POLGLISH

Contrastive Analysis
as a tool to identify components of special interest

ACROSS ENGLISH AND POLISH

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Chapter One: Introduction

Each and every person learning a foreign/second[1] language faces a variety of challenges. Among these one can find the constraints the native language imposes on shaping second language competence. The strength of such constraints is believed to be proportional to language distance (Thije and Zeevaert 2007), understood as the sum total of systemic differences between any given two languages (Renfrew, McMahon and Trask 2000). The language distance between such languages as English and Polish is moderate. On the one hand, they belong to different language families, English being a Germanic language and Polish a Slavic one, which makes for language distance. On the other, though, both have descended from the same source, which is the Proto-Indo-European language (e.g. Yule 1996) and, as a result, share a considerable amount of cognate vocabulary. Additionally, English lexical borrowings, which enter the Polish lexicon, or borrowings from other sources which enter both lexicons, allow for a substantial amount of mutually intelligible material. Thus, a native speaker of one of these languages attempting to learn the other will have a certain amount of facilitation at his/her disposal, though the weight of the learning burden will remain huge on account of, for instance, different place of articulation of many 'corresponding' consonants.

It is the potential learning burden (besides facilitation), resulting from language differences, that we shall be concerned with. The burden is commonly known to result in negative transfer (e.g. Odlin 1989), which contributes to the shape of interlanguage (Selinker 1972). Those language components whose features are shared by both codes, on the other hand, allow for positive transfer. Interlanguage, understood as a learner's language system displaying features of both L1 and L2 (Matthews 1997: 182), contains components resulting from both positive and negative transfer. The potential of both types of transfer may be explored by comparing the particular layers of language, the subsystems, such as phonological, lexical or syntactic. By *potential* I mean that 'things may happen' rather than 'things will happen' because displaying differences on the

[1] In the present publication I shall adhere to my earlier statements (Kuczyński 2007a: 50-51), where I expressed doubt whether in the globalized world we can still speak of a clear-cut boundary between foreign and second language. In the subsequent sections I shall subsume both terms under the notion of 'second language', or 'L2'.

basis of contrastive analysis does not determine occurrence or non-occurrence of error[2]; it merely indicates its *possible* occurrence or non-occurrence.

Even though contrastive analysis does not determine what will and what will not happen, it has a huge potential for anticipating what will pose difficulty on account of language differences and what will involve relatively low learning burden owing to parallel patterns. Therefore, comparing two languages is a worthwhile undertaking which will substantially contribute to identifying those areas that need particular instructional focus and those that are less likely to. Of course, difficulty or ease are not only related to different or parallel patterns, for, as mentioned before, other factors also participate in generating difficulty (such as developmental factors, intra-lingual transfer etc.), but they are beyond the scope of the present work. The purpose of this book is to identify particular components of language subsystems (phonology, morphology, vocabulary, semantics and syntax) which, owing to difference, are likely to have adverse impact on language competence and performance, and those which avail positive transfer and thus reduce or eliminate difficulty.

Analysing contrasts between English and Polish is in its own right an interesting venture because it enables an understanding of the different ways in which languages work. There have been a number of publications in this area (e.g. Fisiak, Lipińska-Grzegorek and Zabrocki 1798, Krzeszowski 1984, Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, Dziwirek and McErney 2004, Sobkowiak 1996), some of purely academic character and some directed towards practical utility. As mentioned above, the present work is an attempt to draw a map of language components which display different and parallel patterns and as such it is an academic endeavour. Yet, apart from being an academic exercise, drawing such a map is meant to be helpful for those who deal with language instruction and recommendations will be given for materials designers and language educators.

While discussing teaching L2 vocabulary, Nation (2001) observes that there is little point in sacrificing huge amounts of instruction time for items which learners 'know' from their L1. He gives cognates and borrowings as an example: where the lexical form is similar and the denotation is shared, little learning difficulty is anticipated. He advocates shifting practice time to those areas where differences are likely to lead to difficulty. Vocabulary is only one of the areas we shall be contrasting. Language competence and performance are, as said above, also reflected in pronunciation, morphology, syntax, semantics and pragmatic

[2] The strong version of of Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis was plausibly rejected decades ago, because errors occur for a variety of reasons, transfer being but one of them. Furthermore, CA may indicate that errors are likely to occur but not that they are bound to occur (Odlin 1989, Ellis 1985).

use of language and those areas will be explored here. The interlanguage of a Polish learner of English is commonly referred to as 'Polglish'; in this book it will also refer to aspects of competence and performance of a potential English learner of Polish.

The distinction between competence and performance, originally introduced by Noam Chomsky (e.g. 1965), is important in the present context. Let us consider an example to explain the reason for this. According to Nation (op. cit.), one can easily transfer knowledge of L1 lexical components to L2 competence – merely having been made aware of the existence of a similar form with the same denotation in the L2 will contribute to language competence in that the learner will be familiar with the corresponding L2 item. Moreover, memorisation and receptive retrieval are likely to pose little difficulty because the lexical form, in its native phonological shape, has constituted part of the lexicon since childhood. So, the L1-based competence in knowing the L2 item will easily be translated into performance, albeit with occasional deviations in the quality of some phonemes or, in many cases, word stress.

We do, however, deal with situations where, despite having been made aware of certain differences, learners continuously display inaccuracy. Let us consider another example to elucidate this point. The Polish language has only one word for *lend* and *borrow – pożyczyć*. This phenomenon has been referred to as 'underdifferentiation' (e.g. Arabski 1979). Because the Polish learner has developed the habit of using only one word for both concepts, s/he often continues to do so while producing speech in English, which often leads to error. What s/he needs is instruction: being made aware that *lend* means 'give for temporary use' and borrow – 'take for temporary use'. After instruction, when the learner has been made aware of the difference and has performed activities to reinforce it in memory, it may be assumed that a component of competence has been built. It will often be observed, though, that while producing speech s/he 'slips back' into the old habit of using one word for both concepts. Competence has not been translated into performance in such situations. The L1-based habit is so strongly enrooted in verbal predispositions that it, as it were, 'overrides' the effect of more recent learning.

Let us go beyond the lexicon now. The Polish language does not have the existential pronoun. The English sentence *There is a problem*, which begins with the aforementioned pronoun, is translated into Polish as *Jest problem* (*'Is a problem'*). As a result, learners often produce erroneous forms, such as **In the classroom is twenty students*, which is a direct translation from Polish. It takes laborious explanation and massive practice to develop competence in using the existential pronoun, which, unlike in Polish, involves inflection for number of the subse-

quent verb in present and past tense. The word order is also different. The Polish sentence typically begins with place or time adverbial (**In the classroom is twenty students, *Tomorrow is five lessons*). Again, the habit of building the sentence in this way is very strongly enrooted in verbal behaviour because it has been developed through L1 since early childhood. Like in the example considered in the previous paragraph, effects of new learning, the recently built competence, will often fail to be transferred into performance because at the early stages of shaping interlanguage the life-long habits override more recently learnt habits.

The above clearly indicates that there are two very important tasks, relevant to the present discussion, which language educators should bear in mind. Firstly, non-parallel language patterns should be identified and the pertinent components explained (competence). Secondly, continuous effort needs to be made to gradually reduce the impact of interference in order for performance to approximate the target forms. While parallel patterns do not need such extensive practice (though fluency practice must be anticipated) owing to positive transfer (awareness-raising will suffice in many cases), non-parallel ones require a tremendous amount of attention, not only in awareness-raising but also in continuous subsequent practice. Thus, familiarity with the map of parallel and different patterns will substantially contribute to the quality of teaching instruction. For this reason, it is sometimes claimed that teachers should know the native language of their students. It is also for this reason that native-speaker authors of English course-books for Poles often invite Polish writers to co-author.

Bearing the above in mind, in the present work I shall, as already said, attempt to draw such a map of parallel and non-parallel language patterns. By way of necessity, the discussion in the subsequent chapters will have a limited scope. While it is relatively easy to carry out contrastive analysis in the area of phoneme articulation, because there are but several dozen of them in either language, contrasting all the vocabulary or possible syntactic patterns would take many dozens of lengthy volumes and cannot be aspired to here. Therefore, only selected components will be considered in such areas. It is my responsibility to ensure that the components considered display relatively high frequency of occurrence so that the potential utility of the presented material could be optional.

Since its early days, Contrastive Analysis (CA) has aspired to constitute practical value for language teaching. As already mentioned, its original version was rejected for a variety of reasons. One of them was that it is not possible to predict all errors by merely spelling out the map of differences between L1 and L2. Other factors also generate errors and, additionally, many errors anticipated by contrasting languages do not occur. The altered version of CA abandoned the claim of error predictability and focused on error analysis instead. Let it be

added here that the present publication does not deal with error analysis – it is a purely formal analysis of contrasts in language patterns. Unlike in the original (strong) version of CA, it is not claimed here that the analysis will predict all errors. What is claimed is that the analysis will identify areas of potential difficulty and therefore may be a valuable source of information for various parties, such as materials designers, authors of books, or language educators, including policy makers, teachers or teacher instructors.

Following the first part (Introduction), Chapter Two describes the subject matter analysed in the subsequent chapters. In this chapter, we shall deal with the terminological bank necessary for content analysis and the subject matter which the analysis will cover. To begin with, the smallest components of language – phonemes – are described, which is followed by other issues related to the 'physics' of speech, such as voicedness or word stress. Then, in the next subchapter, we go on to describe morphology and word formation processes, to be followed by descriptions of grammatical categories and syntactic structures. The chapter also characterises the approaches to describing semantic content of lexical items. The selection of the above issues corresponds to the topical areas explored in the subsequent chapters.

Chapters Three, Four, Five and Six contain the main body of this work, including comparisons of English and Polish phoneme articulation as well as patterns in sequences of phonemes, word-inflection and word-formation, semantic content of lexical items and selected issues of pragmatics and discourse organisation as well as phrase and sentence structure. Such areas as word structure and word meanings are beyond doubt interrelated; though, since morphological and inflectional processes are part of grammar and denotations as well as connotations of words part of semantics, two separate chapters address these issues.

Comparing languages is an area of linguistics explored throughout the world (e.g. Benathy, Trager and Waddle, 1996, Bosch and Fellbaum 2009, Chomsky and Halle 1968, Dinnsen 1992, James 1980, Krzeszowski 1984, Makhmutova and Lutfullina 2018, Mikolic Juznic 2018, Willim and Mańczak-Wohlfeld 1987). The twentieth century in particular saw vivid discussions concerning how L1 affects L2. We have seen the work of proponents of the strong version of CA and those who rejected it. In the present work, neither of the approaches is taken as a basis for comparing Polish and English. On the one hand, like most of those who did not agree with the strong version, I do not believe that merely comparing the two language systems is a reliable predictor of what will or will not happen with certainty. On the other hand, however, it is not the case that one needs to wait for an error to occur and only then consider all the possible factors which contributed to the occurrence. If it was, the assumption which I take in the book

would not be valid, and recommendations for shifting practice effort to areas problematic on account of language differences could not be made. I do believe they *can* be made and therefore I reject the claim that an error may only be dealt with on a posteriori basis.

I shall adhere to something which has been called a moderate version of the CA hypothesis. While errors are not bound to occur as a result of non-parallel structures, one can speak of a bigger *likelihood* of error occurrence in cases where there are differences rather than where there are parallel patterns. Language difference does result in language confusion (e.g. Oller and Ziahosseiny 1970) and identifying non-parallel patterns does constitute a basis for identifying those areas in which additional practice is recommended. As said in the previous paragraph, we do not actually have to wait for errors to occur so that they can be analysed and explained. They may be predicted, but rather probabilistically than definitely. Bearing this in mind, a contrastive analysis hypothesis aiming at identifying areas of potential difficulty with a view to making a priori recommendations is an endeavour worth the effort.

Chapter Two: The language system

2.1. Introduction

Within the domain of the system of any language one can explore the (sub) system of sounds, words and other lexical items plus their meanings, phrases and sentences with their meanings, more extensive stretches of discourse and, last but not least, pragmatics. Human language has several properties which distinguish it from that of animal communication, including duality, discreteness, arbitrariness, displacement, productivity and cultural transmission (e.g., Yule 1996).

Duality refers to two levels at which language functions: physically articulated sounds on the one hand and their meaningful combinations on the other. Sounds are not assigned meanings and they need to be combined into morphemes and words to express meanings. We need to add here, however, that many individual sounds are in fact at the same time morphemes or words. Let us first consider phonemes which are at the same time morphemes. To form the past tense of verbs such as *to touch, to work, to stay* or *to warn,* in writing one adds the inflectional ending *–ed*, pronounced as [t] in the first two cases and [d] in the last two. We cannot therefore claim that the phoneme [t] has no meaning in the English

language, even though it is, indeed, an individual sound articulated physically. Or let us consider the Polish unbounded verb *prowadzić*, which can be made bounded by adding the prefix *s-* which consists of one physically articulated sound. Languages abound in similar cases.

Cases where one physically articulated sound corresponds to a complete word are also not uncommon. We may take some Polish prepositions (*z, o,*) or conjunctions (*i, a*) or the English indefinite article *a* as examples. Apart from such functional free morphemes we can also distinguish lexical ones, for example the French *ai* [e] (inflected form of *avoir – to have*) or the English *ore* [o:].

Discreteness means that language features function on the basis of contrasts. In English, we have two alveolar fricative consonants: [s] and [z], the former being voiceless and the latter voiced. The different features involve different meanings, as in *ice* [ais] and eyes [aiz], and so replacing the voiceless fricative with the voiced one results in articulating a word with a completely different denotation. By analogy, one may contrast the denotations of *a man* and *a woman*, the former being masculine and the latter feminine. Although it is usually phonology that is discussed in terms of discreteness, such semantic attributes as 'masculine' or 'feminine' are also perceived as contrastive in nature, where the presence of one attribute excludes the presence of the other. Discreteness thus means that there are no intermediate states: we deal with either property A or property B: a phoneme is either voiced or voiceless; a referent is either masculine or feminine. Let me add here that, in the case of phonology, we talk here about sound perception, not sound articulation, for there are numerous instances of consonants being semi-voiced. We shall explore this issue in more detail in section 2.2.

A sign such as a word is usually arbitrary in that there is no logical connection between its shape and semantic content. The common noun *dog* does not look or sound like the four-legged canine mammal nor does the verb *write* resemble the action of inscribing language forms on a surface. Arbitrariness is predominant in contemporary languages, except for instances of phonosymbolic forms (e.g. Sobkowiak 1996), where the onomatopoeic sequences of sounds do resemble the meanings in some ways. The Polish name of the bird species *kukułka* or its English translation – *cuckoo* – are good examples; here the phonological shape is meant to echo the sound produced by the bird. We may also look at the English verb *swish* and one of its Polish translations *świsnąć*, in which cases the denoted activity produces a sound somehow reflected in the sequence of phonemes involved. There have been languages, however, where written symbols did reflect meanings, as in the ancient Egyptian hieroglyphs, although the symbols had a hugely polysemic nature. Historically, this could be observed in pictograms

which reflected denotations by their forms, or ideograms which involved more polysemy (Yule 1996). Most contemporary languages involve alphabetic writing and most words have an arbitrary nature. Learning a word such as *window* consists in internalising a lexical form which, in its shape, is related to neither the denotation nor its Polish translation (*okno*).

By using language, humans are able to talk not only about the here and now, but also about events remote in time and space or about abstract notions – a property referred to as displacement. Some animals also display this ability, but it is substantially reduced. Although the honeybee can point at a food source away from the hive, the communication is confined to the most recent source and is reduced to the horizontal dimension (see Sebeok 1990 for an overview of zoosemiotics). It is human language that goes far beyond the here and now, the tangible and concrete and, in this respect, surpasses animal communication to a very large extent.

Human language is productive, that is – by using the limited language resources such as words and syntactic patterns, one can express an infinite number of possible propositions (Chomsky 1965, 2002), lifespan being the only limitation. Thanks to productivity, one is able to understand or construct a sentence one has never heard before. If I say *My brother-in-law's nephew has recently had his dog operated on for a bone fracture*, this sentence is likely to be understood by the reader even though s/he is unlikely to have ever seen or heard the sentence before. Although prefabricated chunks of speech – phrases or sentences we know by heart and use automatically without analysing their inner structure – add to language fluency (e.g., Kuczyński 2002, Lewis 1994), anything which has never been heard before can be understood provided sufficient lexical and conceptual resources are available.

Language is learnt from culture. A person is not born with language, but our species has a genetically prewired ability to acquire the language s/he will be exposed to. We can say that this ability is genetically transmitted but the actual mother tongue is culturally transmitted (e.g. Shaik and Burkart 2011). There are millions of individuals that have been immersed in more than one cultural setting, language including, and such people develop bilingualism or miltilingualism. But another language is often learnt, not acquired naturally, and cultural transmission is substituted by formal instruction, though in the globalized world some sort of cultural input and language acquisition are commonplace. Whether acquired from culture or learnt by formal instruction, the L2 is bound to be affected by the L1 to different degrees in different individuals. The present chapter discusses the possible layers of this influence, including sound articulation, word structure, semantic content of lexical items, as well as sentence structure.

2.2. Phonology and the system of sounds

This section discusses in brief the articulation of speech sounds and their combinations in general. The issues considered here will be referred to in Chapter Three, where contrastive analysis is carried out. We first define phonemes and their possible actual realisations, and distinguish between consonants and vowels. Next we consider the issue of voicedness, which was mentioned in the previous section. Then we turn to phoneme sequences: syllables, phonotactics and words.

2.2.1. Phonemes

A phoneme is defined as the smallest articulatory unit of language (Chomsky 1968) and described according to its category – whether it is a consonant or vowel. During infancy, all children, no matter what language their mother tongue is, demonstrate a similar articulatory capability, with velar consonants and high vowels developing first, to be subsequently accompanied by bilabial and alveolar consonants and the lower vowels (Yule 1996). As the child is exposed to his or her culturally transmitted mother tongue, which has its own sound inventory, the child begins to develop the latter, gradually imitating what comes from its linguistic surroundings. Since different languages have different phonemic inventories, individuals speaking different languages will acquire different inventories, specific to their languages. The phonemic inventories of languages, such as Polish or English, include some sounds which share articulatory properties, for example, [k] or [m], and some which differ, for example, in the place of articulation, as is the case with [t] or [s]. Bearing this in mind, there is a huge potential for pedagogic utility in the endeavour to identify those phonemes which share their articulatory properties, or rather where the differences are negligible, and ones having different properties, thus generating negative transfer. It is because of the latter that Polish native speakers of English often sound Polish and vice versa. This issue will be discussed in detail in Chapter Three.

2.2.2. Assimilation, elision and allophones

In speech, phonemes rarely occur in isolation. They are usually combined into sequences within which the articulatory properties of one sound affect those of another, referred to as speech processes one of which is called assimilation. Let us consider two words: *adept* and *education*. Both contain the consonant [d], which is alveolar, stop, voiced. In the first word this phoneme is followed by the mid-front vowel [e] and in the second by the palatal glide [j]. The former does

not affect significantly the consonant in question, so it remains alveolar. The latter, that is – the palatal consonant [j], on the other hand, forces the alveolar [d] in British English to assimilate and become palatalised to accommodate the following palatal sound, thus the sequence becomes similar to the Polish dź sound. The different versions of the same phoneme thus altered are called allophones (Sharma 2005). Allophony may also be illustrated by the articulatory properties of the alveolar fricative voiced consonant [z] in the words *zebra* and *dogs*. The phoneme is fully voiced in the first word but (usually) only slightly so (or in the case of foreigners often fully devoiced) in the second, because voiced consonants which have a voiceless counterpart tend to lose a significant amount of voicing at the end of words.

A specific type of allophony is observed in cases where the consonant seems to disappear altogether, leaving only an articulatory gesture with a duration without sound – a process commonly referred to as elision when the articulatory gesture completely disappears. This happens frequently in cases where the neighbouring consonants have the same or similar place of articulation, such as in the sentence *I wrote to you*. The past form of the verb ends in the voiceless alveolar stop and the preposition begins with the same sound (a geminate sequence). In this case, [t] at the end of the verb is not fully articulated in normal fluent speech and a short acoustic pause occurs due to the fact that the release stage of the final [t] segment of *wrote* is suppressed in anticipation of the identical stop that follows. A case of what could be called historical assimilation is observed in the way the consonant letter r is treated when it follows a vowel in syllable final position and precedes a consonant in close juncture. The r is not articulated as a consonant in British English (though always in American English), but is assimilated with the preceding vowel, as in *port*, *dark* or *bird,* producing a long vowel in British English (short vowel followed by the consonant r in AE). What is typical of such cases is that, while the consonant is assimilated to the vowel, its articulatory duration is given to the preceding vowel, which is always long in such cases. The issue of vowel length will be discussed contrastively in the third chapter.

2.2.3. Consonants

A consonant is a phoneme in which the sound is articulated by an obstruction to the airflow within the vocal tract (Crystal 1994). Such a phoneme is described by, in the first place, the place of articulation, then the manner of articulation and the voice state. Among the phonemes produced in different places of articulation we can distinguish bilabial consonants (e.g., [p], [b], [m]);

labiodental ([f], [v]); dental (e.g., Polish [t], [d], [s], [z], the English th-sounds); alveolar (e.g., English [t], [d], [s], [z]); palato-alveolar (e.g. the first consonant in *should*); palatal (e.g., Polish j-sound [j]), velar (e.g., [k]) and glottal (English [h]). The places of articulation of such Polish and English consonants as [s], [z], [t], [d] and others differ and they deserve attention when anticipating negative transfer (Chapter Three). The manner of articulation includes ways of articulation of such consonants as fricative (e.g., [f], [s] or [h]); africates (e.g., Polish [c]); plosives (e.g., [p], [t] or [k]); nasals (e.g., [m] or [n]) and approximants, such as [j] or [w]. 'Voiced' refers to whether articulation produces a resonant sound at the glottis (vocal cord vibration). Thus, the voiced [d], [g] or [b] produce resonance, whereas their voiceless counterparts [t], [k] or [p] (the same place and manner of articulation) do not.

The place and manner of articulation as well as voice state participate in phoneme contrastivity, making minimal pairs possible (e.g., *to* vs. *do*, *sin* vs. *tin*). Let us consider a few examples. The consonants [v] and [z] are both fricative and voiced and the difference in their contrastive articulatory properties resides in the place of articulation. Thus, *veal* is acoustically perceived as distinct from *zeal* solely on account of the place of articulation of the initial phoneme. Then, *tin* is distinct from *sin* because the manner of articulation differs, whereas the place of articulation is the same and both are voiceless. In turn, *zeal* is different from *seal* in that the initial consonants are voiced and voiceless respectively, the manner and place of articulation being the same.

Thus, the articulatory content of a discrete consonant is described in terms of place of articulation, manner of articulation and the voiced/voiceless dichotomy. Pairs of words which differ only in one property of one phoneme are called minimal pairs:

peel	*wheel*	difference – manner of articulation of the initial consonant;
fore	*sore*	difference – place of articulation of the initial consonant;
feel	*veal*	difference – voice state of the initial consonant.

At this point we may want to introduce the notion of interlingual minimal pairs. This would consist in having similar forms in two languages except that one property of one (corresponding) phoneme is different even though they are represented by the same letter. The initial consonant of the Polish demonstrative determiner *ten* is a voiceless dental plosive, whereas that in the English numeral *ten* – voiceless alveolar plosive. This issue will be further discussed in Chapter Three.

2.2.4. Vowels

Unlike a consonant, a vowel is articulated without obstruction to the airflow in that no parts of the speech organs come into contact with each other in a significant way. As Yule (1996) explains, it is the position of the tongue in the oral cavity that affects the articulatory quality of a vowel. The tongue may be moved upwards, downwards, or left in the middle, producing high, low or mid vowels. It may also be formed to raise the front, middle or back parts at the highest point on the low to high or vertical dimension (also referred to as moving forwards, backwards or left in the centre), which positions correspond to front, central and back vowels respectively. Thus, the vowel [i:] is long high front, whereas [u:] – long high back and [o:] long mid back. We must not fail to mention at this point that, unlike in languages such as Polish or French, in English (or, for example, in Arabic) a vowel acquires additional contrastivity owing to its length. Thus, in English a vowel displays its contrastive properties as follows: low/mid/high; front/central/back; short/long,

and minimal pairs/sets may be obtained accordingly:
For high vowels: *feel* (long high front) / *fool* (long high back);
For mid vowels: *bird* (long mid central) / *bored* (long mid back);
For low vowels: *cat* (short low front) / *cut* (short low central);
For front vowels: *bat* (short low front) / *bet* (short mid front) / *bit* (short high front);
For back vowels: *put* (short high back) / *pot* (short low back);
For high front vowels: *eat* (high front long) / *it* (high front short);
For high back vowels: *pool* (long high back) / *pull* (short high back);

The length of a vowel is also affected by the stress prominence placed on its syllable, and this may differ in particular dialects but will not be discussed here.

2.2.5. Syllables and phonotactics

A syllable is built around a vowel (Chomsky 1968) and the number of vowels typically defines the number of syllables in a word. Because the vowel is a required component of a syllable, it is called the nucleus (ibid Chomsky). There are numerous syllables which only consist of a vowel, as the first syllable in the English *about*, in the Polish preposition *o* or the French inflected form *est* pronounced in isolation. The vowel may be preceded by a consonant or a cluster of consonants, called the onset. This may be exemplified by the prepositions *for* and *through*, the Polish preposition *na*, the Polish numeral *sto*, the French inflected

form *sais* [se], the French adjective *vrais*, the Arabic interrogative pronoun [ma:] or negative particle [la:], or the German preposition *zu*. Additionally, a consonant or a cluster of consonants, called the coda, may be added after the nucleus as in the English preposition *of*, the English common noun *east*, the Polish personal pronoun *on*, the French personal pronouns *il* and *elle*, the German personal pronoun *ich* or numeral *acht* or the Arabic definite article *al*. Finally, a syllable may possess all three components: the onset, the nucleus and the coda, the last two being subsumed under one term the 'rhyme'. This may be exemplified by the English verb *think,* the Polish noun *chrust* (brushwood), the French verb *croire* (believe), the Arabic preposition *min* (from) or the German numeral *zehn* (ten).

While it is common for languages to use syllables of all the kinds mentioned above, the actual consonant patterns within the same syllable type may differ. Let us take the CCCV (three consonants plus vowel) type. Such syllables occur both in English (*spree, strew*) and in Polish (*stromy, krwawy, sprawny*), though the actual consonantal realisations may be problematic if the learner's native language has a particular sequence but his/her target language has not. The Polish lexicon includes the concrete noun *strzała* (arrow), but this phonotactic pattern does not occur in common English vocabulary and therefore this combination constitutes an articulatory difficulty for an English-speaking learner of Polish. The study of phonological sequence typicality within a language is referred to as phonotactics.

2.2.6. Word stress

Word stress is defined as articulatory prominence within a lexical item (Fry 1958) and, in the Polish language, usually falls on the last but one or penultimate syllable. Even many academic borrowings, such as *matematyka* or *fizyka*, although stressed on the second before last syllable by the more learned, as standards for such borrowings anticipate, are often stressed on the last but one syllable by less educated speakers of Polish. In English, word stress is more variable and hence the frequent difficulty for foreign speakers of this language. Chapter Three will examine numerous cases where word stress falls on different syllables in Polish-English borrowings or cognates.

2.2.7. Summary

This section has briefly discussed the selected issues pertaining to sound articulation and producing clusters of phonemes. The third chapter will present an English-Polish contrastive analysis of the language components and patterns discussed here. We shall mostly be concerned with phoneme articulation and

attention will also be paid to phonotactics and word stress. While phonotactics examines typicality of consonant clusters within the syllable, word-stress is concerned with inter-syllabic relationships within the word. Both intra-syllabic and inter-syllabic structure of words will be dealt with in the contrastive analysis.

2.3. Morphology, inflection, word-formation and the lexicon

Morphology is defined (Yule 1996) as the structure of words. This term was originally, and still is, used in the natural sciences to describe cellular structures within organisms, typically in the flow of blood, so its use within the domain of linguistics may be perceived as a metaphoric extension. In this chapter we shall define the morpheme, classify its types and discuss them. Morphological and lexical borrowings will be exemplified and we shall also deal with word-formation processes, such as derivation, compounding or acronyms. Due to the scope of this work, mainly English and Polish exemplification is used, though remarks concerning other languages known to the author will sometimes also be made to enrich the ongoing discussion.

2.3.1. Morphemes

The morpheme is defined as the smallest meaningful (abstract) unit of language which participates in word-building (Bauer 1983) as well as inflection and which cannot be split into smaller meaningful parts. For example, the word *teachers* consists of three morphemes: the simplex (Nation 2001) word *teach*, the derivational (it changes the verb into a noun) morpheme *–er* and the inflectional morpheme *–s* for plural. A morpheme is referred to as an abstract unit because, unlike in the example just given, the same morpheme may also take on different shapes. The form *went* consists of two morphemes – *go* and 'past', although these morphemes are not directly visible in the form. Although they are not visible, though, they do participate in producing the form *went*.

As mentioned above, a morpheme cannot be split into smaller meaningful parts. It can be split, however, into (usually meaningless) phonemes. The assemblage of physically articulated phonemes into morphemes is called duality. While the phoneme (or phone, in fact) is the smallest physical unit of articulation, the morpheme is the smallest unit of (meaningful) communication. A word may be called monomorphemic when it consists of one morpheme (*black, blue, bird, board*) and polymorphemic when it is composed of more than one morpheme (*blackboard, bluebird, hunter, oxen*). One can even talk of monophonemic

morphemes – those which contain only one sound – mentioned in Chapter Two.

2.3.2. Morpheme classification

The morpheme has been defined as the smallest abstract meaningful unit of language. The word 'meaningful' refers here to the ways in which a morpheme participates in shaping the semantic content of words (e.g. *polite – impolite*) or the ways it is used for grammatical processes (e.g., changing the adjective *polite* into the abstract noun *politeness* or changing the noun *bird* into the plural – *birds*). Thus, one meaning of 'meaningful' refers to semantics and another to grammar. Those morphemes which refer to semantics may occur as free-standing words (*car, go, small*), and then are called free lexical morphemes, or as affixes (*il-, -less* as in *illogical, childless*), in which case we refer to them as bound derivational morphemes. 'Bound' means that the morpheme does not occur as a word but when we use it, we 'bind' it to an existing word. To illustrate, the word *illogical* consists of the free lexical morpheme (it can function as a free standing word and is called the 'root') *logic* and two bound derivational morphemes : *il-* and *-al* which do not occur as free-standing words but must be bound to the root. The bound derivational morphemes *il-* and *-al* belong to different categories. The former contributes to the semantic content of the word in question, while the latter changes the grammatical category thereof.

MORPHEMES			
FREE Occur as words		BOUND attached to words	
LEXICAL	FUNCTIONAL	INFLECTIONAL	DERIVATIONAL
content words	function words	grammar	word formation
nouns lexical verbs adjectives common adverbs	auxiliary verbs modal verbs degree adverbs prepositions conjunctions determiners particles pronouns	tense number person case comparative superlative gender voice aspect	meaning lexical category

2.3.2.1. Free lexical morphemes

Free lexical morphemes are morphologically simple words which belong to the open word class (Hatch and Brown 1995) and are referred to as content words because they carry denotation. The term 'open word class' refers to the open nature of the lexicon – new items are added to the vocabulary annually in their thousands. We distinguish morphologically simple nouns, lexical verbs, adjectives and common adverbs. In order to elucidate their roles in sentence constituents, references to small syntactic structures sometimes will need to be made, although syntax as such is explained further on in this chapter.

a) Nouns

Concrete nouns denote objects accessible through the senses. Many referents are accessible through all the senses, e.g., *a chicken* (sense of sight, hearing, touch, smell and, for non-vegetarians – taste), but there are such which can be accessed through only some of the senses, e.g. *a car* (sense of sight, hearing, touch and, by way of metonymy when referring to exhaust – smell) or even only one, e.g., the Moon (sense of sight and, for a few privileged, touch). Abstract nouns refer to ideas which are inaccessible through the senses and are more intellectual in nature. They may refer to, for example, states (*emotion, maturity*), categories (*quality, entity*) or relationships (*reciprocity, subordination*). Collective nouns are used to refer to groupings of entities, e.g. *a nation, a family, a team* or *a married couple*. Common nouns, in turn, name concepts in terms of which we refer to daily experience, e.g., *a sister, a country* or *a pet*.

b) Lexical verbs

These typically denote activities and are called verbs of action. They may often be used in the active or passive voice, as is the case with monotransitive or ditrinsitive verbs: *He wrote a letter – A letter was written, She is painting a picture – A picture is being painted, They sent me a letter – I was sent a letter / A letter was sent to me, He will give her a ring – She will be given a ring / A ring will be given to her*, although actions may also be denoted by intransitive verbs, such as *to swim* or *to work*. Verbs of state, or stative verbs, refer to, as the name clearly suggests, states, such as possession (*to own, to possess, to have*), intellectual states (*to know, to understand*) or emotive states (*to feel, to fear*). Other verbs refer to changes some of which are rapid (*to die*), and some others more gradual or progressive (*to whither, to grow*).

A verb may be ascribed to different categories. For example, *to have* is used as a free lexical morpheme, as in *I have a dog*, or free functional morpheme, as

in *I have done it*, where it is an auxiliary verb. We may also consider *to be*, whose use ranges from the copula (*She is a girl*) connecting Subject with Subject Predicative or, more commonly, Subject Complement, in which case it is referred to as an intensive verb; to auxiliary verb for the progressive aspect (*She is writing a letter*) or the passive voice (*The letter is being written*); and to modal verb (*You are to wait here*) complemented by an infinitive.

c) Adjectives

Adjectives modify nouns and constitute part of nominal groups (*big vehicles*) (Burton-Roberts 1986). Morphologically simple adjectives are characterised by being inflected for the comparative degree (*bigger*) and the superlative (*the biggest*). One word may be ascribed to the category of adjectives or adverbs, depending upon the actual use. The free lexical morpheme *fast* is categorised as adjective when it pre-modifies a noun (*a fast car*) and as a common adverb when it post-modifies a verb (*to drive fast*).

d) Common adverbs

These, as has just been said, modify verbs, ascribing qualities to actions (*to drive fast, to write well, to live big*). Together with the modified verbs, common adverbs constitute Verb Phrases which function as predicates, the sister nodes of grammatical Subjects, that is – Noun Phrases (Downing 1995):

The	*small*	*boy*	*reads*	*fast.*
Det.	Adj	Noun	Verb	Adv.
	Nominal Group		Verb Phrase	
Noun Phrase				
Sentence				

The issue of clause constituents will be discussed in more detail in a subsequent section

2.3.2.2. Free functional morphemes

This group includes all the morphologically simple words which serve as the grammatical 'scaffolding' of sentences and is referred to as a closed word class (Hatch and Brown 1995) because new free functional morphemes are not readily added to the group the way content words are. In comparison to the group of free lexical morphemes, which is very large and expands all the time, this group

is relatively small in number and its members rank high on word frequency lists. It includes, among other things, pronouns, determiners, conjunctions, particles, auxiliary verbs, modal verbs and degree adverbs.

a) Pronouns

These free functional morphemes substitute for complete Noun Phrases. The group includes, among other things, personal pronouns (*I, you, she, her, them*), interrogative pronouns (*what?, which?, who?*), the existential pronoun (*there* in sentences such as *There is a problem*), demonstrative pronouns (*this, these* as in sentences such as *This is good, These are mine*), possessive pronouns (*mine, yours*), the expletive pronoun (*it*) and relative pronoun (*which, that* as in the Noun Phrase *the picture which/that you showed me*)[3].

b) Determiners

Here we distinguish the definite (*the*) and indefinite (*a, an*) article, demonstrative determiners (*this, those* as in the sentences *This book is mine, Those books are yours*) and possessive determiners (*my, your, our*). While discussing determiners, we need to make two distinctions: that between determiners vs. adjectives and between determiners vs. pronouns.

Determiner vs. adjective

An adjective describes a noun and answers the question *like what?* (a *big* car), whereas a possessive or demonstrative determiner, rather than describing, makes the reference more specific and answers the question *which one?* (*this car, my car*). Additionally, as mentioned above, adjective plus noun constitute the nominal group (sisters within the nominal group node), whereas determiner stands before the nominal group and is its sister within the Noun Phrase node:

This	*fast*	*car*	
Det.	Adj.	N	sister nodes: Adj + N = Nom
	Nom		Sister nodes: Det + Nom = NP
NP			NP = mother node of Det + Nom

Determiner vs. pronoun

[3] Indefinite pronouns (*somebody, anybody, something, anything*) and some negative pronouns (*nobody, nothing*) are polymorphemic words.

