><b>iskierka</b> w oku</i> (MNPI 329)	<i><b>a twinkle</b> in his eye</i> (MNEng 308)
(802)	<i>(...) spoglądając na pana Darcy'ego ze znaczącym <b>uśmieszkiem</b>.</i> (JAPI 49)	<i>(...) directed her eye towards Mr Darcy with a very expressive <b>smile</b>.</i> (JAEng 36)
(803)	<i>lekki jak <b>piórko</b></i> (JAPI 234)	<i>as light as <b>a feather</b></i> (JAEng 174)
(804)	<i>(...) i prawil wszystkim mile <b>słówka</b>.</i> (JAPI 336)	<i>(...) and said many pretty <b>things</b>.</i> (JAEng 253)
(805)	<i>wesoła jak <b>szczygiełek</b></i> (ACPI 123)	<i>as merry as a – <b>a cricket</b></i> (ACEng 163)
(806)	<i>czarny sweter z wycięciem w <b>serek</b></i> (MNPI 87)	<i>black <b>V-neck</b> jumper</i> (MNEng 74)
(807)	<i>Nie zdarzało się, żeby poleciało jej <b>oczko</b> w rajstopach.</i> (MNPI 177–178)	<i>Her stockings were never <b>laddered</b>.</i> (MNEng 161)
(808)	<i>szepnąć <b>słówko</b></i> (MNPI 267)	<i>tip <b>the wink</b></i> (MNEng 247)
(809)	<i>(...) inteligentna piękna kobieta ma po <b>dziurki</b> w nosie takiego pacana jak ja.</i> (ACPI 41)	<i>(...) a clever, beautiful woman getting fed up with an ass like me.</i> (ACEng 55)
(810)	<i>trącić <b>myszka</b></i> (MNPI 96)	<i>feel too anachronistic</i> (MNEng 83)
(811)	<i>Więc kiedy zdałeś sobie sprawę, jaki ze mnie smakowity <b>kąsek</b>?</i> (MNPI 363)	<i>So when did you realise just how tasty I really was?</i> (MNEng 341)

Table 28 presents Polish and English diminutives used in proverbs, sayings, and fixed expressions. It illustrates the fact 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 the translated versions with diminutive forms by:

- a) modifying original texts (e.g., 807);
- b) exchanging particular elements (e.g., 806);
- c) using functional equivalents (e.g., 810).

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

- a) use of elaborate modification (e.g., 784);

- b) exchange of diminutive forms from the original text for more suitable elements in the translated version (e.g., 786);  
 c) use of functional equivalents (e.g., 778).

After analysing Table 28 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 examples of domestication.

### 7.3.2 Translation of pragmatic functions of diminutives

The Tables from 29 to 33 serve as an illustration to Chapter 4. The analysis of Polish and English diminutives and their translated versions (which are used in different speech acts) shows that Poles employ diminutive forms more frequently than the English do. Nevertheless, as it has already been mentioned, this is due to the fact that the English rely on the context and suitable lexis to a larger extent. 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, that is, the use of diminutives in:

1. Assertive acts.
2. Directive acts.
3. Commissive acts.
4. Expressive acts.
5. Vocative acts.

#### 7.3.2.1 Diminutives in assertive acts

**Table 29. Diminutives in assertive acts**

Example number	Polish original version	English translated version
(812)	<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)
(813)	<i>(...) tak podskocznie, tak <b>mileńko</b> (...).</i> (SWPI 37)	<i>(...) <b>tenderly enlivening</b>(...).</i> (SWEng 46)
(814)	<i>(...) ja wolę <b>gaik</b> spokojny (...).</i> (SWPI 146)	<i>(...) I prefer a peaceful <b>glade</b> (...).</i> (SWEng 144)

Table 29 continued

(815)	<i>Domek mały, chata skąpa.</i> (SWPI 72)	<i>Peasant homestead, hut and shed.</i> (SWEng 79)
(816)	Wybrałem dziś weselisko, twój <b>dworek, drózkę</b> (...). (SWPI 110)	Your wedding-feast I chose today – your <b>home, your path</b> (...). (SWEng 113)
(817)	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)
(818)	Bęben ci urosnie, 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)
(819)	(...) 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)
(820)	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)	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)
(821)	To był <b>studenciak</b> z inteligentnego domu. (ZMPI 238)	He was a <b>college boy</b> from an intelligent-sia home. (ZMEng 245)
(822)	A to już nie lo <b>ponienki</b> ; Sprawa inso. (SWPI 162)	Not for the likes of you, m'dear! Our cause is different. (SWEng 157)
(823)	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)
(824)	(...) każdy ma swoje osobne, co go trzyma – a te <b>drobne rzeczki, małe, niepozorne</b> , 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)
(825)	Przy <b>samiuśkim</b> koniu stałem. (SWPI 117)	I stood beside that horse <b>an' all</b> . (SWEng 119)
(826)	Taki świat a tutaj <b>blizutko</b> . (JIPI 106)	It's such a long way, and it's <b>nice and close</b> here. (JIEng 93)
(827)	Za <b>koniuszek</b> ... (AFSP 94)	Pull <b>the ends</b> ... (AFSEng 169)
(828)	Jedna mnie tu zwiódła <b>chmurka</b> . (SWPI 31)	A <b>little cloudlet</b> helped me steer. (SWEng 41)
(829)	Tak z nudy (...) bywam wiele; (...) <b>partyjka, kolacyjka</b> (...). (SWPI 140)	When life's a bore (...) I make quite sure I have (...) <b>games of whist and meals</b> (...). (SWEng 138)
(830)	<b>Mało szkoda</b> , krótki żal. (SWPI 142)	<b>Little damage</b> , brief regret! (SWEng 140)

Table 29 continued

(831)	<i>To tylko taki majowy <b>deszczyk</b>.</i> (JIPI 106)	<i>It's just a May <b>shower</b>.</i> (JIEng 93)
(832)	<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)
(833)	<i>(...) bóg-kobieta, lecz w zazdrości <b>diablik mały</b> (...)</i> . (AFZPI 21)	<i>My lady – female divinity – though <b>devilish</b> jealous (...)</i> . (AFZEng 26)
(834)	<i>Przy tym zawzięte jak <b>kogucik</b> młody.</i> (AFSPL 90)	<i><b>Cocksure</b>, pig-headed, certain she knows best.</i> (AFSEng 165)
(835)	<i>Papkin <b>nóżki</b> ściska, za przyjęcie dzięki składa.</i> (AFZPI 95)	<i>I am prostrate at your <b>feet</b>! So warm a welcome for a stranger!</i> (AFZEng 77)
(836)	<i>Wyście sobie, a my sobie. Każdy sobie <b>rzepkę</b> skrobie.</i> (SWPI 13)	<i>You have your ways, we have ours.</i> (SWEng 26)
(837)	<i>Zamieniał <b>stryjek</b> za <b>siekierkę kijek</b>.</i> (AFZPI 126)	<i>For me, as <b>uncle</b>, profit lacks – I've swapped a <b>cudgel</b> for my <b>axe</b>!</i> (AFZEng 99)
(838)	<i><b>Kamilku</b>, będziemy kochali cię wiecznie.</i> (ZMPI 200)	<i><b>Dearest Kamil</b>, we will love you for ever.</i> (ZMEng 205)
(839)	<i><b>Tatusiu</b>, zrobiłam to dla ciebie.</i> (ZMPI 75)	<i><b>Daddy</b>, I did it for you.</i> (ZMEng 73)
(840)	<i>To doprawdy nieczuły ze mnie <b>strycio</b>!</i> (JIPI 102)	<i>What a thoughtless <b>uncle</b> I am!</i> (JIEng 89)
(841)	<i>Nie, nie póde, <b>matusiu</b>.</i> (SWPI 64)	<i>No, please, <b>mama</b>! I can't go yet!</i> (SWEng 72)
(842)	<i>Kochany <b>chłopczyna</b>!</i> (AFSPL 19)	<i>The darling <b>boy</b>!</i> (AFSEng 112)
(843)	<i><b>Monia</b> mówiła mi (...)</i> . (ZMPI 251)	<i><b>Monika</b> told me (...)</i> . (ZMEng 258)
(844)	<i>(...) i ty, i <b>Hanusia</b>, i ja (...)</i> . (SWPI 141)	<i>You (...) with <b>Hanna</b> and myself (...)</i> . (SWEng 139)
(845)	<i>Ale <b>tatuś</b> nie lubi listów <b>stryjcia</b>.</i> (JIPI 107)	<i>But <b>Daddy</b> doesn't like your letters, <b>Uncle</b>.</i> (JIEng 94)
(846)	<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 play-school.</i> (ZMEng 291)
(847)	<i>Pamiętam ciebie zupełnie <b>malutką</b> (...)</i> . (JIPI 53)	<i>I remember when you were a <b>very little girl</b> (...)</i> . (JIEng 40)
(848)	<i>Biedny <b>Gustawek</b>! Wszyscy bij zabij na niego.</i> (AFSPL 43)	<i>Poor <b>boy</b>! They've really got it in for you!</i> (AFSEng 130)
(849)	<i>O, biedny, biedny <b>Gucio mały</b>.</i> (AFSPL 44)	<i>Poor <b>little Gussie</b>, <b>helpless mite</b>!</i> (AFSEng 131)

Table 29 continued

(850)	<i>W moim <b>domku</b> zimno mnie.</i> (SWPl 68)	<i>My <b>little house</b> is chill.</i> (SWEng 75)
(851)	<i>(...) żebyś miał <b>kąt</b> (...) <b>maleńki</b> (...).</i> (SWPl 147)	<i>A private <b>corner</b> (...) some <b>tiny spot</b> (...).</i> (SWEng 144)
(852)	<i><b>Buciki</b> mom troche ciasne.</i> (SWPl 23)	<i>My <b>boots</b> are pinching.</i> (SWEng 34)
(853)	<i>Pot oblewa całe <b>czołko</b>; możesz się zaziębić wnet.</i> (SWPl 25)	<i>The sweat's just pouring from your <b>brow!</b> Take care! You'll catch a fearful chill.</i> (SWEng 36)
(854)	<i>W tej <b>kurteczce</b> lata – jeszcze kataru, u diaska, dostanie.</i> (AFSP1 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)
(855)	<i>Bo jak żeście drzwi <b>snopkiem</b> zastawiali, to pewnie wiało jak cholera.</i> (ZMPl 89)	<i>But keeping the door propped open with a <b>sheaf of straw</b> must get bloody windy.</i> (ZMEng 87)
(856)	<i>Coś nerwowo nasz <b>doktorek</b>.</i> (ZMPl 141)	<i>Our <b>doctor's</b> rather nervy.</i> (ZMEng 142)
(857)	<i>Uuu, niegrzeczny <b>prokurator</b>.</i> (ZMPl 82)	<i>Aaaww, what a rude <b>prosecutor</b>.</i> (ZMEng 79)
(858)	<i>Tak, powinni to napisać pod <b>orzelkiem</b> przy drzwiach jako nasze zawołanie herbowe.</i> (ZMPl 170)	<i>Yes, they should write that underneath the <b>eagle</b> above the door as our heraldic motto.</i> (ZMEng 172)
(859)	<i>Wygląda na to, że <b>wdówka</b> nie będzie musiała pytać w aptece o polskie zamienniki.</i> (ZMPl 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)
(860)	<i>Musiałem przecież wypełniać <b>rubryczki</b> w protokołach.</i> (ZMPl 237)	<i>I must have filled in <b>the boxes</b> in the witness-statement forms.</i> (ZMEng 244)
(861)	<i>Dowiedzieliśmy się, że odłożył okrągłą <b>sumkę</b>.</i> (ZMPl 268)	<i>We found out he put aside a large <b>sum</b>.</i> (ZMEng 278)
(862)	<i>Dostaniesz karę, zobaczysz! Nie pozwolą ci jeść <b>tłuszczyku</b>, bobasie.</i> (ZMPl 233)	<i>You'll get punished, you'll see! They won't let you eat <b>fat</b>, kiddywink.</i> (ZMEng 239)
(863)	<i>Może <b>słoweczko</b> z wymówką, bo coś na mnie kiwa <b>główką</b>.</i> (SWPl 34)	<i>Perhaps a <b>word</b> of mild correction, with a nod in my direction...</i> (SWEng 44)
(864)	<i>Moja <b>duszko</b>, tu się mówi o kościelnej dostojności (...).</i> (SWPl 17)	<i>My <b>dear</b>, the subject we're discussing's how the Church may dignify our Reverend Father.</i> (SWEng 29)
(865)	<i>Co skłoniło Podstolinę, <b>wdówkę</b> tanną, <b>wdówkę</b> gładką, za takową iść gadzinę.</i> (AFZPl 80)	<i>How that Squire persuaded her – a tempting <b>widow</b>, suave, urbane – such a reptile to prefer.</i> (AFZEng 67)