Pronoun, as mentioned above, stands for a complete NP:

Your fast car = it
NP NP,

and, just like any other NP, can constitute a grammatical Subject:

Your fast car needs servicing. *It needs servicing.*
NP = Subject NP = Subject

and be sister of the VP (predicate) *needs servicing.*

Determiner, on the other hand, cannot stand alone as a NP (e.g., Subject) and, as said above, is only part thereof, sister of Nominal:

Your *fast car*
Det. Nom.
NP

Unlike possessive and demonstrative determiners, articles do not answer the question *Which one?* but rather indicate the assumed scope of reference. When I say *Go to the car*, I assume that the listener knows which car I am referring to. When I say *I have a car*, I am stating the fact that I possess an object which belongs to the class of objects named cars (generic reference).

c) Conjunctions

Many of these free functional morphemes combine individual words into Coordinate Phrases (*fish and birds*), smaller phrases into Coordinate Phrases (*very rich but quite stupid*), clauses into coordinate sentences (*I was working and she was watching TV*). Others are used in a variety of ways, e.g. they serve as links in Subordinate Clauses (*He said that you were unwilling to work* – in such cases they are called 'complementisers'), comparative Adjective Phrases (*larger than*) or conditional sentences (*I'll come if you invite me*).

d) Particles

A particle is a word that is never inflected. It serves a variety of purposes, such as creating an infinitive (*to work*), a negation (*do not work*) or a question (*Why?*

Where? When? How?). The difference between the already mentioned interrogative pronouns (*Who? What? Which?*) and interrogative particles is that an answer to the former is usually a Noun Phrase, whereas to the latter – an adverbial.

Who?	*My sister* (NP),
What?	*My car* (NP),
Which?	*This one* (NP),
Why?	*Because I want to be happy* (adverbial of purpose),
Where?	*In the bathroom* (adverbial of place),
When?	*Tomorrow* (adverbial of time),
How?	*By using a hammer* (adverbial of manner).

Particles are also used as one-word expressions of, for example, emotional states:

No! Right! Indeed!

e) Primary auxiliary verbs and modal verbs

Primary auxiliary verbs are followed by participles, while modal verbs by infinitives (Burton-Roberts 1986, Downing 1995). We can distinguish progressive participles (is *writing*), perfect participles (has *written*) and passive participles (was *written*) which are preceded by progressive auxiliary *be*, perfect auxiliary *have* and passive auxiliary *be* respectively. In English modal verbs are always finite in that they always carry tense and do not occur as an infinitive or as a participle[4].

f) Degree adverbs

Unlike common adverbs, which modify verbs, degree adverbs modify adjectives or other adverbs. They are referred to as function words as there is a relatively small number of them (closed word class). They include words such as *very, quite, too* or *rather*: *very big, very slowly, quite slow, quite slowly, too big, too slowly, rather small, rather fast*.

2.3.2.3. Bound inflectional morphemes

Inflection does not produce new words. Instead, it (in most cases) changes the shape of a noun, verb, adjective or adverb to make morphologically or syn-

[4] In Standard English, that is.

tactically necessary adjustments. Languages inflect nouns for number or case, verbs for tense, aspect, number or gender, adjectives for degree, number and gender and adverbs for degree.

a) Number

English inflects nouns for number by adding the *–s* inflectional morpheme in regular cases and by changing their phonological and orthographic structure in irregular ones. French also adds this ending, but it is not represented phonologically except for cases followed by vowels. Languages such as German or Arabic use different forms for number inflection, just like Polish. Arabic uses three number forms: singular, dual and plural, and Polish, although claimed to possess only singular and plural forms, is in this respect more complex than Arabic itself:

jeden dom,	*dwa domy,*	*pięć domów,*
	trzy domy,	*sześć domów,*
	cztery domy,	*siedem domów etc.*

Many languages, such as Polish or French, also inflect adjectives for number:

Duży dom – duże domy *Une grande maison – des grandes maisons.*

English, on the other hand, does not. Verbs are inflected for number in different ways in different languages, e.g., English only inflects lexical verbs for the third person singular[5] by adding the morpheme *–s*:

I work – he works.

By contrast, Polish inflects verbs for number in all three tenses:

Present tense:	*Robię, robimy;*
Past tense:	*Robiłem, robiliśmy;*
Future tense:	*Zrobię, zrobimy, będę robił, będziemy robić.*

Other languages, such as French, also inflect verbs for number in the past and the future, so English seems to possess relatively modest verb inflection for number, confining it to merely the already-mentioned third person singular.

[5] And the verbs *to have* and *to be* have inflected forms; the latter is also inflected for number in the past tense.

b) Case

Again, in comparison with other languages, English has little case inflection, merely adding *'s* for the possessive case, otherwise known as the Saxon Genitive, and there is no case inflection for adjectives. Polish, by contrast, has seven case inflections (we inflect both nouns and adjectives) which, when we add gender and number inflection, produces a large number of forms:

A big boy:

Duży chłopiec, dużemu chłopcu, dużego chłopca, duży chłopcze, dużym chłopcem, duzi chłopcy, dużym chłopcom, dużych chłopców, dużymi chłopcami chłopcami.

More issues related to such inflections will be discussed in a subsequent chapter.

c) Tense

As an inflectional category, tense changes the form of a verb, and should not be confused with time, which is a semantic category. The English language does not have future tense because there is no change of verb form as a function of referring to future. Instead, there are expressions in the present tense which are used to refer to future time. Compare:

	Tense	Time
I go to school.	present	present
I'm going to school (now, tomorrow).	present	present, future
I will do it.	present	future
I'm going to do it.	present	future.

Languages such as Polish or French do inflect for not only the past, but also for the future tense:

To do

present	future
robię	*zrobię*
Je fais	*Je ferai*

The distinction between inflection for tense and reference for time was discussed in Burton-Roberts, 1986.

d) Aspect

This inflectional category may be defined as the way in which we perceive an activity with reference to the point in time in question. Languages differ in this respect. In English we may talk about simple, progressive and perfect inflectional forms in both present and past, Polish inflects for progressive aspect in the past but it does not have perfect aspect expressed inflectionally (not to be confused with perfective), French or German do not have inflectional forms for the progressive in the present and, the very use of the English perfect (*I have done*) should not be confused with the French *J'ai fait* because the latter refers to bounded past.

Aspect is frequently confused with tense, so let us elucidate.

The phrase *Present Progressive* consists of two words representing two components: a finite auxiliary plus a progressive participle of a lexical verb:

Finite auxiliary	Progressive participle
am	*doing*
is	*working*
was	*sleeping*
were	*talking*

It is the finite auxiliary verb which carries the past or present tense; the progressive participle carries aspect, not tense. It is therefore descriptively incorrect to talk about progressive tenses though, for the sake of simplification, phrases such as *Present Progressive tense* or *Past Progressive tense* are frequently referred to as a conceptual shortcut, for language learners need to be explained things in an optimally simple way rather than being forced to go through complex descriptive dissections.

Let us turn to the perfect aspect. We may refer to it as a reference to the present which is linked to the past, be it through ongoing continuation (*I have been waiting for him since two o'clock*) which started at a point in the past, or through a completed action which has a bearing on the present state of affairs (*I have written the letter – you can send it*). Perfect aspect may be used for the present state of affairs (*I have written*), past (*I had already written the letter when you called me*) or future (*I will have written the letter by evening*).

That perfect aspect in the present tense is actually a combination of reference to the past and present is best illustrated by translations of English perfect Verb Phrases into French, Polish or German where, for completed actions, they are

translated as past tense Verb Phrases, and for states continuing since a point in past time – as present tense Verb Phrases:

English	Polish	French	German
I have done	*Zrobiłem*	*J'ai fait*	*Ich habe gemacht*
I have known him for one year.	*Znam go od roku.*	*Je le connais depuis un an.*	*Ich kenne ihn seit einem Jahr.*

e) Comparative and superlative

Languages differ in the ways in which they express degree. English uses both inflection (*big, bigger, the biggest*) or free functional morphemes (*slowly, more slowly, the most slowly*), just like Polish (*ciekawy, ciekawszy, najciekawszy; bardziej ciekawy, najbardziej ciekawy*), but languages such as French restrict degree to free functional morphemes (*grand, plus grand, le plus grand*). Adjectives with degree morphemes are not inflected for number, gender or case in English, but they are in Polish and they are marked for gender and number in French, as in these examples:

	English	Polish	French
Base form (masculine singular nominal)	*big* *bigger* *the biggest*	*duży* *większy* *największy*	*grand* *plus grand* *le plus grand*
Singular feminine nominal	*big* *bigger* *the biggest*	*duża* *większa* *największa*	*grande* *plus grande* *la plus grande*
singular neuter nominal	*big* *bigger* *the biggest*	*duże* *większe* *największe*	*grand* *plus grande* *le plus grande*
Masculine plural nominal	*big* *bigger* *the biggest*	*duzi* *więksi* *najwięksi*	*grands* *plus grands* *les plus grands*
Feminine plural nominative	*big* *bigger* *the biggest*	*duże* *większe* *największe*	*grandes* *plus grandes* *les plus grandes*

Masculine	*big*	*dużego*	*grand*
singular	*bigger*	*większego*	*plus grand*
genitive	*the biggest*	*największego*	*le plus grand*
Feminine	*big*	*dużej*	*grande*
singular	*bigger*	*większej*	*plus grande*
genitive	*the biggest*	*największej*	*la plus grande*
masculine	*big*	*dużych*	*grands*
plural	*bigger*	*większych*	*plus grands*
genitive	*the biggest*	*największych*	*les plus grands*
feminine	*big*	*dużych*	*grandes*
plural	*bigger*	*większych*	*plus grandes*
genitive	*the biggest*	*największych*	*les plus grandes*

f) Gender

As the above examples show, inflectional distribution for gender is different in different languages. It also needs to be remarked that grammatical gender is arbitrary for inanimate objects and different languages bestow different categories upon the same object, for example *a house*:

Polish	French	German
Dom (masculine)	*la maison* (feminine)	*das haus* (neuter)
Książka (feminine)	*le livre* (masculine)	*das buch* (neuter)
Auto (neuter)	*la voiture* (feminine)	*das auto* (neuter).

It goes without saying that gender ascribed to people will correspond to sex:

Polish	French	German
Mężczyzna (*a man*)	*un home*	*ein Mann*
Kobieta (*a woman*)	*une femme*	*eine Frau*
Dziecko (*a baby*)	*un enfant*	*ein (das) Kind,*

except for cases where one talks about jobs, where gender distribution is different in such languages as Polish or French.

2.3.2.4. Bound derivational morphemes

Unlike inflection, which does not produce new words but merely shapes a word with respect to grammatical adjustments, derivational processes result in new lexical items by changing the denotation or lexical category, or both.

a) Denotation
The denotation of a root is frequently altered by prefixes:

polite – impolite	*kind – unkind*	*relevant – irrelevant*
logical – illogical	*normal – abnormal*	*finite – non-finite.*

The prefixes listed above can be defined as morphs and can be treated as allomorphs of the morpheme 'opposite', 'negative of' (Hatch and Brown 1995). Derivational prefixes can also change denotations in other ways:

Lingual, monolingual, bilingual, trilingual, multilingual;
Byte, kilobyte, megabyte, gigabyte;
Metre, millimetre, decimetre, kilometre.

b) Lexical category
New words are also created by adding suffixes to change the lexical category of roots, for example verbs into nouns, as illustrated below in different European languages:

Verb → Noun	*to learn – a learner,*	*to drive – a driver*
	étudier – un étudiant	*conduire – un conducteur*
	arbeiten – ein Arbeiter	*schreiben – ein Schreiber*
	piłować – pilarz	*pływać – pływak*

Lexical categories are changed in different ways, as exemplified below (we shall dispense with other languages for lack of volume):

Verb → Adjective	*to read – readable, to teach – teachable;*
Adjective → Adverb	*large – largely, slight – slightly;*
Common Noun → Abstract Noun	*a brother – brotherhood, a virgin – virginity*;
Adjective → Abstract Noun	*tidy – tidiness, stupid – stupidity.*

There are derivational morphemes which change both the denotation and the lexical category, as in *a child – childless*.

2.3.3. Word-formation processes

Word formation consists in forming new lexemes from existing roots (Bauer 1983, Cruse 1994). European languages apply at length such ways of adding to the lexicon as derivation, compounding or borrowing. Borrowing will be discussed in the next section; at present we shall deal with derivation, compounding, blending, clipping, backformation, acronyms, conversion, and multiple processes.

2.3.3.1. Derivation

In most European languages, derivation is the most common word-formation process. We discussed derivational morphology in the previous section and here we shall extend the discussion. As mentioned above, derivation creates new lexemes by changing the semantic content or lexical category of roots (Bauer 1983, Baylon and Fabre 1990, Grzebieniowski 1962, Hatch and Brown 1995). We shall also remember that one morphological form may be categorised in different ways, e.g., as derivation or inflection. To start with, let us take the suffix *–ing*: we may categorise it as an inflectional morpheme when it is used for the progressive participle as in *I am working*, or as a derivational one when it changes the lexical category, e.g. from a verb into an adjective: *My memory works* (verb) *well* vs. *My working* (adjective) *memory*. The *-ing* suffix in the latter case constitutes a form called 'Gerund'. Then let us consider the suffix *-ed*: In regular verb forms it is used to form the preterite, perfect participle or passive participle as in

The king armed the army.	(preterite)
The king has armed the army.	(perfect participle)
The army has been armed.	(passive participle),

where it is categorised as an inflectional morpheme for tense, aspect and voice respectively. But in

three armed men

the morpheme changes the verb into an adjective.

We deal with multiple derivation when to one root, usually (but not always) a free lexical morpheme, is added a number of bound derivational morphemes, as in

Establish	action,
Establishment	that which is established,
Establishmentarian	supporting establishment,
Establishmentorianism	movement supporting establishment,
Disestablishmentorianism	movement opposing establishmentorianism,
Antidisestablishmentorianism	movement opposing disestablishmentorianism.

2.3.3.2. Compounding

This is also a very common word-formation process; it involves combining at least two free morphemes:

English: *Black* + *board* = *blackboard,*
Polish: *Piorun* + *chronić* = *piorunochron* (lightning conductor),
French: *Pommes* + *terre* = *pommes de terre* (potatoes),
German: *Zusammen* + *Arbeit* = *Zusammenarbeit* (cooperation),
Arabic: *Alsuwq* + *alhadaria* = *alsuwq alhadaria* (market place).

The meaning of the whole often slightly or considerably departs from what we would get from the meanings of the constituent parts (Bauer 1983, Cruse 1994, Nation 2001). A *blackboard* does not have to be black, *piorunochron* does not protect lightning but against lightning, *pommes de terre* are not apples in the ground. In English, a nominal compound is different from a regular Noun Phrase in that the meaning of the latter typically *is* the sum total of the constituent parts:

Compound	*a blackboard* (it can be black or green),
Noun Phrase	*a black board* (a board, a plank, which is black).

It will be observed, after Bauer (1983), that in the case of the nominal compound the word stress falls on the modifier (*black*), while in that of the nominal group – on the head (*board*).

2.3.3.3. Blending

This word-formation process is also not uncommon and, according to Yule (1996), it consists in combining one word or one part of one word with one part of another word:

Hotel for motorists = *motel,*
Smoke + *fog* = *smog,*

Breakfast + *lunch* (one meal eaten somewhere before midday) = *brunch*,
Polish + *English* = *Polglish,*

Produit + *logiciel* = *progiciel,*
Français + *anglais* = *franglais,*
Brûler + *bagnoles* = *brûgnoler,*
Réalité + *vraie* = *vréalité,*

Muzyk + *actor* = *muzytor,*
Żelazo + *beton* = *żelbeton,*
Dom + *telefon* = *domofon,*
Erotyczny + *produkcja* = *erodukcja.*

2.3.3.4. Backformation

The ending of a word is sometimes removed or replaced by another ending, as in *an editor – to edit, resurrection – to resurrect, television – to televise*. This process results in changing the lexical category of the word, e.g., from a noun to a verb. Backformation is sometimes difficult to distinguish from derivation, an additive process, unless we know the etymological history of the words in question. For example, *resurrection* was borrowed into English as a complete form and it was not until a few centuries later that the back-formed *to resurrect* was formed. The misleading categorisation of this form owes its nature to the productive suffix *–ion*, which forms many nouns in English.

2.3.3.5. Clipping

Clipping consists in shortening a word, as in *an advertisement – an ad, na komputerze – na kompie,* or *mon professeur – mon prof.* This process is similar to backformation in that it usually shortens words, though there are at least two substantial differences. Firstly, unlike backformation, clipping usually lowers the level of formality; secondly, it does not change the lexical category of the word in question. It may also be added that backformation shifts reference, e.g., from a phenomenon or an object to an action, whereas clipping usually leaves the denotation intact.

2.3.3.6. Acronyms and initialisations

These are frequently produced from compounds and usually involve using the initial letters from the whole sequence of words:

The United States of America – the USA,
Great Britain – GB,
The European Union – the EU;

or initial letters plus selected vowels from such a sequence:

North Atlantic Treaty Organisation – NATO,
Light Amplification by Stimulated Emission of Radiation – LASER,
Radio Detection and Ranging – RADAR.

Such acronyms are frequently borrowed by other languages and used as independent lexical items. Thus, while we can reassemble the whole phrase in the donor language, we cannot do so in the recipient language. The issue of borrowings will be considered in 2.3.4 and 2.3.5.

2.3.3.7. Conversion

Unlike many other European languages, English frequently changes the lexical category of a word without changing its structure (save for the possible addition of inflectional morphemes). We can distinguish several types of conversion (see Bauer and Hernandez 2005 for an extensive discussion on this topic):

Noun → Verb:	*milk – to milk,*
Verb → Noun:	*to win – a win,*
Adjective → Adverb:	*remote – to remote detonate,*
Adjective → Verb:	*clean – to clean.*

Languages such as Polish usually use derivation or lexical substitution when it comes to translating converted English words:

Mleko – wydoić (milk – to milk),	*wygrać – wygrana (to win – a win),*
Zdalny – zdalnie (remote, to remote...),	*woda – podlać (water – to water).*

2.3.3.8. Multiple processes

Apart from multiple derivation discussed in 2.3.3.1, we also frequently observe the application of different processes in one lexical form:

Head + teach + er = head teacher (compounding plus derivation),
NATO + wise = NATO-wise (acronym + derivation),
LASER + owy = laserowy (acronym + borrowing + derivation).

On account of the limited scope of this chapter, the above word-formation processes have been discussed very briefly here. For a more extensive discussion, see e.g., Bauer 1983.

2.3.4. Morphological borrowings

Morphemes, the smallest meaningful units of language, are sometimes borrowed from one language to another (Seifart 2012), although this process is claimed to be rare (Thomason 2015) for inflectional morphology (we can easily, however, come up with examples, for instance the English and French regular plural in the written form). We need to distinguish between lexical borrowings, which are discussed in the next section, and morphological borrowings. The former involve transferring whole words from one language to another as in the case of *abnormalny*, which is the Polish form of *abnormal* (the English word originates from the mid-19th century, having evolved from the French *anomal*), whereas in the latter case – i.e. parts of words, some have entered the Polish morphological system, such as the bound derivational morpheme *anti-,* which is of Greek origin: *anti-government – anyrządowy*. Another example of morphological borrowing is the originally Greek prefix *pro-*, which means 'towards, for, in support of": *pro-governmental – prorządzowy, pro-European – proeuropejski, pro-health – prozdrowotny*.

Languages such as English, German or Polish abound in (now) international affixes borrowed from languages such as Latin, Greek or Hebrew. Latin has given rise to such affixes as the plural *–i*, as in the English *foci*, *-ea* (Polish *muzea*) or *–era* (German *Genera*). The suffix *–a* is a Greek borrowing (German *Lexika*, English *phenomena*) and *-im* (*herubim*) is of Hebrew origin (Arkadiev 2016). Languages often provide alternative morphemes for the same meanings or grammatical function in accordance with their morphological regularity. Thus, alongside the plural form *syllabi*, speakers of English also use the form *syllabuses* which is in accord with English regular plurality. Similarly, instead of using the form *antydepresyjny,* which contains the aforementioned prefix *anti-*, Polish speakers will often say *przeciwdepresyjny* as a morpho-lexical alternative conforming to the Polish system of affixation.

2.3.5. Lexical borrowings and cognates

This issue has been discussed extensively by e.g., Grzebieniowski (1962) and Hatch & Brown (1995). Languages borrow lexical items from each other and this contributes to enriching the vocabularies. We should distinguish, however, between borrowings and cognates. The former are usually imported from the donor language to the recipient language together with the concepts they represent (horizontal movement), while the latter come from a common ancestral source (vertical movement), such as Greek, Latin, Hebrew or even yet older sources, such as the Proto-Indo-European language which was spoken in the Middle East thousands of years ago and later spread into many corners of the globe.

Borrowings, as said above, represent the imported concepts. They often refer to inventions or products of cuisine, customs and institutions. We may consider the word *computer* as an example. With the advent of the computing machine, information processing became more and more efficient and this invention spread throughout the globe together with the lexical label (though some languages, such as French, stick to their own lexemes, such as *l'ordinateur*). This horizontal movement facilitates intercultural communication, the concept in question being a cognitive bridge. On the other hand, words such as the English *three,* Polish *trzy,* French *trois,* German *drei* or Russian [tri:] were not borrowed horizontally from one of these languages into the others but take their roots in one ancient source. This division notwithstanding, both borrowings and cognates make for a huge amount of positive transfer on account of similar form and shared semantic content (Kuczyński 2005). Lexical comparative studies are horizontal, or synchronic, in nature, and thus both borrowings and cognates will be treated as manifestations of transfer in this work.

2.3.6. True and false friends

The above-mentioned cognates and borrowings facilitate the shaping of interlanguage and, as already said, enable large amounts of positive lexical transfer. Let us call them 'true friends'. Nation even goes so far as to claim that, when starting to learn a new language, learners already know large amounts of target-language lexical items on account of this transfer (2001). I do not subscribe to this statement, for apart from the graphemically similar form, phonological adjustments need to be made, be it the place of articulation of consonants, vowel quality or word stress. Due to pronunciation-related differences, as in the case of the English *psychology* and Polish *psychologia*, the spoken target words may

not be at first even recognised, so additional instruction and practice will often be necessary. For more details, see Kuczyński 2005.

There are also numerous instances of items, called false friends, or faux amis, whose similar form is misleading as to their semantic content (ibid). Because language-aware learners know that many items, such as *computer/komputer, professor/profesor* or *Africa/Afryka*, share both form and meaning, they have learnt, by way of generalisation, to expect that instances of other words sharing form also share meaning, and this often results in negative transfer where the meaning is in fact different. Examples would include the pairs of words:

Polish	English
Aktualnie (currently)	*actually* (in reality),
Ewentualnie (possibly)	*eventually* (in the end),
Nowela (a short story)	*novel* (a long story);
French	English
Jolie (pretty)	*Jolly* (cheerful),
Plus (more)	*plus* (+),
Blesser (injure)	*bless* (wish well);
German	English
Bulli (a type of van)	*bully* (a bad, troublesome person),
Konsequent (logical, not contradictory)	*consequent* (that which follows as a result),
Sensibel (sensitive, touchy)	*sensible* (reasonable, proper).

True and false friends will be dealt with in a subsequent chapter of this work.

2.3.7. Conclusion

This subchapter has discussed in brief selected issues related to morphology, word-formation and vocabulary which will be referred to in the subsequent chapters where contrastive analysis will be carried out with a view to identifying morphological and lexical candidates for positive transfer as well as sources of possible negative transfer. A certain amount of positive morphological transfer

across languages can be observed, with derivational morphemes being more frequently shared than inflectional ones. Word-formation processes, such as compounding, clipping or creating acronyms are also common in languages and thus understanding them will usually not pose difficulty while learning another code. Conversion or backformation are more common in English than languages such as Polish or French, where lexical translations usually correspond to additive derivation. These issues will be referred to in 4.4.

2.4. The conceptual system and semantics

Since the vocabularies of different languages display different semantic organisation, it is often the case that the meanings of words in one language do not overlap with those of their translation „equivalents". This being the case, failure to communicate interculturally may frequently result if interlocutors are not aware of those differences. Therefore, a contrastive analysis in the area of lexical and phrasal semantics has the potential of benefiting learners, teachers, materials designers, policy makers, translators and other interested parties. Such analysis is carried out by applying the pertinent terminology concerning semantics in general. Obviously, a section containing introductory remarks cannot contain all the issues related to semantics, for this would take many a volume, and it has to be limited in scope.

The first section discusses the notions of denotation and connotation (2.4.1) – the most fundamental concepts in semantics. Then we shall deal with lexico-semantic relations which underlie the organisation of vocabularies (2.4.2). Meaning itself is often perceived as a holistic entity or as a bundle of attributes – we discuss this matter briefly in 2.4.3. Since semantics is tightly interwoven with conceptual systems, we shall also consider such matters as cultural and universal concepts, taking into account their inner structure (2.4.4). Meaning is expressed not only by individual words but also by multi-word lexical items and these will also be considered in terms of semantic structure (2.4.5).

2.4.1. Denotation and connotation

The semantics of a word may be considered in terms of intrinsic core meaning (denotation) and the associative embedding (connotation). The former is more conventional and recognized across languages where the denotation of lexical equivalents is shared, while the latter – more culture-specific or even personal. I have discussed these notions in an earlier publication (Kuczyński 2007a). Yule

(1996) refers to denotation as encyclopaedic knowledge, the culturally or cross-culturally shared units of knowledge recognized by societies, and to connotation as the collection of experiences individuals may have had with an entity denoted by a lexical item.

Yule (op. cit.) gives the example of *a needle*. This lexical item denotes an oblong and pointed small tool used together with thread run through its eye for sewing. The connotation might involve the association with, for example, pain, when the object is inadvertently made to hurt the body. We may also consider the universally known liquid – water – whose one particle consists of two atoms of hydrogen and one atom of oxygen, and whose lexical label has equivalents in numerous languages, e.g., *l'eau* (French), *Wasser* German), *ma'a* (Arabic). These lexical equivalents express the denotation of the liquid – that made of the aforementioned gases. The associations with the lexical label may differ depending on where a person has grown. For example, for an inhabitant of the lands adherent to the Sahara dessert the Arabic word *ma'a* or French *l'eau* are likely be associated with short supply and survival, for water is in short supply in northern Africa, where Arabic and French are predominantly spoken, but for an inhabitant of southern and east-bound Florida it might well mean excess or danger, especially at times of surging waves which flood the region more and more often.

I have also argued (Kuczyński 2003, 2007a, 20015) that even one person speaking two languages may have different associations with two lexical equivalents stored in his/her memory. Let us dwell a little longer on the English word *water* and its French equivalent – *l'eau*. If a person lived in northern Africa where, aside from Arabic, French was spoken as an official language, for long enough to develop native-like competence, and then moved on to live in Florida for an extended period of time, where s/he naturally acquired American English as the second language (or vice versa for American oil miners in northern Africa, for example), s/he may develop two different connotations for the lexical equivalents: *l'eau* is likely to be associated with short supply and sometimes a struggle for survival, while *water* – with excessive amounts of H^2O after a tempest or another whim of the weather system which haunts the peninsula. I have referred to this as 'associative shifts in the bilingual mind' (Kuczyński 2007a), having formulated the 'switchboard theory of second language', where changing the language by a bilingual speaker was argued to shift association in a 'switchboard-like' manner. I shall discuss this issue further in Chapter Five.

Both denotational and connotational content have been present in the discussion concerning language and thought (see e.g. Besemeres and Wierzbicka 2010) and both undoubtedly participate in the linguistic competence as well as cognitive structure of individuals. Although different opinions concerning the

conceptual structure of individuals (see e.g. Rosch 2010) have been voiced, one thing is certain: we store representations of objects and other entities in semantic memory and those representations are verbally expressed by lexical items which hold 'within' the denotation; connotations are also stored in memory and their associative shape depends of one's culture-specific experiences.

2.4.2. Lexical and semantic relations

To begin with, we need to make a distinction between lexical relations and semantic relations. The very term 'lexical' suggests form. Items related by form include such relations as homonymy (shared phonological and graphemic form), homography (shared graphemic form) and homophony (shared phonemic form) for which it is difficult to find semantic relations. Then there are synonymy (shared denotation), antonymy (opposite semantic value within the same domain) and hyponymy (semantic inclusion). There are also sets of words related by form and meaning: polysemy (semantic extention) and metonymy (talking about one thing in terms of another). The present section discusses first items related by form, then by meaning, and eventually by both form and meaning.

2.4.2.1. Homonymy, homography and homophony

Homonymous pairs of words share both phonological form and spelling, but their denotations are unrelated. As Yule states (1996), homonyms have different etymological histories. We can say that they are in fact different lexical items whose forms happen to overlap and they should have different entries in dictionaries; it is a mistake to say that we deal with one word with different meanings. They can be exemplified by *bank* as a financial institution and *bank* as the edge of a river; *can* as a modal verb and *can* as an object or *bat* as a mammal and *bat* as an oblong object used for hitting a ball in games such as baseball. Homonyms may sometimes pose difficulty when the same sign expresses two forms of different words, as in *to lay* as a complex prepositional verb (Kuczyński 2011) and *lay* as the past (preterite) form of the irregular *to lie*. The very form *to lie* is also problematic because it corresponds to two different verbs: regular intransitive (*He is lying* – not telling the truth) and prepositional (*lying on the bed*). There are also pronunciation traps for Polish learners of English in derived forms, such as in *clean*, where the vowel is a long front high one and *cleanliness,* where the vowel changes into a short mid front one. The homonymic nature of many lexical pairs is manifest in the way they are translated into other languages, e.g., the aforementioned pair *bank* and *bank* are translated into Polish as *bank* and

brzeg and the pair *to lie* (intransitive) and *to lie* (prepositional) are translated as *kłamać* and *leżeć* correspondingly.

Homographs share the graphemic, or orthographic, form, but their pronunciation is different, as in *live* [liv] and *live* [laiv] or *lead* [li:d] and *lead* [led], while homophones have the same pronunciation and different spelling, as in *been* and *bean, read* and *reed* or *bear* and *bare*. Homographs and homophones pose considerable difficulty as learners often confuse the forms related by phonological or graphemic form. We may take *to read* as an example. The base form of this verb is pronounced as [ri:d] and the preterite and past participle as [red], which often confuses learners.

2.4.2.2. Synonymy

Synonyms are pairs or sets of lexical items whose form is unrelated and which share all or most of denotation (Cruse 1994). They are seldom interchangeable because of stylistic, dialectal, collocational or colligational (what grammatical structure a word takes) restrictions. Although nouns such as *a policeman* and *a cop* (Pol. p*olicjant* and *gliniarz*) refer to individuals belonging to the same profession, they differ in the level of formality and thus express a stylistic difference. The nouns *pavement* and *sidewalk* refer to the same component of street structure – the former in GB and the latter in the USA. Then, one may take the example of *to do* and *to make* as items belonging to different collocations, although they are believed to be near synonyms. One can *make a mistake,* not **do a mistake*, or one can *do sports* rather than **make sports*. The adjectives *able* and *capable* may be treated semantically as near synonyms, though they belong to different colligational patterns: *able* is complemented by an infinitive (*able to do*) and *capable* – by the preposition *of* plus the *–ing* participle (*capable of doing*).

2.4.2.3. Antonymy

These are lexical items with opposite semantic values, which belong to the same domains, e.g. size (*big, small*), age (*young, old*), aesthetics (*pretty, ugly*) or utility (*useful, useless*). Antonyms with non-gradable meanings exclude each other (*dead, alive; male, female*) and do not have comparative or superlative degree, though metaphorically they can be used in this way (*It was the deadest night I'd seen*). The borderline between such attributes is a clear-cut one. Antonyms with gradable meanings, on the other hand, have comparative and superlative degrees in literary sense and the borderline is not a clear-cut one but one meaning gradually merges into another, as in *young-old/adult*, where middle

ground can be identified. One does not become old overnight and compounds such as *young adults* are common. Gradable antonyms occupy opposite points on a value continuum, e.g., *cold* and *hot* and there are often other words which denote intermediate values: *cold – cool – lukewarm – warm – hot*.

Gradable antonyms, as Hatch and Brown (1995) notice, can be identified in terms of semantically unmarked and semantically marked items. When one asks *How old is your son?*, one does not seem to express the assumption that the son is old, so *old* is semantically unmarked. When asking *How young is your son?*, however, there is an assumption that the son is young because *young* is semantically marked (Cruse 1994). This distinction is significant from the cognitive point of view and has pedagogic implications. Unmarked, neutral concepts are believed to develop first in the young mind (Hatch and Brown 1995) and their antonyms, the marked ones, subsequently. It is thus recommendable to teach vocabulary items with unmarked denotations first and go on to teach marked ones when the former have already been acquired.

Antonyms in one language may be subsumed as one word in another. The English verb *to lend* has an antonym *to borrow* and the items have clearly delineated denotations. The Polish language, on the other hand, has one word *pożyczać*, which means both *to borrow* and *to lend*. In the former case we deal with lexical split and in the latter – underdifferentiation (Arabski 1979). As a result, because Polish learners learn to use one lexical label to refer to both actions, this habit is erroneously transferred to English, and mistakes such as **Can you borrow me five pounds?* are not uncommon. This issue will be dealt with in Chapter Five.

2.4.2.4. Hyponymy

Hyponymy, or semantic inclusion, consists in hierarchical organization of lexical items, where a word with a more specific meaning is subordinate to one with more general denotation (e.g. *oak – tree*). We often deal with multi-level taxonomic structures, as in *animal – bird – robin* or *plant – tree – oak*, where the item from the 'middle' level is referred to as 'basic-level' term (Hatch and Brown 1995). Basic-level terms are most immediately accessible in categorization: when presented with, for example, a picture of a horse chestnut, young respondents are likely to call it a tree because the basic level is the first one which springs to mind. Basic-level concepts develop as the starting point in developing taxonomies and should be taught first to young children learning a foreign language (Kuczyński 2005).

Older learners, whose conceptual structures are more developed, will do well with a bunch of superordinate items which constitute a powerful defining

tool. Such a defining set of higher-level items makes communication possible when one does not know a more specific vocabulary item: not knowing the lexical form *drill* may be compensated for by using a definition, such as *a tool for making holes in walls or pieces of wood*; *an eel* may be explained as *a snake-like fish* and *a spruce* as a *tree commonly used in Poland as a Christmas-time ornament, referred to as a Christmas tree.* Such definitions may not be exhaustive and sometimes the communicative situation requires additional endeavour for accurate meaning expression, but being equipped with a relatively modest repertoire of superordinate-level terms does help express very large numbers of more specific meanings.

2.4.2.5. Polysemy

Polysemous words are characterized by multidenotational semantic content, where the meaning of a semantic core extends into other domains in a metaphor-like manner. This relatedness to a shared core is manifest in the fact that dictionaries give a polysemous word one heading for the core and subheadings for the extensions. Let us take the word *head* as an example. The semantic core refers to the topmost (most important) part of the human body containing the skull which houses the brain. This semantic core is extended into other domains, such as state administration (*head of state*) or weaponry (*warhead*). Such terms as *head of state* are often listed in dictionaries as subheadings in lexical entries, though different dictionaries differ in the ways they treat words such as the compound *warhead.*

2.4.2.6. Metonymy

Metonymic use of language consists in talking about one thing in terms of another and is observed in many languages in similar ways. One can use the name of the author of a book to refer to the book (*Did you borrow my Shakespeare? Pożyczałeś mojego Shakespeare'a?*), the name of a container for the contents (*Did you drink the whole bottle? Wypiłeś całą butelkę?*), the name of a part to refer to the whole (*I love the steering wheel/Uwielbiam kierownicę*) or the name of a city for an institution (*Warsaw has declared readiness to cooperate with the European Commission; Warszawa zadeklarowała gotowośc współpracy z Komisją Europejską*), to take just a few examples. Since metonymy seems to be universally used across languages, little negative transfer is anticipated when the learner has the relevant encyclopedic knowledge.

2.4.2.7. Conclusion

Lexico-semantic relations between words can and should be compared across languages because such comparisons, like those at any other level (phonological, syntactic, etc.), may help make predictions as to the learning ease or learning difficulty. The relations exhibit different degrees of semantic relatedness, from none to quite large. Homonyms, homographs and homophones do not display semantic relatedness and they occupy different entries in dictionaries and, as may be expected, the mental lexicon. Synonymy, antonymy, polysemy, hyponymy and metonymy are, on the other hand, related semantically and are often explained in terms of each other. A word meaning may to a large extent be understood by its synonym, antonym, localization at a node in a hyponymic taxonomy, relatedness by semantic core or conceptual transfer applied in metonymy. These levels of semantic relatedness display both similarities and differences across languages and identifying such similarities and differences is useful in identifying possible positive or negative transfer.