Table 29 continued

Example number	Polish translated version	English original version
(866)	<i>Mała suma</i> nie wystarczyłaby na to wszystko. (JAPI 309)	A <b>small</b> sum could not do all this. (JA-Eng 233)
(867)	Może <b>troszeczkę</b> zraniłem twoje ego. (MNPI 205)	Perhaps your ego's <b>a teensy bit</b> hurt. (MNEng 189)
(868)	Kiedy się jej <b>ubranko</b> nie podoba, to przesikuje je na wylot. (MNPI 228)	She goes through <b>clothes</b> like they're going out of fashion. (MNEng 211)
(869)	Pasuje do sytuacji. Wszystkie informacje są ukryte w jej <b>rozumku</b> . Sama nie wie, kim jest i skąd pochodzi. (DKPI 60)	It suits you perfectly because it's a mystery where you came from and it's a mystery who you are. (DKEng 53)
(870)	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)
(871)	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)
(872)	Mam też miły <b>domek</b> w pobliżu Cobham. (ACPI 17)	I've a nice <b>cottage</b> near Cobham. (ACEng 23)
(873)	Gdybym nie pracował dla tej cudownej kobiety, sprzedałbym to za niezłą <b>sumkę</b> , moja droga. Niezłą <b>sumkę</b> . (MNPI 24)	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> . (MNEng 16)
(874)	W pociągu nie było żadnych Anglików, z wyjątkiem tego <b>małego urzędnika</b> . (ACPI 62)	There was no Englishman on the train except <b>a little clerk</b> . (ACEng 81)
(875)	W Brighton będzie osobą o dużo mniejszym znaczeniu niż tutaj, nawet jako zwykła, <b>mała kokietka</b> . (JAPI 241)	At Brighton she will be of less importance even as a common <b>flirt</b> than she has been here. (JAEng 180)
(876)	Widać tutaj <b>maleńki ślad</b> . (ACPI 97)	You can just see <b>the tiny</b> puncture. (ACEng 127)
(877)	Co za pyszny figiel, żeby pojechać rano i do tej chwili ani <b>słówkiem</b> o niczym nie pisać! (JAPI 10)	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. (JAEng 8)
(878)	Nie powiedziałaś mi ani <b>słówka!</b> (JAPI 69)	Why, Jane – you never dropt <b>a word</b> of this! (JAEng 50)
(879)	Marzyło mi się tylko <b>malutkie co nieco</b> . (DKPI 21)	I was only thinking about <b>it</b> . (DKEng 21)
(880)	To taki <b>mały prezencik</b> . (ACPI 13)	<b>A little present</b> . (ACEng 17)
(881)	(...) 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)

Table 29 continued

(882)	<i>Mała broń, ale skuteczna.</i> (ACPI 55)	<i>A small weapon but efficacious.</i> (ACEng 72)
(883)	(...) więc pan dokłada <b>mały szczegół</b> własnego pomysłu o przecieku w wydziale Henslera. (ACPI 98)	(...) and you add a <b>damaging little invention</b> of your own about a leakage in Hensley's department. (ACEng 129)
(884)	<i>Mała odmiana</i> każdemu dobrze robi. (ACPI 72)	<i>A bit of change</i> does one good. (ACEng 94)
(885)	– Ach, znalazł pan coś, pułkowniku?	– Ah, you have found something, colonel?
	– Tylko <b>mały kamyczek</b> . (ACPI 116)	– Only a <b>little pebble</b> . (ACEng 153)
(886)	To za <b>mała sprawa</b> jak dla gazet (...). (MNPI 280)	It's <b>not big enough</b> for the tabloids (...). (MNEng 259)
(887)	Odniosłem wrażenie, że myśl ta spodobała się mej patronce, a rozumie pani, jak szczęśliwy jestem, gdy nadarzy mi się okazja powiedzenia jakiegoś <b>małego komplementiku</b> , tak chętnie przyjmowanego przez damy. (JAPI 76–77)	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)
(888)	To takie <b>małe drobiazgi</b> , które sprawiają lady Katarzynie przyjemność (...). (JAPI 77)	These are the kind of <b>little things</b> which please her ladyship (...). (JAEng 55)
(889)	(...) zaszczyci cię <b>chwilką</b> uwagi. (JAPI 166)	(...) you will be honoured with <b>some portion</b> of her notice (...). (JAEng 124)
(890)	(...) inteligentna piękna kobieta ma po <b>dziurki</b> w nosie takiego pacana jak ja. (ACPI 41)	(...) a clever, beautiful woman getting fed up with an ass like me. (ACEng 55)
(891)	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)
(892)	Edward jest łagodny jak <b>baranek</b> . (ACPI 79)	He's such a mild <b>lamb</b> . (ACEng 103)
(893)	<i>Dzieciątka, tatuś</i> już wrócił. (DKPI 20)	<i>Daddy's</i> here. (DKEng 20)
(894)	Oczywiście, sądzi, że część tej uprzejmości trzeba przypisać jego pokrewieństwu z miłymi <b>kuzyneczkami</b> (...). (JAPI 84)	Something, he supposed, might be attributed to his connection with <b>them</b> (...). (JAEng 60)
(895)	Mo, <b>złotko</b> , właśnie dwukrotnie wysłałaś tę samą wiadomość. (MNPI 61)	Mo <b>hon</b> , you just sent me the same message twice. (MNEng 50)
(896)	(...) ale jestem przekonana, że teraz, kiedy drogi <b>wujaszek</b> przyjechał, wszystko będzie dobrze. (JAPI 291)	But now that my dear <b>uncle</b> is come, I hope everything will be well. (JAEng 219)

Table 29 continued

(897)	O, <i>zjadłaś zupkę, kochanieńka.</i> (ACPI 71)	<i>Ah, you've drunk your soup, my dear.</i> (ACEng 92)
(898)	<i>Ależ byłam głuptasem, że uwierzyłam w to ogłoszenie (...).</i> (ACPI 30)	<i>What a silly little fool I was to believe in that advertisement (...).</i> (ACEng 40)
(899)	<i>Bidulka.</i> (DKPI 50)	<i>Poor old thing.</i> (DKEng 44)
(900)	<i>On jest taki biedny, zagubiony jak mały chłopiec.</i> (ACPI 128)	<i>He is so pathetic, so child-like.</i> (ACEng 169)
(901)	<i>Myszę, że zawzięła się na biednego wujaszka (...).</i> (ACPI 131)	<i>I think she had a down on poor little Nunks (...).</i> (ACEng 172)
(902)	<i>Moja biedulka.</i> (MNPI 232)	<i>Oh poor heart.</i> (MNEng 215)
(903)	<i>Nie możesz (...) żądać, by takie dziewczątka miały rozum zarówno ojca, jak i matki.</i> (JAPI 34)	<i>(...) you must not expect such girls to have the sense of their father and mother.</i> (JAEng 25)
(904)	<i>Biednaś ty, moja Lizzy!</i> (JAPI 240)	<i>Poor little Lizzy!</i> (JAEng 179)
(905)	<i>Biedna mamusia naprawdę cierpi i nie opuszcza swego pokoju.</i> (JAPI 280)	<i>My poor mother is really ill, and keeps her room.</i> (JAEng 210)
(906)	<i>Biedaczek, tak desperacko pragnie być młody!</i> (ACPI 11)	<i>Poor George, how terribly he wanted to be young!</i> (ACEng 14)
(907)	<i>Oczywiście Claude, biedaczyna, nie jest zbyt bystry.</i> (ACPI 37)	<i>Of course Claude, poor fellow, hasn't many brains.</i> (ACEng 49)
(908)	<i>Ogródek, w którym stoi mój skromny domek (...).</i> (JAPI 76)	<i>The garden in which stands my humble abode (...).</i> (JAEng 54)
(909)	<i>Wiemy, jak niewiele ponęt ma skromna nasza chatynka.</i> (JAPI 224)	<i>We know how little there is to tempt anyone to our humble abode.</i> (JAEng 167)
(910)	<i>Właściwie jest trochę tępawy.</i> (MNPI 366)	<i>He's a bit dull actually.</i> (MNEng 344)
(911)	<i>Nietrudno było wybrać jakieś małe narzędzie odpowiednie do pańskiego celu.</i> (ACPI 98)	<i>It was easy to select a neat little tool for your purpose.</i> (ACEng 129)
(912)	<i>Mam całą tę milutką korespondencję, z listem o kapsułce włącznie.</i> (ACPI 132)	<i>I've got all that pretty correspondence, including the one about the cachet.</i> (ACEng 174)
(913)	<i>Nie ma o tym pojęcia. Mieszka sobie w swojej chatce, radośnie uzupełniając albumy z wycinkami i karmiąc Zemstę i Słodką.</i> (MNPI 36)	<i>She has no idea, lives in her little cottage, happily filling her scrapbooks and feeding Revenge and Sweet.</i> (MNEng 27)
(914)	<i>... ale tak między nami, nie mam pojęcia, co się dzieje w jej ślicznej główce.</i> (MNPI 98)	<i>... But between you and me, I haven't got a clue what's going on inside her pretty little head.</i> (MNEng 85)

Table 29 continued

(915)	<i>Słowo daję, <b>siostrzyczko</b>, wydaje mi się, że bardziej prawdopodobne jest zyskanie Pemberley za pomocą pieniędzy niż naśladownictwa. (JAP1 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>
(916)	<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. (JAP1 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>
(917)	<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. (JAP1 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 under your orders. (JAEng 27)</i>
(918)	<i>To jego <b>przyjaciółeczka!</b> (ACPI 43)</i>	<i>She's Reggie's <b>little friend!</b> (ACEng 57)</i>
(919)	<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>
(920)	<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>
(921)	<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>
(922)	<i>Ta <b>mała</b> wygląda jak futrzana pomarańcza. (DKPI 58)</i>	<i><b>He</b> looks like a furry orange. (DKEng 51)</i>

Assertive acts adhere to the Maxims of Agreement and Sympathy (see Chapter 4.2). 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 (898). The speaker may also refer to the addressee or the person who is not a participant in a given conversation, intending to maintain somebody's positive face (905). Nevertheless, diminutives may express negative evaluation, which threatens the addressee's or the non-participant's positive face (e.g., 821 or 921). 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 minimise its significance, which maintains his/her positive face (e.g., 908). In some cases diminutive forms may be applied when the speaker announces something pleasant for the addressee, minimising the cost and praise to self, as the speaker wants to play down its value and the fact or effort of getting it (880). They may as well be used in compliment responses, mitigating the compliment by minimising the evaluated thing. In that case, it is the speaker who threatens his/her own positive face (909).

## 7.3.2.2 Diminutives in directive acts

Table 30. Diminutives in directive acts

Example number	Polish original version	English translated version
Asking for action		
(923)	<i>Odpocnijże haw, <b>Wojteku</b> (...).</i> (SWPl 67)	<i><b>Wojtek</b>, love, come take a rest (...).</i> (SWEng 74)
(924)	<i>Jasiek, drużba, słuchaj, <b>bratku</b> (...).</i> (SWPl 55)	<i>Jasiek, fellow-groomsman – here!</i> (SWEng 63)
(925)	<i>Wstań, <b>serdeńko</b>, i chodź ze mną.</i> (AFZPl 125)	<i>Rise, <b>my son</b>, and come with me!</i> (AFZEng 98)
(926)	<i><b>Tatusiowi</b> powiadaj, że tu gości będzie miał (...).</i> (SWPl 66)	<i>Tell your <b>daddy</b> this, my dear: guests are coming (...).</i> (SWEng 73)
(927)	<i>Przystaw gęby, <b>żonisiu</b>.</i> (SWPl 68)	<i>Say no more about it, <b>love!</b></i> (SWEng 75)
(928)	<i>Skłońże ku mnie <b>główkę</b>, skłoń.</i> (SWPl 70)	<i>Turn your <b>head</b> towards me, sweet!</i> (SWEng 77)
(929)	<i>(...) przytul mnie, <b>Wojteku</b>, do siebie.</i> (SWPl 71)	<i><b>Wojtek</b>, hug me to your chest.</i> (SWEng 78)
(930)	<i>Ino, <b>matuś</b>, zaś nie swarzcie (...).</i> (SWPl 103)	<i>Let's not start to quarrel now!</i> (SWEng 106)
(931)	<i>Żono, słuchaj no, <b>żonisia</b>, pódź no, <b>Hanus!</b></i> (SWPl 112)	<i>Listen <b>darling wife!</b></i> (SWEng 114)
(932)	<i>Daj mi, luby, <b>kanareczka</b>.</i> (AFZPl 62)	<i>What I'd like is <b>a canary!</b></i> (AFZEng 55)
(933)	<i>Nie płacz, <b>Jadziu</b> (...).</i> (ZMPl 145)	<i>Don't cry, <b>Jadzia</b> (...).</i> (ZMEng 146)
(934)	<i><b>Guciu</b>, <b>Guciuniu</b>, (...) bądź też rozsądny.</i> (AFSPl 40)	<i><b>Gustave!</b> Think before you speak! Be sensible (...).</i> (AFSEng 127)
(935)	<i>Zradź go, zdradź, moja <b>duszko!</b></i> (AFSPl 86)	<i>Betray him!</i> (AFSEng 163)
(936)	<i><b>Panienka</b> się nie zgniwiają (...).</i> (SWPl 14)	<i>(...) please don't worry (...).</i> (SWEng 27)
(937)	<i>A w <b>kółeczko</b> (...).</i> (SWPl 14)	<i>Into <b>the circle</b>.</i> (SWEng 27)
(938)	<i>Proszę, proszę, <b>chwilkę</b> w koło.</i> (SWPl 15)	<i>Come along, then! Join the round.</i> (SWEng 27)
(939)	<i>Spójrz, jakie piękne, krągłe <b>literki</b>.</i> (ZMPl 29)	<i>Look what lovely round <b>letters</b>.</i> (ZMEng 24)
(940)	<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)

Table 30 continued

(941)	<i>A przyniosłeś <b>stoiczek</b> swojej rozpuszczalnej z biura, żeby pani zrobiła ci kawę?</i> (ZMPI 29)	Brought <b>a jar</b> of your instant from the office, eh, so the lady can make you some coffee? (ZMEng 24)
(942)	<i>W sensie: czy marchewka, czy <b>kotlecik</b>?</i> (ZMPI 102)	You mean was it the carrot or <b>the chops</b> ? (ZMEng 100)
(943)	<i>Pozwala ci sprowadzić twoje dzieciństwo i życie twoich starych do "ostatniej <b>paróweczki</b>"?</i> (ZMPI 266)	Allow you to reduce your childhood and your parents' lives to a silly satire full of jokes about <b>sausages</b> ? (ZMEng 275)
(944)	<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> (SWPI 88)	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! (SWEng 93)
(945)	<i>Przygruchaj sobie jakąś posterunkową, niech ci pisze okrągłymi <b>literkami</b>.</i> (ZMPI 23)	Get some lady constable to write it out for you in nice round <b>letters</b> . (ZMEng 18)
(946)	<i>Za resztę kupi pan córce <b>małe mieszkanko</b>, żeby na nią czekało i zyskiwało na wartości.</i> (ZMPI 275)	For the rest you can buy your daughter <b>a small flat</b> that can gain in value while it waits for her. (ZMEng 285)
(947)	<i>A <b>Klarunia</b> niech pamięta nie powiadać nic nikomu</i> (AFZPI 57)	<b>Clara, my dear</b> (...) remember, quiet as a mouse! (AFZEng 50)
(948)	<i>Mój <b>majstruniu</b>, mówcie śmiało.</i> (AFZPI 69)	Come, <b>Master Mason</b> , don't be shy! (AFZEng 60)
(949)	<i>Bądź, <b>serdeńko</b>, bez obawy.</i> (AFZPI 87)	He need fear nothing for the nonce... (AFZEng 72)
(950)	<i>Byle mnie kochał <b>stryjaszek</b> kochany, był mi zawsze zdrow, czerstwy i rumiany!</i> (AFSPI 11)	So long as my dear <b>Uncle</b> loves me ever, I shall be hale and hearty – perish never! (AFSEng 106)
(951)	<i>Propozycja jest poważna, więc proszę siebie darować <b>żarciki</b>.</i> (ZMPI 275)	It's a serious offer, so please spare yourself <b>the little jokes</b> . (ZMEng 285)
(952)	<i>Idź <b>serdeńko</b>, bo cię trzepnę.</i> (AFZPI 74)	Or must I help you on your way?! (AFZEng 63)
Asking for permission		
(953)	<i><b>Matusiu</b>, jesce ino w kółko raz.</i> (SWPI 64)	Oh, <b>mummy</b> , please! One more dance and then I'll go. (SWEng 72)
(954)	<i>(...) muse widzieć cepiny, <b>matusieńku</b>, <b>matusiu</b>, ino dziś, ino dziś.</i> (SWPI 64)	Please, <b>ma</b> , please – do let me stay! Just this once – today's the day! (SWEng 72)
Asking for patience		
(955)	<i>Jeszcze <b>momencik</b>.</i> (ZMPI 235)	Just <b>a moment</b> . (ZMEng 241)
(956)	<i><b>Chwileczka</b> jeszcze.</i> (JIPI 72)	Just <b>a moment</b> . (JIEng 59)
(957)	<i><b>Momencik</b>, zaraz sprawdzę.</i> (ZMPI 282)	Just <b>a moment</b> , I'll go and check. (ZMEng 292)

Table 30 continued

Asking for information		
(958)	<i>Mamo, wiesz, ile razy wygrałam z tata w chińczyka?</i> (ZMPI 57)	<i>Mummy, do you know how many times I beat Daddy at ludo?</i> (ZMEng 53)
(959)	<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)
(960)	<i>Tatuś sie Weselem cieszą...</i> (SWPI 142)	<i>Are you enjoying it, Papa?</i> (SWEng 140)
(961)	<i>Wiktorku (...) jak dawno pan tu pracuje?</i> (JIPI 25)	<i>Wiktor, dear boy (...) How long have you been working here?</i> (JIEng 12)
(962)	<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)
(963)	<i>Gdzież Hanusia? Hanuś!</i> (SWPI 149)	<i>Hannah, dear! Where are you?</i> (SWEng 145)
(964)	<i>Cóż ta, gospośiu, na roli?</i> (SWPI 15)	<i>How's it going on your farm?</i> (SWEng 28)
(965)	<i>Pali pieniążek moskieski?</i> (SWPI 88)	<i>Muscovite money burns, you say...</i> (SWEng 94)
Example number	Polish translated version	English original version
Asking for action		
(966)	<i>Tak pani wybornie tańczy, panno Elżbieto, 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)
(967)	<i>Fredo, aniołku mój, czy mogłabyś...</i> (ACPI 28)	<i>Freda – darling angel – could you ever – I mean (...)</i> (ACEng 38)
(968)	<i>Leż tylko spokojnie i zdrowiej, kochanieńka.</i> (ACPI 68)	<i>Just lie still and get well, my dear.</i> (ACEng 89)
(969)	<i>Nie martw się tym teraz, maleńka.</i> (ACPI 27)	<i>Don't worry about that, little girl.</i> (ACEng 37)
(970)	<i>Pozwolę też sobie wykorzystać okazję i poprosić cię, kuzyneczko Elżbieto, o zarezerwowanie dla mnie dwóch pierwszych tańców.</i> (JAPI 98)	<i>And I take this opportunity of soliciting yours, Miss Elizabeth, for the two first dances especially.</i> (JAEng 71)
(971)	<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> (JAEng 71)

Table 30 continued

(972)	<i>Powieś pan koniecznie w galerii obrazów w Pemberley portrety wujaszka i ciocieczki Philipsów.</i> (JAPL 58)	<i>Do let the portraits of your <b>uncle and aunt</b> Philips be placed in the gallery at Pemberley.</i> (JAEng 43)
(973)	<i>Dlatego też Jane powinna wykorzystać każde <b>pół godzinki</b>, kiedy nadarza się okazja, by przykuć jego uwagę.</i> (JAPL 25)	<i>Jane should therefore make the most of every <b>half-hour</b> in which she can command his attention.</i> (JAEng 19)
(974)	<i>Szybciutko, Jane, powiedz nam <b>szybciutko</b>, moje serce!</i> (JAPL 34)	<i>Well, Jane, <b>make haste</b> and tell us; <b>make haste</b>, my love.</i> (JAEng 26)
(975)	<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)
(976)	<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)
(977)	<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)
(978)	<i>(...) bądź grzeczną <b>dziewczynką</b>.</i> (MNPI 184)	<i>(...) there's a good <b>girl</b>.</i> (MNEng 167)
Asking for permission		
(979)	<i>(...) mam tylko dwie <b>małe prośby</b> (...).</i> (JAPL 123)	<i>(...) I have two <b>small favours</b> to request.</i> (JAEng 90)
Asking for patience		
(980)	<i>Niech się <b>trozszkę</b> podenerwuje.</i> (MNPI 235)	<i>Keep him on his toes <b>a bit</b>.</i> (MNEng 217)
Asking for information		
(981)	<i>Co się dzieje, <b>słoneczko</b>?</i> (ACPI 124)	<i>What's the matter, <b>my sweet</b>?</i> (ACEng 164)
(982)	<i>Wie, kim jest tajemnicza postać, która ma uświetnić waszą <b>impreszkę</b>?</i> (DKPI 5)	<i>Even the name of the mystery celebrity?</i> (DKEng 7)
(983)	<i>Co tam słycać 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)
(984)	<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)
(985)	<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</b> I really was?</i> (MNEng 341)

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 minimise the cost to the hearer (see Chapter 4.3). 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 minimise the impact of a statement by using diminutives which soften the command (925) and minimise the imposition on the hearer, as using the diminutive minimises the object of request making it seem easy to cope with or insignificant (928). It also makes the request appear less obligatory or important (977) and marks friendly or close relations among the interlocutors (974). On the other hand, diminutives may also be used in face-threatening acts done off record, indicating irony (941).

Diminutive forms are also 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 (953).

Moreover, diminutives are used 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 present the time invested by the addressee as short (e.g., 957).

Diminutive forms are also applied in asking for information, communicating the speaker's attitude towards the respective referents. They may indicate negative politeness (959) or negative evaluation, threatening the hearer's positive face. Using off record strategies such as irony or sarcasm, in turn, aims at belittling the addressee (983).

Finally, diminutives are applied in asking for material goods. Nevertheless, there are no examples of this diminutive use in the corpus for the analysis presented in this work.

### 7.3.2.3 Diminutives in commissive acts

**Table 31. Diminutives in commissive acts**

Example number	Polish original version	English translated version
Offers		
(986)	<i>Tak, tatusiu, razem ci pomożemy.</i> (ZMPI 75)	Yes, <b>Daddy</b> , we'll both help you. (ZMEng 73)
(987)	<i>Dzień dobry, panie prokuratorze, może <b>papieroska</b>?</i> (ZMPI 135)	Good morning, Prosecutor, would you like a <b>cigarette</b> ? (ZMEng 136)
(988)	<i><b>Grosik</b> za twoje myśli, prokuratorze.</i> (ZMPI 256)	A <b>penny</b> for your thoughts, Prosecutor. (ZMEng 264)

Table 31 continued

(989)	Wiesz, co, <b>Papciu</b> – spraw się ładnie, a w <b>kieszonkę</b> grubo wpadnie. (AFZPl 68)	Come, <b>Papkin</b> , don't disgrace yourself! You'll not refuse a wad of pelf? (AFZEng 59)
(990)	Kiedy na sofie rozparty szeroko, półgębkiem gada, śpi na jedno oko, mamyż mu śpiewać <b>arietkę</b> wesolą? (AFSP1 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)
(991)	(...) do wozu się <b>koniki</b> zaprzągnie (...) i wszystko. (SWPl 132)	We'd harness <b>horses</b> to our coach (...) and all. (SWEng 132)
Suggestions		
(992)	(...) postawimy se dwór modrzewiowy, <b>brzózec</b> przed oknami posadzę. (SWPl 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)
(993)	Niechże mi tu wolno będzie (...) do <b>maluczkich</b> upaść <b>nóżec</b> (...). (AFZPl 90)	To fall at your <b>feet</b> is all I crave (...). (AFZEng 74)
Announcements		
(994)	(...) pomówię z <b>matusią</b> (...). (SWPl 13)	(...) I'd have a word with <b>mum</b> (...). (SWEng 26)
(995)	Chciałem coś powiedzieć czule, chciałem zapukać w <b>serduszko</b> . (SWPl 19)	My words were just a tender call – a gentle tap to wake your <b>heart</b> . (SWEng 31)
(996)	Ma dochody wprawdzie znaczne – Podstolina ma znaczniejsze; z <b>wdówką</b> zatem działać zacznę. (AFZPl 8)	Though Clara's fairly well-to-do – the widow Anna's got much more... I'll start by knocking at her door! (AFZEng 18)
Example number	Polish translated version	English original version
Offers		
(997)	Obiecuję ci, <b>duszko</b> , że jeśli ich się zjawi dwudziestu, złożę wizytę wszystkim, co do jednego. (JAP1 7)	Depend upon it, <b>my dear</b> , that when there are twenty, I will visit them all. (JA-Eng 7)
(998)	<b>Miętuska?</b> (MNPl 30)	<b>Minto</b> , anyone? (MNEng 21)
(999)	A przyjemny <b>mały bonus</b> byłby taki (...). (MNPl 40)	And, as a nice <b>little bonus</b> (...). (MNEng 30)
(1000)	Ja za to opowiem pani krótką <b>historyjkę</b> . (ACPl 38)	I want to tell you <b>a little story</b> , Mrs St John. (ACEng 50)
Suggestions		
(1001)	Proszę się o nic teraz nie martwić (...) Za <b>minutkę</b> złapiemy taksówkę i pojedziemy gdzieś napić się kawy. (ACPl 20)	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)
(1002)	A po co psuć nastrój <b>biedaczynie?</b> (ACPl 11)	Why should he be upset, <b>poor thing?</b> (ACEng 15)