2.4.3. Atomistic and holistic approach to meaning and the issue of prototypes

Word meanings can, and often are, analysed in terms of inner semantic attributes to which they may be reduced in an 'atomistic' manner (Palmer 1991, Taylor 1995). Let us consider the meaning of the word *woman*, for example. It contains three semantic attributes: 'human', 'female', 'adult'. These attributes are both necessary and sufficient for a person to be categorised as a woman. They function contrastively, that is, the presence of one feature excludes the presence of the opposing feature, e.g. 'human' excludes 'non-human' or 'female' excludes 'male'. One may raise certain objections, though. As said before, there are both gradable and non-gradable adjectives. While we may readily accept the notion of mutual exclusivity for non-gradable adjectives (there are no literally understood comparative or superlative semantic values for 'human' or 'female'), we run into problems with gradable ones. For where does the boundary between, say, *old* and *young* lie? As said before, the meaning of the former gradually shifts to the latter and there is no clear-cut boundary. If we took the meaning of 'girl', the attributes would include 'human', 'female' and 'young'. When does a female cease to be a girl and start to be a woman? And what about 'young women'? It seems logical to accept the statement that mutual exclusivity works for non-gradable attributes but not for gradable ones.

Like anything in languages, the ways meanings are composed across languages vary. Let us return to the issue of lexical splits and underdifferentiation

(coalescence). The Polish word *pływac* denotes any action associated with moving on or in water. The English language has a few lexical translations, such as *swim, sail* (pływać, żeglować), *float* or *flow*. The attributes of *swimming* would include 'moving across or in water', 'moving parts of the body', 'human or non-human animate', *sailing* – 'moving across water' 'using boat' (*boat* in a broad sense), *floating* – 'move across water', 'passively, as the current flows', and *flowing* – 'moving in large mass', 'along a riverbed or other surface'. Yet all these words may be translated into Polish as *pływac*: *On pływa w basenie* (He swims in the swimming pool), *On pływa po Atlantyku* (He sails the Atlantic), *W rzece pływa kłoda drzewa* (A log is floating in the river) and *Wisła płynie przez Warszawę* (The Vistula flows through Warsaw). Because a Polish learner of English often develops the habit of referring to movement in/on water by using one word (although the Polish language does have other lexical items, such as *dryfować*), this habit, like any other linguistic habit, may be transferred to English. Hence, errors such as *He swims his boat at sea* or *Dead fish were swimming in the river*. More examples of negative semantic transfer will be considered in Chapter Five.

An alternative way of describing meaning is to treat them as wholes interlinked by a cobweb-like network of associations (Aitchison 2002, Taylor 1995) because many meanings defy consistent ways of analysing them for attributes. Let us consider the word *pet*. Prototypically, it is a relatively small animal kept in the house as company. Among prototypical pets are dogs, cats or hamsters. Now, if a cat lives outdoors to catch rodents or if the dog is kept outdoors for safekeeping, are they still pets? Then we may think of a horse to which we are emotionally attached. We surely do not keep it indoors but in many cases there is a kind family-like bond between us and the animal. We may be in two minds as to whether we should refer to it as a pet. And even if we do, what if the animal is (occasionally, not regularly) used for minor work? Clearly, being and not being a pet is a matter of degree and a consistently selected set of attributes can hardly be conceived of. For this reason, there is the alternative approach of putting a prototypical concept in a network of associations rather than splitting it into sufficient and relevant features. By prototypical we understand here 'referring to the best example of' (Rosch and Lloyd 1978).

Prototypes are interesting from the point of view of contrastive analysis. Since prototypes are usually products of culture, for it is in culture that we learn best examples of categories, different cultures are likely to develop different prototypes for the same categories. In central Europe, a pine is a good candidate for the prototype of a tree (although it depends on cognitive histories embedded in environmental surroundings of individuals), alongside such co-candidates as an oak or a birch. But if one asks an inhabitant of, say, northern or central

Africa about the best example of a tree, the answer is likely to be different. Since I have argued that concrete vocabulary items are best taught through prototypes (Kuczyński 2005), I believe that the vocabularies of two different languages, which are parts of two different cultures, will often need to be taught through different prototypical representations. I am aware of the objections this statement may raise, but within the notion of interlanguage the prototypical shape of concepts is bound to differ in many cases and contrasting at least selected lexical equivalents for prototypicality is a worthwhile undertaking.

2.4.4. Universal and cultural concepts

Although cultures differ in the surface organisation of cognitive substance, there are underlying cognitive regularities parallel across cultures. The surface organisation of, say, the schooling system is (sometimes profoundly) different in different countries, yet the very core of the concept 'school' seems to be universal. Societies have come up with different ways of organising the educational systems which include subsystems together with names to go with them, and sometimes it is not easy to find lexical equivalents in different languages for the subsystems, yet the very idea of knowledge being transmitted or made available is present universally (Wierzbicka 1999). Thus we come to acknowledge the existence of, on one hand, culture-specific conceptual entities (I have referred to this as culture-specific cognitive content, Kuczyński 2007a) and, on the other, that which is universal.

In her works, Wierzbicka (1992, 1997, 1999) has extensively discussed the issue of universal concepts, proposing tentative lists of words representing them, as well as cultural concepts. Referring to universal and culture-specific concepts is a must in a work such as the present one, for, depending upon concept type (universal, cultural; primitive, complex), different levels and nature of transfer are envisaged. Based mainly on the work of Wierzbicka, but also referring to other sources and making my own propositions at times, I shall first discuss universal primitive concepts, then universal complex concepts and finally cultural ones.

2.4.4.1. Universal primitive concepts

By using the word *primitive* we do not mean to downgrade certain concepts in terms of their quality; in the present context this word refers to a lack of inner structure, to a concept's being irreducible to smaller semantic components. Such concepts, the most basic 'atoms' of more complex concepts, are argued to possess certain properties, of which Wierzbicka (1992) enumerates five: they are

self-explanatory, they are impossible to define, they are present in all cultures, they are lexicalised in all languages and they serve as the building blocks of other meanings.

At the beginning I owe the reader a certain clarification. Conceptual simplicity is not the same as morpho-semantic simplicity. Conceptual simplicity means that a semantic entity cannot be reduced to smaller semantic components. For example, the word *thing* denotes a concept whose definition is hard to come by and the concept's linguistic representation is also morphologically irreducible (although it is phonemically reducible, as said in 2.3.1). The word *nothing*, on the other hand, is also semantically simple, for 'nothing' can hardly have anything within, and yet the verbal representation thereof is morphologically complex: it consists of the free functional morpheme *no* and the free lexical morpheme *thing*. The morphological complexity of the lexical equivalent of this lexeme is also present in other languages (e.g., Russian: *ni+szto,* German *nicht+s*), although languages such as Polish or French represent this concept by mono-morphemic lexemes (*nic, rien*). When we refer to primitive concepts, we refer to the semantic content of certain words, not their morphological structure.

The first proposition is that primitive concepts are self-explanatory. It means that there is no need to explain them as they are clear by themselves. Concepts such as 'thing', 'I', 'do', 'have' or 'be' do not need to be explained as they are already used in the cognitive labour of small children, which is clear from their speech production. Fodor (1980) has proposed that such concepts are innate, but this statement needs further comment. The moment a child is born, it can hardly have any concepts at all and conceptual structures develop during the subsequent stages of cognitive development. What we mean by their innateness is that the genetic heritage our species has imparted on the child conditions conceptual development in certain universal ways. No matter into which culture a baby is born, it is genetically programmed to develop certain concepts irrespective of cognitive experiences. Owing to this genetically-conditioned development of such concepts, they are bound to develop. It is for this reason that they are (or rather the blueprint for their development is) innate.

The next proposition that we learn of from Wierzbicka (op.cit.) is that they are impossible to define. We need to make a comment here, too. Primitive concepts *can* be defined but it is hard to define them in terms simpler than they are themselves. One of the proposed primitive concepts – 'I' – can be defined as 'the first-person singular pronoun'. Yet this definition contains concepts which are cognitively more advanced than the defined one, for a two-year-old child is unlikely to use words such as *singular* or *pronoun*, yet it starts using *I* relatively early. Similarly, although *have* can be roughly defined as 'be in the possession of',

the defining concept 'possession' cannot be expected in the cognitive structure before the concept 'have'. Therefore, the explanation of the concept *indefinability* is treated in this work as its inability to be explained in terms simpler than the concept in question. And, after all, there is no need to explain them, as they are, as already said, self-explanatory.

The next proposed property of primitive concepts is that they are present in all cultures and it is for this reason that they are called universal. This property actually follows from the proposition that they are innate, for just as all healthy humans have the genetically-transmitted blueprint for developing limbs of comparable proportions, they also exhibit the pre-programmed nature of concept-development. Since it is species-specific, all individual exponents of organisms belonging to the same species exhibit their presence. The cognitive space containing universal primitive concepts is conditioned neurologically (Langacker 1999) and the neurological pre-wiring of a human being universally resembles that of other such beings.

Then we learn that primitive concepts are lexicalised in all human languages. The observation that languages have lexical correspondences of the English first-person singular pronoun (Polish, Russian: *ja*, German: *Ich*, French: *Je*, Arabic: *ana*) testifies to the validity of this claim. Other concepts are also reported to have lexical correspondences in different languages, but their linguistic reflection displays disparity. For example, sentence heads such as *I have* are easily translated into other languages (*Ja mam, Ich habe, J'ai*), while languages such as Russian express the same meaning in a different way (*U mienia* 'at mine'). And Wierzbicka (1992) herself points at the problem of polysemy: the concept of the second person may be universal, yet its lexical representations in languages are not one-to-one equivalents. Polish, Russian, German and Russian distinguish the second person for singular and plural number, and Arabic even for the sex of the addressee as well as singular, dual and plural. In English, the pronoun *you* is polysemic in that it refers both to singular and plural number. Different linguistic representations notwithstanding, the very concepts behind them, one or many, are always lexicalised in that there are always words to refer to them.

Finally, primitive concepts serve as building blocks of more complex concepts explained in 2.4.3. A comment is needed here as well. It is not only primitive concepts which constitute complex concepts; the latter may consist of both primitive and other complex concepts. On the one hand, a complex concept such as 'lend' may consist of primitive concepts ('give' + 'thing' + [for] 'somebody' + 'time'), but if we take a complex concept such as 'prison', then the attributes it contains would include such as 'place' (primitive), 'stay' ('be' + 'some' + 'time'), 'somebody' (primitive), 'break' (complex action), 'law' (a complex system – we

might come up with such attributes as 'system' [itself complex] + 'rule' [itself complex] + 'observe' [itself complex]. The latter differ cross-culturally (Shore 1996), although there are also such whose core meanings overlap. We shall discuss complex concepts in more detail in the next two sections.

2.4.4.2. Universal complex concepts

As said above, primitive or less complex concepts come to form yet more complex ones, a phenomenon referred to as the compositional nature of meaning (Shweetser 1999). We may talk about the universality of complex concepts within the group of languages examined by researchers from different academic settings (Croft 1999). Unlike primitive concepts, which are by nature universal and have been claimed to be inborn, complex ones are acquired from the environment alone. The genetically-transmitted ability to form such concepts instructs the developing cognition to form concepts from the environment the way Language Acquisition Device instructs to develop languages. The faculties of speech development and (complex) concept development instruct the subject to build inner systems on the basis of interaction with the environment. The ability to form them may be inborn, but the actual substance comes from the surroundings. They are different from primitive universal concepts in that, while the latter are inborn in terms of substance, the former are shaped in terms of substance on the basis of the data coming from without.

Certain ways of organising life and their mental representations are identical or almost identical across cultures and thus complex universal concepts are formed. The first source of such concepts is the natural environment. Most cultures encompass such topographical elements as rivers and lakes, and their mental representations will develop likewise, together with the distinguishing features. It is no accident that I said *most*. For there are cultures which do not experience interaction with or sensory input from such topographical elements and so the concepts will not develop. The difference, then, between primitive universal concepts and complex universal concepts is that the former are claimed to be inborn and therefore develop in each member of each culture, while the latter are only formed when the corresponding phenomena are actually experienced. Because certain phenomena are present in all or almost all cultures, the corresponding concepts are developed likewise.

The second source of universal concepts is the globalisation of technological solutions. Most cultures contain the concept of 'computer' because this IT device is present in them; the concept develops through schooling and daily use. Most cultures contain such concepts as 'car', 'gun' or 'digital' because the technological

inventions, once produced within *a* culture, have spread throughout the globe and constitute the cognitive experience of most members of most cultures. Some cultures developing in seclusion, few of which remain in fact, may not have had access to such inventions and therefore the corresponding concepts could not develop. What is cultural is the absence of such concepts in the particular societies. Thus we arrive at this conclusion: The globalisation of many technological solutions has resulted in the universality of the corresponding conceptual content, but certain cultures have not developed them on account of the inaccessibility of such solutions, be it by choice (the forceful preserving of tradition and nothing else) or their hermetic nature, and so the absence of such concepts is culture-specific. Except for such cultures, which do not come into contact with certain solutions, societies throughout the globe share such cognitive experiences and shared concepts are developed, which enables positive semantic transfer.

Another source of universal complex concepts is common history (Whorf 1956) or common cognitive access to history. By 'common' I mean most cultures again. Common history is related to the same origin of all cultures, as claimed by Whorf, which have inherited ideas such as interhuman communication, the belief in the supernatural or the presence of leadership within communities. Common cognitive access to history is possible thanks to historical record, literature, scholarly work, schooling and popular communication. A particular history may have belonged to one particular culture, e.g., that of ancient Egypt or the chosen nation, and was not global, but now that knowledge about them has spread throughout the globe, the corresponding cognitive content is globally present in most cultures.

We should also not forget about some parallel ways in which administrations are organised. Such institutions as the already-mentioned schools or prisons are present in most cultures and therefore the corresponding conceptual and schematic content is developed in the cognitive structures of members of those cultures. A comment is needed here. Although the very ideas of a school or a prison are universal, the actual structure of these administrative solutions varies. On a more surface level, then, the content is culture-specific, though the core is shared. Other examples of globalised administrative solutions, present in most cultures, include monarchy or government, or both, the idea of law, the idea of religious institutions or religious roles in society, hospitals and health-care systems, police, army or marriage. Because the core of such cognitive content is shared by many cultures (Corder 1983), the words naming such content in a language tend to have lexical equivalents in other languages. Words with similar meanings allow for a huge amount of positive semantic transfer.

2.4.4.3. Cultural concepts

As was said in the previous section, although the cores of many solutions and ways of organising social and administrative solutions are shared, the actual details of the organisation differ (Corder 1983). Although the idea of a government is more or less universal, the make-up of a cabinet and its competencies are a cultural matter. We have presidential systems, parliamentary systems, or both; we have monarchs with various scopes of competence and we have various ways in which constitutions situate those bodies within the structures of societies. Another example may include the concept of mayor and self-government. The English word *mayor* denotes a head of self-government in a city, town or a cluster of villages. The denotation of this lexeme is pretty voluminous. The Polish language has three different words with three distinct denotations: *prezydent* corresponds to a mayor of a city of a population larger than fifty thousand; *burmistrz* denotes a mayor of a town with a population smaller than that number plus a cluster of surrounding villages, while *wójt* refers to a mayor of a cluster of villages without a town. Despite the universal nature of the core denotation of head of self-government, the specifics of these denotations are culture-specific. Thus, different cultures view similar components of reality from different perspectives (Lucy 1992, Shore 1996).

Then we have semantic content whose core itself is culture-specific. In such cases, words often lack lexical equivalents in other languages and translation is often more difficult (Brown 1976); it requires cultural substitution ('Sanepid' – 'Sanel') or periphrasis ('Sanepid' – 'institution responsible for epidemiological safety'). Such content includes, among other things, cuisine, habits, literary work, peculiar history or folklore (Tomalin and Stempleski 1993). We may consider the French concept of 'apéritif' as an example of cuisine. It involves special snacks served before the main courses and has a special ritual. When it comes to habits, we have the Polish *oczepiny* – a custom observed at midnight during a wedding party, of *śmigus dyngus* – the habit of splashing water on each other on the second day of Easter. Such words are unlikely to have exact translations in most other languages because identical customs do not exist in many other cultures. Literary work is closely related to peculiar history. Let us consider the historical event which occurred in Poland in the second half of the seventeenth century: Poland was invaded by Sweden. This event is referred to as the 'Deluge'. By way of conceptual metaphor, we call old things *przedpotopowe* ('pre-deluge'). This word is hard to translate into other languages and so positive semantic transfer is not easy to come by.

Both cultural substitution and paraphrasing have their advantages and disadvantages. The advantage of cultural substitution is that there is always an activation of the cultural flavour which the recipient of an utterance brings to the situation from his/her background. Although the substance is different, the obtained affective outcome may be similar. The disadvantage does not need lengthy explanation – the translation evokes different associative embedding than was meant by the author of the original utterance.

To summarise, concept types are divided into universal and cultural. Universal concepts include primitive and complex, the former being transmitted genetically and the latter through common experience. Both subtypes make for positive semantic transfer on account of shared semantic cores. Cultural concepts impede positive transfer as the semantic core is non-overlapping or even peculiar to one particular culture.

2.4.5. Semantic transparency and opaqueness

Transparency may be defined as the meaning of a compound word or a phrase being equal with the sum total of the meanings of the constituent parts (Kuczyński 2007b). *Opaqueness*, in the present context, is the antonym of *transparency* and it involves cases where the meaning of the whole is not clear from the parts. Lexical items may be positioned at different points on the scale of transparency. We shall discuss four such points: transparency, semi-transparency, semi-opaqueness and opaqueness.

2.4.5.1. Transparency

As said before, transparent lexical items include such complex words and phrases whose denotational content is built from the denotations of the individual words (Kuczyński 2002, Kuczyński 2007b, Nation 2001). The compound *a school director* consists, besides the indefinite article, of two content words *school* and *director* whose denotations come to make up the denotation of the whole lexical item. The German compound Z*uzammenarbeit* ('cooperation') is semantically composed of the free functional morpheme *zuzammen* and the free lexical morpheme *Arbeit*. Similarly, the sentence head *If I were you, I'd …* is also clear because the free functional morphemes and the copula[6] come to form a clear, unambiguous expression. There is little idiomacity in such words and expressions in that they do not display metaphoric transfer of meaning. They are lexical

[6] The verb *to be*

items or phrasal combinations constructed on the basis of morphological and syntactic rules and semantic regularity. As Lewis (1994) claims, they are stored in the mental lexicon because of the subject's frequent exposure to them as well as frequent activation for productive use. Let us refer to them as fixed expressions.

2.4.5.2. Semi-transparency

Many expressions may still be clear, although they display a certain amount of metaphoric transfer of meaning, easy to read even with few contextual clues. Let us consider two such examples. In applied linguistics, the French expression *faux-amis* ('false friends') refers to words with different meanings, misleading because of their similar form. Literally speaking, false friends are people who want to appear friendly but act otherwise behind one's back. The denotational content of *faux-amis* has been transferred metaphorically from the source domain (human relations) to the target domain (applied linguistics). Despite the metaphor, the meaning of the nominal compound is clear within the target domain and providing additional explanatory contextual clues extensively is usually not needed. The Polish idiom *z dużej chmury mały deszcz* ('small rain from a big cloud') involves metaphor from the source domain (meteorology) to the target domain (describing certain cause-effect relationships) which is clear without much additional explanation. Semi-transparent idioms often involve lexical substitution between languages because different lexical combinations come to compose the same or very similar denotetional content. The Polish idiom *robić z igły widły* (make a [farming] fork out of a needle) is translated into English as *make a hill out a molehill*. Negative idiomatic transfer may occur when the equivalent of the idiom is not known, but once it is, the matter is settled.

2.4.5.3. Semi-opaqueness

There are numerous expressions whose semantic content is somehow metaphorically related to the meanings of the constituent parts, but the connection is often not noticed at first and needs to be shown. Once it is shown, the metaphor is understood. The difference between such items and semi-transparent ones is that in the latter case the metaphoric extension is so clear that it does not need to be explained. In the case of semi-opaque ones it does. The phrasal verb *to be carried away* may not be easily understood unless explanation is provided, but once it is, the semantic relation between the whole and the parts is visible. It is thanks to this post-instructional visibility that memorising the item is facilitated. The distinction between semi-opaque and semi-transparent items is not

an objective one as different individuals will often have different perceptions of the metaphoric links. The semi-transparency and semi-opaqueness reside not only in the semantic properties of expressions but also in the ease with which subjects perceive them.

2.4.5.4. Opaqueness

Where the semantic content of the whole is not perceived as related to the denotations of the parts even after instruction, we speak of semantic opaqueness. We deal with subjectivity again, for what is invisible to one person may be visible to another. Many subjects will not see any connection between the meaning of the phrase *to kick the bucket* and that of the verb *to die* even after looking up or being told the meaning of the former item. Opaque connections may become clear if the language learner is creative enough. The meaning of the expression *out of the blue* may not be seen to equal that of the coordinate Adverb Phrase *unexpectedly and suddenly*, but a creative person may imagine the blue sky and a lightning striking 'unexpectedly and suddenly', which endeavour will result in shifting the expression from the 'opaqueness' pole to the 'semi-transparent' point along the continuum of transparency/opaqueness.

2.4.6. Conclusion

Besides phonology, morphology and syntax, semantics is an important area to be explored in the anticipation of possible transfer. Positive semantic transfer is possible when the underlying organisation of cognitive content is parallel or similar in languages. This takes place not only when concepts are globally universal. It is often the case that, although cultures differ in the way they organise social life on a superficial level, a similar core component between two particular cultures may be observed which is accompanied by related lexical forms.

Denotations of lexical items are often described in terms of semantic attributes, but there are meanings which it is not possible or easy to define in this way and then connections between holistically perceived concepts are sought. Such connections may be found within semantic fields and semantic relations, such as synonymy, antonymy, hyponymy or polysemy. Denotations of words are related to concepts in the mind, but it is not a one-to-one relationship. The way the same conceptual content is mapped onto lexical items displays variability and, as a result of this, negative transfer is possible. Universal concepts are usually easy to transfer across cultures through languages as long as one bears in mind different lexical organisation of the same semantic fields.

2.5. Syntactic structures

There have been many attempts to address the issue of grammatical structure of languages from the descriptive perspective (e.g. Chomsky 1965, 2002, Burton-Roberts 1986, Downing 1995) as well as cognitive perspective (e.g. Langacker 1987). In Poland, we have had extensive work on contrastive linguistics under the guidance of Fisiak, who headed more than twenty international contrastive linguistics conferences in Poland and whose work is known worldwide (see e.g. Fisiak et al. 1978, Fisiak 1981). The contrastive analysis discussed in Chapter Six attempts to draw a map of the grammatical components of Polish and English which may give rise to positive and negative transfer; here, as in the previous sections of this chapter, I present the matter which is to be subject to contrastive analysis.

2.5.1. Lexical vs. syntactic categories

As said in section 2.3, free morphemes are divided into lexical and functional. The former carry denotation, the semantic content, while the latter serve as a scaffolding to organise the semantic content into syntactically readable sentential (and suprasentential) structures. Sentential structures are subject to formation rules, some of which are parallel in languages and some of which are non-parallel. The syntactic organisation of sentences, or rather the scaffolding for this organisation, rests upon free functional morphemes. One of the primary organisational principles is that of agreement (Burton-Roberts 1986, Downing 1995). The components of a clause supposedly agree for person, number, tense and, in the case of many languages, gender. The underlying principles which govern language use are also subject to mood – the mode in which language is used – that which specifies whether a statement is an assertion of fact, hypothetical or contingent fact or a call or command to action. Since the lexical and grammatical categories were discussed in 2.3, the present dissection is concerned with agreement and mood – the categories which need sentential embedding to be observed.

2.5.2. Grammatical categories

a) Number

Agreement for number is postulated in the prescriptive approach to grammar (Yule 1996). In English, when the noun occurs in the singular, so too should the verb: *There is a problem*; and when the noun takes plural number, prescrip-

tion demands the verb too must follow suit: *There are some problems*. In actual language use, however, agreement is often violated in English and utterances such as *There's some problems* can be heard and read very frequently. And, since the descriptive (as opposed to prescriptive) approach focuses on how language is actually used by native speakers, one should think twice before stating that such sentences are, from the point of view of a language learner, to be rejected.

Some other languages, such as French or Polish, apply agreement for number more rigorously, and sentences such as *Les artists est ici* or *Artyści jest tutaj* are not considered acceptable. The question of *there + to be*, however, is resolved more simplistically in many languages which subsume the English *there is/there are* in one form:

French	singular: *Il y a un problème.* plural: *Il y a des problèmes.*
German	singular: *Es gibt ein Problem.* plural: *Es gibt Probleme.*
Polish:	singular: *Jest problem.* plural: *Jest kilka problemów* (*Są problemy* is also possible).

b) Tense

Agreement for tense, or time agreement, is prescriptively observed in many languages. In circles with more schooling, one is expected to say *I thought you were absent* in English because, since the verb *to think* is used in the preterite, so too should the copula *be*. Similarly, when speaking standard French, one is expected to say *Je pensais que ty etais absent* rather than *Je pensais que tu est absent*. Although agreement for tense is anticipated within the prescriptive approach to grammar, actual language in use often departs from this notion. Everyday English abounds in subordinate clauses such as *I thought you are absent, He said he is busy* or *I didn't know you are so sensitive!*, and other languages display similar behaviour in this respect. As we shall see in Chapter Six, the Polish language departs yet further from the notion of time agreement.

c) Gender

Inflectional agreement for gender can be observed in many European languages and is not so freely subject to violation in the applicable codes (English does not inflect for gender; there are, however, derived forms, as in the case of

an actor/an actress). Although languages such as German do not apply this rule (*Er ist intelligent, Sie ist intelligent*), other languages, such as French, do (*Il est intelligent, Elle est intelligente*). We have already discussed some of the ways in which gender has impact on inflection in Polish and this issue will be discussed further in Chapter Four.

d) Mood

Mood corresponds to the purpose for which utterances are used in direct speech acts. The declarative mood shares information. The sentence *We finish classes at half past two* informs the listeners or readers about the classes' completion point; *I want you to buy some chocolate* informs the listener, in a direct speech act, about the speaker's inner state concerning the latter's possible action, and *I don't think you should do this* carries the information that the speaker's cognitive state is at variance with the action being performed or about to be performed. The interrogative mood, in direct speech acts, requests information (or action – in a polite manner), and the imperative mood requests action or the cessation of action. In indirect speech acts, however, different moods are employed for a variety of purposes, e.g. The declarative or interrogative mood may suggest action, as in *I think it is already time to go home* or *Don't you think it is time to go home?*

e) Voice

The active voice is usually used when the grammatical Subject corresponds to the Agent (*He has written a letter*), but the Subject may also refer to an Experiencer (*He feels terrible*) or occur in clauses containing Subject Predicative (*He is a real man*). In the case of active-passive transformation involving Agent, the Object from the active voice becomes the grammatical Subject in the passive voice:

He	*has written*	*a letter.*	Active voice
Subject	Verb Group	Object	
A letter	*has been written*	*(by him).*	Passive voice
Subject	Verb Group	Adjunct	

The actual use of the passive voice differs across English and Polish and this issue will be explored further in Chapter Six. Degree, person and case have already been discussed and will be analyzed contrastively in Chapter Four.

2.5.3. The structure of clauses

Within the notion of universal grammar, language development is conditioned by a species-specific blueprint for the unfolding of language acquisition (e.g. Baker 2003, Beattie 1986, Chomsky 1965) and so it displays universal underlying principles. One of such rules that we can think of anticipates the presence, in a clause, of a Noun Phrase and a Verb Phrase, the former corresponding to the grammatical Subject and the latter – to Predicate:

Sebject (NP)	Predicate (VP)
Der Mann	*hat den Brief geschrieben.*
L'homme	*a écrit une lettre.*
The man	*has written a letter.*
Mężczyzna	*napisał list.*

Languages differ in the sentential distribution of nodes for the NP and the components of the VP (see also the German example above, where the verb group is split):

Darasa attalib – Learnt the student (Arabic – the student learnt),
Gestern lernte ich viel – Yesterday learnt I a lot (German: Yesterday I learnt a lot).

Though the clause components occupy different slots within the sentence, the Subject and the Predicate are still present in most cases. Now let us have a look at the following Polish sentence:

Wczoraj napisałem list – Yesterday (I) wrote a letter.

Here, the Subject is not present on a surface morphosyntactic level and the presence of the agent is expressed in the verb inflected for tense, gender, number and person. Thus we can talk about default (implicit) Subject. But then, let us look at

Było zimno – (It) was cold,

in which the Subject is neither present morphosyntactically nor does it seem to have a default realisation (though those who do grammar for a living are

bound to come up with some underlying principle for this). Then, let us look at this Russian sentence:

U mienia kniga – At mine a book (Russian – I have a book)

in which there is no syntactically present verb. Examples such as these show that the principle of there being a grammatical Subject and Predicate within a clause should be approached with caution. It will be shown in Chapter Six that such syntax-related interlingual differences often lead to negative transfer.

2.5.4. The structure of complex sentences

We can distinguish two types of complex sentences: co-ordinate and subordinate (Burten-Roberts 1986). A coordinate sentence consists of two clauses joined by a coordinating conjunction:

J'étais malade et je suis resté à la maison.
Ich war krank und ich bin zu Hause geblieben.
I was ill and I stayed at home.
Byłem chory i zostałem w domu.

There are other coordinating conjunctions, such as *but* and *or*:

I was ill but I went to school,
You can swim or you can drown

which join clauses that can exist without each other, each having an independent status. Then there are subordinate clauses which consist of a main clause and a subordinate embedded one, as in

Je pensais que tu etais absent (I thought that you were absent),

Where *que tu etais absent* is subordinate to, embedded in the main clause:

Je pensais *que tu etais absent.*
Subordinate clause

Main clause

Myślałem, że ciebie nie ma.

Subordinate clause

Main clause

Clauses may have many levels of subordination, as in

He said that you believed that the argument was weak. S1
Subordinate clause

Clause superordinate to S1 and subordinate to S3 S2

Main clause S3

Now let us look at these two sentences:

It remains to be seen whether we can win the cup.
Whether we can win the cup remains to be seen.

The expletive pronoun *it* in the first sentence has the function of grammatical Subject, a semantically vacuous pronoun which serves purely syntactic purposes as declarative clauses in Standard English cannot occur without a Subject. In the second sentence the Subject has a more complex structure:

Whether	*we can win*	*remains to be seen.*
Complementiser	sentence	verb group
S-bar (NP)		predicate

The word *whether* is referred to as a complementiser as in this clause it needs to be complemented by a sentence (*We can win*). The complementiser together with the complementing sentence constitutes a structure called 'S-bar' (Burton-Roberts 1986). This structure serves as the grammatical Subject. It can be treated as a Noun Phrase because any structure which can function as the grammatical Subject may be referred to as a NP. We shall see in a subsequent chapter that there is certain potential for negative transfer across Polish and English in this regard.

2.5.5. The structure of Verb Phrases

The structure of Verb Phrases (we shall use English examples in this section, a contrastive analysis will be discussed in Chapter Six) varies from very simple to quite complex. Before exploring the different levels of this complexity, we should distinguish between two basic notions: Verb Group and Verb Phrase. A Verb Group is that component of a clause which often contains only verbs, as in *has been doing*, though an adverb may be inserted between an auxiliary verb and the remaining components of the VG, as in *has recently been doing, have never visited*. I therefore propose to define a Verb Group as such a component of a clause which begins and ends with a verb. A Verb Phrase, on the other hand, can be regarded as a complete Predicate: … *has been doing something important*, where after the complement (Object) *something important* we may finish the sentence. A Verb Group often constitutes a complete Verb Phrase (Predicate) when it does not need any complement and after which we can finish the sentence: … *has been swimming*. Verbs such as the monotransitive *to do* require a complement and without it the VG cannot be regarded as a complete VP, or predicate (VP is a type of phrase and Predicate is the function which the VP plays in the Sentence).

Verb Groups have different levels of complexity. When a VG in a complete clause in declarative mood consists of one verb, the verb is lexical: *I wrote a letter*. When there are two verbs within a VG, the first verb is a modal or a primary auxiliary verb, and the second – lexical: *She may come; She has come*. When there are three verbs, the first one is modal or primary auxiliary, the second primary auxiliary and the third lexical:

She must have seen you	mod + aux + lex;
She will be working	mod + aux + lex;
She has been working	aux + aux + lex;
She has been informed	aux + aux + lex.

We also need to define another type of structure – Adjunct – which is not grammatically required for a Verb Phrase to be a complete Predicate, as the Prepositional Phrase *in the garden* in the sentence *He has been doing something important in the garden*. Adjuncts are not regarded as complements because they are optional; they merely provide additional information concerning the preceding VP. Together with the VP, an Adjunct creates a bigger VP:

He	*has been doing*	*something important*	*in the garden.*
NP	VG	NP (Complement)	PP (Adjunct)
	VP		
Subject	VP		
	Sentence		

In such cases the Predicate is substantiated by the bigger Verb Phrase as it is the sister node of the grammatical Subject (NP is a phrase type and Subject is the function it has in the sentence), together with which it creates the Sentence. The subsequent description of Verb Phrase types is based on Burton-Robert (1986), although I shall make a few additional remarks of my own.

2.5.5.1. Intransitive VG

This is the case, mentioned earlier, where the Verb Group alone may be treated as a whole Verb Phrase because it does not take on any complement, as in *He is swimming.* Such Verb Groups (*is swimming*) are called intransitive because sentences containing them cannot be changed into the passive voice. An intransitive VG (VP) may be additionally accompanied by Adjuncts, with which it constitutes the Predicate (bigger VP). The VG alone is a complete predicate when there is no Adjunct, but when Adjunct is added then it is the bigger VP which is the Predicate, as Predicates are sister nodes of Subjects and daughter nodes of Sentences:

The boy	*is swimming.*
NP	VG (VP)
Subject	Predicate
Sentence	

The boy	*is swimming*	*in the pool.*
NP	VG (VP)	PP (Adjunct)
Subject	VP (Predicate)	
Sentence		

We can add more than one Adjunct, thus creating more and more complex Verb Phrases, the most complex one being the Predicate:

The boy	*is swimming*	*in the pool*	*at the moment*	*in order to keep fit.*
NP	VG (VP)	PP	PP	adverbial of purpose
Subject		Adjunct	Adjunct	Adjunct
	VP			
	VP			
	VP (Predicate)			
	Sentence			

2.5.5.2. Intensive VG

Intensive verb groups take on Subject Predicatives[7], or Subject Complements, with which they make up Verb Phrases. In the sentence *He is a nice boy* the Noun Phrase *a nice boy* predicates about the Subject, describes it in a complementary manner. Subject Predicative may take on the form of a Noun Phrase, as illustrated above, an Adjective Phrase (*He is very strong*) or a Prepositional Phrase (*This joke seems over the top to me*). Although, unlike the Verb Groups discussed in 2.4.5.2, intensive VPs do contain a complement, they also cannot be changed into the Passive Voice, and for this reason we may call them 'intensive intransitive'. Intensive VPs may easily take on adjuncts, with which they form yet bigger VPs:

The young girl	*seems*	*rather bored*	*at the moment.*
NP	VG	Adj.P	PP
Subject		(Subject Predicative)	Adjunct
	VP		
	VP		
	Sentence		

2.5.5.3. Monotransitive VG

These take on the Object, another kind of complement, which becomes the grammatical Subject when the Sentence is changed into the passive voice:

The girl wrote a letter → A letter was written.

[7] Phrases describing the Subject

Object is different from Subject Predicative in two ways. Firstly, VPs containing the latter cannot be changed into the passive voice. Secondly, unlike Subject Predicative, an Object describes the action, not the Subject. In *The girl wrote a letter,* the NP *a letter* does not describe the girl but provides a complementary description of the action. Actions, unlike Subject descriptions, can be expressed by both active and passive voice. Both active monotransitive VPs and their passive transformations can be accompanied by Adjuncts, with which they form bigger VPs (Predicates):

The girl	*wrote*	*a letter*	*after breakfast.*
NP	VG	NP	PP
Subject	VP		Adjunct
	VP		
Sentence			

The letter	*was written*	*after breakfast.*
NP	VG	PP
Subject		Adjunct
	VP	
Sentence		

2.5.5.4. Ditransitive VGs

These take on two complements: Direct Object and Indirect Object. The Direct Object corresponds to the entity on which the action is performed, whereas indirect – for which it is performed. Because either Object can be moved to Subject position in the passive voice, two passive structures are possible:

John	*has sent*	*his wife*	*a bunch of flowers.*
NP	VG	NP	NP
Subject		Indirect Object	Direct Object
		VP	
Sentence			

A bunch of flowers	*has been sent*	*to John's wife.*
NP	VG	PP
	VP	
	Sentence	

John's wife	*has been sent*	*a bunch of flowers.*
NP	VG	NP
	VP	
	sentence	

In active voice, the Indirect Object precedes Direct Object or vice versa. In the former case, they are substantiated by two NPs. In the latter, the Direct Object is substantiated by a NP and the Indirect Object is embedded in a Prepositional Phrase:

John	*has sent*	*his wife*	*a bunch of flowers.*
NP	VG	NP (Oi)	NP (Od)

John	*has sent*	*a bunch of flowers*	*to*	*his wife.*
NP	VG	NP (Od)	prep	NP. (Oi).
			PP	

Just like the VGs discussed earlier, ditransitive ones can also be accompanied by adjuncts:

The prosecutor	*sent*	*the suspect*	*a formal letter*	*on Thursday.*
NP	VG	NP	NP	PP
Subject		Oi	Od	Adjunct
	VP			
	VP			
	Sentence			

2.5.5.5. Complex transitive VGs

Verb Groups of this type take on two complements to form Verb Phrases: Object and Object Predicative:

I	*consider*	*the endeavour*	*a waste of time.*
NP	VG	NP	NP
Subject		Object	Object Predicative

They are called complex because the Object, which is a type of complement, has its own complement; they are called transitive, and may be referred to as monotransitive, because there is one way of changing them into the passive, in which case Object becomes Subject and Object Predicative – Subject Predicative:

The endeavour	*is considered*	*a waste of time.*
NP	VG	NP
Subject		Subject Predicative

VP

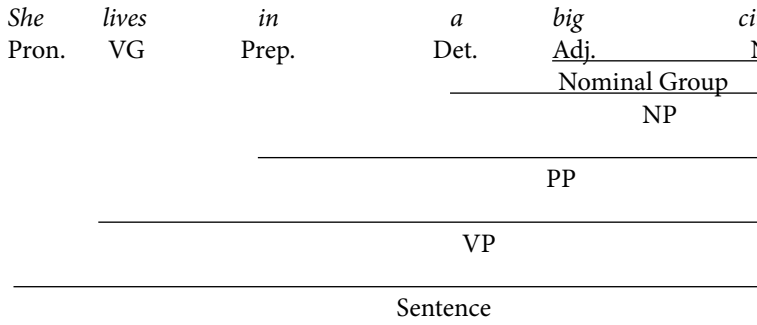
Sentence

The complex transitive VP can be accompanied by Adjunct:

I	*consider*	*the endeavour*	*a waste of time*	*at the moment.*
NP	VG	NP	NP	PP
Subject		Object	Object Predicative	Adjunct
		VP		
			VP	
		Sentence		

2.5.5.6. Prepositional VGs

A prepositional VG is complemented by a Prepositional Phrase, which consists of a preposition (the head of the PP) and a NP which complements the preposition:



PPs can be transitive or intransitive. The sentence *Someone is looking at you* can be transformed into the passive: *You are being looked at*. Then, *She is going to school* cannot be changed into the passive and therefore is regarded as intransitive.

Other languages also distinguish VPs of various kinds. Let us take Polish as an example:

Mój pies umie pływać (My dog can swim).	Intransitive
Mój pies jest oswojony (My dog is tamed).	Intensive
Mój pies je kość (My dog is eating a bone).	Monotransitive
Mój pies dał mi łapę (My dog gave me its paw).	Ditransitive
Mój pies uważa mnie za dobrego właściciela (My dog considers me a good owner).	Complex transitive
Mój pies poszedł do budy (My dog went into the kennel).	Prepositional

As will be shown in Chapter Six, there are a number of cases where the possible instantiations of the phrase types discussed in this section differ across English and Polish, creating room for negative transfer.

2.5.6. The structure of Noun Phrases

Noun Phrases are sentence constituents denoting objects, ideas, other entities, collections of objects or entities (in 2.3.2.1 I discussed types of nouns) and they usually answer questions such as *Who?* or *What?*. It is claimed by Downing (1995) that a NP obligatorily contains a noun head and that determiners, premodifiers as well as postmodifiers are optional:

People	NP = N,
The people	NP = Det + N,
Wise people	NP = Premod. (epithet) + N,
The wise people	NP = Det. + premod. + N,
Wise Polish people	NP = Premod. + premod. (classifier) + N,
The Polish people	NP = Det. + premod. (classifier) + N,
The wise Polish people	NP = Det. + premod. + premod. + N,
The Polish people in the country	NP = Det. + premod. + N + postmodifier,
The wise Polish people in the country	NP = Det. + premod. + premod. + N + postmod.

As can been seen from these structural possibilities, the head noun is present in each case, and the other components are not obligatory. Let us add here that a determiner is required in English before a singular countable concrete, collective or common noun: *a ball, a couple, a pet.*

Noun Phrases, however, do not need a head noun to be regarded as complete Noun Phrases. As said in 2.3.2.1, any component of a sentence which may serve as grammatical Subject can be regarded as a Noun Phrase, including the semantically vacuous expletive pronoun *it*, as in the sentence *It is raining*. Let us also recall here that a determiner plus Nominal without a noun can also form grammatically complete phrases, as in *The poor live an uneasy life.*

Let us turn to determiners now. Determiners of various sorts (e.g., possessive, demonstrative) can be found in languages throughout the globe:

mein Buch	German (my book): possessive det. + N,
das Buch	German (this book, the book): demonstrative det. (art.) + N,
ma maison	French (my house): possessive det. + N,
la maison	French (the house): definite article + N,
ismi	Arabic (my name): N + possessive determiner,
ismuka	Arabic (your name): N + possessive determiner,
ci ludzie	Polish (these people): demonstrative determiner + N,
jej ojciec	Polish (her father): possessive determiner + N,
vash sasied	Russian (your [plural] neighbor [singular]): + possessive determiner + N,
etot tsvietok	Russian (this flower): demonstrative determiner + N,
these shoes	English: demonstrative determiner + N,
your shoes	English: possessive determiner + N,

the shoes	English: definite article + N,
a shoe	English: indefinite article + N,

though articles are absent from such Slavic languages as Russian or Polish. Let us now return to the NP components which accompany a head noun in a NP:

The Epithet provides semantic content often related to subjective judgements and is usually instantiated by gradable adjectives, such as *wise, old, useful*. The Classifier specifies the class to which the head noun belongs and may be instantiated by, for example, a participle, a modifying adjective or noun, as in *working memory, a retired man, an international conference, a new-born baby, a history teacher, a car mechanic*. When both Epithet and Classifier are present (in English), the Epithet comes first and the Classifier second: *a wise retired man, an interesting international conference, a skilled car mechanic*. Both Epithet and Classifier are referred to as premodifiers because they stand before the head noun, as seen in the examples just presented.

Then there is the postmodifier, often referred to as Qualifier (Downing 1995), which comes after the head noun: *the people present, the man in the car, the girl with the book*. Unlike Epithet or Classifier, which express rather long-lasting properties of entities (a wise man does not become unwise unless some unfortunate occurrence takes place, a retired man is usually retired through the remaining duration of his lifetime), the Qualifier stands for what Downing (op. cit.) calls circumstantial information: the people may be present now but absent tomorrow, the man will not usually stay in the car beyond ride time and the girl will probably not hold the book after she stops reading or carrying it.

The head together with its modifier(s) constitutes the Nominal Group. This group does not require a determiner if the noun is plural or singular uncountable (though the possible addition of a determiner changes the scope of reference or, indeed, the denotation, as in *air/an air, people, a people, time/a time*). When it is used without a determiner, a Nominal Group constitutes a complete NP:

Wise retired people	NP = Nom.,
Bogaci ludzie (rich people)	NP = Nom.

When a determiner is used, it is the sister node of the Nominal Group, together with which it forms a NP, mother node:

The	talented	students	in	the	lecturing	theatre
Det.	Epithet	Head	Prep.	Det.	Mod.	N
				NP		
			PP (Qualifier)			
		Nominal Group				
	NP					

Selected structural similarities and differences between Polish and English NPs will be discussed in Chapter Six.

2.5.7. The structure of Prepositional Phrases

Prepositional Phrases, as discussed above, consist of a prepositional head and a Noun Phrase: *to the library, à la bibliothèque, do biblioteki, v biblioteku, ila almaktab.*

The complementing NP may take a variety of forms, such as the ones discussed in the previous section, although there are other possibilities, such as participles:

I was thinking of going to hospital,
I look forward to hearing from you,
Help is necessary for the bereaved,

or non-finite clauses:

The idea of there being life elsewhere in space.

Prepositional Phrases play various roles in clauses, such as that of an Adjunct (*He is waiting for you in the garden*), Adjective Complement (*capable of doing sth.*), Sentence Adverbial (*To my surprise, he did it*), or Verb Group complement (*go to the ZOO*). Although most languages follow the constituent order within a PP (Prep. + NP), we shall see in the contrastive analysis that the instantiation of the preposition itself often varies across such languages as English and Polish in that in many cases other prepositions than lexical translation are used, giving rise to negative transfer.

2.5.8. The structure of Adjective Phrases

It has already been said that adjectives modify head nouns within a Nominal Group. The adjective itself, in turn, is often modified by a degree adverb: v*ery nice, très agreeable, sehr nett, otshien harasho, jamilat jiddaan*. Adjective Phrases, apart from modifying nouns, may also complement whole Nouns Phrases in the case of intensive or complex transitive Verb Phrases:

The new boss is very nice.
Det. Adj. N VG Adv. Adj.
Nom. Adj. P.
NP VP
Sentence

Adj.P. – Subject Predicative,

The employees find the new boss really nice.
Det. N VG Det. Adj. N Adv. Adj.
NP Nom. Adj.P
Subject NP (object) object predicative
VP
Sentence

Adj.P – object predicative.

Although in the case of an Adjective Phrase premodifying a head noun many languages follow the same pattern, it will be shown in the contrastive analysis later on that Subject Predicatives often take different forms in languages such as English and Polish.

2.5.9. The structure of Adverb Phrases

As said in 2.3.2, adverbs may modify verbs, adjectives or other adverbs. When an adverb is modified by another adverb, the head is a common adverb (content word, open word class) and the modifier – a degree adverb (function word, closed word class):

Very	*slowly*
Degree adverb (modifier)	Common adverb (head)
A d v e r b	p h r a s e

Adverb Phrases such as this, in which the head is a common adverb, typically modify Verb Phrases, with which they form bigger Verb Phrases:

She	*was*	*driving*	*the*	*car*	*very*	*slowly.*
Pron.	Aux	Lex. V.	Det.	N	Degree adv.	Common adv.
NP	VG		NP		Adv.P	
	VP					
VP						
Sentence,						

where it serves as an Adjunct (Adjunct is a broader category – it is any structure which provides additional information about the content expressed by the VP, and an adverb is but one of its instantiations).

2.5.10. Finite and non-finite clauses

A finite clause is one which contains tense information, as in *I saw her yesterday* (past tense, past time), *She has written the letter* (present tense, past time) or *You should come tomorrow* (past tense, future time). In English, finite verb forms may be inflected for person and number in the present tense (*She works* – present tense, third person, singular number) as well as in the past tense for the verb *to be* (*She was* – past tense, third person, singular number), but in a language such as Polish or Russian finite verb forms are additionally inflected for gender, as in *Poszedłem, Ia, pashew* [pa'shiew] ('I went' for masculine) and *Poszłam, Ia pashwa* [pa'shwa] ('I went' for feminine).

A non-finite form does not contain tense and is often used as a sentence adverbial (*Having written the letter, …; Listening to music, …*), where it cannot stand as an independent Sentence:

Having written the letter,	*she went to send it.*
Sentence adverbial (non-finite)	Main clause (finite past).

Non-finite structures may also function independently as suggestions: *Why not join us? How about going for a walk?* or commands: *Come to the office at once! Tidy up your room.*

2.5.11. Conclusion

In this section I have discussed the syntactic functions of individual words and sentence constituents as well as sentential structures. References to other languages have been made to show certain parallel patterns on the one hand and some structural differences on the other. The differences and similarities were pointed out briefly as introductory remarks concerning languages in general as a content basis for the contrastive analyses presented in the subsequent chapters. Syntactic structures do not exist per se, they serve as a 'scaffolding' for the organisation of meaningful utterances. The issues related to the meanings of words and their combinations are discussed in Chapter Five.

Contrastive analysis has predominantly been discussed by various scholars in the area of syntax; in this book it is one of the five components, or layers, of language to be explored. It is a vast area indeed and there are many structural aspects to study, such as the structure of Noun Phrases, Adjective Phrases, Verb Phrases, Adverb Phrases and Prepositional Phrases, clause structure or the functions of sentence constituents. Syntax is closely related to inflectional morphology, for both are parts of grammar, and cross-references need to be made between the corresponding sections. Morphology, especially word-formation, is also closely related to lexical semantics. In fact, each part of the analysis is related to all the other parts, as interlanguage is one system of language competence with subsystems which criss-cross each other at many points.

2.6. Conclusion to Chapter Two

Contrastive analysis does not determine the occurrence of error but it may certainly help anticipate what is likely to pose more learning burden on account of the different structural properties. There are other sources of ease or difficulty, such as overgeneralisation, and transfer is only one of the factors to be taken into account. The influence of the L1, however, is a major factor in developing interlanguage which is shaped as one progresses along the continuum of reaching L2-like proficiency. The less advanced the learner, the more the L2 resembles his/her first language; the more advanced s/he is, the more his/her L2 competence approximates that of a native speaker of the L2.

In this work the shape of interlanguage is explored in such areas as phonology, morphology, vocabulary, semantics and syntax. In all these areas we may identify certain parallel patterns as well as non-parallel ones. Phonology (and sound articulation) is the first area of focus in this book. There are sounds present in many, or arguably all, languages, and ones peculiar to only some of them. Within the domain of phonology and sound articulation, we will consider consonants, vowels, phonotactics and word stress. The cross-linguistic analysis of the properties of consonants is considered in terms of the place and manner of articulation as well as sonority. Vowels, on the other hand, are defined in terms of the position of the tongue in the oral cavity. In the area of phonotactics we shall carry out a comparative analysis of the typical phoneme sequences. We shall also show numerous examples of both positive and negative transfer in word stress.

Morphology is the second issue. It includes inflection and word-formation. The former seems to be more volatile in different languages, and inflections for gender as well as case differ a lot in English and Polish: English nouns are only inflected for the possessive case alone and adjectives for comparative and superlative degree, whereas in Polish more of the inflectional categories participate in shaping the forms of nouns and adjectives. Verb inflection also displays differences, especially in terms of tense, aspect and, in past tense (in Polish), gender. Almost all the discussed word-formation processes are observed in many languages, also in English and Polish, though the latter does not seem to apply conversion. The detailed contrastive analysis of word-formation will show that many processes work in similar ways, although the particular morphological instantiations are often at variance.

The analysis of vocabulary and lexical semantics focuses on word form and word meaning. Positive lexico-semantic (form and meaning) transfer is availed by cognates and borrowings, although there are numerous cases where the form is misleading as to the meaning: the transferred form is accompanied by altered denotation, a kind of semantic 'transfusion' which takes place as the lexical form is domesticated in the borrowing language. Non-overlapping denotations may also be observed in lexical equivalents, where the form is different and the semantic core shares some attributes on one hand and contains different ones on the other, as in the case of lexical splits and underdifferentiation (coalescence). A considerable amount of both kinds of transfer is anticipated in this area.

Chapter Three: Comparing the system of sounds
Coedited with Peter Preston

3.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter I described language components in general and sometimes I showed some similarities and differences between selected languages. The chapter was not contrastive, however, and I was concerned with language description as such. In this chapter and the subsequent ones I shall explore sounds, morphemes, words, meanings, sentence components and clauses from an English-Polish comparative perspective. The present chapter discusses the system of sounds, an area which I have already addressed (Kuczyński 2013). First I carry out a segmental analysis of the system of consonants, then vowels, word stress and phonotactic patterns as well as voice state. The comparative analyses will be accompanied by conclusions for instruction.

3.2. Consonants

Besides vowel articulation or word stress, the articulatory properties of consonants, too, contribute to one's accent. In this section we consider consonants in terms of the place of articulation, manner of articulation and sonority. In each case I first present an articulatory property of an English phoneme and then discuss the properties of the Polish 'equivalent' if there is one such. Where no such equivalence exists, sounds from either language will be discussed, pointing at possible place shift in attempted production of the target phoneme.

3.2.1. Place of articulation

The distribution of place of articulation is similar across English and Polish, but the actual articulatory locations of some English consonants and their Polish equivalents are different. To elucidate, let us consider an example. Both English and Polish have dental and alveolar consonants, but different ones are articulated by the dental and alveolar obstruction. The Polish /t/ is dental, while English /t/ alveolar, and the English *th* sound is dental, while the Polish consonant system does not have this sound. This is not to say that Polish does not have a fricative sound with dental feature, for there is the fricative /s/, which in English is apico-alveolar. We shall first enumerate consonants by the place of articulation and then by the manner.

3.2.1.1. Bilabial consonants

We should enumerate four consonants here: /b/, /p/, /m/ and /w/. The bilabial voiced plosive /b/ is articulated in a similar way and so is the bilabial voiceless plosive /p/, the only difference being aspiration, which is stronger in English. The nasal voiced bilabial /m/ is articulated in a similar way and there is not much room for negative transfer. The bilabial approximant /w/ also displays substantial articulatory similarity. As it seems, bilabial consonants are good candidates for positive transfer.

3.2.1.2. Labio-dental consonants

The voiced labio-dental fricative /v/ and voiceless /f/ display articulatory identity in both languages, just as the bilabial phonemes. There is positive articulatory transfer and if there are consonants which contribute to the 'foreignness' of accent, bilabial and labio-dental ones do not belong to this group.

3.2.1.3. Dental consonants

Dental consonants are a source of potential negative transfer. The voiced and voiceless interdental fricative *th* consonants do not occur in Polish and therefore proper articulation is a challenge for Polish learners of English (and also speakers of most other European languages). Negative transfer from Polish takes a variety of forms:

a) The manner of articulation (fricative) is maintained but the place of articulation is shifted to produce /v/ or /f/. Thus, instead of *this*, we hear *vis* and instead of *think* we hear *fink*. Adding a change in vowel quality, we get *vet* instead of *that*. We had better not think what will be heard if both the initial sound and the vowel are changed in *thack*. Other substitutions:

Thaw – for	*thin – fin*	*than – van*
Thought – fought	*thew – few*	*thine – vine*
Three – free	*loathe – loaf*	*thread – Fred*

b) The labio-dental production is only one possibility, alveolar is another: *this – zis; think – sink*. Among anecdotal situations one may imagine hearing *You sink…* and answering *You may sink yourself, I prefer to stay on the surface*. Similarly, *You eat too little, you are sin* [meaning 'thin'] might be

responded to by *I know, I'm not a saint, but gluttony is sinful, too*. And again, *It's very soughtful* [meaning 'thoughtful'] *of you* could be followed by *I do seek to please you*. Negative transfer not only makes one sound foreign, it may also result in miscommunication. Other words with such phonemic substitution (sometimes voiceless is replaced with the voiced feature):

Thaw – saw	*thing – sing*	*thigh – sigh*
Thick – sick	*thank – sank*	*thoft – soft*
Thinner – sinner	*thought – sought*	*then – Zen*
Thew – sue	*thine – sign*	*theme – seem*
Youth – use	*moth – moss*	*north – Norse*
Teeth – tease	*truth – truce*	*myth – miss*
Bath – bass	*path – pass*	*mouth – mouse*
Worth – worse	*math – mass*	*booth – booze*
Tenth – tense	*with – whizz*	*bathe – base*

c) The place of articulation is maintained but the manner changed into plosive, as in *I taught about you* instead of *I thought about you*. The Polish /t/ is dental and plosive, so its articulation is different from the English /t/, which is alveolar plosive and displays a different perceptible acoustic spectrum on release. The same concerns /d/. Here is a list of some words involving a change from interdental fricative to dental plosive:

There – dare	*thigh – Thai*	*thick – tick*
Thorn – torn	*thine – dine*	*those – dose*
Three – tree	*threw – true*	*third – turd*
Thank – tank	*thyme – time*	*then – den*
Thought – taught	*thrill – trill*	*thrash – trash*
They – day	*thin – tin*	*thread – tread*
Forth – fort	*breathe – breed*	*hearth – heart*
Wreath – read	*faith – fate*	*booth – boot*
Heath – heat	*bathe – bait*	*math – mat*
With – wit	*path – pat*	*loathe – load*
Bath – bat	*wrath – rat*	*tenth – tent*
Tooth – toot	*death – debt*	*weather – wedder*
Thrust – trust	*thin – tin*	
Faithful – fateful	*father – farder*	

3.2.1.4. Alveolar consonants

As said in the previous section, /d/ and /t/ are apico-alveolar in English and apico-dental in Polish. A two-way negative articulatory transfer takes place. When the English plosive consonants are pronounced by Polish learners, they are often dental, as a result of which the sound is less crisp than it should be. And conversely, when the Polish consonant is articulated by English learners of Polish, it is often alveolar instead of dental and the sound is crisper. Other consonants with this difference are /z/ and /s/. These fricative sounds are apico-alveolar or post-alveolar in English and dental[8] in Polish, and so a Polish learner of English produces a dental fricative consonant instead of an apico-alveolar and an English learner of Polish the other way round. It is, among other things, because of the shift of place of articulation in /d/, /t/, /z/, and /s/ that the foreignness of accent is recognised.

Other alveolar English consonants include the liquid /l/, the nasal /n/ and the postalveolar /r/. The first two are articulated similarly in Polish and the frequent shift or assimilation to the teeth does not produce much accustic difference. As for /r/, different realisations are achieved in English, beginning with post-alveolar or retroflex (sublaminal) and ending with historical assimilation after a vowel and before a consonant, as in *card, ford* or *bird* in Received Pronunciation. English-Polish transfer often takes place and the consonant is often not articulated in Polish after a vowel where it should be, as in *por, sztorm* or *bard*, or Poles make it more trill-like instead of post-alveolar approximant in English. Many Polish learners, on the other hand, articulate the consonant when they should not. Thus, besides alveolar plosives and fricatives, /r/ also contributes to 'Polglish'.

3.2.1.5. Palato-alveolar consonants

This group includes the fricative and affricate both voiceless and voiced consonants as in *sh*ould, *g*enre, *ch*air and *j*udge correspondingly. The English sounds are articulated primarily by the obstruction of the tongue against the upper articulator, whereas in Polish an additional obstruction is produced by the teeth and the lips are more rounded, as in *szuflada, żyrafa, czar* or *dżem*. Strictly, these consonants are classed as 'hard' in Polish, meaning that the dorsum is not raised to the palate as much as the English equivalents above. As a result of the soft/hard feature being overlooked, accent foreignness is recognizable.

[8] The tip of the tongue comes into contact with the bottom teeth.

3.2.1.6. Palatal consonants

Among palatal consonants one can find both proper phonemes and allophones which are an effect of co-articulation. The palatal glide /j/ constitutes the smallest problem as it is a proper phoneme in both cases (English *you, young* or '*boy*' [strictly a diphthongal vowel glide]; Polish *ja, ostoja* or *bój*). The English alveolar plosives /t/, /d/ and fricatives /s/, /z/ tend to be palatalized before /j/ but Polish not. This is caused by the fact that the English consonants' articulatory location (alveolar ridge) is closer to that of /j/ (palatal) while the Polish articulatory location of these /t/, /d/, /s/ and /z/ consonants is more distant (dental). This makes for negative transfer: Polish learners of English often fail to palatalize the English consonants before the palatal glide and thus make the sounds harder, e.g., in *due* or *education*.

Unlike in English, where palatal affricates and fricatives are allophones of alveolar consonants, in Polish they have the status of proper phonemes, as in *ślimak, źdźbło, ćma* or *kość*. These sounds by themselves are not hard to pronounce for Englishmen because, as mentioned above, they are present in their speech as allophones, though the phonotactic pattern in *źdźbło* is problematic as this phonemic sequence does not occur in English. The Polish phonological system also includes the palatal nasal sound as in *toń, nic* or *darń*. This sound does not occur in English as a discrete phoneme but may occur as an allophone of the alveolar nasal before the palatal glide, as in *I warn you*, but this is not a rule.

3.2.1.7. Velar consonants

Neither language has a problem with the velar voiceless plosive /k/ and voiced /g/ as they occur in both as proper phonemes (as in English *bog, sick* or *luggage* and in Polish *bogacz, rak* or *noga*), thus giving rise to positive transfer. As for the velar nasal, it may be problematic for Poles because this consonant does not occur in Polish in final position. Such English words as *going, bang* or *thing* end in the velar nasal as a proper phoneme in this language. Because it does not occur in Polish in this position, negative transfer is evident and it takes two possible forms:

a) addition of a velar plosive at the end,
b) shifting articulation to the alveolar ridge (*goin*').

Shifting articulation from final velar nasal to alveolar/dental nasal may result in miscommunication, as in *I want to sin with you* instead of *I want to sing with*

you or *The big ban occurred 13.5 billion years ago* instead of *The Big Bang occurred 13.5 billion years ago*. Other such substitutions would include:

Thing – thin	*wing – win*	*song – son*
Sung – sun	*tang – tan*	*ping – pin*
Rung – run	*dung – done*	*pung – pun*
Fang – fan	*ting – tin*	*pang – pan*
Being – been	*young – Yan*	*stung – stun*
Clang – clan	*ruing – ruin*	*sang – San*

The velar nasal consonant also exists in Polish as an allophone of the alveolar/dental nasal /n/ before velar plosives, as in *bank* or *ring* and so its articulation as an English phoneme is not a problem in pre-consonantal positions.

3.2.1.8. Glottal consonants

Unlike in languages such as Arabic, in English and Polish there is only one graphemically represented /h/, which may be articulated either as a glottal fricative or velar fricative consonant.

3.2.2. Manner of articulation

Plosive, affricate, fricative, nasal consonants and approximants (glides and liquids) are present in both languages and such manners of articulation should not pose a problem, save the cases discussed in the previous section. It will be recalled that more pronounced aspiration of, for example, the bilabial plosive consonants, is exhibited in English initial positions, additional obstruction with the teeth is produced and the rounding of the lips occurs for Polish alveo-palatal affricates and fricatives; the velar nasal consonant is a challenge for Poles as this phoneme does not occur in their language in final position.

3.2.3. Conclusions for instruction

Since positive transfer in the place of articulation is observed for the phonemes /p/, /b/, /f/, /v/, /w/, /m/, /j/, /k/, /g/ and pre-consonantal *–ng,* instruction time will boil down to awareness raising. Once English learners of Polish and Polish learners of English are told that these consonants are articulated in the same area of the vocal tract, positive transfer is guaranteed, save some aspiration differences in a few consonants which does not result in miscommunication.

The interdental fricative voiceless and voiced consonants exist in English as proper phonemes and they do not occur in Polish; therefore Polish learners of English need to be taught how to articulate them. This calls for considerable instruction time as the necessary articulatory habit involved has not been shaped through the L1. Awareness-raising is necessary but not sufficient, for new declarative knowledge (being aware of the target articulation) will often be overridden by life-long articulatory habits and, unless frequent practice is introduced, the old habits will lead to negative transfer. As was shown in 3.2.1, this transfer may result in miscommunication.

Polish learners of English and English learners of Polish need to be provided with awareness-raising as well as production practice for /t/, /d/, /s/ and /z/, because these consonants differ in the place of articulation (3.2.1). Unless production practice is frequent enough to eradicate the native-like (L1) production, 'slipping' back to the old place of articulation will often be observed despite awareness raising, whereby foreign accent will be recognisable (though it is unlikely to result in miscommunication). Additional practise for Polish learners of English is needed for the above-mentioned alveolar consonants when they occur before the palatal glide /j/, so that palatalised allophones are produced in English. English learners need to be made aware that in Polish these consonants are not palatalised before /j/ because they are dental and therefore co-articulation is not observed; additional practice is also necessary.

Both English and Polish learners should be made aware of the status of the velar nasal consonant. In English it has the status of a phoneme, whereas in Polish it is an allophone of the alveo-dental nasal consonant.

3.3. Vowels

As said in 2.2.4, vowels are produced without obstruction of airflow in the vocal tract and they constitute the nucleus of syllables. Their articulatory qualities depend on the position of the tongue in the oral cavity and on whether the lips are spread or rounded. In the chart below English vowels (exemplified by monosyllabic words) are localised according to Received Pronunciation or Standard British English, though it should be noted that different accents distribute them in slightly and sometimes significantly different positions. 'High' means that the tongue is raised, 'low' that it is lowered and 'mid' – that it occupies an intermediate position. 'Front', 'central' and 'back' refer to the horizontal axis. The English vowels will subsequently be contrasted with the Polish ones and possible transfer will be identified.

Received Pronunciation vowel chart

High front		High back
peel		*pool*
pill		*pull*
Mid frond	Mid central	Mid back
bed	ə(schwa)	*court*
bird		*cot*
bad	*bud*	*bard*
Low front	Low central	Low back

Standard Polish vowel chart

High front	High central	High back
niż	*byk*	*nóż*
Mid front		Mid back
ten pęk		*pąk ton*
	Low central	
	na	

The first thing which we notice is the phonological distinctiveness of vowel length in English and lack of this distinctiveness in Polish. Let us carry out the analysis from the top to the bottom of the charts.

3.3.1. High vowels

In this section we shall discuss three Polish sounds – high-front short, high-back short and /y/, which is between high-front and high-back – and four English sounds: high-front short, high-front long, high-back short and high-back long.

3.3.1.1. High front

It can be seen that Polish /i/ (*niż*) is shorter than English /i:/ (*peel*) and as short as English /i/ (*pill*), which is slightly lower. Polish does not have a discrete high front long vowel, though non-contrastive lengthening is possible in em-

phatic articulation. Because Polish has one (short) high front vowel and English two (long and short) discrete vowels, negative transfer is possible consisting in shortening the long vowel by Polish learners of English. Drammatically bad miscommunication may occur if the vowel is inadvertently shortend in, for example, *sheet* or *beach*. Examples of such substitution:

Meal – mill	*heel – hill*	*peel – pill*
Green – grin	*beat – bit*	*bead – bid*
Heap – hip	*dean – din*	*cheap – chip*
Eel – ill	*eat – it*	*these – this* (*z* devoiced)
Feel – fill	*feet – fit*	*deem – dim*
Deed – did	*deal – dill*	*peak – pick*
Heed – hid	*heat – hit*	*keen – kin*
Keys – kiss (devoicing)	*keel – kill*	*least – list*
Leap – lip	*meal – mill*	*kneel – nill*
Reap – rip	*teen – tin*	*lead – lid*

The Polish short high front vowel is higher than the similar English one, so the vowel in the examples above (on the right side of each column) is likely to be short but higher than English short /i/. On the other hand, because English /i/ is lower than Polish /i/, English learners of Polish may lower the Polish vowel. However, since Polish has one high front vowel, no miscommunication will occur in this language. It would if Polish /i/ was lowered but this lowering is unlikely to occur because it does not exist in English. Something else may happen, however: there are numerous Polish words with such a sound, such as *byk, myk, ryk* or *kryzys* and English learners of Polish may produce a higher vowel in such words, which could sometimes lead to miscommunication, as in *Bit jest mały* (A byte is small) instead of *Byt jest mały* (The being is small) or *Chcę bić* (I want to beat) instead of *chcę być* (I want to be).

3.3.1.2. High back

The charts above show a similar situation in the high-back 'corner': two English vowels – long and short – and one Polish which is short but as high or higher than the English long. Again, a two-way negative transfer may be anticipated: Polish learners of English may underdifferentiate vowel production (length and quality) and English learners of Polish are likely to slightly lower articulation of the short high Polish /u/. Since there is one high-back vowel in Polish, this will not be a problem other than the English speaker of Polish displaying foreign ac-

cent. Polish learners of English, though, risk miscommunication in cases where they produce high short instead of high long vowel, as in these cases: *Fool – full, pool – pull, cooed – could.*

3.3.2. Mid vowels

Here we shall be concerned with four Polish sounds – mid-front short, mid-back short and two nasal vowels – as well as five English sounds: mid-front short, mid-front[9] long, mid-central short (schwa), mid-back short and mid-back long.

3.3.2.1. Mid front and mid central vowels

The very centre of the vowel chart is occupied by schwa in English while the same position is empty in Polish. For this reason, Polish learners of English often shift articulation of the mid-central schwa to the front, producing /e/ or downwards, producing /a/. This is not likely to result in miscommunication, however, and the 'foreignness' of accent will be the only effect on interlanguage. The Polish /e/ and /a/ are pronounced as mid-front and low-central correspondingly, no matter whether they are streessed or not. English, on the other hand, tends to move these vowels to the mid-central area in non-stressed syllables, as a result of which negative transfer may occur: when an English learner of Polish says a word with a non-stressed mid-front or low-front vowel, s/he may shift articulation to the mid-central area, producing a schwa (which is not produced in Polish).

Quite another situation may be observed in the mid-front and mid-central areas, where there are two vowels in English (short and long) and one in Polish (apart from the nasal one). Falling back on their habit of articulating only one mid-front vowel, Polish learners of English may underdifferentiate vowel production in English, as in *bird – bed* or *bed – bird, herd – head* or *head – herd.* Usually, however, another process is observed. Most English words containing the mid-central long vowel are spelt with *e + r*, *u + r* or *i + r*: *herd, her, per, err, hurt, blurt, burn, bird, fir, birth, third.* The mid-central long vowel results from the historical assimilation of the r-phoneme with the preceeding vowel (not the case in AE) making the r-sound disappear. Since Polish speakers are not accustomed, at beginning levels, to articulating long mid-central vowels, they either shorten it or, more likely, articulate the *r* as a consonant after the vowel. No risk

[9] Actually, the vowel in words such as bird is scattered on the horizontal axis from front to mid, depending upon accent.

of miscommunication is invlolved in the latter case (because the *r* actually is articulated in certain English dialects) and sounding foreign is the only cost.

3.3.2.2. Mid-back vowels

The mid-back area of the chart is occupied by one short vowel in Polish plus one nasal vowel but in English there are two (short and long) vowels in this area. Because the Polish learner is used to articulating merely one mid-back vowel, s/he may underdifferentiate between the two English ones. Thus, it may occur that instead of the long vowel, the short one will be produced: *port – pot*. A more likely occurrence in this and similar cases, however, is the insertion of the *r-phoneme* after the vowel, which is uttered as a short vowel, because the consonant is often represented orthographically. Again, this is not so unfortunate as to lead to miscommunication because even some English dialects (AE, south west BE) articulate the *r* when it has a written representation, e.g.: *pork* [po:(r)k], *court* [ko:(r)t], *stork* [sto:(r)k]. Miscommunication may occur, however, when the mid-back long vowel is not represented by a vowel + *r* orthographically, such as in *caught* [ko:t], *bought* [bo:t] or *fought* [fo:t]. In such cases, where the vowel is shortened by the neglectful Polish learner of English, the shift may result in producing another word or a non-word. In very few such cases, miscommunication can occur because there is no /r/ to insert and the vowel may undergo shortening which is meaningfully distinct, as in the examples *caught – cot* or *wrought – rot.*

3.3.3. Low vowels

The lower area of the chart is occupied by one vowel in Polish (low-central) and three in English: low-front (*ban*), low-central (*bun*) and low-back (*barn*). For an English speaker of Polish, the most likely possibility in mispronouncing the Polish vowel /a/ is by shifting the articulation to a slightly higher front position. Although it results in different accentual properties than the target ones, miscommunication is unlikely as there is but one vowel in Polish here. On the other hand, Polish learners of English, accustomed to producing one low vowel, may underdifferentiate between three English vowels and stick to the low-central area or, instead of producing the low-front vowel, shift articulation to the mid-front area (*man – men, bag – beg*). This may lead to miscommunication, as in *This is my bet* instead of *This is my bat* (shifting vowel from low-front to mid-front area) or *This is my butt* instead of *This is my bat* (shifting from low-front to low-central area).