Table 31 continued

(1003)	<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)
(1004)	<i>Będzie wzorową <b>koteczką</b>.</i> (DKPl 57)	<i>He'll be perfect.</i> (DKEng 50)
Announcements		
(1005)	<i>Czuję, że do mnie pasuje. Mam chęć na <b>małą wyprawę</b>.</i> (DKPl 61)	<i>And that's exactly how I feel.</i> (DKEng 53)
(1006)	<i>Kiedy tylko odzyskam mojego <b>chłopczy-nę</b>, naślę na nich całą policję z okolicy (...).</i> (ACPl 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)
(1007)	<i>(...) choć muszę jednak dodać jakieś dobre <b>słówko</b> za moją <b>małą Lizzy</b>.</i> (JAPl 7)	<i>(...) though I must throw in a good <b>word</b> for my <b>little Lizzy</b>.</i> (JAEng 6)
(1008)	<i><b>Zdrówko, mała</b>.</i> (MNPl 62)	<i><b>Cheers, babe</b>.</i> (MNEng 51)
(1009)	<i>Wezmę prysznic, <b>kotku!</b></i> (MNPl 171)	<i>I'm just having a shower, <b>pussycat!</b></i> (MNEng 155)
(1010)	<i>Kupię trochę <b>satynki</b> w ładniejszym kolorze, żeby go trochę ożywić (...).</i> (JAPl 229)	<i>And when I have bought some prettier-coloured <b>satin</b> to trim it with fresh (...).</i> (JAEng 170)

Commissive acts refer to future actions done by the speaker, as he/she commits himself/herself to performing an action which is at a cost to the speaker. They adhere to Leech's Tact Maxim and Generosity Maxim (see Chapter 4.4).

Diminutive forms are applied in offers, which refer to future actions done by the speaker and from which the addressee profits. Thus, they are performed at a cost to the speaker and to the benefit of the hearer. Moreover, offering something threatens the speaker's negative face, at the same time indicating positive politeness (e.g., 987).

Diminutive forms are applied in suggestions as well. They refer to future actions done both by the speaker and the addressee, which are 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 minimises benefit to the speaker (1003).

Diminutives are also used in announcements, which refer to future actions done by the speaker and from which the speaker himself/herself will benefit. They play down the speaker's benefit and pleasure, as they diminish the source of enjoyment (1005).

## 7.3.2.4 Diminutives in expressive acts

Table 32. Diminutives in expressive acts

Example number	Polish original version	English translated version
Greetings		
(1011)	<i>A, stryjaszek! Dzień dobry!</i> (AFSP1 10)	<i>Uncle! Good-day to you!</i> (AFSEng 106)
Compliments		
(1012)	<i>Niechaj lubym śpiew szelestem w lube, drogie uszko wpadnie.</i> (AFZP1 19)	<i>A song! Let music's soothing tone the loved one's gentle ear rejoice.</i> (AFZEng 25)
(1013)	<i>To sprawka pani wdzięku, pani jest bardzo miła, pani tak główkę schyliła...</i> (SWP1 11)	<i>It's your grace and charm that prompted what I said... I love the way you bow your head!</i> (SWEng 24)
(1014)	<i>Panienka se ta wesoła.</i> (SWP1 14)	<i>You're a one for larks.</i> (SWEng 27)
(1015)	<i>Pani to taki kozaczek; jak zesiądzie z konika, jest smutny.</i> (SWP1 10)	<i>A little Cossack to the life – out of the saddle, you look sad!</i> (SWEng 24)
(1016)	<i>(...) duszy czystej jak śnieżek, co świeżo przyprószy (...).</i> (AFSP1 91)	<i>(...) heart – pure as fresh-sprinkled snow (...).</i> (AFSEng 167)
Insults		
(1017)	<i>Jesteś małym karzelkiem – powiedział, cały czas z uśmiechem (...) i spróbował ją pogłaskać.</i> (ZMP1 233)	<i>You are a little midget, he said, smiling the while, and tried to stroke her.</i> (ZMEng 239)
(1018)	<i>Gównu prawda, pomyślał Szacki. Chcesz zatrzeć złe wrażenie, kłamczuszku.</i> (ZMP1 225)	<i>Like hell you did, thought Szacki. You're trying to put me off the scent, you lying bastard.</i> (ZMEng 231)
(1019)	<i>Hola, jaszczureczko!</i> (AFSP1 68)	<i>(...) you salamander (...).</i> (AFSEng 148)
	Polish translated version	English original version
Greetings		
(1020)	<i>Cześć, wujciu.</i> (ACPI 123)	<i>Hallo, Nunks.</i> (ACEng 162)
(1021)	<i>Cześć, laleczko.</i> (MNPI 140)	<i>Bye, doll.</i> (MNEng 125)
Compliments		
(1022)	<i>(...) a on był zawsze najśłodszym, najszlachetniejszym chłopaczkim na świecie.</i> (JAPI 254)	<i>(...) and he was always the sweetest-tempered, most generous-hearted boy in the world.</i> (JAEng 190)
(1023)	<i>Zuch dziewczynka!</i> (DKPI 101)	<i>You're brilliant.</i> (DKEng 86)
(1024)	<i>Jesteś na to za mądra, złotko.</i> (ACPI 113)	<i>You're too smart for that, honey.</i> (ACEng 149)
(1025)	<i>Bardzo sprawna osóbką.</i> (ACPI 123)	<i>She's an efficient creature.</i> (ACEng 163)

Table 32 continued

(1026)	<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)
(1027)	(...) <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> (JAEng 71)
(1028)	<i>Jakaż ty jesteś czarująca, kuzyneczko!</i> (JAPI 120)	<i>You are uniformly charming!</i> (JAEng 88)
(1029)	<i>Ciao, kochanie! Złam boską nóżkę.</i> (MNPI 37)	<i>Ciao, honey. Break a divine leg.</i> (MNEng 28)
Insults		
(1030)	<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 Green, 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> (JAEng 223)
(1031)	<i>Obrzydliwa, wytapetowana latawica! Wie pan, szminka, jedwabne pończochy i loczki.</i> (ACPI 6)	<i>A nasty made-up little minx, all lipstick and silk stockings and curls.</i> (ACEng 9)
(1032)	<i>Dobrze wiedzieć, że tak mu się powodzi. Nadziany wieprzek!</i> (ACPI 114)	<i>It's nice to know he wouldn't miss the money. Purse-proud hog!</i> (ACEng 150)
(1033)	<i>Ale najgorsze (...) że złamałeś serce mojej uwielbianej siostrze, ty... ty... ty... odpychający człowieczku.</i> (MNPI 208)	<i>But worse than all of that (...) you've broken my adored sister's heart, you – you – you odious little man.</i> (MNEng 191)
(1034)	<i>Najlepszy kandydat do roli Darcy'ego to kurduplowaty aktuariusz, chyba że ulegnę i dam ją temu jadowitemu pismakowi, 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 hack they call a theatre critic.</i> (MNEng 29)
(1035)	<i>Takie wybredne młodziki, co to wzbraniają się wejść w związku 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> (JAEng 179)
(1036)	<i>Łotrzyk nadal śpi.</i> (ACPI 92)	<i>The blighter's asleep still.</i> (ACEng 121)
(1037)	<i>Mała idiotka. Tym właśnie byłam – idiotką.</i> (ACPI 108)	<i>Little fool. That's what I was, a little fool.</i> (ACEng 142)

Expressive acts communicate positive feelings and support the addressee's positive face, therefore they express positive politeness (see Chapter 4.5). Nevertheless, as insults, they may communicate negative feelings, baldly attacking the hearer's positive face.

The diminutive forms presented in Table 32 are applied in greetings, indicating familiarity, intimacy, or liking, as the speaker wants to maintain the addressee's positive face (e.g., 1011). They may as well serve as a joke or a word-play, but sometimes they may be considered ironic, outdated or infantile (1021).

They are also applied in compliments, expressing praise and implying admiration and respect (1013). They establish or maintain friendly relations between the interlocutors (1024). A particular thing associated with the addressee is positively evaluated by the speaker (1016). Nevertheless, a diminutive may also be used ironically, threatening the addressee's positive face (1025). As stated in Chapter 4.5, women are complimented more often than men, which can be an indication of their subordinate status, as compliments can be regarded as patronising, offensively flattering, or even sarcastic (see 1029).

Moreover, diminutive forms are applied in insults, expressing depreciation and implying anger or disrespect (1035). 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 (1032). In most cases the negative evaluation refers to the addressee's person or personality and is caused by some actions or behaviour of the addressee, which annoy the insulter (1033). Diminutives intensify the negative evaluation and indicate superiority (1018). The addressee is belittled and derogated, as diminutives increase the force of an insult (1031).

### 7.3.2.5 Diminutives in vocative acts

**Table 33. Diminutives in vocative acts**

Example number	Polish original version	English translated version
(1038)	<i>Tatusiu, zrobiłam to dla ciebie.</i> (ZMPI 75)	<i>Daddy, I did it for you.</i> (ZMEng 73)
(1039)	<i>Kamilku, będziemy kochali cię wiecznie.</i> (ZMPI 200)	<i>Dearest Kamil, we will love you for ever.</i> (ZMEng 205)
(1040)	<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)
(1041)	<i>Nie, nie póde, matusiu.</i> (SWPI 64)	<i>No, please, mama! I can't go yet!</i> (SWEng 72)
(1042)	<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)
(1043)	<i>Odpocnijze haw, Wojtecku.</i> (SWPI 67)	<i>Wojtek, love, come take a rest.</i> (SWEng 74)