Examples of shifting from low-front to mid-front:

Mat – met	*sat – set*	*ban – Ben*
Bad – bed	*bag – beg*	*man – men*
Dad – dead	*lad – led*	*Dan – den*

Examples of shifting from low-front to low-central:

Mad – mud	*bat – but*	*ban – bun*
Cab – cub	*lamp – lump*	*rat – rut*
Hat – hut	*Nat – nut*	*bag – bug*

As for the long low-back vowel, it is represented orthographically by *-ar*, *-a*, *-ear*, as in *dark, dart, heart, part, pass*. In Standard British English this long vowel is often associated with the vowel letter + r sequence prolonged at the expense of the consonant the way we observed for the long mid-central and back vowels. Again, Polish learners are likely to shorten the vowel and insert the consonant: *dark* [dark], *dart* [dart], *heart* [hart], *part* [part].

3.3.4. Diphthongs

Both English and Polish have glides, a transition from one vowel to another or from a vowel to an approximant consonant such as the palatal glide /j/ or the bilabial approximant /w/: examples are *boy, ahoy, day, try, klej, graj,* or *bow, warchoł.* Here, positive transfer can easily be anticipated. An English diphthong may also consist of two vowels such as mid-front plus mid-central (*air, there, dare*) or high back plus mid-central (*pure, lure, cure*). Such articulatory sequences do not occur in Polish and for this reason they pose an articulatory challenge for the (less advanced) Polish learner of English. In such cases they often replace the schwa with /r/, producing the VC (vowel + consonant) cluster. Comprehension may be difficult for English listeners as the phonological string of sounds may be unfamiliar to them. Therefore, practice is necessary.

From the perspective of a Polish learner of English, certain VV (vowel + vowel) clusters may be problematic and confused with other words, for example *air* and *err.* The first word contains a diphthong which does not occur in Polish and the second word a long mid-central vowel which is also unfamiliar to beginning Polish learners of English. Extensive practice in sound discrimination and production is highly recommended in such cases.

3.3.5. Conclusions for instruction.

At this point we shall call on the notion of minimal pairs and minimal sets as well as interlingual minimal pairs discussed in 2.2.3. Since the Polish learner of English is unfamiliar with distinctive vowel length at the beginning, exposure to minimal pairs and minimal sets as well as production practice are recommended. These would include the high-front vowels (*beat, bit*), high-back vowels (*pool, pull*), mid-front and mid-central vowels (*bed, bird*), low-back and mid-back vowels (*part, port*), mid-front start diphthong and long mid-central vowels (*air, err*), low vowels (*bad, bud, bard*) as well as the already discussed consonants (e.g., ***th****ere, **d**are; th**in**, th**ing**; li**v**e, li**th**e*). There is little need to provide extensive practice where positive transfer takes place and the time gained should be shifted to the practice of different consonants and vowels (especially with different place of articulation for apparently the same consonants and quality/quantity contrasts in vowels).

Interlingual minimal pairs is a notion proposed in this work and it will include one word in English and one word in Polish which are very similar but differ, in principle, in the quality of one phoneme (though there might be minor articulatory differences in other phonemes, but which for the purpose of this discussion can be ignored):

D<u>o</u>m (house) – *d<u>o</u>rm*	distinctive vowel length,
B<u>a</u>n (ban) – *b<u>a</u>rn*	distinctive vowel length,
K<u>o</u>t (cat) – *c<u>ou</u>(gh)t*	distinctive vowel length, (silent letters)
D<u>y</u>m (smoke) – *d<u>i</u>m*	distinctive quality of front vowel,
B<u>y</u>t (being) – *b<u>i</u>t*	distinctive quality of front vowel,
*Szop**<u>a</u>*** (shed) – shopp**<u>er</u>**	low-central vs. mid-central vowel,
<u>D</u>aj (give) – *<u>th</u>y*	dental plosive vs. dental fricative (voiced),
<u>T</u>ik (tic) – *<u>th</u>ick*	dental plosive vs. dental fricative (voiceless),
Ba<u>n</u> (ban) – *ba<u>ng</u>*	alveolar (dental) nasal vs. velar nasal,

It is useful to recognize that just like intralingual minimal pairs, interlingual ones also have the potential of being instructive both for sound discrimination and sound production. While intralingual minimal pairs or sets help discriminate and articulate properly sounds within a language, interlingual ones raise awareness of sound differences across languages and, when production practice is provided, they may be useful in mastering the target language sounds.

3.4. Phonation

Both in English and in Polish there are voiced consonants which have a voiceless equivalent (The same place and manner of articulation, e.g., /t/ and /d/ (type a) and ones which do not (e.g., /m/ or /n/ – type b). In English, voiced type-a consonants occur in various positions in syllables or words, including final. Final voiced type-a consonants display variable degrees of sonority, depending on the articulatory environment – the voiced attribute is more intensive in intervocalic locations, which is the case when the next syllable begins with a vowel or a voiced consonant, and less pronounced before voiceless ones or before a pause (allophones in complementary distribution). In each case, however, it is categorised as voiced. Unlike English type-a final consonants, Polish final type-a consonants such as /d/, /g/ or /b/ are devoiced before a pause or a voiceless consonant. The habit of devoicing type-a consonants is transferred to interlanguage, whereby negative transfer is observed. In many cases it does not result in miscommunication (and even some native speakers of English devoice final type-a consonants) and the 'foreignness' of accent is the only consequence.

However, in some other cases consonant sonority is meaningfully distinct and devoicing completely a voiced consonant may result in miscommunication. By devoicing the final type-a consonant in the following sentence, one actually changes the meaning of the sentence: *Look at that ki**d** on the chair.* There are numerous examples of such potential situations.

The English regular verbs which end in the alveolar plosive consonant (/t/, /d/) take the past-tense suffix *–ed* [id]. When the consonant in this suffix is devoiced in the examples below, the meaning changes, which may result in miscommunication:

*You both part**ed** unexpectedly – You both *part **it** unexpectedly;*
*They fund**ed** – They *fund **it**;*
*I want**ed to go** – I *want **it** to go.*

If the regular past-tense form ends in a voiced consonant other than alveolar plosive, the regular past-tense suffix is also voiced. If devoiced, non-words or forms approximating the forms of other words are usually produced:

*I warned you – I *want you;*
*They stayed – They *state;*
*They banned drugs – They *bant it/burnt drugs;*

which, as can be seen, may result in miscommunication or incorrect pronunciation, including producing non-words. Other words which end in type-a consonant are also often devoiced and this leads to articulating unintended utterances:

*This is real ba**d** – This is real *ba**t**;*
*He is going to the do**gs** – He is going to the *doc**ks**;*
*I don't eat cra**b** – I don't eat *cra**p**;*
*Give me another sla**b** – Give me another *sla**p**;*
*I love this cu**b** – I love this *cu**p**;*
*Look at her la**b** – Look at her *la**p**;*
*You must lo**g** in – You must *loc**k** in;*
*What a big bu**g** – What a big *buc**k**;*
*You should plu**g** it – You should *plu**ck** it;*
*They du**g** – They *duc**k**;*
*This is har**d** – This is *hear**t**.*

The regular plural form of nouns as well as the third-person singular in the present tense take the suffix *–s/es*. It takes the *–es* suffix when the noun or verb ends in an alveolar fricative, alveo-palatal fricative or alveo-palatal affricate, as in *bosses, passes, brushes, washes, brooches, watches*. In these cases the alveolar fricative consonant in the suffix is voiced because the preceding sound is also voiced, as all vowels are voiced. If the base form of the noun or verb ends in a voiced phoneme other than those listed above, the suffix is also voiced, as in *warns, goes* or *stays.* If devoiced, it results in producing another word or non-word:

*Look at her eye**s** – Look at her *i**c**e;*
*I don't understand 'dies' – I don't understand *dice;*
*Take care of the kids – Take care of the *kits;*
*She photographed Jews – She photographed *juice.*

Whole clusters of type-a consonants may also be devoiced:

*It's cold, we need cabs – It's cold, we need *caps;*
*What lovely cubs – What lovely *cups;*
These logs are hard to break – Those locks are hard to break.

The suffixes *-ed, -s,* are also often partially devoiced after voiced type-b consonants:

He dreams [dri: mz à dri: ms] *about her;*
She grinned [gri: nd à gri: nt]*;*
He strolled [stro: ld à stro: lt],

But it does not usually result in miscommunication as the produced forms are in fact non-words which most often are recognized as the target words because misleading real-word forms do not exist and the context of the utterance helps identify the word.

To sum up, final type-a consonants are devoiced in Polish and therefore Polish learners of English tend to devoice English ones, which results in miscommunication or non-words. Awareness raising and production practice should be provided to help avoid such situations. Devoicing of the consonant in the suffixes *-ed, -s, -es* after type-b consonants also takes place to the detriment of the quality of articulation, though it usually does not result in miscommunication.

3.5. Phonotactics

Phonotactics displays many parallel patterns in English and Polish where we deal with strings of the same or corresponding phonemes (though it will be remembered that many consonants and vowels differ in particular articulatory features). The group of such patterns includes examples of many frequently occurring strings or clusters (since the group of such strings is large, we confine ourselves to triple-cluster strings):

	English	Polish
s + t + r	*strong*	*stromy*
	ostrich	*ostry*
	mystery	*bystry*

The medial position of other three-phoneme sequences in both languages allows positive transfer;

m + b/p+ l	*emblem*	*emblemat*
	amplitude	*amplituda*
	complication	*komplikacja*

It can be observed that the Polish examples above are borrowings. However, they constitute part of the Polish lexicon and thus positive transfer is enabled

in medial position. The sequence does not occur in final position in Polish but it does occur in English: *humble, tumble, simple*. In these examples, the final sequence /mbl/, /mpl/ does not contain any vowel, and yet it creates an impression of a syllable. For this reason, final /l/ in sequences such as this is referred to as a syllabic consonant. Polish learners often find difficulty in articulating this phonological sequence and they tend to insert a vowel before the liquid. Practice is needed to help produce it correctly.

The examples above include consonantal clusters (CCC). Clusters including vowels (VCC, VCV, CVC etc.) are also numerous. In such cases positive transfer is possible, though it needs to be remarked again that the articulatory properties of the individual phonemes need to be adjusted to those of the target language (discussed in the previous sections).

There are also phonotactic strings which occur only in one language and then a native speaker of one language faces some challenge producing the sequence in the other language. We shall first enumerate a few sequences which occur in English and do not occur in Polish, and then the other way round. The English phonotactic patterns are particularly problematic for Poles when they contain phonemes which do not occur in Polish and such patterns include both two- and three-consonant sequences.

th + z	*clothes*
f + th	*fifth*
f + th + s	*fifths*;

In such cases practice is necessary and this practice will incorporate proper articulation of the interdental fricative consonant in the first place. Then a more challenging task emerges: articulation of interdental fricative followed by alveolar fricative (*fifths*).

The Polish strings which do not occur in English are more numerous and they are frequently to be found in proper names. The following list is not exhaustive.

sz + cz	*Bydgoszcz*
b + ż	*brzydki*
h + r	*hrabia*
h + sz	*chrzan*
t + cz	*Tczew*
ś + ć	*gość*
t + sz	*trzeba*

t + sz + ć	*trzcina*
s + t + sz	*burmistrz*
b + r + n	*brnąć*
g + ż + m	*grzmot*
h + sz + ć	*chrzcić*

Some of these sequences will be more and some less difficult to master and in more difficult cases English-speaking people adjust them to their own patterns. For example, the voiceless alveolar plosive + voiceless palato-alveolor fricative; or the voiceless alveolar fricative + voiceless alveolar plosive + voiceless palato-alveolar fricative sequences tend to be replaced with voiceless palato-alveolar affricate or palato-alveolar fricative + voiceless palato-alveolar affricate, as the case may be with *strzała*. This negative transfer often leads to difficulty in communication because such phonological replacements are frequently hard to interpret by Polish native speakers.

All in all, phonotactic patterns, like any other patterns, display similarities and differences. The differences call for awareness-raising and production practice and so do the similarities, because although the patterns are parallel, the individual phonemes need to be adjusted to the phonological system of the target language.

3.6. Word stress

In Polish, word stress falls on the last but one syllable, save a group of academic borrowings, such as *fizyka* or *matematyka,* but even these are often stressed according to the regular pattern. The English learner of Polish may easily learn this regular pattern and overcoming negative word-stress transfer should not be difficult. Where negative transfer does take place it is likely to affect the word-stress of lexical equivalents whose form is similar in both languages:

*An**a**tomia* instead of *anat**o**mia,*
*fil**o**zofia* instead of *filoz**o**fia*,
*ge**o**grafia* instead of *geogr**a**fia*,
*psych**o**logia* instead of *psychol**o**gia*,
or *k**o**gnitywny* instead of *kognit**y**wny*.

In English, word stress has no regular pattern across the lexicon that can be easily learned, i.e., it is not fixed, and even the same words are often stressed dif-

ferently in different dialects, e.g., *advertisement* in British English and American English is stressed on the 2nd and 1st syllables respectively. Because word stress patterns are not fixed, learners need to memorise the pattern for each word they know, save monosyllabic ones. Unless they do, they will tend to apply the Polish pattern and, possibly, count on good luck. Since good luck is not always a certainty, the wrong syllable is often stressed. Words which are frequently wrongly stressed include:

*dev**e**l**o**pment, d**o**c**u**ment kn**o**wledg**e**able, c**o**rr**e**ct, f**a**m**i**ly, h**a**pp**i**ness, **a**n**i**mal, c**o**mfort**a**ble, c**e**l**e**brate, **a**lc**o**hol, cel**e**br**i**ty, **e**l**e**phant, b**o**t**a**ny, **a**rg**u**ment, **a**rch**i**tect, c**o**ns**o**nant, d**a**ng**e**rous, s**y**ll**a**ble, **i**nf**i**nite, m**e**m**o**ry, m**e**mor**a**ble, id**e**nt**i**cal, b**e**au-t**i**ful, Am**e**r**i**can, **A**fr**i**can, s**e**cret**a**ry, c**a**m**e**ra, comm**u**n**i**ty, det**e**rm**i**ner, c**o**nt**i**nent, v**e**get**a**ble, w**a**term**e**lon, int**e**ll**i**gent, **i**nter**e**sting, **i**nter**e**sted, t**e**lev**i**sion, int**i**mid**a**ting, g**e**n**e**rous, g**o**v**e**rnment, env**i**r**o**nment, gener**o**s**i**ty, humi**l**i**t**y, c**o**nsci**o**usness, electr**i**c**i**ty, **o**rdin**a**ry, **i**mp**o**tent, mathem**a**t**i**cal, phy**s**i**c**al, opport**u**n**i**ty, simil**a**r**i**ty, obligat**o**ry, psych**o**l**o**gy, psychol**o**g**i**cal, p**o**s**i**tive, h**o**sp**i**tal, h**a**mb**u**rger, pr**e**s**i**dent, s**u**perm**a**rket, d**i**ction**a**ry, h**e**lic**o**pter,*

[Correct English stress shown by underlined vowel, Polish error in bold]

and in many such cases the quality of the vowels is changed by Polish speakers. It should also be pointed out that typical casual native-speaker pronunciations often drop unstressed vowels in words with three or more syllables, often the very syllable that a Polish learner accents, e.g., *camera* becomes '*camra*'. To overcome negative transfer, awareness-raising and production practice are necessary. Fortunately, in many English words the stress falls on the last but one syllable (and where not, on the same syllable in both languages) and positive transfer is in such cases ensured:

cathedral, collection, conception, component, condition, consultant, convention, decision, deliver, deposit, confusion, consumer, assemble, awareness, appreciation, communication, assimilation, humiliation, pediatrician, computer, professor, university, Australia, blackboard, preposition, independent, relaxation, banana, eleven, potato, tomato, amazing, astonished, together, forever, business, adventure, important, umbrella, policeman, spaghetti, imagine, another, tomorrow, October, September, November, December, obedient, discovery, macaroni, gymnasium, procedure, introduction, abandon, achievement, abolish, accountant, agenda, agreement, ambition, petition, appointment, depression, description, detective, policeman, destruction, dimension, director, disaster, discussion, disorder, division, edition, emission, employer, enable, encourage, entitle, equipment, examine, exclusion, exception, exhibit,

expansion, horizon, improvement, inflation, inherit, inhibit, intention, invasion, location, musician, occasion, observer, opinion, percentage, pollution, potential, production, profession, recover, reduction, refusal, denial, acceptance, religion, remember, researcher, restriction, solution, suggestion, survival, unhappy, untidy.

In cases such as these, Polish learners may rely on their Polish word-stress pattern, though despite such facilitation word-stress errors do occur and they are sometimes accompanied by diphthongisation. After all, negative transfer results from several causes.

3.7. Conclusion

Interlanguage consists of several layers, sound production, or articulation, being one of the most salient ones. It is pronunciation that immediately draws an interlocutor's attention and in many cases helps identify the (linguistic) origin of the speaker. The 'Polishness' of the latter's interlanguage can often be recognised by, among other things, the place of articulation of consonants, vowel length and quality, final devoicing and word stress. Without awareness-raising and practice, English speakers of Polish tend to produce alveolar /t/, /d/, /s/ and /z/, while Polish learners of English – dental. The latter also need to learn from scratch and master the interdental fricative consonant which otherwise is most commonly articulated as dental stop, or labio-dental fricative; additionally they need production practice in correct articulation of the final velar nasal consonant.

They also need awareness-raising and production practice in the articulation of vowels, where the length is meaningfully distinct. Because of the distinctive length, English has more vowels than Polish and the Polish learner of English has more to learn than the English learner of Polish in this respect. Mispronouncing consonants and vowels results in the 'foreignness' of accent and it can additionally change words into non-words or other words, giving rise to miscommunication. Devoicing final consonants may have a similar effect.

A considerable number of parallel phonotactic patterns may help articulate words correctly, providing the particular phonemes are adjusted to the phonological system of the target language. There are also non-parallel patterns which pose difficulty and should be learnt or else misarticulation will occur, which entails foreign accent and may entail difficulty in comprehension. Misplaced word-stress does not usually result in miscommunication, though confusion may be brought about in some cases, as in [dete(r)'maine(r)] – where the word *determiner* is stressed incorrectly and unnecessary diphthongisation occurs.

Phonemes are abstract units which are realized as articulatory sets of features and by themselves do not communicate meaning except in a few cases of single-phoneme words, such as *are* [a:]. It is only when they are combined into syllables, morphemes and lexical items that they do so. Morphological and lexical issues are considered in the next chapter.

Chapter Four: Comparing aspects of morphology, inflection, and word-formation

4.1. Introduction

Phonemes and strings of phonemes, analysed contrastively in the previous chapter, display various degrees of similarity or difference. Such differences are also observed for morphemes and morphological processes. The relationship between phonology and morphology should be understood in terms of duality.

Duality is one of the six properties of human language and it refers to organising physically articulated sounds into meaningful units. As said in 2.3.1, the smallest meaningful units of language are morphemes. These may function as simple words or as affixes added to them (2.3.2). Affixes added to words may create new words, as in the case of derivation which changes denotation, lexical category, or both. Inflection, on the other hand, does not create new words. It serves syntactic adjustments within the sentence or shapes forms of words with respect to such categories as tense, number, gender etc. It will be shown in this chapter that inflection displays both parallel and non-parallel patterns in English and Polish.

Simple words may be made into complex words through word-formation processes, as explained in 2.3.3. The present chapter deals with these issues contrastively. In the first section I shall contrast inflectional morphology. Derivation and other word-formation processes are considered in the next sections. Then we turn to morphological and lexical transfer. Morphological transfer should be understood in two ways: functional and formal. We deal with functional transfer when a morphological form in one language corresponds to a different form in another language, e.g. the English suffix *–ity* corresponds to the Polish – *ość* (*Solidarity – Solidarność*). This kind of transfer is discussed in 4.3. We deal with formal transfer when corresponding morphemes share the form, as in *anti-* and *anty-* (*anti-government, antyrządowy*). We deal with these in 4.5.

Formal morphological transfer is not as frequent a phenomenon as lexical formal transfer, where forms of whole words are transferred to another language, though it will be remembered that phonological adjustments (discussed in the previous chapter) are made in the borrowing language. In addition, the semantic content is not always shared, as the meaning of the borrowing language often differs from that of the donor language. This issue is discussed in 4.6.

4.2. Inflection

In this section we discuss inflectional processes, which do not create new words. The traditional grammatical categories include person, gender, number, tense, aspect, voice, case and mood (Burton-Roberts 1986). Different lexical categories are inflected differently in Polish and English and the analysis below will show that the inflectional repertoire is richer in the former language. First we discuss noun declension and verb conjugation, then we go on to compare the inflection of adjectives, adverbs and pronouns, and finally we consider the non-inflected categories, such as prepositions or conjunctions. The section ends with conclusions for instruction.

4.2.1. Nouns

This lexical category belongs to the open-word class (Hatch and Brown 1995), and it answers the questions *Who?*, *What?* and it typically constitutes the head in Noun Phrases (see 2.5.6). We may distinguish the following categories of nouns:

Concrete nouns – names of objects accessible through sensory perception, e.g. *a ball, an arrow, a tree*,

Abstract nouns – names of categories of objects (*a plant, an organism, a thing*) or abstract ideas which are not accessible through sensory perception (*truth, justice, a process*),

Common nouns – names of entities involved in daily experience of mankind (*wife, husband, child, pet, job*),

Collective nouns – names of groups of entities (*a collection, a group, a couple, a team*),

Count nouns – they have the singular and plural forms (*a loaf, a kilogram, a litre*),

Mass nouns – they do not usually have plural forms (*bread, sugar, milk*) in standard dialects.

4.2.1.1. Case

The base form of a noun is the nominative (*a boy, chłopiec*). The only English inflection is that of genitive/possessive case (*boy's*). The nominative and possessive cases constitute a lexeme (all the inflected forms of a word), or lemma. In Polish, there is nominative case (Who? What? *Chłopiec, dom*), genitive/possessive (Whose? *chłopca, domu*), dative (Whom? *Chłopcu, domowi*), accusative (Whom? *Chłopca, dom*), instrumental (*chłopcem, domem*), locative (About who(m)? *chłopcu, domie*), vocative (*Chłopcze!*).

The English inflection (case is mostly marked by the noun's position in a sentence) is poor when compared to Polish, and yet both native English speakers and Polish learners of English often have a problem with the correct spelling, something all the more visible in text messages of exchange. The biggest confusion is observed in the possessive case plural, where language users often do not apply the apostrophe correctly (*boy's, boys'*), or with a noun ending with an *–s* (Among the possible spellings we may see *Thomas', Thomas's, *Thomas'es*). Such problems haunt users of English worldwide. The spelling of plural genitive case is problematic because the spoken form *boys'* is identical with singular genitive (*boy's*) and plural nominative (*boys*). As for nouns ending with *–s*, both the apostrophe alone and apostrophe with an *s* are acceptable, whereas *'es* is not. Awareness-raising should in most cases suffice to eradicate this spelling error.

English learners of Polish face an incomparably bigger problem. They face the task of learning a declension which is very complex in comparison with not only English, but also other European languages, such as German (which has inflections for four cases). Since English does not inflect nouns for cases other than genitive, a beginning English learner of Polish will face an undoubtedly big challenge. Things get more complicated when case inflection is accompanied by inflection for number and yet more when gender comes into play.

4.2.1.2. Number

As already mentioned, in English nouns are inflected for genitive case and number. The formation of regular plural is a relatively simple affair, but let us recall three phonological rules:

a) When the noun ends in a voiceless consonant other than alveolar fricative, alveo-palatal fricative or alveo-palatal affricate, it is pronounced as alveolar fricative voiceless: *court* + *s* = [ko: ts], *park* + *s* = [pa:ks], *top* + *s* = [tops];

b) When the noun ends in a voiced consonant other than alveolar fricative, alveo-palatal fricative or alveo-palatal affricate or a vowel, it is pronounced as alveolar fricative voiced: *bed* + *s* = [bedz], *stem* + *s* = [stems], *boy* + *s* = [boiz]; *car* + *s* = [ka: z], *sea* + *s* = [si: z];

c) When the noun ends in an alveolar fricative, alveo-palatal fricative or alveo-palatal affricate, it is spelt as *–ed* and pronounced as high front short vowel pus alveolar voiced fricative consonant: *kiss* + *s* = *kisses* [‘kisiz], *dish* + *s* = *dishes* [‘di iz], *watch* + *s* = *watches* [‘wot iz].

Once these rules are mastered and production practice is provided, Polish learners of English usually articulate the correct inflectional endings. At more beginning levels, final devoicing is frequent and it usually takes time to eradicate the error. When it comes to irregular plural, the form needs to be learnt just like irregular verb forms. Overgeneralisation will be observed unless this takes place.

Polish inflection, as mentioned in 2.5.2, is more complex than most other European languages: although there is a distinction between singular and plural, there are three different forms for a noun in nominative case:

Jedna dziewczyna (one girl),
Dwie, trzy, cztery dziewczyny (two, three, four girls),
Pięć, sześć, siedem etc dziewczyn (five, six, seven, etc girls).

This alone will constitute a challenge for an English (or any other) learner of Polish, but when we add case inflection, matters get even more complicated, as can be seen from the declension of *dziewczyna* (girl):

Case	Singular	Plural	English
Nominative	*dziewczyna*	*dziewczyny/ dziewczyn*	*girl/girls*
Genitive	*dziewczyny*	*dziewczyn*	*girl’s/girls’*
Dative	*dziewczynie*	*dziewczynom*	*girl/girls*
Accusative	*dziewczynę*	*dziewczyny*	*girl/girls*
Instrumental	*dziewczyną*	*dziewczynami*	*girl/girls*
Locative	*dziewczynie*	*dziewczynach*	*girl/girls*
Vocative	*Dziewczyno!*	*Dziewczyny!*	*Girl!/Girls!*

The English lemma *girl* consists of four forms and the Polish lemma *dziewczyna* – ten. As though this were not enough, adjectival inflection (4.2.3) will show a yet bigger multitude of inflected forms, for gender also participates in shaping their inflected forms.

4.2.1.3. Gender

Gender is one of the traditional grammatical categories and, as was shown in 2.5.2, it is a purely arbitrary category for objects. It goes without saying that for people it will correspond to biological sex (save for 'a baby' - *dziecko*, which is neuter). When it comes to animals, the Polish language has certain morphological tendencies related to biological sex, as will be shown below. In English, there is no special morphology for this other than the pronominal *she* (as in *she-goat*). In Polish it is important to be familiar with grammatical gender not only for people and animals but also for objects because the gender of the noun must agree with the gender of the verb in preterite and with the adjective, as will be shown presently.

In English, names of occupations are not inflected for gender and separate forms for feminine are rare (e.g. *actor/actress*) and sometimes they change denotation (e.g. *mister/mistress*). Typical Polish endings for people are exemplified below.

Singular:

Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
-ant *Policjant* (policeman)	-antka *Policjantka* (policewoman)	-ko *Dziecko* (baby)
-ent *Agent* (agent)	-entka *Agentka* (agent)	
-arz *Kronikarz* (chronicler)	-arka *Kronikarka*	
-ca *Sprzedawca*	-czyni *Sprzedawczyni*	

(shop-assistant)	(shop-assistant)
-y *Księgowy* (accountant)	-a *Księgowa* (accountant)

Plural

Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
-anci *Policjanci* (policemen) -enci *Agenci* (agents)	-antki *Policjantki* (policewomen) -entki *Agentki* (agents)	-ci *Dzieci*(children)
-rze *Kronikarze* (chroniclers)	-rki *Kronikarki* (chroniclers)	
-cy *Sprzedawcy* (shop-assistants)	-czynie *sprzedawczynie* (shop-assistants)	
-i *Księgowi* (accountants)	-e *Księgowe* (accountants)[10]	

The above are only examples of the many gender-endings in Polish. The challenge for an English learner of Polish is even bigger when we realize that some endings typically reserved for man are also used for women, as in *kierowca* (driver) or *piekarz* (baker) and the suffixes change the meaning (*kierownica – steering wheel*). All this shows that, when contrasted with English, Polish gender for people poses a huge learning burden for speakers of other languages, English including.

4.2.2. Verbs

In English, verbs are inflected for tense, person, number, aspect or voice. In Polish, apart from these categories, verbs may also be inflected for gender (in preterite) and there are separate inflected forms for infinitive and imperative.

[10] Form related to plurality in gender-driven inflection is in fact more complex than this: *one female accountant – księgowa, two-four – księgowe, five+ – księgowych.*

4.2.2.1. Tense

As said in 2.3.2, we need to differentiate between tense inflection and time reference. In this section we are concerned with the former. The English language inflects verbs for preterite: *do – did*. It does not have a separate inflectional form for future and, instead, the modal *will* plus base verb form are typically used: *go – will go*. By contrast, Polish not only inflects for the past *robię – (z)robiłem* but also for the future: *robię – zrobię, idę – pójdę* (*I go – I'll go*).

4.2.2.2. Person, number and gender

The only English verb inflection (apart from the verb *to* be) for person is observed in the case of present tense: *I go – he goes*. Verbs are not inflected for the second person and in plural no inflection is observed (The exception – *to be* – has separate inflections for the singular first, second and third person: *I am – you are – he/she/it is*). By contrast, Polish has separate inflection for each person in singular and in plural: *robię* (I do), *robisz* (you do), *robi* (s/he does), robimy (we do), *robicie* (you do), *robią* (they do). Unlike in English, verbs are not only inflected for preterite but also for the future. Polish also inflects for gender and number in the past as well as for number in the future. The table below summarises the differences.

	English	Polish
Present	*I do*	*Robię*
	You do	*Robisz*
	S/he does	*Robi*
	We do	*Robimy*
	You do	*Robicie*
	They do	*Robią*
Past	*I did masculine*	*Zrobiłem*
	I did feminine	*Zrobiłam*
	You did masculine	*Zrobiłeś*
	You did feminine	*Zrobiłaś*
	He did	*Zrobił*
	She did	*Zrobiła*
	It did	*Zrobiło*
	We did masculine	*Zrobiliśmy*

	We did feminine	*Zrobiłyśmy*
	You did masculine	*Zrobiliście*
	You did feminine	*Zrobiłyście*
	They did masculine	*Zrobili*
	They did feminine	*Zrobiły*
Future	*I'll do*	*Zrobię*
	You'll do	*Zrobisz*
	S/he'll do	*Zrobi*
	We'll do	*Zrobimy*
	You'll do	*Zrobicie*
	They'll do	*Zrobią*

The most immediately visible difference is that what in Polish is marked by inflection is marked by a pronoun in English. The Polish learner of English has a relatively easy task – that of learning the English preterite forms (perfect participles are not tense inflections and will be discussed in the next section) and the pronouns. Once that is done, using verbs in the present, past and future should not pose too big a burden, save for the third-person-singular in the present, which is frequently observed to be uninflected (*He do, She go*). The English learner of Polish, on the other hand, is in for a huge learning task because the verb is inflected for three tenses, person, number and gender.

4.2.2.3. Aspect

Both languages differentiate between simple and progressive aspect in the future (*I'll go – I'll be going; Pójdę – Będę szedł*) as well as in the past (*I went – I was going; Poszedłem – Szedłem*), whereas in the present tense progressive aspect is, in the case of most verbs, inflectionally underrepresented in Polish. Additionally, unlike English, Polish does not have perfect aspect (not to be confused with perfective). We shall first deal with simple and progressive aspect in the past and future as well as the present and then we discuss perfect aspect separately.

a) The past

A considerable amount of positive transfer may be observed for the concept of simple vs. progressive aspect in the past:

	English	Polish
simple	*I went masculine*	*Poszedłem*
	I went feminine	*Poszłam*
	I did masculine	*Zrobiłem*
	I did feminine	*Zrobiłam*
progressive	*I was going masc.*	*Szedłem*
	I was going fem.	*Szłam*
	I was doing masc.	*Robiłem*
	I was doing fem.	*Robiłam,*

although, as can be seen, the morphological structure is not the same. In the progressive aspect, English uses a free functional morpheme – the auxiliary verb *to be* inflected for past singular – plus the inflectional morpheme *-ing*, whereas Polish does not use auxiliary verb and the inflection also incorporates gender. It also incorporates person and number, as exemplified below:

English	Polish
I was going	*Szedłem*
You were going sing. masc.	*Szedłeś*
You were going plur. masc.	*Szliście*
You were going fem. sing.	*Szłaś*
You were going fem. plur.	*Szłyście*
He was going	*Szedł*
They were going masc.	*Szli*
She was going	*Szła*
They were going fem.	*Szły*
It was going	*Szło*
They were going neuter	*Szły*

In the simple aspect, English uses a preterite form (*went, did*), whereas Polish uses a perfective prefix which is added to the progressive form, as exemplified by the verbs *to do* and *to go*:

progressive	simple
robiłem	*z+robiłem*
szedłem	*po+szedłem*;

and, just as for the progressive form, in simple there will also be inflected forms for gender, person and number. This analysis shows that we have a reversed situation in representing the simple/progressive aspect in the past: Polish simple aspect is morphologically more complex than English because it takes an additional prefix (*z+robiłem, po+szedłem*) which is added to the morphologically simpler progressive aspect (*robiłem, szedłem*). Progressive aspect has a morphologically more complex representation in English than in Polish because it takes an auxiliary verb inflected for person and number (*was, were*) plus an inflectional morpheme added to the lexical verb (go*ing,* do*ing*), whereas Polish uses only the lexical verb inflected for person, number and gender. Despite relative morphological simplicity (lack of auxiliary and prefix) in the progressive aspect, the inflection of the Polish verbs is likely to pose a huge learning burden for an English (or any other) learner because of the plurality of forms which instantiate the inflectional morpheme added to the verb.

b) The future

The concept of distinguishing between simple and progressive aspect is present in both languages, although, just as in the case of the past tense, in the future the morphological structure exhibits different levels of complexity:

	English	Polish
Simple	[Pro]noun + modal + verb	Prefix + inflected verb
	I'll do	*Zrobię*
	You'll do sing.	*Zrobisz*
	He/She/It will do	*Zrobi*
	We'll do	*Zrobimy*
	You'll do plural	*Zrobicie*
	They'll do	*Zrobią*
Progressive	[Pro]noun + modal + uninflected auxiliary + lexical verb + inflectional suffix *-ing*	Inflected auxiliary + past inflection of lexical verb (or infinitive)
	I'll be doing masc.	*Będę robił (robić)*
	I'll be doing fem.	*Będę robiła (robić)*

You'll be doing sing. masc.	*Będziesz robił (robić)*
You'll be doing sing. fem.	*Będziesz robiła (robić)*
He'll be doing	*Będzie robił (robić)*
She'll be doing	*Będzie robiła (robić)*
It'll be doing	*Będzie robiło (robić)*
We'll be doing masc.	*Będziemy robili (robić)*
We'll be doing fem.	*Będziemy robiły (robić)*
You'll be doing plur. masc.	*Będziecie robili (robić)*
You'll be doing plur. fem	*Będziecie robiły (robić)*
They'll be doing masc.	*Będą robili (robić)*
They'll be doing fem./neut.	*Będą robiły (robić)*

When it comes to the simple aspect, English uses a modal verb plus bare infinitive, which should not pose a significant learning burden for a learner, and Polish uses the verb inflected in present tense preceded by inflectional prefix (*z+zobię, z+robisz* etc.). The concept of inflectional prefix does not exist in English, so an English learner of Polish will need to learn this concept in Polish.

In the progressive aspect, English uses uninflected modal plus uninflected auxiliary (bare infinitive) plus lexical verb with bound inflectional morpheme *-ing* which is the same irrespective of person, number or gender, while Polish uses inflected auxiliary and lexical verb form from the past progressive (*robił, robiła* etc.) or infinitive (*robić*). A Polish learner of English faces a relatively easy task because the forms of the modal, auxiliary and lexical verb do not change and only the pronoun changes, while an English learner of Polish needs to learn the inflected forms of the auxiliary verb and the inflected forms of the lexical verb (*robił, robiła* etc.). The task may be simplified if, instead of using the inflected forms of the lexical verb, s/he chooses to use the infinitive (*robić*) because its form does not change across persons, numbers or genders .

c) The present

Polish learners of English face a new learning task when confronted with the English distinction between the simple and progressive aspect, which distinction is restricted in Polish (exceptions include cases such as *idę teraz – I'm going now, chodzę codziennie – I go every day*, but it is also possible to say *chodzę teraz – I'm walking now* with a changed meaning). Because of morphological underdifferentiation for aspect in present tense in Polish, Polish learners of English often confuse the Present Simple with the Present Progressive:

English	Polish	(possible) negative transfer
I work in a factory.	*Pracuję w fabryce.*	*I'm working in a factory.*
I'm working now.	*Pracuję teraz.*	*I work now.*

Because of the confusion, other incorrect morphological sequences are also produced, such as **I working* or **He work*, but, since these also occur in early speech production of native speakers of English, they will be classified as developmental errors rather than negative transfer. The same concerns forms such as **I working yesterday* or **He will working tomorrow* – although the concept of morphological differentiation for aspect does occur in the future and past in both languages, the auxiliary is often omitted due to factors other than interlingual transfer.

To conclude, English learners of Polish are likely to find it easy to use aspect in the future and past in the Polish language because of parallel aspectual split in the future and past in both languages. The cognitive task of differentiating between progressive and simple aspect in the future and past is likely to be easy for Polish learners of English on the conceptual level for the same reason. By 'on the conceptual level' is meant here that it will be easy to understand that there are different forms for both aspects, although, as shown above, morphosyntactic slips are always a possibility.

d) The perfect

As said in 2.3.2.3, the English perfect aspect in the present points at a conceptual link between the past and the present and it is translated into Polish past for actions[11] and Polish present for states. Because Polish lacks perfect aspect, the Polish learner of English often fails to use it correctly and produces past-tense sentences for actions and present-tense sentences for states:

English	Polish	(possible) negative transfer
I've just written it.	*Właśnie to napisałem.*	*I just wrote it.*[12]
I've been married for a year.	*Jestem żonaty od roku.*	*I'm married for one year.*[13]

[11] In the Present Perfect Simple.

[12] This form is accepted in some dialects, such as American English.

[13] This would actually mean that the speaker has signed a marriage contract to last one year.

The possible error involves skipping the free functional morpheme (auxiliary verb) and using preterite form instead of perfect participle (wrong inflectional morphology) or, in progressive, using only the copula (*to be*) instead the two free functional morphemes (auxiliary *have* and *been,* where the latter is *to be* inflected for perfect aspect).

The Past Perfect refers to actions prior in time with respect to other actions from the past, as in *I sent the letter which I had written*. Polish uses Simple Past forms for both actions: *Wysłałem list, który napisałem*, as a result of which negative transfer is often observed: *I sent the letter which I wrote.*[14] A similar case is often observed with other perfect structures:

English	Polish	(possible) negative transfer
When I've written the letter, I'll send it.	*Kiedy napiszę list, Wyślę go.*	*When I write the letter, I'll send it*[15]
Next October I'll have known you for five years.	*W październiku będę cię znał już pięć lat.*	*Next October I will know you for five years.*

It is worth noting here that the connection between the moment in question (next October) and the time before it (five years) is marked syntactically in English (perfect aux *have* plus perfect participle of lexical verb) and lexically in Polish (*już*).

Present Perfect sentences frequently contain the free functional morphemes *since* and *for*, both of which translate into Polish as *od*. *Since* is a preposition used to indicate an initial point in time from which denoted action or state is observed (*I've been sitting here since morning*) and *for* – to indicate the duration of the period in question (*I've been sitting here for three hours*). Since the Polish *od* is a preposition used in both cases, Poles tend to confuse *since* and *for* and often produce sentences such as **I've known you since five years.*

Other free functional morphemes related to aspect include the prepositions *by* and *until*, which are also often confused by Polish learners of English because both translate as *do*. *By* may be preceded by a modal verb plus auxiliary verb plus lexical verb inflected for perfect aspect plus object and followed by time adverbial:

[14] Again, this form is also produced by some native speakers of English.

[15] Because of non-parallel structure of conditional sentences and time clauses, the learner may actually say: *When I will write the letter*, … .* This issue will be discussed in 6.6.3.

mod aux lex object time adv.
I will have written the book by springtime,

whereas *until* is often preceded by a modal verb plus lexical verb without inflection and followed by time adverbial:

mod lex time adv.
I will stay (here) until springtime.

Since there is one Polish translation of both prepositions, confusion may follow:

**I will have done it until springtime.*
**I will stay here by springtime.*

Inflection for aspect is also applied with structures called 'perfect infinitive', as in

modal + aux + lex
must have done,

where the lexical verb is inflected for perfect aspect. Polish does not have perfect infinitive and other structures are used. Compare:

English

Subject + modal + auxiliary + lexical + object
She must have done it.

Polish

Adverbial + sentence
Na pewno powiedziała mu.
Certainly she told him.

Since Polish lacks perfect infinitive, Polish learners of English will face a cognitive task of mastering this structure from scratch.

Another structure involving inflection for aspect may be exemplified by the sequence

Subject + modal + aux + lex,
He must be sleeping

where the auxiliary is uninflected and the lexical verb takes the bound inflectional morpheme. Such structures do not exist in Polish and therefore are underproduced in English as L2; they are often substituted by calque translations such as

Adverbial + Sentence
Na pewno ona teraz śpi
Certainly she is sleeping now,

where the action in progress is marked morphosyntactically in English (*must be* + ...*ing*) and lexically (*na pewno*, *teraz*) in Polish.

Concluding, perfect structures are bound to be a new cognitive task for Polish learners of English because their native language did not equip them with corresponding structures and English learners of Polish will need to know when a perfect structure should be translated into Polish as present tense and when as past.

4.2.2.4. Voice

This morphosyntactic category exhibits a parallel in terms of lexical verb inflection in that both languages possess a passive participle which is prototypically preceded by an inflected form of an auxiliary verb:

Noun Phrase	inflected auxiliary verb	passive participle of lexical verb
The letter	*has been*	*written.*
List	*został (był)*	*napisany.*
The brave soldier	*was*	*wounded.*
Odważny żołnierz	*został (był)*	*zraniony (ranny).*

The morphosyntactic structure of the auxiliary verb (verb group) may either be parallel or different.

Parallel:		
Letters	*are* (aux inflected for present tense, plural number)	*written.*
Listy	*są* (aux inflected for present tense, plural number)	*pisane.*
Non-parallel:		
The letters	*are being*	*written (now).*
Listy	*są (teraz)*	*pisane.*

The English auxiliary VG consists of two verbs: the aspect auxiliary *to be* is inflected for present tense, plural number, and the voice auxiliary *to be* – for progressive aspect. The continuity of the action is expressed syntactically by a complex auxiliary verb group. The Polish auxiliary verb group is simple and it contains only one verb *być* inflected for present tense and plural number. In the exemplary sentence the continuity of the action is expressed lexically (*teraz*). It is not possible to express it morphosyntactically the way it is expressed in English, where the time adverb *now* is optional. The lack of inflectional and syntactic distinction in the passive voice in Polish often results in negative transfer which consists in aspect underproduction:

English	*The letters are being written.*
Polish	*Listy są (teraz) pisane.*
Possible transfer	**The letters are written now.*

There is therefore room for additional instruction for Poles learning English. The English learner of Polish, on the other hand, will need to remember that action continuity is to be expressed lexically in Polish. Without it, the sentence *Listy są pisane* may be interpreted as a general statement related to repetitive action.

4.2.2.5. Infinitive

In English, the full infinitive consists of the particle *to* plus the base form of the verb in question; there is no separate inflection for the infinitive: *to be, to go, to have*. If we skip the particle, we get a bare infinitive: *be, go, have*. The form of the verb is identical with the one used in the Present Simple tense[16]. Polish

[16] Inflectional *-s* is added in third person singular.

infinitives, on the other hand, do not take particles but there is a special inflected form which is different from the one used in the present tense: *być, iść, mieć*. Thus, an English learner of Polish will have the additional task of learning the infinitive – the base form of verbs.

The functional distribution of infinitives is similar in both languages and there is room for positive transfer. Typically, infinitives in both languages complement modal verbs:

English	Polish
You must go.	*Musisz iść.*
They may smoke.	*Mogą zapalić.*
I can't swim.	*Nie umiem pływać.*
They ought to help us.	*Powinni nam pomóc.*
You have to know this.	*Musisz to wiedzieć.*

The first detail which attracts attention is that the lexical verbs which complement the modal verbs in English may take the form of a bare or full infinitive. The Polish learner of English will therefore need to learn which modal verbs take on which type of infinitive.

In many cases the English modal verbs, complemented by infinitives in impersonal structures, are translated into Polish particles:

One must learn a lot.	*Trzeba się dużo nauczyć.*
One should be honest.	*Należy być uczciwym.*
One may ask such questions.	*Można zadawać takie pytanie.*

In such cases the English learner of Polish needs to learn that modal verbs in impersonal structures are often translated into Polish as particles and the Polish learner of English – vice versa.

In less prototypical cases, full infinitives in English and infinitives in Polish may occupy Subject position in clauses:

To withdraw at this stage would be unwise.
Wycofać się na tym etapie byłoby niemądrze,

in which cases the infinitives may also be transformed into participial forms:

Withdrawing at this stage would be unwise.
Wycofanie się na tym etapie byłoby niemądre,

and in such a case the Polish adverb of manner *niemądrze* will be, as has just been shown, replaced with the Subject Predicative *niemądre*. The English learner of Polish should be made aware of this transformation.

Polish infinitives are also used for propositions and such sentences are translated into English into the sequence 'modal + Subject + bare infinitive:

Polish		English			
Infinitive		modal	Subject	infinitive	
Zaczynać?		*Shall*	*I*	*start?*	
Infinitive	object	modal	Subject	infinitive	object
Otworzyć	*okno?*	*Shall*	*I*	*open*	*the window?*
Modal	infinitive	modal	Subject	infinitive	
Mam	*wejść?*	*Shall*	*I*	*enter?*	

The Polish learner of English will need to learn that propositions with this structure typically start with the modal verb *shall* in English. Otherwise, negative transfer may, and often is, observed:

English	Polish	Possible transfer
Shall I tell him?	*Powiedzieć mu?*	*Tell him?*[17]

The English learner of Polish will need to discover that the infinitive itself will often suffice to express such propositions.

In short, a substantial amount of learning needs to be done in the area of verb inflection either by an English learner of Polish or a Polish learner of English. The former will face a huge task learning the lemma of any Polish verb. For ex-

[17] Pronoun and modal verb ellipsis possible in abridged sentences.

ample, the verb *robić* (to do) has a very large number of inflected forms owing to such grammatical categories as past and future tense, number, gender. When one counts all the inflected forms of the verb, the lemma (lexeme) consists of many dozens of forms. By contrast, the English lemma *do* consists of but a few inflected forms, though verb inflection is still bound to pose a certain amount of cognitive challenge. Polish learners of English also face another learning task: that of mastering the relatively complex aspectual system.

4.2.3. Adjectives

English adjective lemmas possess comparative and superlative forms and an overwhelming majority are inflected in a regular manner, which makes the inflection an easy thing to learn for foreign learners of English. There is no number, case or gender inflection. By contrast, the inflection of Polish adjectives has to agree with that of nouns in terms of case, number and gender which, when we take into account degree inflection, makes adjective lemmas very big. Let us exemplify this by using the lemma *big/duży*

base form (nominative masculine/neuter singular)	*big*	*duży*
Genitive masculine singular	*big*	*dużego*
Dative masculine singular	*big*	*dużemu*
Accusative masculine singular	*big*	*duży/dużego*
Instrumental masculine singular	*big*	*dużym*
Locative masculine singular	*big*	*dużym*
Vocative masculine singular	*big*	*duży!*
Nominative feminine singular	*big*	*duża*
Genitive feminine singular	*big*	*dużej*
Dative feminine singular	*big*	*dużej*
Accusative feminine singular	*big*	*dużą*
Instrumental feminine singular	*big*	*dużą*
Locative feminine singular	*big*	*dużej*
Vocative feminine singular	*big*	*duża!*
Nominative masculine plural	*big*	*duzi*
Genitive masculine plural	*big*	*dużych*
Dative masculine plural	*big*	*dużym*
Accusative masculine plural	*big*	*dużych*

Instrumental masculine plural	*big*	*dużymi*
Locative masculine plural	*big*	*dużych*
Vocative masculine plural	*big*	*duzi!*
Nominative feminine[18] plural	*big*	*duże*
Genitive feminine plural	*big*	*dużych*
Dative feminine plural	*big*	*dużym*
Accusative feminine plural	*big*	*duże*
Instrumental feminine plural	*big*	*dużymi*
Locative feminine plural	*big*	*dużych*
Vocative feminine plural	*big*	*duże!*

Comparative

Nominative masculine singular	*bigger*	*większy*
Nominative neuter singular	*bigger*	*większe*
Genitive masculine singular	*bigger*	*większego*
Dative masculine singular	*bigger*	*większemu*
Accusative masculine singular	*bigger*	*większego*
Accusative neuter singular	*bigger*	*większe*
Instrumental masculine singular	*bigger*	*większym*
Locative masculine singular	*bigger*	*większym*
Vocative masculine singular	*bigger*	*większy!*
Vocative neuter singular	*bigger*	*większe!*
Nominative feminine singular	*bigger*	*większa*
Genitive feminine singular	*bigger*	*większej*
Dative feminine singular	*bigger*	*większej*
Accusative feminine singular	*bigger*	*większą*
Instrumental feminine singular	*bigger*	*większą*
Locative feminine singular	*bigger*	*większej*
Vocative feminine singular	*bigger*	*większa!*
Nominative masculine plural	*bigger*	*więksi*
Genitive masculine plural	*bigger*	*większych*
Dative masculine plural	*bigger*	*większym*
Accusative masculine plural	*bigger*	*większych*

[18] Feminine/neuter

Instrumental masculine plural	*bigger*	*większymi*
Locative masculine plural	*bigger*	*większych*
Vocative masculine plural	*bigger*	*więksi!*
Nominative feminine/neuter plural	*bigger*	*większe*
Genitive feminine plural	*bigger*	*większych*
Dative feminine plural	*bigger*	*większym*
Accusative feminine plural	*bigger*	*większe*
Instrumental feminine plural	*bigger*	*większymi*
Locative feminine plural	*bigger*	*większych*
Vocative feminine plural	*bigger*	*większe!*

Superlative

Nominative masculine singular	*biggest*	*największy!*
Nominative neuter singular	*biggest*	*największe*
Genitive masculine/neuter singular	*biggest*	*największego*
Dative masculine/neuter singular	*biggest*	*największemu*
Accusative masculine singular	*biggest*	*największych*
Accusative neuter singular	*biggest*	*największe*
Instrumental masculine/neuter singular	*biggest*	*największym*
Locative masculine/neuter singular	*biggest*	*największym*
Vocative masculine singular	*biggest*	*największy!*
Vocative neuter singular	*biggest*	*największe!*
Nominative feminine singular	*biggest*	*największa*
Genitive feminine singular	*biggest*	*największej*
Dative feminine singular	*biggest*	*największej*
Accusative feminine singular	*biggest*	*największą*
Instrumental feminine singular	*biggest*	*największą*
Locative feminine singular	*biggest*	*największej*
Vocative feminine singular	*biggest*	*największa!*
Nominative masculine plural	*biggest*	*najwięksi*
Genitive masculine plural	*biggest*	*największych*
Dative masculine plural	*biggest*	*największym*
Accusative masculine plural	*biggest*	*największych*
Instrumental masculine plural	*biggest*	*największymi*

Locative masculine plural	*biggest*	*największych*
Vocative masculine plural	*biggest*	*największi!*
Nominative feminine/neuter plural	*biggest*	*największe*
Genitive feminine/neuter plural	*biggest*	*największych*
Dative feminine/neuter plural	*biggest*	*największym*
Accusative feminine/neuter plural	*biggest*	*największe*
Instrumental feminine/neuter plural	*biggest*	*największymi*
Locative feminine/neuter plural	*biggest*	*największych*
Vocative feminine/neuter plural	*biggest*	*największe!*

The English lemma consists of three forms: *big, bigger, biggest*, while the Polish one – of 33: *duży, dużego, dużemu, dużym, duża, dużej, dużą, duże, dużych, dużym, duzi, dużymi, większy, większego, większemu, większa, większej, większą, więksi, większym, większymi, więsze, większych, największy, największemu, największa, największej, największą, najwięksi, największym, największymi, największych, największe,* and, as can be seen in the table, one form is often repeated across genders and cases. The English learner of Polish has a huge task coming to terms with this.

4.2.4. Adverbs

English and Polish adverbs are predominantly derived from adjectives by regular suffixation. Polish typically removes the suffix *-i* or *-y* and employs a few derivational suffixes.

English		Polish	
Adjective	Adverb	Adjective	Adverb
quick	*quickly*[19]	*szybki*	*szybko*
recent	*recently*	*ostatni*	*ostatnio*
wise	*wisely*	*mądry*	*mądrze*
cunning	*cunningly*	*chytry*	*chytrze*
assiduous	*assiduously*	*wytrwały*	*wytrwale*
constant	*constantly*	*stały*	*stale*
gentle	*gently*	*delikatny*	*delikatnie*
spicy	*spicily*	*pikantny*	*pikantnie*

[19] The adverbial form *quick* is also acceptable.

The Polish learner of English has a relatively simpler cognitive task as there is only one regular adverbial suffix. The English learner of Polish needs to learn four regular rules: 1) When the adjective ends in *-i* or *-y*, the suffix is replaced with *-o*; 2) When the adjective ends in *-ry*, the suffix is replaced with *-rze;* 3) When the adjective ends in *-ły,* the suffix is replaced with *-le*; When the adjective ends in *-ny*, it is replaced with *-nie.*

Both languages have exceptions exemplified below.

English: *fast – fast, far – far, little – little, straight – straight, low – low, good – well;*
Polish: *zły – źle, konny – konno, wolny – wolno, jasny – jasno, daleki – dalece.*

In English, there are adverbs formed by conversion in literal sense and the regular suffixation expresses a metaphor or a different meaning.

Adjective	Adverb	Metaphoric adverb
cold	*cold*	*coldly*
warm	*warm*	*warmly*
hard	*hard*	*hardly.*

In Polish, in many such cases it is the derived adverb which is polysemic:

Adjective	Adverb	Metaphoric adverb
zimny	*zimno*	*zimno*
ciepły	*ciepło*	*ciepło*

The translation of *hardly* into Polish involves a different lexical form *ledwie*.

Many English adjectives do not undergo adverbial suffixation (or the suffixation is an alternative option) and category change (adjective – adverbial) is substantiated syntactically:

boring	*in a boring way*
interesting	*in an interesting way*
daring	*in a daring way.*

Such cases usually concern Gerundial adjectives. The Polish translations of such adverbials typically involve suffixation:

nudny	*nudno*
ciekawy	*ciekawie*
śmiały	*śmiele*.

As we can see, there are both regularities and irregularities on both sides but the English learner of Polish has more intricacies to learn.

Adverbial comparative and superlative forms usually (though not always – there are also irregular forms to learn) involve regular patterns in both languages. Besides exceptions, English employs regular syntactic instantiations and Polish – suffixation for the comparative and prefixation for the superlative:

English		Polish
adverb	*slowly*	*wolno*
comparative	*more slowly*	*wolniej*
superlative	*the most slowly*	*najwolniej*
adverb	*quickly*	*szybko*
comparative	*more quickly*	*szybciej*
superlative	*the most quickly*	*najszybciej*
adverb	*cunningly*	*chytro*
comparative	*more cunningly*	*chytrzej*
superlative	*the most cunningly*	*najchytrzej.*

English exceptions include: well – *better – best, badly – worse- the worst* or *far – farther – the farthest*.

Examples of Polish exceptions: *źle – gorzej – najgorzej, dobrze – lepiej – najlepiej, dużo – więcej – najwięcej, mało – mniej – najmniej.* As can be seen, it is the comparative form which is irregular in the Polish examples; the superlative is formed from the comparative in a regular manner.

4.2.5. Pronouns

Pronouns owe their form to case and number and, in the third person – gender.

First person

	English		Polish	
	singular	plural	singular	plural
Nominative/vocative	*I*	*we*	*ja*	*my*
Genitive	*mine*	*ours*	*mój, moja, moje*	*nasz, nasza nasze, nasi*
Dative	*me*	*us*	*mi*	*nam*
Accusative	*me*	*us*	*mnie*	*nas*
Instrumental	*me*	*us*	*mną*	*nami*
Locative	*me*	*us*	*mnie*	*nas*

As can be seen, there are three different forms to learn in English both for singular and plural (Let us note that there are also determiners – *my* and *our*); in Polish there are seven forms to learn in singular and eight in plural. English dative, accusative, instrumental and locative cases do not distinguish different forms while Polish do.

Second person

	English		Polish	
	singular	plural	singular	plural
Nominative/vocative	*you*	*you*	*ty*	*wy*
Genitive	*yours*	*yours*	*twój, twoja, twoje*	*wasz, wasza wasze*
Dative	*you*	*you*	*tobie, ci*	*wam*
Accusative	*you*	*you*	*ciebie*	*was*
Instrumental	*you*	*you*	*tobą*	*wami*
Locative	*you*	*you*	*tobie*	*was*

The Polish learner of English has only two pronominal (and a determiner – *your*) forms to learn: one for possessive case and another for all the other cases. Polish, again, differentiates between all the cases, numbers and, for Genitive – between genders. While the Polish learner of English has an easy cognitive task to perform, the English learner of Polish will face a bigger challenge.

Third person masculine

	English		Polish	
	singular	plural	singular	plural
Nominative	*he*	*they*	*on*	*oni*
Genitive	*his*	*theirs*	*jego*	*ich*
Dative	*him*	*them*	*jemu*	*im*
Accusative	*him*	*them*	*jego*	*ich*
Instrumental	*him*	*them*	*nim*	*nimi*
Locative	*him*	*them*	*nim*	*nich*

The Polish learner of English has three pronominal (and one determiner – *their*) singular and plural forms to learn: nominative, genitive and dative/accusative/instrumental/locative, while the Polish learner of English – five singular forms: nominative, genitive, dative, accusative and instrumental/locative as well as five plural forms: nominative, genitive/accusative, dative, instrumental and locative.

Third person feminine

	English		Polish	
	singular	plural	singular	plural
Nominative	*she*	*they*	*ona*	*one*
Genitive	*hers*	*theirs*	*jej*	*ich*
Dative	*her*	*them*	*jej*	*im*
Accusative	*her*	*them*	*ją*	*ich*
Instrumental	*her*	*them*	*nią*	*nimi*
Locative	*her*	*them*	*niej*	*nich*

As shown above, there are three English singular and three plural forms to learn (and let us note the determiners – *her* and *their*) as well as five Polish singular and five plural forms.

Third person neuter

	English		Polish	
	singular	plural	singular	plural
Nominative	*it*	*they*	*ono*	*one*
Genitive	*its*	*theirs*	*je*	*ich*
Dative	*it*	*them*	*mu*	*im*
Accusative	*it*	*them*	*je*	*je*
Instrumental	*it*	*them*	*nim*	*nimi*
Locative	*it*	*them*	*nim*	*nich*

There are two English singular and three plural forms as well as five Polish singular and six plural forms to learn. We should also note that in Polish there are also different forms for determiners: nominative singular – *to*, nominative plural – *te*, genitive singular – *tego*, genitive plural – *tych*, dative singular – *temu*, dative plural – *tym*, accusative singular – *to*, accusative plural – *te*, instrumental singular – *tym*, instrumental plural – *tymi*, locative singular – *tym*, locative plural – *tych*. There is one determiner in English to learn – *their*.

Demonstrative masculine

	English		Polish	
	singular	plural	singular	plural
Nominative	*this, that*	*these, those*	*ten, tamten*	*ci, tamci*
Genitive	-	-	*tego, tamtego*	*tych, tamtych*
Dative	-	-	*temu, tamtemu*	*tym, tamtym*
Accusative	-	-	*tego, tamtego*	*tych, tamtych*
Instrumental	-	-	*tym, tamtym*	*tymi, tamtymi*
Locative	-	-	*tym, tamtym*	*tych, tamtych*

All in all, there are four English forms to learn (only nominative; there are also determiners: *this one* etc) and sixteen in Polish. The Polish pronouns are identical with determiners, e.g., pronoun *ten* + verb. Determiner *ten* + noun.

Demonstrative feminine

	English		Polish	
	singular	plural	singular	plural
Nominative	*this, that*	*these, those*	*ta, tamta*	*te, tamte*
Genitive	-	-	*tej, tamtej*	*tych, tamtych*
Dative	-	-	*tej, tamtej*	*tym, tamtym*
Accusative	-	-	*tą, tamtą*	*te, tamte*
Instrumental	-	-	*tą, tamtą*	*te, tamte*
Locative	-	-	*tej, tamtej*	*tych, tamtych*

There are seven singular and six plural Polish forms to learn. English has four forms to learn (only nominative) and they are identical with masculine and, as will be seen shortly, with neuter forms.

Demonstrative neuter

	English		Polish	
	singular	plural	singular	plural
Nominative/vocative	*this, that*	*these, those*	*to, tamto*	*te, tamte*
Genitive	-	-	*tego, tamtego*	*tych,tamtych*
Dative	*this, that*	*these, those*	*temu, tamtemu*	*tym,tamtym*
Accusative	*this, that*	*these, those*	*to, tamto*	*te, tamte*
Instrumental	*this, that*	*these, those*	*tym, tamtym*	*tymi,tamtymi*
Locative	*this, that*	*these, those*	*tym, tamtym*	*tych,tamtych*

Again, in English there are four forms to learn, but in this case they can by used in all the cases except for genitive. In Polish there are eight forms to learn in singular and plural.

Reflexive pronouns

In this case Polish has only got two pronominal forms: *się* and *siebie*. It does not distinguish between person, number or gender. English, on the other hand, does distinguish inflectionally between these categories and includes

eight forms: *myself, ourselves, yourself, yourselves, himself, herself, itself* and *themselves*. The Polish learner of English therefore faces a more challenging task.

Relative pronouns

While English relative pronouns are not inflected for gender, case or number, the Polish ones are:

English	Polish
who, which, that,	*który, która, które, którzy, którego, których, którym, któremu, której, którego, którą, którymi,*
whichever, whatever	*którykolwiek, którakolwiek, któregolwiek, którzykolwiek, któregokolwiek, którejkolwiek, którymkolwiek, którąkolwiek, którekolwiek, którymkolwiek, którychkolwiek, cokolwiek, czegokolwiek, czemukolwiek, czymkolwiek*

In this section we have listed 40 pronominal forms to learn in English and 122 in Polish (There are also separate possessive and demonstrative determiners in English). These counts do not include non-inflected forms, discussed in the next section. It goes without saying that, when it comes to the pronominal system, the English learner of Polish has a challenging cognitive task when compared to a Polish learner of English. The reflexive pronouns are an exception.

4.2.6. Non-inflected categories

These include interrogative particles (*Where?, When?, How?; Gdzie? Kiedy? Jak?*), the particle *to* used for infinitives in English, prepositions and adverbial particles, the negative particle (*not; nie*) the negative particle *No* (as in *Do you understand? - No!*), conjunctions, complementisers (subordinate conjunctions – words complemented by whole clauses), expletive *it* (to) and the existential pronoun in English. Due to possible negative transfer, the relative pronoun *which* will be discussed in 6.3.5. Complementisers and the existential pronoun are discussed in 6.3.4.

4.2.7. Conclusions for instruction

Generally speaking, the Polish inflectional system is by far more complex than the English one. This is related to the canonicality of word order: what is done by inflection in Polish is often instantiated by word order in English. Therefore, word order is more variable in Polish and more strict in English. This primarily concerns case. Let us illustrate it with an exemplary English sentence and its possible Polish translations.

English:

Subject	Verb Group	Object
I	*informed*	*you.*

Polish 1:

Default Subject	Verb Group	Object
- (*ja)*	*Poinformowałem*	*ciebie.*

Polish 2:

Subject	Verb Group	Object
Ja	*poinformowałem*	*ciebie.*

Polish 3:

Subject	Object	Verb Group
Ja	*ciebie*	*poinformowałem.*

Polish 4:

Object	Subject	Verb Group
Ciebie	*ja*	*poinformowałem.*

Polish 5:

Object	Verb Group	Subject
Ciebie	*poinformowałem*	*ja.*

Since the Polish object is inflected for (objective) case, word order is free, whereas in English the objective case is marked by word order. This means that the English learner of Polish has the inflection to learn, whereas the Polish learner

of English needs to be instructed that the word order is not as free as in his/her mother tongue. Let us now consider an exemplary Noun Phrase involving the genitive case.

English	Polish
A glass of water	*Szklanka wody*

The English genitive has a prepositional marking, whereas Polish – inflectional. Because the Polish native speaker has developed the habit of referring to the genitive case without a preposition, negative transfer often takes place: **A glass water*. Learners should therefore be instructed that questions such as *Kogo? Czego?* (*Whose? Of whom? Of what?*) need a noun plus a Prepositional Phrase:

Determiner	Noun	Preposition	Noun
A	*glass*	*of*	*water*
		PP	
	Nominal Group		
Noun Phrase			

English native speakers, on the other hand, have not developed the habit of shaping the genitive with inflection[20] because it is not done so in their language, and therefore they may fail to remember about the inflection in Polish, producing sentences such as **Szklanka woda*. Inflectional instruction will thus be necessary.

The instrumental case is also marked prepositionally in English and inflectionally in Polish:

Subject	VG	Prep.	Noun Phrase
I	*ate*	*with*	*a spoon.*
		PP	
	VP		
Sentence			

[20] If, instead of using prepositional marking, the Saxon Genitive is used for possession, then, obviously, one does deal with inflection.

VG *NP*
Jadłem *łyżką*,

Sentence

which also calls for syntactic instruction in English as a foreign/second language and inflectional instruction in Polish.

The vocative case does not have any additional form in English, but it does in Polish:

Hey, kid! *Hej, chłopcze!*

An additional instructional focus on vocative case inflection in Polish is therefore necessary.

In general, English lemma nouns are relatively small in comparison to Polish ones, and the learner of Polish needs to learn nominal forms inflected for number and all the cases. It will be remembered that the Polish inflection for number is different for singular (*chłopiec*), different for 2-4 (*dwaj, trzej, czterej chłopcy*) and different for 5+ (*pięciu+ chłopców*).

Adjective lemmas in Polish are even more complex than noun lemmas as adjectives are inflected, apart from number and case, also for gender – something which does not occur in English, which inflects adjectives only for the comparative and superlative degrees. The English learner of Polish needs to be instructed that Polish adjectives must agree with nouns for gender, number and case, which involves large numbers of adjectival inflected forms. The Polish learner of English, nevertheless, also faces a cognitive challenge which involves learning irregular adjectival forms (which also exist in Polish). It also involves syntactically instantiated comparative and superlative forms (*more boring, the most boring*). S/he needs to be instructed that, typically, comparative and superlative forms of Gerundial adjectives are formed in this way.

Most English common adverbs are derived from adjectives by a regular suffixation with *-ly*, which makes the task relatively simple. Many English adverbials are instantiated syntactically rather than derivationally (*in a boring way* rather than *boringly*), but this is a rather easy rule to learn. Once the learner has learnt the several basic adverbs (e.g., *here, there, now*) and the rules for regular adverb derivation, the task should not pose too big a cognitive burden. The Polish adverb formation, as seen in this section, is more complex, so the learner will need to

spend more time and effort learning it. Learners should also be instructed that adverb gradation is usually instantiated syntactically in English (*in a more boring way, in the most boring way*) and inflectionally in Polish (*nudniej, najnudniej*).

Verb inflection is also by far more complex in Polish than in English. This is because Polish, unlike English, inflects verbs for number, person and gender in the past as well as number and person in the present and future. Unlike English, Polish has a separate inflectional form for the infinitive and imperative. The contrastivity of simple vs. progressive aspect is present in both languages in the past and future, which makes for positive transfer, but English additionally inflects for the perfect aspect, something Polish learners of this language need to learn. Aspect is also usually underdifferentiated inflectionally in Polish in present tense, which calls for additional instruction when learning English, where the simple/progressive distinction is grammatically marked. Unlike English, Polish does not distinguish inflectionally aspect in the passive voice, and Polish learners of English need to be provided with extensive practice time producing the correct aspectual forms such as *It is being done as we speak*.

4.3. Derivation and morphological borrowings

Derivation is a very productive word-formation process in both languages and it contributes to enriching the lexicons in significant ways. We shall first consider derivation which alters denotation and we shall then go on to analyse change in lexical category.

4.3.1. Denotation

The semantic content of a lexical item is often changed into a negative antonym by prefixation:

logical	*illogical*	*logiczny*	*nielogiczny*
practical	*impractical*	*praktyczny*	*niepraktyczny*
kind	*unkind*	*miły*	*niemiły*
responsible	*irresponsible*	*odpowiedzialny*	*nieodpowiedzialny*

but English, unlike Polish, uses a number of different prefixes. Because Polish predominantly uses one prefix which is formally identical with the negative particle *nie*, there is a tendency to transfer the habit of using one negative prefix to English, which results in forms such as **unpolite, *unresponsible* or **unlogi-*

cal. Instructional effort needs to be made to help the learner of English see that negative prefixes need to be learnt along with the roots, more or less the way collocations are learnt. Denotations changed by prefixation in English are often expressed lexically (by using a separate word) in Polish:

to misjudge	*źle ocenić*
to mistranslate	*źle przetłumaczyć*
to mistreat	*źle traktować*

but morphological equivalents are also observed:

English	Polish
***dis**connect*	***roz**łączyć*
***dis**qualify*	***dys**kwalifikować*
***un**pack*	***roz**pakować*
***em**body*	***u**cieleśniać*
***en**able*	***u**zdalniać*
***en**slave*	***z**niewolić*
***over**estimate*	***prze**cenić*
***under**estimate*	***nie** docenić*
***out**live*	***prze**żyć*
***out**grow*	***prze**rosnąć*
***re**write*	***prze**pisać*
***in**ability*	***nie**zdolność*
***de**scribe*	***o**pisać*
***co**-author*	***współ**autor*

Owing to morphological borrowings, many prefixes used in both languages are added to the corresponding lexical forms:

link	*hyperlink*	*łącze*	*hiperłącze*
government	*anti-government*	*rząd/owy*	*antyrządowy*
family	*pro-family*	*rozdzinny*	*prorodzinny*

and this aids learning the productive rule of prefixation. The productivity of such rules is not infinite, though, and learners of both languages need to learn that there is no general prefix-to-prefix equivalence. It is also common for Polish to borrow whole prefixed lexemes, as in *pro-life*, and lexical borrowings are discussed in 4.5.

4.3.2. Lexical category

Apart from changing the denotational content, derivation also changes the lexical category of words. This is typically done by suffixation and in this case there are often morphological equivalences, which boosts positive transfer in that learning the equivalences helps produce regularly-derived forms in the other language. Below I discuss the most productive parallel patterns.

Verb → Adjective: English *-able* → Polish *-lny*:

achieve → achievable	*osiągnąć → osiągalny*
eat → eatable	*jeść → z/jadalny*
touch → touchable	*dotykać → dotykalny*

Verb → Noun: English *-ance, -al, -age, -ery, -ment* → Polish *-nie*:

accept → acceptance	*akceptować → akceptowanie* (*...-acja*)
appear → appearance	*pojawiać się → pojawianuie się*
withdraw → withdrawal	*wycofać się → wycofanie się*
bury → burial	*pogrzebać → pogrzebanie* (*pogrzeb*)
link → linkage	*łączyć → łączenie*
store → storage	*składować → składowanie*
deliver → delivery	*dostarczać → dostarczanie (dostawa)*
rob → robbery	*okraść → okradanie (rabunek)*
agree → agreement	*zgadzać się → zgadzanie się (porozumienie)*
adjust → adjustment	*dostosować → dostosowanie*

Verb → Agent: English *-er* → Polish *-ący*:

teach → teacher	*nauczać → nauczający (nauczyciel)*
drive → driver	*kierować → kierujący (kierowca)*
employ → employer	*zatrudniać → zatrudniający* (*pracodawca*)

Adjective → Adverb: English *-ly* → Polish *-o, -i, -ie*:

slow → slowly	*powolny → powoli*
legible → legibly	*czytelny → czytelnie*
warm → warmly	*ciepły → ciepło*

Adjective → Noun: English *-ity, -cy, -dom, -ness, -ence* → Polish – *ość*:

clear → clarity	*jasny → jasność*
possible → possibility	*możliwy → możliwość*
dependent → dependency	*zależny → zależność*
immediate → immediacy	*natychmiastowy → natychmiastowość*
free → freedom	*wolny → wolność*
wise → wisdom	*mądry → mądrość*
clever → cleverness	*bystry → bystrość*
clumsy → clumsiness	*niezdarny → niezdarność*
absent → absence	*nieobecny → nieobecność*
innocent → innocence	*niewinny → niewinność*

Adjective → Verb: English *-ise/ize, -ify, -en* → Polish *-ać*:

equal → equalise	*równy → wyrównać*[21]
pure → purify	*czysty → oczyszczać*[22]
simple → simplify	*prosty → upraszczać*[23]
straight → straighten	*prosty → prostować*

Noun → Verb: English *-ize* → Polish *-(zo)wać*:

colony → colonize	*kolonia → kolonizować*
harmony → harmonize	*harmonia → harmonizować*
theory → theorize	*teoria → teoretyzować*

Common Noun → Abstract Noun: English *-dom, -hood* → Polish *-stwo*:

martyr → martyrdom	*męczennik → męczeństwo*
king → kingdom	*król → królestwo*
mother → motherhood	*matka → macierzyństwo*
priest – priesthood	*kapłan → kapłaństwo*

As can be seen, in many cases one Polish suffix has a few equivalents in English, so in such situations the Polish learner of English faces a bigger challenge.