Table 33 continued

(1044)	<b>Tatuś</b> sie Weselem cieszą... (SWPl 142)	Are you enjoying it, <b>Papa</b> ? (SWEng 140)
(1045)	(...) <b>synku</b> drogi. (AFZPl 77)	omitted in translation (AFZEng 65)
(1046)	<b>Dzięki, Ewuniu.</b> (ZMPl 50)	Thanks, <b>Ewa.</b> (ZMEng 46)
(1047)	<b>Jasiek, drużba, słuchaj, bratku</b> (...). (SWPl 55)	<b>Jasiek, fellow-groomsman</b> – here! (SWEng 63)
(1048)	<b>Wiktorku</b> (...) jak dawno pan tu pracuje? (JiPl 25)	<b>Wiktor, dear boy</b> (...) How long have you been working here? (JIEng 12)
(1049)	<b>Wujciu, wujciu, wujcio</b> mi głowę o jaki pień rozbije. (JiPl 138)	<b>Uncle, Uncle, you'll</b> bash my head against a tree! (JIEng 127)
(1050)	<b>Wstań, serdeńko, i chodź</b> ze mną. (AFZPl 125)	Rise, <b>my son,</b> and come with me! (AFZEng 98)
(1051)	<b>Ach, cioteczko, ciotusieńko!</b>	<b>Dearest Auntie!</b>
	<b>Co, serdeńko?</b> (SWPl 11)	Why, what ails you, <b>precious pearl?</b> (SWEng 25)
(1052)	<b>Przystaw</b> gęby, <b>żonisiu.</b> (SWPl 68)	Say no more about it, <b>love!</b> (SWEng 75)
(1053)	<b>Maryś, Maryś, narzeczona.</b> (SWPl 69)	<b>Mary, my betrothed.</b> (SWEng 76)
(1054)	(...) przytul mnie, <b>Wojtecku, do siebie.</b> (SWPl 71)	<b>Wojtek, hug me</b> to your chest. (SWEng 78)
(1055)	<b>Ino, matuś, zaś nie swarzcie</b> (...). (SWPl 103)	Let's not start to quarrel now! (SWEng 106)
(1056)	<b>Żono, słuchaj no, żonisia, pódź no, Hanuś!</b> (SWPl 112)	Listen <b>darling wife!</b> (SWEng 114)
(1057)	<b>Tak, tatusiu, razem ci pomożemy.</b> (ZMPl 75)	Yes, <b>Daddy,</b> we'll both help you. (ZMEng 73)
(1058)	<b>Nie płacz, Jadziu</b> (...). (ZMPl 145)	Don't cry, <b>Jadzia</b> (...). (ZMEng 146)
(1059)	Gdzież <b>Hanusia? Hanuś!</b> (SWPl 149)	<b>Hannah, dear!</b> Where are you? (SWEng 145)
(1060)	<b>Guciu, Guciuniu,</b> (...) bądź też rozsądny. (AFSP1 40)	<b>Gustave!</b> Think before you speak! Be sensible (...). (AFSEng 127)
(1061)	<b>Zdradź go, zdradź, moja duszko!</b> (AFSP1 86)	Betray him! (AFSEng 163)
(1062)	<b>No, no, Guciu, Guciuniu mój!</b> (AFSP1 89)	How, now, <b>Gustave!</b> Don't take offence! (AFSEng 165)
(1063)	<b>A tak, tak, proszę wujaszka...</b> (JiPl 44)	Yes, yes, <b>uncle...</b> (JIEng 32)
(1064)	<b>A, stryjaszek! Dzień dobry!</b> (AFSP1 10)	<b>Uncle!</b> Good-day to you! (AFSEng 106)
(1065)	<b>Wiesz, co, Papciu</b> – spraw się ładnie, a w <b>kieszonkę</b> grubo wpadnie. (AFZPl 68)	Come, <b>Papkin,</b> don't disgrace yourself! You'll not refuse a wad of pelf? (AFZEng 59)

Table 33 continued

(1066)	<i>Moja <b>duszeko</b>, tu się mówi o kościelnej dostojności (...).</i> (SWPl 17)	<i>My <b>dear</b>, the subject we're discussing's how the Church may dignify our Reverend Father.</i> (SWEng 29)
(1067)	<i>A <b>Klarunia</b> niech pamięta nie powiadać nic nikomu.</i> (AFZPl 57)	<i><b>Clara, my dear</b> (...) remember, quiet as a mouse!</i> (AFZEng 50)
(1068)	<i>Mój <b>majstruniu</b>, mówcie śmiało.</i> (AFZPl 69)	<i>Come, <b>Master Mason</b>, don't be shy!</i> (AFZEng 60)
(1069)	<i>Bądź, <b>serdeńko</b>, bez obawy.</i> (AFZPl 87)	<i>He need fear nothing for the nonce...</i> (AFZEng 72)
(1070)	<i>Byle mnie kochał <b>stryjaszek</b> kochany, był mi zawsze zdrow, czerstwy i rumiany!</i> (AFSP1 11)	<i>So long as my dear <b>Uncle</b> loves me ever, I shall be hale and hearty – perish never!</i> (AFSEng 106)
(1071)	<i>Aha, <b>bratku</b>, mom cie.</i> (SWPl 148)	<i>I've got you, <b>brother</b>!</i> (SWEng 145)
(1072)	<i>Hola, <b>jaszczureczko</b>!</i> (AFSP1 68)	<i>(...) <b>you salamander</b> (...)! (AFSEng 148)</i>
(1073)	<i>Chodź, chodź – mam cię, <b>ptaszku</b>.</i> (AFSP1 87)	<i>You <b>cheeky sparrow</b>! Caught you nicely!</i> (AFSEng 164)
(1074)	<i>Idź <b>serdeńko</b>, bo cię trzepnę.</i> (AFZPl 74)	<i>Or must I help you on your way?!</i> (AFZEng 63)
Example number	Polish translated version	English original version
(1075)	<i><b>Dzieciątka</b>, <b>tatuś</b> już wrócił.</i> (DKPl 20)	<i><b>Daddy's</b> here.</i> (DKEng 20)
(1076)	<i>Fredo, <b>aniołku</b> mój, czy mogłabyś...</i> (ACPl 28)	<i>Freda – <b>darling angel</b> – could you ever – I mean (...).</i> (ACEng 38)
(1077)	<i>No właśnie, <b>kotku</b>.</i> (ACPl 134)	<i>That's right, <b>pet</b>.</i> (ACEng 176)
(1078)	<i>Zbyt wiele żądasz ode mnie, moja <b>duszeko</b>.</i> (JAP1 6)	<i>It is more than I engage for, I assure you.</i> (JAEng 6)
(1079)	<i>Obiecuję ci, <b>duszeko</b>, że jeśli ich się zjawi dwudziestu, złożę wizytę wszystkim, co do jednego.</i> (JAP1 7)	<i>Depend upon it, <b>my dear</b>, that when there are twenty, I will visit them all.</i> (JAEng 7)
(1080)	<i>Lidia była dla niego niezmiernie czuła. Ciągłe, przy każdej sposobności, nazywała go <b>drogim mężulkiem</b>.</i> (JAP1 323)	<i>Lydia was exceedingly fond of him. He was her <b>dear Wickham</b> on every occasion.</i> (JAEng 244)
(1081)	<i>Leż tylko spokojnie i zdrowiej, <b>kochanieńka</b>.</i> (ACPl 68)	<i>Just lie still and get well, <b>my dear</b>.</i> (ACEng 89)
(1082)	<i>O, zjadłaś zupkę, <b>kochanieńka</b>.</i> (ACPl 71)	<i>Ah, you've drunk your soup, <b>my dear</b>.</i> (ACEng 92)
(1083)	<i>Nie martw się tym teraz, <b>maleńka</b>.</i> (ACPl 27)	<i>Don't worry about that, <b>little girl</b>.</i> (ACEng 37)

Table 33 continued

(1084)	Co się dzieje, <b>słoneczko</b> ? (ACPI 124)	What's the matter, <b>my sweet</b> ? (ACEng 164)
(1085)	<b>Kruszynko</b> ? (MNPI 175)	<b>Poppet</b> ? (MNEng 159)
(1086)	Biednaś ty, moja <b>Lizzy</b> ! (JAPI 240)	Poor <b>little Lizzy</b> ! (JAEng 179)
(1087)	Pozwolę też sobie wykorzystać okazję i poprosić cię, <b>kuzyneczko</b> Elżbieto, o zarezerwowanie dla mnie dwóch pierwszych tańców. (JAPI 98)	And I take this opportunity of soliciting yours, <b>Miss Elizabeth</b> , for the two first dances especially. (JAEng 71)
(1088)	<b>Cioteczko</b> (...). (JAPI 159)	<b>My dear aunt</b> (...). (JAEng 118)
(1089)	Droga moja <b>siostrzeniczko</b> ! (JAPI 327)	My dear <b>niece</b> (...). (JAEng 246)
(1090)	Mo, <b>złotko</b> , właśnie dwukrotnie wysłałaś tę samą wiadomość. (MNPI 61)	Mo <b>hon</b> , you just sent me the same message twice. (MNEng 50)
(1091)	Dziękuję, <b>piesku</b> . (DKPI 4)	Thanks, <b>Hilton</b> . (DKEng 6)
(1092)	Jesteś na to za mądra, <b>złotko</b> . (ACPI 113)	You're too smart for that, <b>honey</b> . (ACEng 149)
(1093)	<b>Złotko</b> , i tak wyglądasz dziesięć razy lepiej niż ktokolwiek za tymi drzwiami. (MNPI 202)	<b>Georgie, sweetie</b> , you still look ten times better than anyone else in there. (MNEng 186)
(1094)	Jakaż ty jesteś czarująca, <b>kuzyneczko</b> ! (JAPI 120)	You are uniformly charming! (JAEng 88)
(1095)	(...) ale jestem przekonana, że teraz, kiedy drogi <b>wujaszek</b> przyjechał, wszystko będzie dobrze. (JAPI 291)	But now that my dear <b>uncle</b> is come, I hope everything will be well. (JAEng 219)
(1096)	Słowo daję, <b>siostrzyczko</b> , wydaje mi się, że bardziej prawdopodobne jest zyskanie Pemberley za pomocą pieniędzy niż naśladownictwa. (JAPI 43)	Upon my word, <b>Caroline</b> , I should think it more possible to get Pemberley by purchase than by imitation. (JAEng 32)
(1097)	Cześć, <b>laleczko</b> . (MNPI 140)	Bye, <b>doll</b> . (MNEng 125)
(1098)	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)	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 under your orders. (JAEng 27)

Vocative acts take place when the speaker wants to get the addressee's attention (see Chapter 4.6). They are usually realised 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 maxim-

ise sympathy for the interlocutor (1082), or maximise antipathy towards him/her (1072). They express in-group membership and solidarity (1048) and soften face-threatening acts (1087). Besides, they may imply respect (1092), or lack of respect towards the addressee (1097), as well as the speaker's emotional attitude (1080).

Diminutive forms are applied in personal names, kinship terms, and descriptors, reflecting the speaker's momentary attitude towards the hearer (1084). They may support a request or command, expressing negative politeness. The speaker may use a diminutive to minimise the impact of a statement and soften the command (1056). A diminutive also minimises the imposition on the hearer, making the request appear less obligatory or important (1050). It marks friendly or close relations among interlocutors, reducing the distance between them (e.g., 1076). Diminutives are applied in personal names when the speaker wants to maintain the addressee's positive face, expressing familiarity, intimacy, or liking (1046). Nevertheless, they may also be applied in face-threatening acts done off record, when the speaker wants to express irony (1098), superiority (1074), or pitifulness (1066). Diminutive forms may, therefore, deprecate, humiliate, or disqualify somebody (e.g., 1052). They may as well reflect the speaker's contempt, as he/she can make fun of the hearer (1068). 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 (1073).

### 7.3.3 *Translation of sociolinguistic contexts of using diminutives*

While translating a given text, the translator has to take into account a multitude of 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 5.3, diminutives are socially determined. Therefore, the following analysis is divided into particular sorts of linguistic roles: (a) diminutives used in a conversation with family members; (b) those used in a conversation with acquaintances; (c) diminutive forms employed in a conversation with strangers (a situation when the status of the interlocutors is equal), and (d) diminutives used in a conversation between a subordinate and a superior; (e) diminutive forms applied in a conversation between a parent and a small child (a situation when the status of the interlocutors is unequal).

Unfortunately, the corpus for the analysis presented in this book 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 1 and 4.4).

a) 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 characterised 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?*),
- adult siblings (e.g., *Słowo daję, **siostrzyczko**, wydaje mi się, że bardziej prawdopodobne jest zyskanie Pemberley za pomocą pieniędzy niż naśladownictwa*),
- members of distant family (e.g., *wyrażam nadzieję, iż każda z moich pięknych **kuzyneczek** zaszczyci mnie tańcem tego wieczoru, or Ach, **cioteczko, ciotusięńko!** Co, **serdeńko?***),
- parents and their adult children (e.g., *Takie wybredne **młodziki**, co to wzbraniają się wejść w związki z odrobiną głupoty, niewarte twego żalu*),
- close friends (e.g., *Jasiek, **drużba**, słuchaj, **bratku!***);

b) diminutives used in a conversation with acquaintances

Diminutive forms may be used in conversations with acquaintances in numerous contexts. They are commonly applied in conversations between:

- women (e.g., *To jego **przyjacióteczka!***),
- friends and acquaintances from work (e.g., *Przygruchaj sobie jakąś posterunkową, niech ci pisze okrągłymi **literkami***),
- old friends (e.g., *O, zjadłaś zupkę, **kochanieńka***),
- new friends (e.g., ***Biedaczek**, tak desperacko pragnie być młody!*),
- a man and a woman who are about to start a relationship (e.g., ***Zdrowko, mała!***);

c) diminutives used in a conversation with strangers

Diminutives can often be applied in conversations with strangers, for instance, between:

- men (e.g., *Za resztę kupi pan córce **małe mieszkanko**, żeby na nią czekało i zyskiwało na wartości*),
- women (e.g., *Kiedy się jej **ubranko** nie podoba, to przesikuje je na wylot*),
- a man and a woman (e.g., *Ja za to opowiem pani krótką **historyjkę!***);

d) 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 cer-

tain rules on the conversation and emphasises 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, expresses his/her subordination (e.g., *Przy **samiuśkim** koniu stałem, or Papkin **nóżki** ściska, za przyjęcie dzięki składa*);*

e) 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 5.3.2, 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 to the child (e.g., ***Bidulka***). As already mentioned before, diminutives may also be used to soften commands and requests, which 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 also use diminutives to diminish his/her fault, when he/she does something wrong (e.g., *Nie, nie póde, **matusiu***).