[21] Observe the additional prefixation.

[22] As above.

[23] As above.

The above examples illustrate parallel morphological process, although it will be remembered that regular morphological processes in one language often have different lexical equivalents in the other. The purpose of the above analysis was to show sources of possible positive intralexical structural transfer.

4.4. Other word-formation processes

Both languages join two free morphemes to form compounds. In some cases the translations consist of lexical equivalents:

remote control	*zdalne sterowanie*
black and white	*czarno-biały*
Solar System	*Układ Słoneczny*

In such cases learners of both languages have positive transfer at their disposal and learning the target form is a matter of internalising the corresponding free lexical morphemes[24]. In other cases a compound in one language is expressed by a monomorphemic lexical form in the other:

blackboard	*tablica*
wardrobe	*szafa*
armchair	*fotel*

and in some cases whole compounds are borrowed. This usually concerns English compounds imported into the Polish language, such as *whiteboard* or *call-center*. From among other word-formation processes we shall also now mention blending, clipping, back-formation, acronyms and conversion.

Blending has given rise to many lexical items in English, such as *motel* or *smog* and such forms are often borrowed by Polish, which avails positive lexical transfer. Clipping is another commonly applied word-formation process. Shortening words produces lexical forms of the same lexical category and it takes place in both languages, though a clipped word in one language often has a lexical equivalent which is not clipped in the other:

[24] Although instruction is needed for Nominal-Group word order in cases such as *Solar System*, where the modifier stands before the head noun, and its Polish translation *Układ Słoneczny*, where the modifier follows the head.

advertisement – advert – ad	*ogłoszenie*
on my computer	*na komputerze – na kompie*

Back-formation is a reductive morphological process in English; the Polish lexical translation equivalents usually display additive derivation or lexical compounding:

an editor – to edit	*redaktor – redagować*
television – to televise	*telewizja - ekranizować*
euthanasia – to euthanize	*eutanazja – poddać eutanazji*
enthusiasm – to enthuse	*entuzjazm – napełnić entuzjazmem*

Acronyms are often borrowed from English into Polish as complete lexical items: *LASER, NATO, PIN* or *RADAR* are just a few examples. In such cases positive transfer is facilitated on account of the shared form and denotation. In other cases (initialisation) each language sticks to its own reduction process and the corresponding forms need to be learned as translation equivalents:

The United Nations – The UN	*Organizacja Narodów Zjednoczonych – ONZ*
The European Union – The EU	*Unia Europejska – UE*

and there are situations where an initialisation in one language has a non-reduced, derived lexical form in the other:

an MP (member of parliament)	*parlamentarzysta*
the PM (prime minister)	*premier*

Conversion, otherwise known as zero-derivation, does not occur in Polish. This language translates English converted words into derived poly-morphemic lexical items (*to water – podlać, to milk – wydoić, a win – wygrana*) and the English learner of Polish needs to learn such forms as separate lexical items.

4.5. Lexical transfer

Lexical transfer, which involves free lexical morphemes as well as poly-morphemic items, is positive when the form is similar due to borrowings or cognates and when the denotation, or at least its core, is shared, and negative when, despite the (more or less) shared form, the denotation is different. In the former case we refer to 'true friends' and in the latter – false friends.

4.5.1. True friends

By saying that the form is shared we mean that the graphemic form of a word consists of the same or similar sequences of letters in both languages and that the phonological form includes sequences of similar phonemes which in most cases are represented by the same letters. By saying that the denotation is shared we mean here an identical referent denoted by similar forms in both languages. 'True friends' facilitate learning lexical items in the target language, although it will be remembered that mastery of the pronunciation will always involve adjustments to the phonological system of the language in question. Here is a list of the most common English-Polish 'true friends':

absence, abdication, absolute, absorb, abstract, absurd, adapt, administration, admiral, adopt, address, agency, agent, aggression, academy, accent, action, acrobat, act, active, alarm, album, alphabet, alibi, alcohol, alternative, ambition, ambulance, amnesty, amputation, analysis, anarchy, anatomy, anecdote, antique, appetite, apostle, arbitrary, arrest, arena, argument, arctic, army, arrogant, articulation, article, artist, aristocracy, asphalt, aspect, astrology, astronaut, assimilate, attack, atom, attractive, authentic, automatic, author, bacteria, ballet, balcony, balloon, banana, bandit, bank, bar, baroque, Bible, bibliography, biology, bureaucracy, block, blonde, box, bomb, botany, brunette, central, ceremony, certificate, character, chat, chemistry, chronology, cybernetic, civil, date, decide, deficit, definition, decade, declare, decoration, delegate, delta, demography, demon, demonstration, demoralization, democracy, deposit, dentist, detective, devastation, dialogue, dialect, diet, dominate, dictator, diploma, dramatic, dynasty, dynamic, director, discreet, discriminate, discussion, education, echo, effect, egoist, exam, execution, exotic, existence, ecology, economist, expansion, expert, experiment, explosion, export, express, elastic, electric, electronic, element, emigration, emotion, energy, engineer, enthusiasm, epidemic, epilogue, episode, erotic, erosion, essay, escort, ethics, evolution, export, fact, fanatic, fantasy, farmer, fauna, federal, phenomenon, festival, feudal, figure, fiction, film, philosophy, final, finance, firm, physiology, physics, flirt, folklore, phonetic, form, fort, fortune, forum, front, fund, function, frustration, galaxy, gallery, garage, gastronomic, gas, genetic, general, genesis, geography, geology, geometry, gymnastic, global, grammar, gravity, harmony, helicopter, hyena, hygiene, hypnotize, history, hysterical, hobby, hockey, honour, horizon, hotel, humanistic, humanitarian, humour, idea, ideal, identical, ideology, idiot, ignore, icon, illustration, illusion, imagination, imperialist, import, impression, individual, innovation, inspiration, installation, instruction, instrument, instructor, instinct, institution, intellect, intelligent, intention, intensive, information, interven-

tion, intrigue, intuition, invasion, irony, isolation, jazz, cabaret, cabin, calendar, candidate, cannibal, capital, capitalism, crisis, catalogue, category, kilogram, clan, collection, colour, combination, comedy, comment, commercial, comfort, commission, compass, competence, complex, complete, complicate, composer, compromise, computer, communicate, communist, concert, conference, conclusion, contrast, concrete, constitution, contact, context, contract, contrast, control, controversy, conversation, coronation, corruption, cosmos, credit, laboratory, lamp, legion, liberal, literature, litre, machine, maximum, massage, mask, mathematics, matter, materialism, mechanic, medal, medicine, meditation, melody, metaphor, metal, method, metre, mile, millimetre, million, minute, mythology, model, moment, monarchy, monopoly, moral, music, nationalism, nervous, norm, normal, offer, olive, opera, operation, optical, optimist, organ, organic, organism, original, park, parking, parliament, partner, patriot, perfect, perfume, pearl, personnel, perspective, pessimist, plan, piano, planet, plus, popular, population, populistic, political, port, portrait, puma, radio, racism, reaction, reduction, reform, regulation, record, represent, respect, restaurant, revolution, reservation, regime, satellite, scenery, safe, secret, sex, selection, senate, separation, service, scandal, sociology, socialism, solidarity, sauce, special, specific, stabilisation, start, statistics, stop, stress, structure, style, substance, suggestion, supplement, signal, symbol, symphony, symptom, stimulate, system, technical, telephone, text, tendency, tennis, television, temperature, theology, theory, therapy, terror, test, tolerance, torture, tragic, transformation, transmission, transport, touristic, type, villa.

4.5.2. False friends

Below there is a list of the most common words with the English lexical translations.

but	*shoe*
brud	*dirt*
buk	*beech*
bat	*whip*
audycja	*broadcast*
actualnie	*currently*
dama	*lady*
do	*to*
dom	*house*
dym	*smoke*
fabryka	*factory*

ewentualny	*possible*
facet	*guy, fellow*
gap	*onlooker*
grunt	*soil*
gust	*taste*
habit	*monk's frock*
hazard	*gambling*
herb	*coat of arms*
huk	*rumble*
jest	*is*
klej	*glue*
knot	*candle-wick*
kok	*bun*
konsekwentny	*consistent*
kot	*cat*
kredens	*cupboard*
kurwa	*whore*
lak	*sealing wax*
las	*forest*
lektura	*reading*
list	*letter*
lokal	*flat, apartment*
los	*fate*
lot	*flight*
lunatyk	*sleep-walker*
mag	*sorcerer*
most	*bridge*
motor	*motorcycle*
nie	*no*
notes	*notebook*
nowela	*short story*
od	*from*
ordynarny	*coarse*
pat	*stalemate*
paw	*peacock*
pole	*field*
pan	*mister, gentleman*
pas	*belt*
pensja	*salary*

pet	*cigarette-end*
pit	*tax statement*
pod	*under*
pop	*Orthodox priest*
por	*leek*
post	*lent*
pot	*sweat*
rajd	*rally*
rat	*installments (genitive)*
renta	*pension*
rok	*year*
sad	*orchard*
Sejm	*Diet, lower house of Parliament*
stan	*state*
smak	*taste*
stadium	*stage*
ster	*helm, rudder*
step	*grassland*
stok	*slope*
sto	*hundred*
stuk	*rap, clatter*
sum	*catfish*
syn	*son*
tan	*dance*
ten	*this*
term/a	*hot spring, hot bath*
tok	*course (of events)*
tor	*rail track*
transparent	*banner*
tu	*here*
war	*boiling water*
wart	*worth*
was	*you (plural)*

As can be seen from 4.5.1 and the present section, the number of 'true friends' largely surpasses that of false friends. This is good news for learners of English or Polish, but let us stress once more that the phonological shape will often constitute more instructional challenge as cognates and borrowings display more similarity in orthography than in sound. Therefore, additional instruction needs

is to be anticipated alongside taking advantage of the transfer which is otherwise positive.

4.5.3. Verb colligation

Colligation is an area from the borderline between morphology and syntax. English and Polish words such as cognates, borrowings and lexical correspondences may display similar or different syntactic complementation patterns. The similarity may be exemplified by the sequence Verb + Prepositional Phrase (*talk about something, rozmawiać o czymś*), although in many cases the very preposition is not a lexical equivalent (*benefit from something, skorzystać na (on) czymś*). Different patterns, on the other hand, are observed where e.g., a verb is complemented by a Prepositional Phrase in one language and a Noun Phrase in another (e.g., *listen to music, słuchać muzyki*). There are three exemplary verb lists in this section: a) identical colligation, b) similar colligation with prepositions which are not translation equivalents, c) different colligation. The first list identifies candidates for positive colligational transfer, the second one calls for awareness raising and practice in using the correct preposition, and the third one indicates a need for awareness raising and practice in using different grammatical patterns. The issue of verb complementation is discussed more extensively in 6.2; here the purpose is to illustrate combinations of free lexical morphemes with free lexical or free functional ones.

a) parallel patterns with translation equivalents

English: free lexical (+ free functional) + (Verb + Noun Phrase)	Polish: free lexical + free fexical (Verb + Noun Phrase)
see a person	*zobaczyć osobę*
know a person	*znać osobę*
remember a date	*pamiętać datę (randkę)*
English: free lexical + free functional (preposition) + free lexical (or NP)	Polish: free lexical + free functional (preposition) + free lexical (or NP)
believe in a theory	*wierzyć w teorię*
insist on a solution	*nalegać na rozwiązanie*
rely on a person	*polegać na osobie*

English: free lexical + NP + NP	Polish: free lexical + NP + NP
give somebody money	*dać komuś pieniądze*
send somebody a letter	*wysłać komuś list*
tell somebody a story	*opowiedzieć komuś historię*
English: free lexical + infinitive	Polish: free lexical + infinitive
decide to do	*zdecydować zrobić*
want to do	*chcieć zrobić*
intend to do	*zamierzać zrobić*
English: free lexical + NP + infinitive	Polish: free lexical + NP + infinitive
allow a person to do something	*pozwolić (jakiejś) osobie coś zrobić*
tell a person to do something	*kazać (jakiejś) osobie coś zrobić*
promise a person to do something	*obiecać (jakiejś) osobie coś zrobić*

b) parallel patterns with different prepositions: lexical verb + Prepositional Phrase

benefit from	*skorzystać na (*benefit on)*
depend on	*zależeć od (*depend from)*
look at	*patrzeć na (*look on)*
go for a walk	*iść na spacer (*go on a walk)*
wait for friends	*czekać na przyjaciół (*wait on friends[25])*
head for a city	*zmierzać do miasta (*head to a city)*

c) different patterns

English: free lexical + NP	Polish: free lexical + PP
call somebody	*zadzwonić do kogoś (*call to somebody)*
discuss something	*dyskutować o czymś (*discuss about something)*

[25] This is an incorrect translation in that it has a different meaning.

follow somebody	*iść za kimś (*follow after somebody)*
go home	*iść do domu (*go to home)*
leave home	*wyjść z domu (*leave from home)*
reach a place	*dojść do miejsca (*reach to a place)*
speak English	*mówić po angielsku (*speak after English)*

English: free lexical + PP	Polish: free lexical + NP
eat with a spoon	*jeść łyżką*[26] *(*eat a spoon*[27]*)*
explain to somebody	*wyjaśnić komuś (*explain somebody*[28]*)*
listen to something	*słuchać czegoś (*listen something)*

English: free lexical + NP + PP	Polish: free lexical + NP + NP
bring something to somebody	*przynieść coś komuś (bring somebody something*[29]*)*
impose something on somebody	*narzucić coś komuś*[30] *(*impose something somebody)*
provide somebody with something	*dostarczyć komuś coś (*provide somebody something)*

The incorrect English expressions marked with an (*) occur frequently because of negative prepositional (different prepositions) or colligational transfer. Materials designers and language educators need to anticipate a considerable amount of instruction including both awareness raising and practice. This can to a certain extent be done at the expense of verbs of type (a), as positive transfer acts as a facilitator. Learners need to be made aware of this transfer and, once this is done, the matter may be regarded as settled.

4.5.4. Collocation

Positive collocational transfer occurs when sequences of free lexical morphemes or morphological connections in two languages consist of lexical equivalents:

[26] The instrumental case is marked by inflection.

[27] This VP is grammatically correct but semantically odd – spoons are not food.

[28] This VP would roughly mean 'explain sb's motives'.

[29] This variant is acceptable.

[30] Dative case marked by inflection.

bring a letter	*przynieść list*
read a book	*czytać książkę*
write an article	*napisać artykuł.*

In such cases, additional instruction is not necessary as the learner draws on his/her L1 knowledge and all s/he needs to know are the particular lexical equivalents. There are thousands of such collocations and they need not bother the teacher or materials writer too much. The situation is different when collocations in one language correspond to different ones in the other language, where the translation is not a combination of lexical equivalents. The materials designer or teacher will be well-advised to use lists of such collocational pairs for awareness raising as well as extensive practice. The following list is by no means exhaustive and in some cases the Polish translations may have alternative versions, yet I believe paying attention to the items will be to the advantage to the parties involved in language education.

abuse drugs	*nadużywać narkotyków (overuse drugs)*
ask a question	*zadać pytanie (*give a question)*
bad damage	*duże uszkodzenie (big damage)*
pack of wolves	*stado wilków (*herd of wolves)*
ballot box	*urna wyborcza (*election urn)*
be in power	*być przy władzy (*be at authority)*
be right	*mieć rację (have right)*
be … years old	*mieć … lat (*have … years)*
casual clothes	*ubrania codzienne (*daily clothes)*
change one's mind	*zmienić zdanie (change one's sentence)*
air a broadcast	*emitować audycję (emit a broadcast)*
dead end	*ślepy zaułek (*blind end)*
do business	*robić interesy (make business[31])*
do homework	*robić lekcje (*make homework)*
do the dishes	*zmywać naczynia (wash the dishes)*
drive sb. crazy	*doprowadzać do szaleństwa (lead to craziness)*
eating habits	*nawyki żywieniowe (nutrition habits)*
enough room	*dosyć miejsca (*enough place)*
even number	*liczba parzysta (*paired number)*
extend a deadline	*przedłużyć termin (*lengthen a deadline)*

[31] The verbs *do* and *make* are translated into Polish as *robić*; underdifferentation and lexical splits will be dealt with in 5.2.2.

expiry date	*termin ważności (*date of usefulness)*
fast asleep	*twardo spać (*hard asleep)*
go wrong	*pójść źle (go bad)*
hard work	*ciężko pracować (*work heavily)*
Have you got a light?	*Masz ogień? (*Have you got a fire?)*
heavily guarded	*mozno strzeżony (strongly guarded)*
hold an election	*przeprowadzić wybory (*lead an election)*
immediate future	*bliska przyszłość (*close future)*
impose taxes	*nakładać podatki (*put on taxes)*
interest rate	*procenty (percentages)*
join a company	*dołączyć do towarzystwa (*connect to a company)*
keep a diary	*prowadzić pamiętnik (*lead a diary)*
keep fit	*trzymać formę (*keep form)*
keep in touch	*utrzymywać kontakt (*keep contact)*
main course	*główne danie (main dish)*
make a mess	*narobić bałaganu (*do a mess)*
make a mistake	*zrobić błąd (*do a mistake)*
make sense	*mieć sens (have sense)*
make progress	*zrobić postęp (*do progress)*
make effort	*poczynić wysiłki (*do effort)*
odd number	*liczba nieparzysta (*non-pair number)*
pass a law	*wydać prawo (*give a law)*
pay tribute	*złożyć hołd (*put down tribute)*
pay attention	*zwrócić uwagę (return attention)*
point of view	*punkt widzenia (*point of seeing)*
poor eyesight	*zły wzrok (bad eyesight)*
pose a threat	*stanowić zagrożenie (constitute a threat)*
rain hard	*mocno padać (*rain strongly)*
resort to violence	*uciekać się do przemocy (*escape to violence)*
rough draft	*brudnopis (*dirty writing)*
run a bar	*prowadzić bar (*lead a bar)*
sense of humour	*poczucie humoru (*feeling of humour)*
set a table	*nakryć stół (cover a table)*
stand trial	*stanąć przed sądem (stand in front of the court)*
stay put	*zostać na miejscu (*stay on place)*
stand chances of	*mieć szanse (have chances of)*
take somebody's temperature	*zmierzyć temperaturę (measure temperature)*
take notes	*robić notatki (*do notes)*

take part	*brać udział (*take participation)*
take pictures	*robić zdjęcia (make pictures)*
take place	*mieć miejsce (have place)*
take an exam	*zdawać egzamin (pass an exam[32])*
tell a lie	*powiedzieć kłamstwo (*say a lie)*
tell a story	*opowiedzieć historię (*say a story)*
tell the truth	*powiedzieć prawdę (*say the truth)*
try hard	*mocno próbować (*try strongly)*
ultimate goal	*cel ostateczny (final goal)*
vast majority	*ogromna większość (great majority)*
wage a war	*prowadzić wojnę (lead a war)*
warm welcome	*gorące powitanie (*hot welcome)*
work hard	*ciężko pracować (*work heavily)*

Many of the expressions are not marked with (*) because they are also possible but they have a different meaning or are less common. Without awareness-raising and practice, learners of the other language are likely to copy their own sequence of free lexical morphemes, thus affecting the shape of their interlanguage.

4.6. Conclusion

The issues discussed in this chapter concern morphology, the lexicon and syntactic complementation of free lexical morphemes (plus inflectional or derivational morphemes). Morphological dissections are impossible to carry out without references to lexical, semantic and syntactic issues and this shows how the areas are interconnected. (Lexical) Semantics as such is dealt with in the next chapter and syntax in Chapter Six.

There is more inflection in Polish, especially when it comes to nouns, verbs and adjectives. Polish noun morphology, unlike English (except for possessive case), encompasses inflection for all the cases which, together with number inflection, creates big lemmas. Polish adjective inflection creates an even bigger variety of forms which, when confronted with the modest-size English lemmas, poses a challenge for English learners of Polish. This calls for massive instructional effort. At least the same may be said about Polish inflection of verbs – a few English inflected forms correspond

[32] *Zdawać* means both *take* and *pass*.

to dozens of Polish forms. Polish pronouns, likewise, display a bigger variety of forms.

Prefixation poses a bigger challenge for Polish learners of English, especially in the case of negative prefixes. Other prefixation includes a variety of forms in both languages. English (derivational) suffixation displays more variety than Polish, and so, again, the Polish learner of English has more challenges to face. English conversion does not have a parallel process in Polish (Polish resorts to additive derivation), and the Polish learner of English needs to be taught that a change of category is frequently possible without a change of form (save for inflection). English back-formation is a subtractive process and lexical items created in this way are often translated into Polish by items created by additive processes. Here, learning the lexical equivalents should suffice. Acronyms are formed in both languages, but borrowing acronyms from English often leads to the formation of simplex lexical items in Polish. English blends are likewise borrowed into Polish as free lexical morphemes.

Positive lexico-semantic transfer takes place when the lexical form is similar and the core of the denotation is shared – in this chapter we have seen a multitude of such examples. In such cases language educators do not have much work to do – only provide instruction on (sometimes) slightly different spelling and (usually) slightly different pronunciation. The words look similar, sound similar, and apart from adjusting to the morphological and phonological system of the other language, learners have little other work to do[33]. False friends are more misleading and the educators need to carry out awareness-rasing activities as well as provide practice, or else the learner might well be led astray to express the wrong meanings with the wrong words.

Colligation concerns lexico-grammatical morphological sequences and, as we have seen, there is room for both positive and negative transfer. The exemplary lists cannot be exhaustive as there are thousands of such sequences, both parallel and non-parallel. What the language educator should do is show the patterns as the language course unfolds. Collocations, the combinations of free lexical morphemes, include both lexical correspondences and non-corresponding items. I have provided a list of some of those non-overlapping patterns which deserve the educator's attention.

[33] We are talking here about the learner's ability to recall lexical forms and their semantic content, not the ability to easily understand fluent speech, which needs years of practice.

Chapter Five: Comparing semantic content of lexical items and pragmatic content of expressions

5.1. Introduction

As stated in the previous chapter, morphology is closely interwoven with semantics. These areas cannot be separated and discussing components of language such as lexical morphemes or combinations of morphemes calls for a more extensive dissection of meaning as such. The issue of duality discussed in Chapter Two is also relevant here – in actual language, phonemes are almost always combined into morphemes, and sometimes, as shown in that chapter, individual phonemes stand for morphemes bearing meaning. Meaning is the essence of language in use and it deserves to be discussed extensively in a separate chapter.

In linguistics, the concept of meaning refers primarily to language units such as words or word combinations 'scaffolded' on phrase structure rules and syntax. Such language units are closely related to the conceptual (cognitive) structure of members of cultures such as Polish or Anglo-Saxon, and a description of lexical or phrasal semantics needs rounding out with an understanding of cognitive semantics. Therefore, the present chapter makes numerous references to both lexical/phrasal semantics as well as cognitive units, such as concepts.

The second section (5.2) deals with lexical semantics and its mappings onto cognitive structures: core meanings, different lexico-semantic fields (polysemy, lexical splits), antonymy, 'fuzzy' meanings, hyponymy, primitive and complex concepts and their lexicalisation across Polish and English, lexical and cultural substitution. Section 5.3 discusses phrasal semantics, including fixed expressions, compounds, phrasal verbs and idioms. Then we address the question of pragmatics and discourse structure. The areas just mentioned will be discussed, like all the other areas in this book, in terms of contrastive analysis carried out in order to identify components which involve facilitation or constitute a learning challenge.

5.2. Lexical correspondences

Lexical correspondences are lexical items with different form and overlapping core meanings, e.g. *window* and *okno*. I say 'core meanings' because items with the same basic meanings almost always have secondary denotations which

correspond to polysemic extensions. I address this issue in 5.2.1. Then we discuss the issue of different lexical organisation of similar conceptual content: the same conceptual structures are expressed by lexical items which either correspond in both languages or dissect semantic space in different ways. This is addressed in 5.2.2. Antonymic oppositions in Polish and English are considered next, which takes us into discussion on the 'fuzzy' boundaries between the denotations of words in Polish and English. After that, we turn our attention to hyponymic taxonomies which often display different structure in the two languages. One of the crucial issues to discuss is the distinction between primitive and complex concepts: while primitive concepts avail more positive semantic transfer, complex ones, cultural ones in particular, often give rise to negative transfer. In order to address this issue (negative transfer), language learners and translators often apply lexical and cultural substitution. This is dealt with in section 5.2.7

5.2.1. Core meanings and polysemic extensions

Words in English and Polish often share their core meanings, as in *window* and *okno*: these lexical equivalents denote an opening in the wall, usually glazed, to admit light and, when opened, air. There are thousands of words whose core meanings overlap. Let us list but a few examples. Both *eye* and *oko* refer to the sight organ, *ear* and *ucho* refer to the hearing organ, *car* and *samochód* denote devices in which people travel on land (except for *cable car*), *back* and *plecy/tył* denote hind positioning, *way* and *droga* signify directional indications for moving from point A to point B; finally, *room* and *pokój* mean a part of a building enclosed by a floor, ceiling and walls.

Although both *window* and *okno* share their core denotation (component of the structure of a building), their polysemic extentions do not overlap in each case. For example, in English we refer to a *shop window*, while in Polish this denotation is expressed by *wystawa sklepowa* ('shop exhibition'). Negative transfer may thus involve *a window exhibition* or *okno sklepowe*. Some of the polysemic extensions of *eye* and *oko* overlap and some others do not. *The eye of the storm* and *oko cyklonu* refer to the same component of weather structure, but the English *needle eye* is not translated correctly into Polish as *oko igielne* (it is *ucho igielne* - 'a needle ear') and the incorrect translation as *needle eye* or *oko igielne* is an example of negative transfer. Positive transfer for *car* and *samochód* is observed when we refer to a vehicle with four wheels and an engine transporting four or five people on land, but these words also have non-overlapping polysemic extensions. We refer to a *cable car* in English, which it would be wrong to translate

as *samochód linowy* (it is *kolejka linowa*). The Polish nominal compound *samochód ciężarowy* is not translated into English as *weight car* but rather as a *lorry*.

Back and *plecy/tył* are another example of non-overlapping polysemic extensions. The English *to back something* cannot be translated correctly as *plecować/tyłować* but rather as *poprzeć coś* ('support'). On the other hand, *być w plecy o dwadzieścia dolarów* should be translated as *be twenty dollars out* rather than *be twenty dollars in the back*. A similar situation may be observed with *room* and *pokój*. One of the English polysemic extensions of the English word refers to 'making room for something' and in Polish we speak of 'zrobić miejsce' ('make place'). In the cases just exemplified we have a situation where polysemic extensions of different (non-equivalent) lexical items converge on the same semantic value: *a window shop/wystawa sklepowa, a needle eye/ucho igielne, a cable car/kolejka linowa, to back somebody/wesprzeć kogoś, to make room/zrobić miejsce*. Preventing negative transfer (*needle ear, cable queue* etc.) will mean awareness raising and practice.

Other cases of polysemic extensions of different non-equivalent lexical items converging on the same semantic value are exemplified in the following list:

the head of a table	*czoło stołu (the forhead of a table*)*
a cat's whiskers	*kocie wąsy (a cat's moustache*)*
a lion's mane	*lwia grzywa (a lion's fringe*)*
to book a ticket	*zarezerwować bilet (to reserve a ticket[34])*
to do business	*robić interesy (to do interest*)*
on the other hand	*Z drugiej strony (On the other side*)*
to reach a point	*dojść do momentu (to reach a moment*)*
three times	*trzy razy (three ones*)*
to work miracles	*działać cuda (to act miracles*)*
to be in power	*być przy władzy (to be at authority*)*
to have the right	*mieć prawo (to have the law*)*
on somebody's behalf	*w czyimś imieniu (in somebody's name*)*
to be yellow	*być zielonym (to be green*)*
to take office	*objąć urząd (to take post*)*
to change one's mind	*zmienić zdanie (to change one's sentence*)*
home policy	*polityka krajowa (country's policy*)*
to learn by heart	*uczyć się na pamięć (to learn by memory*)*
on the house	*na koszt firmy (on the firm*)*

[34] The form *zabukować* is also used as a lexical borrowing.

capital letters	*wielkie litery (great letters*)*
groundless	*bezpodstawny (baseless*)*
the main character (novel)	*główna postać (the main figure*)*
all the interested parties	*wszystkie zainteresowane strony (interested sides*)*
give a ticket	*dać mandat (give a mandate*)*
a blank sheet of paper	*pusta kartka (an empty sheet*)*
a music band	*zespółó muzyczny (a music team*)*
a best man	*świadek (a witness*)*
beer head	*pianka (foam*)*
a bar of chocolate	*tabliczka czekolady (a little board of chocolate*)*
fast pace	*szybkie tempo (fast tempo*)*
meet someone	*poznać kogoś (get to know someone*)*
the river flows	*rzeka plynie (the river swims*)*

Many of the expressions marked with (*) may also be used but they would have a meaning different from the one given on the right. So, in many cases the asterisk does not mark incorrectness but rather an unintended meaning. Many of the items are often translated wrongly. Without instruction, Polish learners of English will often produce forms such as *a needle ear* or *the river swims* and English learners of Polish might well say *najlepszy człowiek (a best man)* instead of *świadek* or *na domu (on the house)* instead of *na koszt firmy*.

5.2.2. Lexical splits and underdifferentiation (coalescence)

There are many items which subsume two or more meanings in one language (underdifferentiation, coalescence) and the other language has developed separate lexical items for the different denotations (lexical split). For example, the Polish word *pożyczać* covers two concepts: 'give to someone for temporary use' and 'take from someone for temporary use'. The English lexical organisation of this fraction of semantic space 'forks out' into two forms: *lend* and *borrow*. Because the Polish learner is accustomed to using one word no matter which concept is meant, s/he often carries this habit over to English, using one word (usually *borrow*) for both concepts. We observe the opposite when there are two or more words in Polish and only one in English. The English word *nephew* refers to a male son of a brother or sister. Polish has two translations of this word: *bratanek* (son of brother) and *siostrzeniec* (son of sister). Lexical underdifferentation in one language and split in the other often result in negative transfer. Here is an exemplary list of such items:

Polish	*wójt* (head of rural self-government)
	burmistrz (head of a town)
	prezydent (head of a city)
English	*mayor*[35] (wójt, burmistrz or prezydent)
Polish	*wój* (mother's brother)
	stryj (father's brother)
English	*uncle* (mother's or father's brother)
Polish	*siostrzenica* (sister's daughter)
	bratanica (brother's daughter)
English	*niece* (sister's or brother's daughter.
Polish	*widelec* (item of cutlery: fork)
	widły (farming tool: fork)
	skrzyżowanie w kształcie litery 'Y' (a Y-junction)
English	*fork* (item of cutlery, farming tool or junction type)
Polish	*sarna* (smaller-size deer)
	jeleń (larger-size deer)
English	*deer* (smaller or bigger dear-like game)
Polish	*grać* na instrumencie (play an instrument)
	bawić się w ogrodzie (play in the garden)
English	*play* (an instrument, a game or have fun)
Polish	*tracić* pieniądze (lose money)
	gubić klucze (lose keys)
English	*lose* (money, time, keys etc.)
Polish	*ksziądz* (catholic priest)
	kapłan (any priest)
English	*priest* (of many religions)
Polish	*staw* (larger pond)
	bajoro (smaller pond)
English	*pond* (of any size)

[35] It should be noted that the scope of power and electoral procedures differ.

In examples such as these, the English learner of Polish faces a challenge which consists in splitting his/her L1 concept and learning two o more labels in Polish. This will certainly call for conceptual refinement and sometimes reorganisation. There are also numerous instances where it is Polish which underdifferentiates and English splits into two or more lexical items:

English	Polish
swim, sail, float	*pływać*
town, city	*miasto*
house, home	*dom*
error, mistake	*błąd*
earth, ground	*ziemia*
fingers, toes	*palce*
north, midnight	*północ*
south, midday	*południe*
glove, mitten	*rękawica*
judge, referee, umpire	*sędzia*
fault, guilt	*wina*
high, tall	*wysoki*
be shy, be ashamed	*wstydzić się*
fat, thick	*gruby*
secure, safe	*bezpieczny*
broad, wide	*szeroki*
till/by	*do*
since/for	*od* (perfect aspect)

One could go on extending the list; in this book there is no room for an exhaustive list of such cases of lexical split and underdifferentiation. The materials designer and teacher should make their readers or students aware of this phenomenon. Unless this happens, Polish learners of English will often produce forms such as *to swim across the Atlantic, It's your guilt, The judge blew his whistle, He fell from a tree and hit the earth, I live in a three-floor home, He leaned down and touched his fingers, She was ashamed to speak in front of the class, The wall is thirty centimetres fat, He is very wide-minded* or *I've been here since three years*. Negative transfer, as said earlier, consists in succumbing to the L1-based habit of using one label for more than one concept and transferring this habit to speech production in the target language.

5.2.3. Antonymy

Contrastive analyses of antonyms are also related to the polysemic nature of lexical items as well as underdifferentiation and lexical splits. A word in one language often has antonyms which do not correspond lexically in the other language. To take an example, the English word *slow* has two antonyms: *quick* and *fast*. Both these adjectives/adverbs are translated into Polish as *szybki/szybko*. Since Polish has one antonym of *powoli* (*slow/ly*), the Polish learner of English may select the wrong antonym of this word. Another English word with multiple antonyms is the adjective *wise* – the opposite semantic value may be expressed by *unwise, stupid* or *silly*. The Polish lexical equivalent of *wise* – *mądry* – has only got two antonyms: *niemądry (unwise, silly)* and *głupi (stupid, silly*) and thus the Polish learner of English often selects e.g., *stupid* instead of *silly*. Or let us consider the verb *to rise*: it has at least three antonyms: *fall, drop* and go *down*. The Polish equivalents of this verb – *wzrastać, podnosić się* – have only got one antonymic lexeme: *s/opadać* (in most contexts). Which antonym is at work in a given context is a relevant area of focus for a teacher of English who happens to come across such equivalents during the course of his/her teaching.

5.2.4. 'Fuzzy' meanings

The borderline between numerous concepts is often blurred; in other words, many meanings are 'fuzzy'. One of the best examples is the lexical pair *do* and *make*. Both verbs refer to carrying out an activity and there is no atomistically constructed definition of either of them. The most common solution educators adopt is to present a list of the most frequent collocations, e.g. *do homework, do the dishes, do gymnastics; make a mistake, make an effort, make a bed*. Both verbs translate into Polish as *robić* but many translations use different lexical items, e.g. *zmyć naczynia* (*wash the dishes*), *uprawiać gimnastykę* (*practise gymnastics*) or *popełnić błąd* (*commit a mistake*). So, on the one hand, the English learner of Polish faces the easy task of translating both *do* and *make* into one lexical form *robić*, but, on the other, s/he will need to learn many collocations which are not direct translations from English. The Polish learner faces a different kind of task – learn in which cases *robić* translates as *do* and in which cases as *make*. The teacher may attempt to provide definitions, but the above-mentioned policy of providing lists of collocations is a better solution.

Another pair of lexical items with blurred semantic boundaries are the common nouns *mistake* and *error*. The core meaning of the former may be defined as violating a rule which is known, and that of the latter – violating a rule which

is unknown. However, in common usage the words are used interchangeably. Instructions for tests usually contain the nominal compound 'error correction' even though the errors may in many cases refer to mistakes because the violated rules are usually known. Both *error* and *mistake* are translated into Polish as *błąd*, no matter whether the violated rule is known or unknown. Again, the English learner of Polish has an easy cognitive task because both concepts translate into one lexical form, and the Polish learner of English faces the task of telling apart the 'fuzzy' concepts of 'error' and 'mistake'.

Then we have 'fuzzy' concepts represented lexically by one form in English and two or more in Polish. The first example is that of *a/to play*. One may *play football, play hide and seek* and one may go to the theatre to *watch a play*. These different conceptual entities are represented in Polish by different lexical forms: *grać w piłkę, bawić się w chowanego* and *obejrzeć sztukę*. This is similar to underdifferentiation and lexical splits, but in cases such as this we deal with fuzziness. Although the Polish word *sztuka* is translated as *play* in this context, more prototypically this Polish word is translated as *art*. Thus we are presented with one category merging gradually into another and it is frequently represented lexically in different ways.