## 8. Conclusions and final remarks

This work discusses Polish and English diminutives in literary translation from the point of view of pragmatics and cultural studies. I found it necessary to analyse diminutives comprehensively, as mostly only the morphology of diminutive forms has been thoroughly discussed so far (Quirk 1979; Adams 2001; Plag 2003—in English, Grzegorzczkowska 1984; Dobrzyński 1988; Szymanek 2010—in Polish), whereas issues concerning the influence of culture on the presence of diminutives in a given language, pragmatic functions of diminutives in language communication and translation equivalence of diminutives have not been given much attention. The issue of translating diminutive forms into English and Polish is especially worth analysing, 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 have been 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 had to be carried out.

The analysis of chosen Polish and English examples of literary texts presented in Chapter 7 is qualitative but supplemented with some quantitative data. The texts illustrate that, in each example, diminutives play different role and emphasise different meanings and contexts. It should be recalled that for the purpose of obtaining suitable material for research, I analysed ten original texts and ten translated versions. The following literary texts were analysed:

1. Polish texts:

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

2. 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.

After analysing the corpus, it can be stated that translation of diminutives into Polish and English may pose some problems for translators. It is due to the fact that the process of diminutivisation is connected with various areas of studies, such as morphology, semantics, pragmatics, sociolinguistics, and cultural studies. It is impossible to translate diminutives without careful analysis of their meaning, function in conversation as well as linguistic, cultural, and social contexts. As diminutive forms belong to the group of expressive linguistic forms, they are, in most cases, applied in colloquial or familiar language (see Introduction), which makes it even harder to translate them into another language.

The analysis of Polish literary texts presented in Chapter 7 shows that the most common way of forming diminutives in Polish is suffixation. Table 34 confirms this claim:

**Table 34. Formation of diminutives in Polish**

	SUFFIXATION:	number of examples:
	SYNTHETIC FORMATION	-ak
-ek		109
-ki		67
-ka		167
-ko		35
-ik/-yk		68
-iki/-yki		14
-eczek/-eczka/-eczko/-eczki		74
-iczek/-yczek/-iczki/-yczka/-iczka		16
-uszek/-uszka/-uszko/-uszki		7
-aszek/-aszki		9
-oczki/-oczka		2
-ina/-yna/-yny		7
-eńka/-eńko		7
-ątko/-ątka		4
-cia/-cio/-cie		9
-sia/-sie		3
-unia/-unio/-uń		4
-usia/-usio/-usiek/-usienka	10	

Table 34 continued

-ynka	1	
-ulek	1	
-aczek	3	
-czyk	2	
-onko	1	
-isia	1	
-etka	1	
-aś	1	
-ęta	1	
-uś	8	
-ś	2	
-ę	3	
-utki/-utka/-utko/-utkie	64	
-uteńki/-uteńko	2	
-uśki	1	
-eńki	9	
-awy	5	
<b>Total number:</b>	<b>722</b>	
TRUNCATION:	number of examples:	
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>	
ANALYTIC FORMATION	TYPE OF AN ADJECTIVE:	number of examples:
	mały/mała/małe	124
	niewielki/niewielka/niewielkie	8
	nieduży/nieduża	4
	miniaturowy	3
	mikroskopijny	2
	najmniejszy	1
	<b>Total number of diminutives formed analytically:</b>	<b>142</b>

Table 34 clearly shows that suffixation is the most often encountered way of creating diminutive forms in Polish, as out of 869 diminutives collected from the corpus, 727 diminutives 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 *mały/mala/małe* (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, however, 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 only 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 stressed 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*). Figure 1 illustrates the process of suffixation. It clearly indicates that most commonly used 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 nouns in the plural and plurale tantum (e.g., *krzeselka* ‘small chairs’ from *krzesła* ‘chairs’). Other frequently 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 7 shows that, contrary to Polish, the most common way of forming diminutives in English is analytic formation. Table 35 confirms this claim as out of 240 diminutives collected from the corpus, 216 diminutives are formed analytically, and only 24—synthetically. In the case of synthetic formation, the most commonly used method is suffixation—there are 15 examples of this kind. It must be emphasised 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 each of the suffixes: *-let* (*piglet*), *-a* (*mama*), and *-o* (*mintio*).

Other methods of forming diminutives synthetically include prefixation (there are two examples, both with the use of the prefix *mini-*, e.g., *mini-kitchen*), compounding (there are also 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 stressed 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

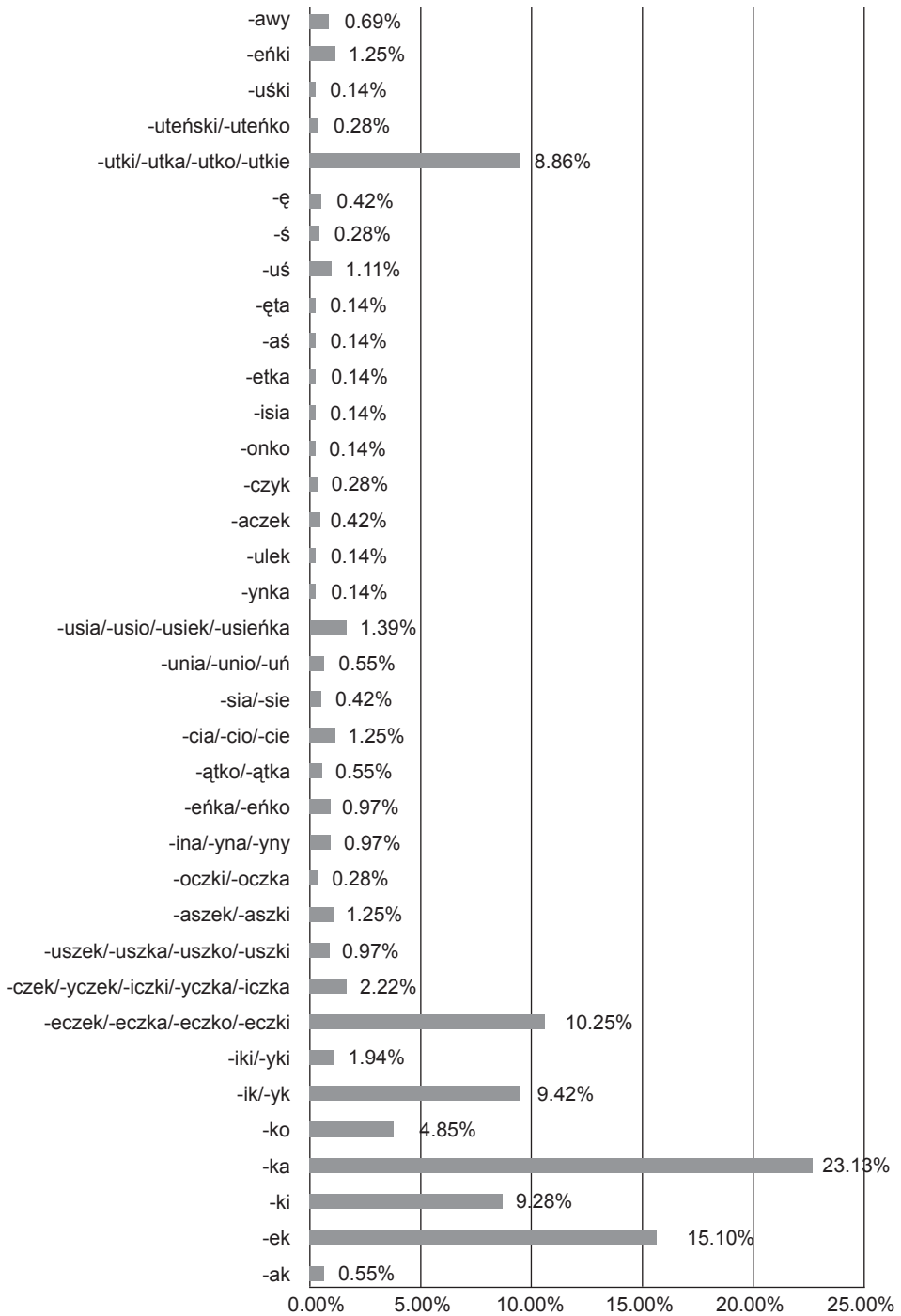


Figure 1. Polish diminutive suffixes

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.

**Table 35. Formation of diminutives in English**

SYNTHETIC FORMATION	SUFFIXATION:	number of examples:
	<i>-ie/-y</i>	12
	<i>-let</i>	1
	<i>-a</i>	1
	<i>-o</i>	1
	<b>Total number:</b>	<b>15</b>
	PREFIXATION:	number of examples:
	<i>mini-</i>	2
	<b>Total number:</b>	<b>2</b>
	COMPOUNDING:	number of examples:
	<i>baby + noun</i>	2
	<b>Total number:</b>	<b>2</b>
	TRUNCATION:	number of examples:
	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>	
ANALYTIC FORMATION	TYPE OF AN ADJECTIVE:	number of examples:
	<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>

Furthermore, the corpus gives 70 examples of using the adjective *small* (e.g., *a small sofa*) and 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'*). Figure 2 illustrates the above-mentioned observations concerning analytic formation of diminutives.

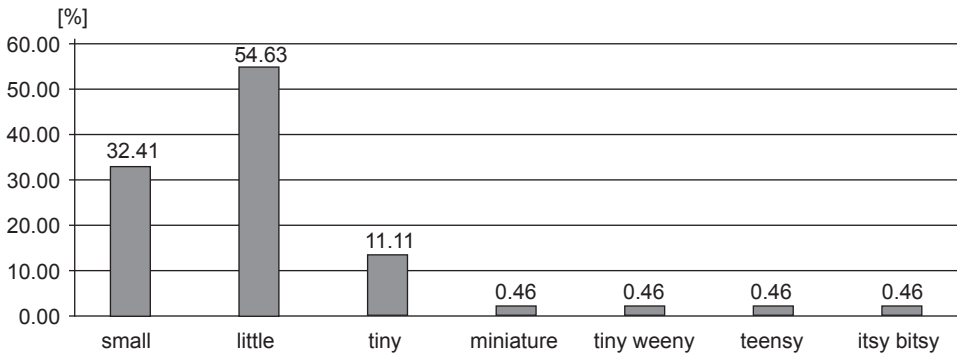


Figure 2. Analytic diminutive formation in English

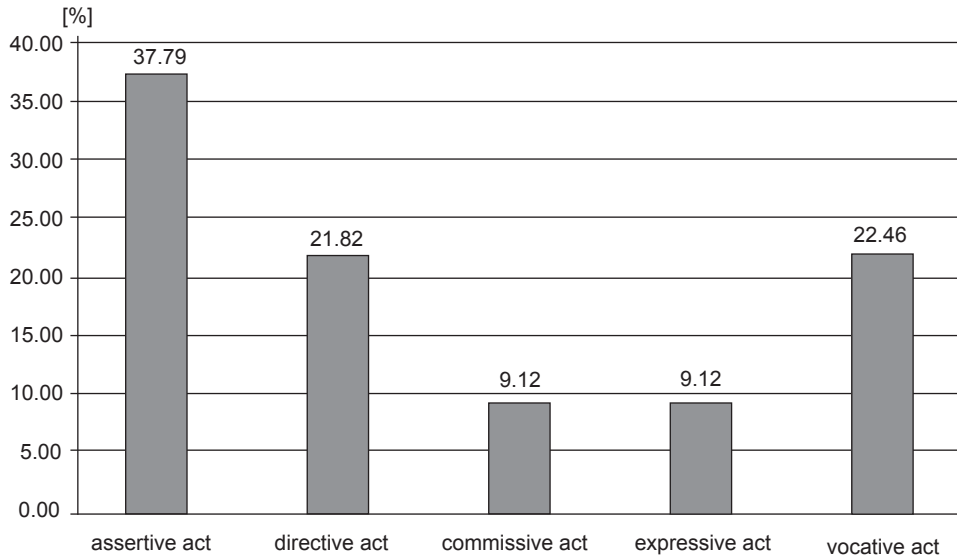
Even though in Polish most diminutives are formed synthetically and in English—analytically, their meanings and pragmatic functions in everyday conversations are similar. Nevertheless, while analysing the corpus, it was observed that the scope of use of Polish diminutives is much broader than that of the English ones. Yet, as mentioned in Chapter 1, it is culturally-determined, since it reflects some particular cultural values, views, and patterns of behaviour. As the English and the Poles belong to two disparate cultures (individualistic and collectivistic), they represent two different approaches to the use of diminutives (see Chapter 1), which is reflected in translation. As, according to Wierzbicka (1999), Poles are more emotional than the English, they use diminutives more frequently, both in the original and translated texts. This observation is supported by the corpus data examined in Chapter 7.

As the analysis in Chapter 7 has shown, diminutives are used in all speech acts, which belong to different categories of illocutionary acts. Table 36 illustrates this claim. It shows that 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 7 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

**Table 36. Diminutives in speech acts**

Type of a speech act	Number of examples in the corpus	
	Polish texts	English texts
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>

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. Figures 3 and 4 illustrate the above-mentioned observations concerning both Polish and English diminutives used in speech acts.

*Figure 3. Diminutives in speech acts in Polish*

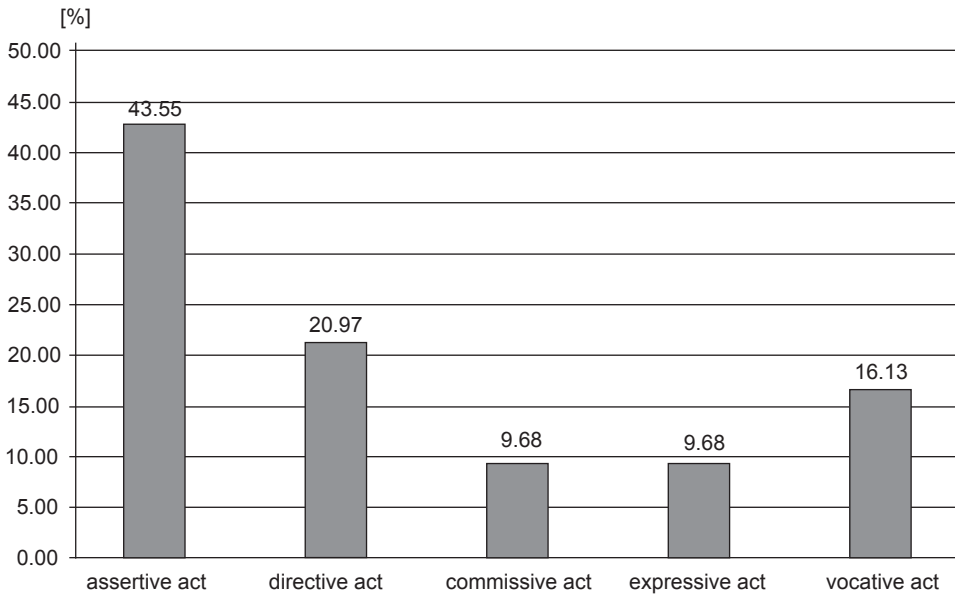


Figure 4. Diminutives in speech acts in English

The analysis in Chapter 7 has also shown that diminutive forms are used in almost all sociolinguistic contexts. Table 37 illustrates this claim.

Table 37. Diminutives in sociolinguistic contexts

Type of a sociolinguistic context	Number of examples in the corpus	
	Polish texts	English texts
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: 6</b>	<b>Total number: 248</b>	<b>Total number: 55</b>

As the table shows, in Polish, diminutive forms are most commonly employed in conversations between family members, which accentuates the emotional character of diminutives. There are not many examples of using them in

conversations with small children, but, perhaps, some other literary texts would illustrate this type of a sociolinguistic context better. Diminutives in Polish are also quite frequently employed in conversations between acquaintances as well as between strangers, which accentuates 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. Figure 5 illustrates observations concerning Polish diminutives used in sociolinguistic contexts.

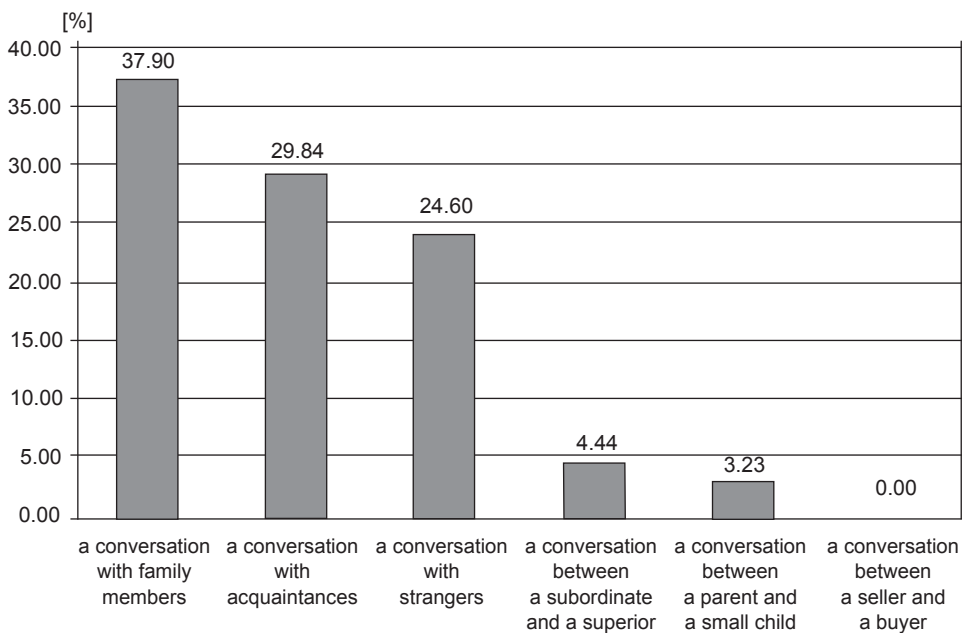


Figure 5. Diminutives in sociolinguistic contexts in Polish

As far as English is concerned, the use of diminutives in sociolinguistic contexts slightly differs from the Polish use. 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 is almost the same as between acquaintances or strangers. It confirms the hypothesis that the English do not like expressing emotions (Jespersen 1972; Miall and Milsted 2011), even in the circle of family (Hoffman 1989; Fox 2005). Figure 6 illustrates the above-mentioned observations.

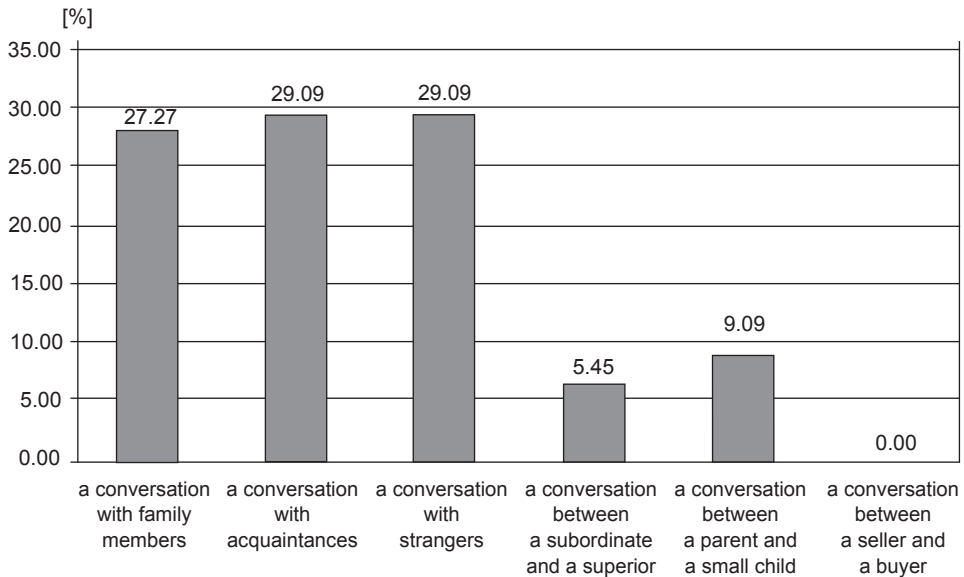


Figure 6. Diminutives in sociolinguistic contexts in English

I depended on the maximalist view, which attributes denotative meanings of diminutives to semantics and connotative meanings of diminutive forms to pragmatics, due to the fact that semantic connotations can be derived from pragmatics. The analysis of different types of literary texts suggests that, in the case of Polish diminutives, the primary and denotative meaning of smallness is most often 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 more, basing on Gawroński (1928),

Table 38. Denotative meanings of diminutives

Type of meaning	Number of examples in the corpus	
	Polish texts	English texts
'smallness'	175	85
'similarity'	40	9
'partitive/singulative'	2	0
'young age'	35	15
'short duration'	12	3
'reduced intensity'	58	13
<b>Total number: 6</b>	<b>Total number: 322</b>	<b>Total number: 125</b>

Stankiewicz (1954) or Szymanek (2010), the analysis of the meanings of Polish diminutives presented in Chapter 7 confirms the assumption that, as far as the frequency of usage is concerned, connotative meanings prevail over denotative ones (as noted in Chapter 3.3). Tables 38 and 39 illustrate this claim.

**Table 39. Connotative meanings of diminutives**

Type of meaning	Number of examples in the corpus	
	Polish texts	English texts
'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: 424</b>	<b>Total number: 105</b>

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). Figure 7 illustrates this observation.

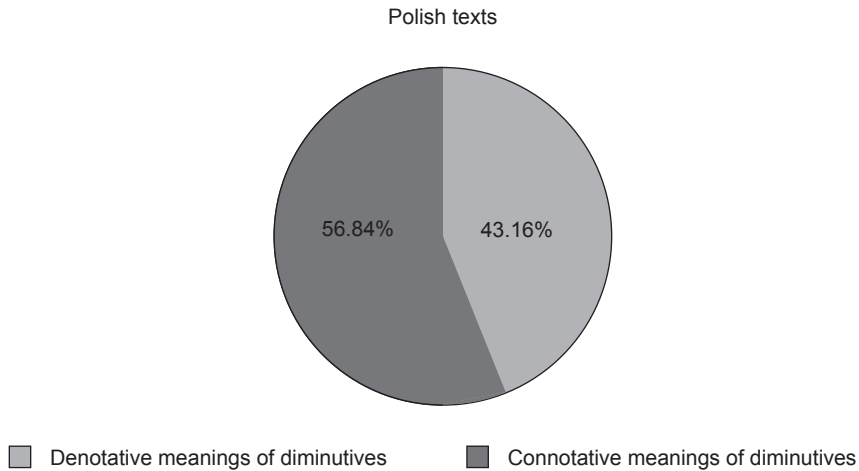


Figure 7. Connotative and denotative meanings of Polish diminutives

As far as English is concerned, the use of diminutives to express various denotative and connotative meanings is opposite to the Polish one. According to Tables 38 and 39, out of 230 diminutive forms collected from English literary texts, 125 diminutives express denotative meanings, and 105—connotative ones. This, in turn, 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 (Mikes 1987; Hoffman 1989; Wierzbicka 1999; Szostkiewicz 2005; Tomczak 2005; Miall and Milsted 2011). Figure 8 illustrates this claim:

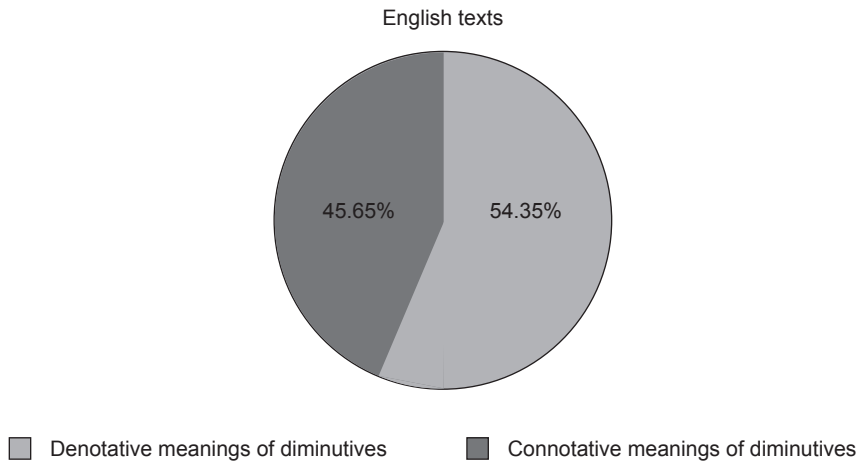


Figure 8. Connotative and denotative meanings of English diminutives

The analysis also shows that the scope of meanings of Polish diminutives is much broader than that of the English ones. In Polish, diminutives are commonly used in the following types of meanings:

1. The denotative meanings:
  - a) the meaning of smallness of a given object (e.g., *okienko*);
  - b) when a given object in its diminutive form is similar in meaning to the designatum (e.g., *szczypczyki*);
  - c) partitive/singulative meaning (e.g., *trawka*);
  - d) the meaning of young age (e.g., *chłopczyk*);
  - e) the meaning of short duration (e.g., *spotkać się na chwilkę*);
  - f) the meaning of reduced intensity (e.g., *żółtawa koszula*).
2. The connotative meanings of:
  - a) approximation (e.g., *Jeszcze momencik*);
  - b) intensification (e.g., *nowiuteńki apartamentowiec*);
  - c) non-importance/mitigation (e.g., *szklaneczka whisky*);
  - d) affection/tenderness/endearment (e.g., *Kochany chłopczyń!*);
  - e) familiarity/friendliness (e.g., *Dzięki, Ewuniu*);
  - f) intimacy (e.g., *Przystaw gęby, żonisiu*);
  - g) informality (e.g., *Górka, czyli pięterko, składała się z korytarza i czterech jednakowych pokoi*);
  - h) sympathy/pity/compassion/care/self-pity (e.g., *Pot oblewa całe czołko; możesz się zaziębić wnet*);
  - i) hospitality/politeness (e.g., *Dzień dobry, panie prokuratorze, może papieroska?*);
  - j) joy/amusement/pleasure/playfulness (e.g., *obiad w rewelacyjnej greckiej knajpcie*);
  - k) satisfaction/content/approval/admiration (e.g., *Spójrz, jakie piękne, krągłe literki*);
  - l) irony/sarcasm (e.g., *Wygląda na to, że wdówka nie będzie musiała pytać w aptecę o polskie zamienniki*);
  - m) contempt/disdain/disrespect/mockery/maliciousness (e.g., *Chłopak nędzny jak oni wszyscy w tym pokoleniu. Chude rączki, chude nóżki*);
  - n) lack of worth/belittlement/derogation (e.g., *To był studenciak z inteligentkiego domu*);
  - o) pitifulness/insincere compassion (e.g., *Czy on się zakochał w tej dziewczynie z małymi piersiami?*);
  - p) condescension/insincere politeness/excessive obsequiousness (e.g., *Papkin nóżki ściska, za przyjęcie dzięki składa*);
  - r) criticism/suspicion (e.g., *W tej kurteczce lata – jeszcze kataru, u diaska, dostanie*);

- s) insult/annoyance/anger (e.g., *Gówno prawda, pomyślał Szacki. Chcesz zatrzeć złe wrażenie, kłamczuszkę*);
- t) 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 meanings:

1. The denotative meanings of:
  - a) smallness of a given object (e.g., *little buttons*);
  - b) young age (e.g., *the little boy*).
2. The connotative meanings of:
  - a) non-importance/mitigation (e.g., *A little present*);
  - b) affection/tenderness/endearment (e.g., *Daddy's here*);
  - c) sympathy/pity/compassion/care/self-pity (e.g., *Poor little Lizzy!*);
  - d) 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*);
  - e) 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.

1. The denotative meanings:
  - a) a given object in its diminutive form is similar in meaning to the designatum;
  - b) partitive/singulative meaning;
  - c) the meaning of short duration;
  - d) the meaning of reduced intensity.
2. The connotative meanings of:
  - a) approximation;
  - b) intensification;
  - c) familiarity/friendliness;
  - d) intimacy;
  - e) informality;
  - f) hospitality/politeness;
  - g) joy/amusement/pleasure/playfulness;
  - h) satisfaction/content/approval/admiration;
  - i) lack of worth/belittlement/derogation;
  - j) pitifulness/insincere compassion;
  - k) condescension/insincere politeness/excessive obsequiousness;
  - l) criticism/suspicion;
  - m) insult/annoyance/anger;
  - n) distance/aversion.

As far as translation of diminutives is concerned, the most characteristic feature of Polish translations of English literary texts is the employment of a di-

minutive form in places where in the original version there is no diminutive used. Four kinds of such additions were listed in Chapter 7.3.

1. Forming double/multiple diminutives both analytically and synthetically, whereas in the original version there is only analytic formation applied (e.g., *a small box—małe pudełeczko*).
2. Attaching diminutive suffixes to nouns which in the original version are not diminutivised in any way (e.g., *bridge—mostek*).
3. 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 used (e.g., *And that's exactly how I feel—Czuję, że do mnie pasuje. Mam chęć na małą wyprawę*).
4. 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:

1. Using synthetic diminutive (e.g., *Daddy's here—(...) tatuś już wrócił*).
2. Using analytic diminutive (e.g., *a little object—mały przedmiot*).
3. Using functional equivalents (in this case—diminutives) (e.g., *That's right, pet—No właśnie, kotku*).
4. Exchanging 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*).

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 7.3).

1. Using synthetic diminutive (e.g., *Matusiu, jesce ino w kółko raz—Oh, mummy, please! One more dance and then I'll go*).
2. Using analytic diminutive (e.g., *mała uwaga—a small comment*).
3. Translating double/multiple diminutives as single ones (e.g., *mały pokoik—the small room*).
4. Using suitable lexis: a separate word which semantically constitutes a diminutive (e.g., *dywanik—rug*).
5. Using suitable lexis: an attribute semantically associated with a diminutive (e.g., *fotelik—child seat*).
6. Using suitable lexis: an adjective semantically associated with the meaning of smallness (e.g., *owieczka—new-born lamb*).

7. Using suitable lexis: an adverb which expresses the meaning of a Polish diminutive (e.g., *spotkać się na chwilkę*—meet **briefly**) or intensifies English meaning (e.g., *cichutko grać*—play **very quietly**).
8. Using suitable lexis: a verb which expresses the meaning of a Polish diminutive (e.g., *a jak kto po cichuteńku powie*—yet someone only needs to **gasp**).
9. Using suitable lexis: a noun which expresses the meaning of a Polish diminutive (e.g., *z leciutką pogardą*—with **a touch** of scorn).
10. Using suitable lexis: a word which intensifies English meaning (e.g., *każde słówko*—every **single word**, *nowiuteńki*—brand-new).
11. Using an adjective with the suffix *-ish* (e.g., *czerwonawa łuna*—**reddish** glow).
12. Using elaborate modification (e.g., *tak podskocznie, tak mileńko*—**tenderly enlivening**).
13. 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).
14. 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).
15. Relying on the context (e.g., *Jeszcze momencik*—Just a moment).
16. 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 concluded that Polish translators enrich the translated versions with diminutive forms, as there are 111 diminutives in the English original texts and 351 diminutives in their Polish translations. Figure 9 illustrates this observation.

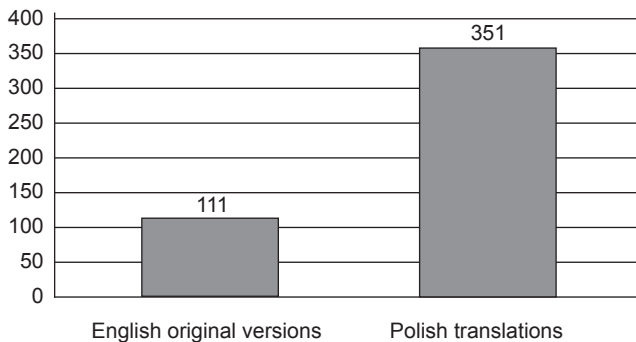


Figure 9. Number of diminutives in English original versions and Polish translations

On the other hand, it was observed that English translators deprive the translated versions of most diminutive forms, as there are 436 diminutives in the

Polish original texts and 126 diminutives in their English translations. Figure 10 serves as an illustration of this observation.

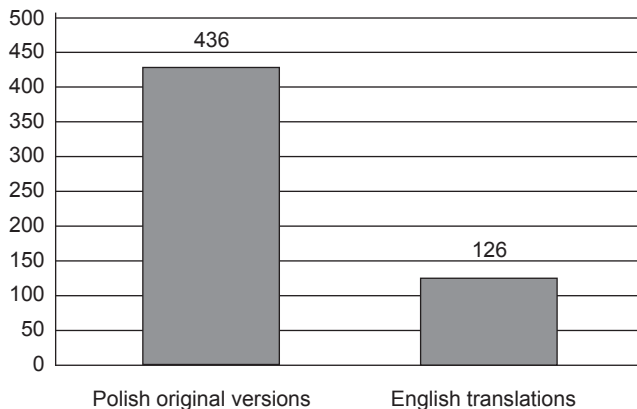


Figure 10. Number of diminutives in Polish original versions and English translations

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. It was stressed that 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 also affected by the translator's own cultural heritage and point of view (Lockyer 2012).

It is 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 socio-linguistic context and the type of speech act, as, following Dressler and Barbaresi (1994), it could be stated that the pragmatics of diminutives often allows "multiple conceivable interpretations". Therefore, the translator must infer an ironic, sympathetic, loving or jocular intention of a given protagonist. It concerns both English and Polish translations, for example, 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***, whereas 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 słyhać w twoim uroczym kobiecym **pisemku?***

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. In the corpus under analysis there are many examples of different kinds of modifications which resulted in losing the original character of a given diminutive form, for example, the sentence: *Ino, matuś, zaś nie swarzcie* 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 stressed 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 examples 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* whereas 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 nóżkach*), 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 7, 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 analysing 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 7 does not provide any examples of this type of sociolinguistic context.

Moreover, it must be stressed that the analysed English corpus concerned British English examples only. Due to some significant differences concerning cultural as well as national background, it is worth presenting and discussing the use and formation of diminutives in other varieties 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 based on television or radio programmes. Other kinds of corpora may provide more examples which would illustrate issues discussed in this work even more evidently and allow for an even more in-depth analysis. Nevertheless, I hope I have 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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Паулина Бялы

## **Польские и английские диминутивы в художественном переводе Прагматический и межкультурный аспект**

### **Резюме**

В книге поднимаются вопросы перевода диминутивов с польского языка на английский язык и с английского на польский. Автор рассматривает использование уменьшительных форм в обоих языках в прагматическом, культурном и социолингвистическом аспектах, а также описывает языковые возможности создания диминутивов с помощью аналитических и синтетических механизмов. Предыдущие исследования в этой области указывают на необходимость проведения всестороннего анализа вопросов, связанных с уменьшительными формами, прежде всего касающихся влияния культуры на присутствие этих элементов в языке. Посвящая многие исследования морфологическим процессам образования диминутивов, авторы меньше внимания уделяли проблемам переводческой эквивалентности уменьшительных форм или прагматическим аспектам их использования в речи. Книга адресована языковедам, теоретикам и практикам перевода, лингвокультурологам, а также социолингвистам.

Ключевые слова: диминутивы, прагматика, перевод, культура

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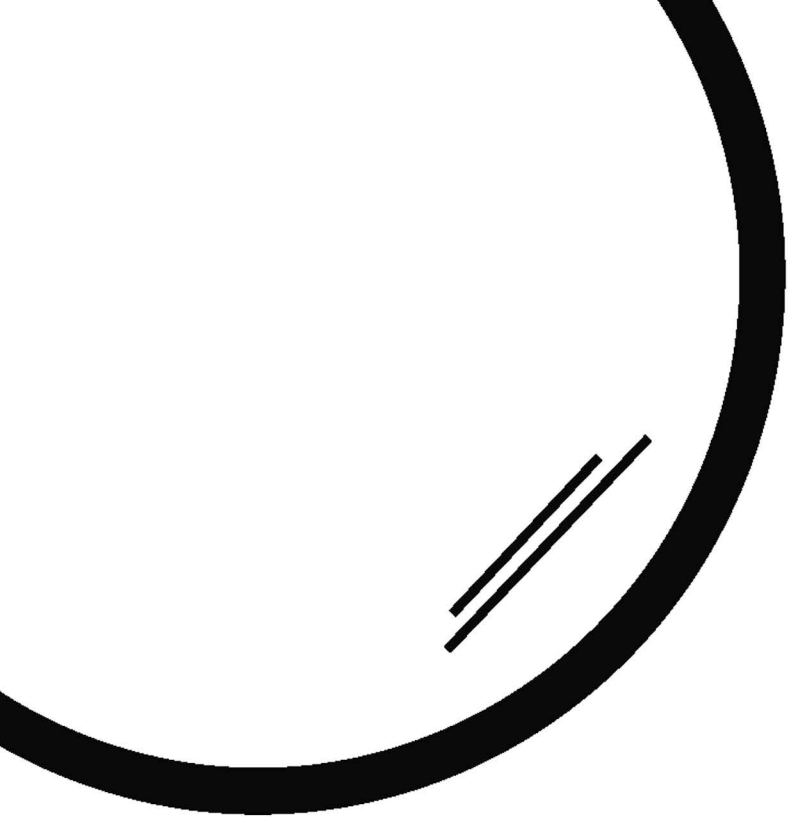
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