We may also consider the meaning of *artist*. Prototypically this common noun refers to a person who paints, makes sculptures or performs music. The Polish equivalent is *artysta*. There are also more peripheral uses of the English word which have different Polish translations. A person who practises martial arts is referred to as *martial artist* but in Polish one cannot say *artysta sztuk walki*; we should say *adept sztuk walki*. Central areas of conceptual space are often translated into lexical equivalents and peripheral areas of a concept often have different lexical translations.

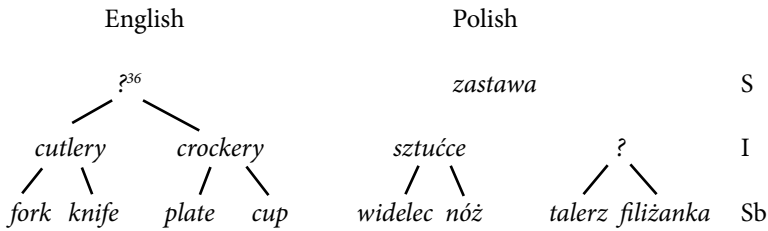
Another example of a 'fuzzy' concept is that of a *hat*. This semantic entity gradually merges into a *cap*. The corresponding Polish semantic space also distinguishes between *kapelusz* and *czapka,* but the borderline is blurred at different areas of this space. What is still a *hat* (a more 'cap-like hat) in English is already *czapka* in Polish. And let us also recall the example of a *fork*, which, prototypically, refers to a handle 'forking out' into two or more pointed endings, or prongs. The Polish concept has different translations and concepts such as *widły* (farming tool) are also 'fuzzy'. Prototypically, it refers to a three-or-four-pronged tool, but the more prongs and the more curved they are, the more likely it is to be called *grabie* (*a rake*). Although the very word *rake* translates into Polish as *grabie*, both concepts are 'fuzzy' and the polysemic extensions have different lexical translations (*fork – widelec, widły, skrzyżowanie w kształcie litery Y* etc.). Semantic space involving 'fuzzy' categories is organised lexically in different ways and learners

face the task of appreciating the different points at which borderlines divide lexical representations.

5.2.5. Hyponymic taxonomies and hyponymic substitutions

There are a lot of parallel hyponymic taxonomies, where lexical equivalents on the basic level are semantically subsumed by superordinate lexical equivalents. Such overlapping taxonomies allow for positive transfer. *A horse* and *a sheep* are *mammals* just like *koń* and *owca* are what we call in Polish *ssaki*. Both the superordinates (*a mammal, ssak*) and the hyponyms (*a horse, koń; a sheep, owca*) are lexical equivalents and, if learning difficulty arises, it will not do so on account of hyponymy. *Furniture* and *meble* are another example of superordinate lexical equivalents and the meanings of the hyponyms also overlap, e.g., *a table – stół, a chair – krzesło, a wardrobe – szafa*, though it will be remembered that in both languages there are borderline exemplars of the 'furniture' category, where one thinks twice before saying that an item is a piece of furniture, e.g., *a keyboard stand* or *a toy box*.

Non-overlapping taxonomies pose learning difficulty. There are basic-level category items which have a superordinate in one language but not in the other. While both *a fork* and *widelec* have superordinate terms which are lexical equivalents (*cutlery, sztućce*), the English language lacks a common lexical equivalent for *zastawa*. This Polish word subsumes both cutlery and crockery and this language does not have an equivalent for the latter (*porcelana* is a more general term and the equivalent in English is *china*). In English *a knife* and *a plate* belong to two different categories ('cutlery', 'crockery') while in Polish to one category - 'zastawa'. The superordinate of *widelec* (fork) is *sztućce* (cutlery) and the superordinate of the latter is *zastawa*.



where
S – superordinate, I – intermediate, Sb – subordinate.

[36] There are lexical items, such as *tableware*, but they are by far less commonly used than the Polish *zastawa*.

The missing slots in the taxonomies require a certain amount of cognitive labour which consists in building new concepts.

Then we need to deal with idiomatic or proverbial cases, where different hyponyms are used for the same concept. *Like a bull in a china shop* translates as *jak słoń* (elephant) *w sklepie z porcelaną*. Negative transfer would have the learner say *like an elephant in a china shop* or *jak byk w sklepie z porcelaną*. Such different hyponymic instantiations of the same superordinates in order to convey the same meaning demand additional lexical instruction. Similarly, *One swallow doesn't make a summer* translates as *Jedna jaskółka nie czyni wiosny* (spring). This hyponymic change probably results from the fact that in Poland swallows appear in an earlier season than in England, but the reader might want to consult an ornithologist to make sure.

Owing to cultural differences, both languages sometimes have different basic-level prototypes for the same superordinate category. As I have demonstrated (Kuczyński 2007a), the Polish prototype for Christmas-Eve meal is carp, while in the Anglo-Saxon culture the first Christmas meal is, my study showed, turkey. Apart from cultural differences, there are natural ones. While the English prototype for the superordinate *a bird* is *a robin*, the Polish prototype for *ptak* is *wróbel* (in most members of my study population). Because concrete nouns are best learnt through prototypical instantiations (Kuczyński 2005), different prototypes should be used in visual aids. Many other categories will to a larger or smaller extent differ in prototypicality, e.g. *a house, a tree* or *a car,* thus a Polish teacher teaching Polish to English native speakers and vice versa should bear this in mind to make the learning process optimal.

5.2.6. Lexical correspondences and primitive/complex concepts

As was shown in Chapter Two, universal primitive concepts tend to have lexical translations across languages. For example, the primary pronoun *I* is translated as *ja*, so positive conceptual transfer can be anticipated. However, in some cases the matter is more complicated. The English second-person pronoun has two translations in Polish – one pronoun for singular second person and one for plural. But this does not mean that in English there is one concept. Anglo-Saxons conceptualise both singularity and plurality, so the lexical underdifferentiation merely subsumes two separate concepts. The English learner of Polish will need to learn two lexical forms for two concepts – second-person singular (*ty*) and second-person plural (*wy*).

Many complex concepts are also expressed by lexical correspondences, where the semantic structure of an entity in one language maps neatly onto

that in the other. For example, the complex concept *prison* (it is complex because it can be defined in terms of smaller, often more primitive concepts, such as place, secluded, go, somebody, break, law) consists of the same semantic atoms as the Polish lexical equivalent *więzienie*. In this way positive conceptual transfer takes place and all the learner needs to do is map the existing concept onto the corresponding word in the other language. One may think of many such concepts which are related to globalised ways of organising public administration, e.g., *school-szkoła, university-uniwersytet, court-sąd*.

In many other cases, however, the conceptual structure expressed by lexical equivalents (correspondences) is not identical. The English word *government* translates as *rząd*, but the semantic attributes are different. In Poland, the government is chosen[37] by parliament and formally appointed by the President and it has its prime minister, but in the USA it is the president who chooses the government and there is no prime minister (presidential system of power). In such cases, the complex concepts do not map easily across the two languages and certain conceptual reformulations need to be made. We can also exemplify this phenomenon by the already discussed Polish action verb *pływać*. It is a semantically complex concept which consists of more primitive concepts like *move, across or in, water*. English splits this concept into a few lexical forms: *swim* – move across or in water by moving limbs or other outgrowths, *sail* – move across water by boat or vessel, *float* – move passively on the surface of water. All these words translate into Polish as *pływać*: *On płynie – He is swimming, On pływa – He sails, Butelka pływa – The bottle floats*. Owing to the Polish lexical underdifferentiation for the three concepts, negative transfer is often observed: *On pływa przez Atlantyk – He is swimming across the Atlantic,* or *W stawie pływa martwa ryba – A dead fish is swimming in the pond.* We can also illustrate the phenomenon in question by the already mentioned English word *Mayor* and its three Polish translations: *wójt, burmistrz, prezydent*. *Wójt* is a mayor of a commune which consists only of villages, *burmistrz* is a mayor of a community which consists of a town and several villages, whereas *prezydent* – a mayor of a city with population larger than 50 thousand. Because of the English lexical underdifferentation, wrong Polish words may be selected by English learners of Polish and semantically incorrect phrases sych as *burmistrz Warszawy* may be used.

[37] In fact, the procedure is more complex: the President designates a candidate to form the cabinet which is to be approved by parliament.

5.2.7. Lexical and cultural substitution

Idiomatic expressions rarely consist of sequences of lexical equivalents in both languages, but it does occur, sometimes owing to lexical translation, as in the case of the English *smoking gun* and its Polish translation – *dymiący pistolet*. Most often, however, idiomatic expressions consist of words which are not lexical equivalents, although the corresponding idioms express the same or very similar denotation. We will mention two kinds of such substitution: lexical and cultural.

Lexical substitution need not involve culture-bound content and the same meaning is merely expressed by different strings of words: *Round the clock – 24 godziny na dobę (24 hours a dobe), to get through – dodzwonić się (call your way through), as sure as hell – jak amen w pacierzu (like an amen in a prayer), once in a blue moon – raz na ruski rok (once a Russian year*). Idioms in both languages consist of different words which convey universal concepts (e.g., *call, hour, round, clock, hell* etc.) and they frequently involve negative transfer: *Thank you from the mountain (Thank you in advance), Disattach yourself! (Odczep się!), As sure as the amen in a prayer (As sure as hell), Kick in the calendar (kick the bucket), to walk on thin ice (to skate on thin ice).*

Lexical substitution was also discussed in 5.2.5 in terms of hyponymic taxonomies. In cultural substitution, sometimes one word and sometimes the whole phrase, are products of culture. Unlike in lexical substitution, which expresses the same semantic content, cultural substitution only approximates the meaning in the target language. It is frequently based on different cultural attitudes: *Like a Dutch uncle – chytry jak Szkot (as mean as a Scott).* In many cases one language uses a cultural concept but the other – universal: *to talk turkey (bird – a universal concept) – mówić chińszczyzną (to speak Chinese)*. Both lexical and cultural as well as universal-to cultural substitution is frequent and it affects the shape of the lexico-semantic layer of interlanguage.

5.2.8. Conclusions for instruction

In this section we have discussed issues which are related to one another, and repetitions are not an inadvertent error but a deliberate effort to highlight the interconnectivity of the issues. Semantic cores of universal concepts may overlap but their polysemic extensions often do not and in many cases we deal with a situation where an extension in Polish is substituted by a different extension in English. Additional instruction time should be anticipated for presentation, practice and production. Substitution is also observed for hyponymic taxonomies in idiomatic expressions, where the superordinate terms are shared but the hyponymic

instantiation is different; additionally substitution often plays a role in translating expressions containing cultural and universal complex concepts. Here, too, didactic attention is necessary. Primitive universal concepts do not involve conceptual reformulations but the learner needs to know that their lexical representations need not stand in word-to-word relations. Concepts are often fuzzy and the boundaries between two neighbouring semantic structures are not clear-cut; Polish and English often place the blurred borderline at different points. Massive input and contextual labour are necessary for a correct appreciation of such differences and a correct use of such items. Concepts also tend to display tendencies to be lexically represented in different ways where underdifferentiation and splits are involved. Defining the concepts in Polish and English and production practice are a must. Finally, antonyms may, but do not have to, display parallels. Again, educators face the need to provide their learners with adequate presentation and activities.

5.3. Transparency and opaqueness

It will be remembered that transparent expressions are those which consist of lexical items whose semantic content contributes directly to the meaning of the phrase and opaque ones are those whose meaning is not a sum total of the meanings of their constitutive parts. In this section we shall discuss fixed expressions, compounds (nominal and other), phrasal verbs and semi-opaque as well as opaque idioms.

5.3.1. Fixed expressions

Fixed expressions are usually transparent; sometimes they have a word-to-word translation in the other language, but in many cases different lexical items are involved. The former case may be illustrated by the English adverbial of frequency *from time to time*, which is directly translated into Polish (*od czasu do czasu*) or *from top to bottom* (*od góry do dołu*). It may also be exemplified by the pair *to tell the truth* and *prawdę mówiąc*, but here we can observe different morphosyntactic structures. The English fixed phrase contains an infinitive and object, while the Polish one object plus participle. Such grammatical differences, however, will not be a problem if learners are taught the expressions as prefabricated chunks of speech. They are in fact direct lexical translations embedded in different morphological shapes.

In many cases, however, different universal concepts and their lexical representations are used. The English sentence-head *If I were you …* is typically

translated as *Na twoim miejscu ...* (On you place, in your position). Other examples of such pairs are *Leave me alone!* and *Daj mi spokój!* (Give me peace!) or *It remains to be seen* and *To się jeszcze okaże*, although in the latter case the contexts in which the expressions are used may sometimes be different. The communicative function of such structures is the same and, again, the learner needs to learn them holistically. It needs to be added here that in such pairs the constituent parts need to be known (Kuczyński 2005), although there are scholars (e.g., Lewis 1994) who would rather the learners learnt the phrases first and then deduced the meanings of the constituent components.Then there are instances of pairs in which the expression is transparent in one language and semi-transparent or semi-opaque in the other. Let us take *It is raining cats and dogs* and *Leje jak z cebra* (It is raining like from a pail). The former is semi-transparent and will be learnt easily providing the constituent parts are known, while the latter – transparent.

5.3.2. Compounds

As explained in Chapter Two, compounds are lexical items consisting of more than one free morpheme. There are many compounds which contain the equivalent lexical morphemes, such as *black&white* and *czarno-biały* or *to remote-detonate* (*zdetonować zdalnie*). Here, the learning burden is minimal providing the corresponding free morphemes are known. There are numerous cases where the function of the compound is the same but they contain free morphemes which are not lexical equivalents, as in *Moreover, ...* and *Ponadto, …* (Above this). Such conjuncts are usually taught as whole words without the learner analysing them in terms of the constituent parts.

Let us turn to nominal compounds now. Although the translation pairs, such as *a head-hunter* and *łowca głów,* may consist of the corresponding free lexical morphemes and in both cases the meaning is semi-transparent, the prosody is different. In the English compound word, stress is moved from the nominal head to the modifier but in Polish it is not. The stress is not moved in other categories of compounds, e.g., adjectival (*black&white, biało-czarny*) or adverbial (*inside out, do góry nogami*). Learners need to be taught the correct word stress. Many a time what is a compound in one language is a single lexical morpheme in the other, as in the case of *a blackboard* and *tablica* (*tablica* can be translated as either *blackboard* or *whiteboard*) but this is not a problem in that both words are usually learnt without analysis of morphological structure.

5.3.3. Phrasal verbs

Phrasal verbs (PV) are common in English and non-existent in Polish, or at least I cannot come up with any (The reader might well want to find some) and therefore constitute a challenging learning task. A typical phrasal verb is semi-transparent or opaque in that the meaning of the whole is not a sum of the meanings of the constituent parts:

to boil over – transparent
to move on (continue) – semi-transparent
to to bring up a subject – semi-opaque,
to bring somebody up (raise) – opaque.

In the second example one can usually work out the meaning of the PV from context without being instructed. In the third, guessing from context may or may not be successful, but once the learner discovers or is told the meaning, s/he can see the semantic connections. In the last one, even after being told what the PV means, one may find it hard to establish the connections.

A phrasal verb is an expression which consists of a lexical verb and a particle:

lexical verb	particle
take	*in*
get	*up*
bring	*up*
move	*in*

An English phrasal verb is usually translated into Polish as a single lexical verb:

take in – zrozumieć, get up – wstać, bring up – wychowywać, podnosić kwestię

and may be intransitive (*get up – wstać, move in – wprowadzić się*) or transitive (*take it in – zrozumieć to, bring up children – wychowywać dzieci*). The English intransitive phrasal verb, as illustrated by *move in – wprowadzić się,* is often translated into Polish reflexive Verb Phrases:

English		Polish	
lexical verb	particle	lexical verb	reflexive pronoun
move	*in*	*wprowadzić*	*się*
Verb Phrase		Verb Phrase	

Polish learners of English need to learn the notion of phrasal verbs and memorise those of them which are selected for language instruction. English learners of Polish will need to learn that in Polish reflexive VPs are more frequent than in English. In English and Polish, we use the reflexive pronoun to indicate that the Subject is at the same time an Object (*hurt oneself – zranić się, see oneself – widzieć się/siebie*) but in Polish the reflexive pronoun is also used, as we have seen, in intransitive Vps (*wprowadzić się – move in, ogolić się – shave*).

An intransitive English phrasal verb and its Polish lexical equivalent can usually be followed by a Prepositional Phrase:

get	*up*	*in*	*the*	*afternoon*
lex. verb	particle	prep.	article	Noun
phrasal verb				Noun Phrase
			Prepositional Phrase	
		Verb Phrase		

wstać	*po*	*południu*
verb	prep.	Noun
	Prepositional Phrase	
Verb Phrase		

so learning the structure of adjunct (here PP) should not pose a learning burden. Learning burden will, on the other hand, be expected in the case of the distinction between English splitting and non-splitting phrasal verb. A splitting PV is complemented by object if the latter is instantiated by a Noun Phrase but when the NP is replaced with a pronoun, the latter precedes the particle:

to bring up children *to bring them up.*

A non-splitting PV is complemented either by a NP or a pronoun:

to look after children *to look after them.*

The Polish learner of English is in for quite a burdensome task because lists of both splitting and non-splitting PVs are lengthy. The advanced learner of English will be well-advised to make the following distinction: A splitting PV consists of a lexical verb and a particle, as in

bring	*up*	*children*
lex. Verb	part.	Object
PV		
Verb Phrase		

while a non-splitting one is in fact a lexical verb followed by a PP:

look	*after*	*children*
lex. Verb	prep.	NP
	PP	
Verb Phrase		

It may be pointed out here that splitting PVs are seldom completely transparent but nonsplitting ones are often transparent: *to look at something, to reach for something* or *to send for someone.* It might even be argued that non-splitting PVs are not in fact full-fledged phrasal verbs, but this calls for a certain amount of descriptive knowledge without which the advanced learner, especially a prospective teacher, might be deprived of an opportunity to develop a more accurate understanding of the matter in question.

5.3.4. Idioms and levels of opaqueness

An idiom is by nature an expression whose semantic content does not equal the sum total of the denotations of the constituent parts. The already mentioned *skate on thin ice* is semi-transparent and it is translated into a semi-transparent phrase in Polish: *stąpać po cienkim lodzie*. But levels of transparency need not overlap. Let us consider again the aforementioned *kick the bucket* and *kopnąć w kalendarz*. The English idiom is fully opaque because even when we know its meaning, most of us fail to see the semantic connections between *a bucket* and *dying*. The Polish one might be regarded as semi-transparent or semi-opaque (whether an idiom is semi-transparent or semi-opaque is a matter of the learner's subjective judgements) because there is a more or less clear link between *a cal-*

endar and one's lifetime. Therefore, the English learner of Polish has a simpler cognitive task here than a Polish learner of English.

An idiom does not have to be translated into the other language as idiom. There are many idioms in English which are translated into transparent phrases in Polish and the other way round.

English idiom *to sit on the fence*	Polish expression (transparent) *nie móc się zdecydować*
Polish idiom *zadłużyć się w kimś*	English expression (transparent) *to fall in love with somebody*

One can always look for more or less corresponding idioms but cases such as the ones above are numerous: an idiom in one language must be learnt as a whole, which is a challenge, but its translation may be transparently constructed from known parts and morphosyntactic rules.

5.3.5. Conclusions for instruction

Certain levels of opaqueness characterise many compounds, most non-splitting phrasal verbs and all idioms and we may talk about complete transparency in the case of fixed phrases or non-splitting verb phrases. The distinction between semantic transparency and opaqueness is one of the key issues to be considered while discussing learning a foreign language. Semantic transparency facilitates learning a phrase as long as the constituent parts are known and semantic opaqueness contributes to learning burden. Because purely opaque idioms show no semantic links between constituents and the whole, we can, as I have argued (Kuczyński 2002, 2005), propose that such idioms be taught even when not all constituents are known, but at least partial reference to the learner's knowledge of morphosyntactic rules will usually be necessary.

5.4. Addressing interlocutors and organising discourse

Addressing interlocutors or participants of situational context is often similar in both languages. Phrases such as *Hey you! - Hej ty!, Come here! - Podejdź tutaj!* or *Come to the blackboard – Podejdź do tablicy* illustrate this. In the first example both expressions sound informal, if not offensive, and in the second we deal

with identical way of giving commands in the imperative mood. But if we look at *Could you open the window, please? - Mógłbyś otworzyć okno?* We can see that, although both forms are polite, the English one is more so on account of the particle *please*. Polish learners of English need to learn that in English, especially British English, politeness is one of the key patterns of behaviour. Unless this learning takes place, they may inadvertently sound slightly offensive. English learners of Polish, on the other hand, tend to transfer the habit of sounding very polite in social interaction in Polish and, as a result, sound too polite.

In Polish we use either the title plus first and last name or only the title plus first name without last name (surname): *Panie Janie…* (Mr Jan…). If we want to use only first name in English, we usually do not use the title: *John…*,and this is less formal than the Polish way of addressing people by the first name. Negative transfer may therefore occur: Polish learners will produce forms such as *Mr John, …* and English learners of Polish will say *Janie, …* even if the setting is formal. Therefore, awareness raising is necessary.

In Polish we have one way of addressing ladies formally : *Pani…* and in English we use *Mrs…* or *Ms.*We use *Mrs* if we know the addressee to be married or widowed and we use *Ms* if we do not want to refer to marital status. Polish learners of English therefore need additional instruction lest they produce forms such as *Mrs…* for unmarried women[38].

In both cultures we ask questions such as *How are you? How's things? Jak się miewasz? Jak leci?* when we meet someone for the first time during a day. In English, it is a polite form but the speaker is not in fact usually interested in the addressee's mood and the latter is expected to say that things are fine. Otherwise, s/he signals some serious problems and a conversation concerning the problem is supposed to follow. In Polish, we may inform the speaker about our mood, be it good or bad, possibly including unwelcome developments, but in most cases we will also say that we are fine. The Polish learner of English needs to be instructed to respond in a positive way without elaborating on the current goings on and the English learner of Polish will be well-advised to expect that in some cases true information will be provided.

Both cultures usually use direct and indirect speech acts (e.g., Yule 1996) in similar ways. In direct speech acts, the expected illocutionary force corresponds to grammatical mood (declarative clauses inform, imperative mood commands and interrogative mood requests information or, politely, actions). When we say *I feel bad*, we merely inform the interlocutor about our current psychosomatic

[38] Whether a woman is married or not, the term 'Mrs' is used by some as a generic term in situations where one cannot know the status, though some will also use 'Miss' in the same way.

condition; *Come to me* requests action, *Could you open the window* requests action in a polite way, and *Are you doing your homework* merely signals the speaker's desire to be informed about the addressee's current action. In indirect speech acts, grammatical mood does not correspond to the expected illocutionary force: declarative or interrogative mood is used to request action, usually politely: *It's late* ("Let's finish for today"); *Isn't it time to get down to your homework?* ("Get down to your homework"). The pragmatics of using direct and indirect speech acts is similar in both languages and therefore positive transfer is anticipated.

Organising discourse may be similar or different. It is similar in, for example, using what Yule (1996) calls 'completion point' and in turn-taking: the speaker, by means of falling prosody and a pause, signals that it is the interlocutor's turn to produce an utterance. Similarly, complying with the Cooperative Principle (Yule 1996, referring to Grice) is expected in both cultures. We should see to it that the information provided reflects actual reality (maxim of quality), we should provide no less or more information which is required (maxim of quantity), utterances should be relevant to the ongoing discourse (maxim of relation) and they should be organised in accordance with the rules of cohesion (maxim of manner). As regards different ways of organising discourse, English Curriculum Vitae and traditional Polish CV differ in organisation. English employs standardised forms which give clear and specific information. Polish schools, on the other hand, used to teach a different model. Students used to produce a few pages of running text organised into an opening paragraph, the body of the text and a closing paragraph. In recent years, however, companies and institutions have adopted the Anglo-Saxon format, so now positive transfer in discourse organisation is observed.

5.5. Conclusion

Semantic content is mapped onto the lexical and morphosyntactic ways in both parallel and non-parallel ways. Parallel structures enable positive transfer and non-parallel cause negative. Where there is parallel structure, massive practice is not necessary and awareness raising as to the 'sameness' plus some production activities will usually suffice. Non-parallel structures pose a learning burden and awareness-raising will not do as L1-shaped habits are stronger than the results of more recent learning (L2) and therefore new knowledge is "overridden" by such habits. Hence, massive practice is necessary.

Where there are lexical correspondences, the semantic core is wholly or largely shared, but the polysemic extensions need not be so. Besides, semantic

fields are usually organised in different ways, meanings are usually fuzzy, splits and underdifferentiation draw borderlines between concepts at different points in semantic fields, so words in L2 are used beyond their conceptual limits. The correct shaping of semantic content of many lexical items will not occur merely by awareness-raising and formal instruction. Massive input should be provided so that hundreds of exposures to a word or phrase in different contexts gradually 'cut' the meanings into the right shape. The learner simply needs to read and listen to authentic texts on a daily basis. Formal instruction should always be accompanied by natural acquisition.

Learners should be taught that hyponymic taxonomies need not overlap and relearning is necessary in such cases. Similarly, because antonym pairs not always overlap, wrong adjectives and adverbs may be used to produce a contra-statement, leading to miscomprehension and thus miscommunication. On the other hand, universal concepts, both primitive and complex, enable positive transfer as the meanings of the former and the core meanings of the latter overlap, so positive semantic transfer in the area of conventionally recognised denotation is possible. When it comes to connotations, they vary across cultures and, as I have demonstrated (Kuczyński 2007a), the learner switches associations alongside switching the language. Learners need to be taught about different cultural attitudes.

Transparent fixed phrases will be learned more easily when the constituents are already known. It is easy to learn fixed phrases which consist of lexical correspondences, but when a fixed phrase consists of different words (lexical substitution), more instruction is necessary. Yet more is required in cases of cultural substitution because the learner needs to internalise new semantic content and build connections between this content and new lexical forms. Learning non-transparent items is a yet bigger cognitive challenge and they are best taught and acquired as separate lexical items. Knowing the constituents will be helpful with semi-transparent and semi-opaque idioms; opaque idioms are often acquired as non-analysed unitary wholes.

Speakers of the two languages adopt similar and different patterns of verbal behaviour and thus both positive and negative pragmatic transfer is observed. In order to prevent the latter, awareness raising and practising situational language are necessary. Without this, misinterpretation of communicative intention may take place, thus leading either to breakdown in communication or possibly producing embarrassing situations. Pragmatic competence is part of a broadly understood semantic competence and, like any other competence, is to be attained through lengthy periods of habit formation.

Chapter Six: Comparing sentence components and sentence structure

6.1. Introduction

Phonological, morphological and semantic components of language are organised into utterances by means of syntax – rules to construct correct phrases, clauses, complex sentences and larger bodies of text. Many of the ways in which language is organised syntactically are parallel, and so positive transfer facilitates learning but, as we are well aware, there are also different patterns. This chapter will explore both similarities and differences; we shall draw a map of transfer possibilities in the grammatical "scaffolding" of language. We shall first discuss Verb Phrases, then Noun Phrases and other types. A large part of the chapter is devoted to exploring similarities and differences in clauses, both finite and non-finite, as well as complex sentence structure.

6.2. The structure of Verb Phrases

A Verb Phrase provides information about actions, accomplishments, states or changes, either momentary or progressive. A VP consists of a Verb Group alone (*work/s*), Verb Group plus complement or complements (*does homework, sent me a letter*), Verb Group plus adjunct or adjuncts (*is swimming in the lake, is swimming in the lake at the moment*) and Verb Group plus complement/s plus adjunct/s (*is doing homework at the moment, is sending me a letter at the post office at the moment*). If a VG consists of one verb, in an independent declarative sentence it is a lexical finite intransitive verb in English. If it consists of two verbs, it contains an auxiliary, either primary or modal, and a lexical verb. A three-verb English VG begins with a primary or modal aux. followed by a primary aux. and a lexical verb. In Polish, bimodal VGs are possible* (*musisz umieć pływać – you must can swim*). A four-verb one begins with a modal verb followed by two auxiliary and one lexical verb. A VG begins and ends with a verb and a VP begins with a verb and ends with a verb or word of another category. In this section we shall discuss the following VGs: intransitive, intensive, monotransitive, ditransitive, complex transitive and prepositional. We should point out here that a verb often belongs to more than one category, depending upon valency (whether or not and how many complements it takes in a particular context).

6.2.1. Intransitive VGs

An intransitive VG takes no object or other complement. Both languages abound in such verbs:

He is swimming – On płynie;
She is eating – Ona je;
They are arguing – Kłócą się.

As shown earlier, many English intransitive verbs are translated into Polish as a VP containing a lexical verb and a reflexive pronoun:

He is shaving – On goli się (On się goli);
She must wash – Ona musi się umyć;
The baby is playing – Dziecko bawi się.

The English learner of Polish needs to be taught which Polish intransitive verbs are reflexive. The teacher can tell them that in such cases the English translations may also be followed by reflexive pronouns (*On się myje – He is washing himself*) but this tip will not cover all cases (*Dziecko bawi się – The baby is playing*).

An English VG may be intransitive or transitive:

She is working – Ona pracuje;
He can work miracles – On może zdziałać cuda.

In such cases, the English verb has different translations in Polish (*pracuje, zdziałać*). Other examples:

They have made up – Pogodzili się;
They will make it up – nadrobią to;
I couldn't make up for the wasted time – Nie mogłem nadrobić straconego czasu.

The list of intransitive verbs includes the following examples:

*agree** – zgodzić się*	*appear*** – pojawić się*	*arrive** – przybyć*
collapse – runąć	*cough – kaszleć*	*cry – płakać*
die – umrzeć	*disappear – zniknąć*	*emerge – wyłonić się*

exist – istnieć	*explode – wybuchnąć*	*fade – wyblaknąć*
fall – upaść	*fast – pościć*	*float** – pływać*
fly – latać	*grow – rosnąć*	*happen – stać się*
*jump** – skakać*	*kneel – klęczeć*	*last (endure) – przetrwać*
*laugh** – śmiać się*	*leap – skakać*	*learn* – uczyć się*
live – żyć*	*march – maszerować*	*move** – ruszać się*
occur – zdarzyć się	*panic – panikować*	*party – imprezować*
pause – pauzować	*pray – modlić się*	*read* – czytać*
relax – relaksować się	*relent – ulec*	*remain – pozostać*
*respond** – odpowiedzieć*	*rise – wstać, wzrosnąć*	*run – biec*
sail – pływać	*scream – wrzeszczeć*	*sigh – wzdychać*
*sit** – siedzieć*	*sleep – spać*	*smell*** - śmierdzieć*
*smile** – uśmiechać się*	*sneeze – kichać*	*spit – pluć*
*stand** – stać*	*swim – pływać*	*vanish – znikać*
*walk** – chodzić*	*wonder – zastanawiać się*	*wave** – machać*

*also occurs as monotransitive, ** also occurs as prepositional, *** also occurs as intensive,

Since intransitive verbs take no object, the structure of the VP is simple as in both languages the verb alone is a complete VP or a VG+Adjunct – hence large amounts of positive transfer.

6.2.2. Intensive VGs

Intensive, or copulative, VGs take one complement: Subject Predicative – in both languages:

She is my sister – Ona jest moją siostrą;
He seems tired – Wygląda na zmęczonego;
It appeared to be a waste of time – To okazało się być stratą czasu;
It looks bad – źle wygląda;
I'll become a doctor – Zostanę lekarzem;
The meat smells bad – Mięso źle pachnie;*
This tastes delicious – To pysznie smakuje*
They seem to be tired – Wydają się być zmęczeni.

*also occurs as monotransitive

In English, Subject Predicatives are instantiated by NPs (*He is my brother*), APs (*He is smart*), PPs (*This joke was over the top*) or non-finite VGs (*This is to be done today*). In Polish, they are also complemented by Adverb Phrases (*Ty źle wyklądasz – You look bad* [lit. *badly*]), something the English learner of Polish needs to learn. If they do not learn it, negative transfer will occur and sentences such as *Wyglądasz zły* may be produced. The Polish learner of English should learn that Subject Predicatives are instantiated by Adjective, Not Adverb, Phrases, lest they say *This cake tastes deliciously*.

The issue of Adjective vs. Adverb Phrase as a Subject Predicative needs further exploration. Polish learners of English need to be aware that, unlike in Polish, the expletive pronoun *it* is complemented by a copulative verb plus Adjective Phrase, not Adverb Phrase:

English	Polish
It is cold.	*Jest zimno* (*It is coldly**).
It is dark.	*Jest ciemno* (*It is darkly**).
It is warm.	*Jest ciepło* (*It is warmly**).

This is because Subject is always a NP and NPs are described by Adjective, not Adverb, Phrases.

6.2.3. Monotransitive VGs

In both languages monotransitive Verb Groups are complemented by Noun Phrases (Objects) which occupy the position of grammatical Subject in Passive Voice:

I'll do it - *It will be done;*
Zrobię to - *To będzie zrobione,*

so positive transfer is possible. Learners of both languages need to learn passive participles. Additionally, the English learner of Polish needs to know that there is another possible transformation – that from Active Voice to an impersonal structure:

Zrobię to (I'll do it) – To będzie zrobione (It will be done) – To się zrobi (One will do it).

And, in Polish, not only *być (to be)* can be used as passive auxiliary verb:

To będzie zrobione (It will be done) = To zostanie zrobione (It will become done).

English learners of Polish need to learn that the verb *zostać* (*become*) has frequent use in the Passive Voice, and Polish learners of English should know that this verb is not used in passive, or else sentences such as *He became wounded* may be produced.

When the above has been learnt, positive transfer may be expected for hundreds of verbs. Here is a list of the most common ones:

do	*- robić*	*say**	*- powiedzieć*
know	*- wiedzieć, znać*	*take*	*- brać, wziąć*
see	*- widzieć*	*want*	*- chcieć*
use	*- używać*	*find***	*- znaleźć*
tell	*- powiedzieć, opowiedzieć*	*work****	*- zdziałać (cuda)*
*call*****	*- nazywać, dzwonić do*	*ask******	*- zadać*
need	*- potrzebować*	*feel*******	*- czuć*
*leave********	*- opuszczać*	*turn on/off*	*- w(y)łączyć*
keep	*- trzymać*	*begin*	*- zaczynać*
*start********	*- zaczynać*	*show******	*- pokazać*
*hear********	*- słyszeć*	*play*********	*- g rać*
*run********	*- prowadzić (interes)*	*move********	*- poruszyć*
like	*- lubieć*	*live********	*- żyć (życiem)*
believe	*- wierzyć*	*hold*	*- trzymać*
*bring******	*- przynieść*	*write*********	*- napisać*
provide	*- dostarczyć*	*lose*	*- zgubić, stracić*
*meet********	*- spotykać*	*include*	*- zawierać*
set	*- nastawić*	*learn********	*- uczyć się*
*change********	*- zmieniać*	*lead*	*- prowadzić*
understand	*- rozumieć*	*watch*	*- oglądać, śledzić*
*follow********	*- podążać za*********	*stop********	*- zatrzymać*
create	*- tworzyć*	*speak********	*- mówić (językiem)*
*read********	*- czytać*	*add********	*- dodawać*
spend	*- spędzać, wydawać*	*open********	*- otwierać*
*win********	*- wygrać*	*remember********	*- pamiętać*
love	*- kochać*	*consider******	*- rozważać*

buy	*- kupować*	*send***********	*- wysyłać*
expect	*- spodziewać się*	*build*	*- budować*
cut	*- ciąć*	*reach*************	*- dojść do*
kill	*- zabić*	*raise*	*- podnieść*
*pass********	*- zdać, ominąć*	*sell*	*- sprzedać*
require	*- wymagać*	*pull*	*- ciągnąć*

*This verb, just like *to tell*, translates into Polish as *powiedzieć*. Because of this underdifferentiation, Poles often use one verb instead of another, making mistakes such as *He said me…*);

**This verb is also complex transitive, in which the Polish sentence has a completely different structure: *I find this strange – Dla mnie to dziwne (For me it is strange).*

***This verb also occurs as intransitive (*pracować*);

****This verb also occurs as intransitive (*Susan called*) or complex transitive (*She called me a liar*) in both languages, which enables positive transfer. The learner needs to remember that, depending upon valency in English, the Polish translation changes: *She called – Dzwoniła* (intransitive), *she called me a liar – Nazwała mnie kłamcą* (complex transitive);

*****Also occurs as complex transitive;

******Also occurs as intensive;

*******Also occurs as intransitive;

********Negative transfer: Polish learners often say *to play on the guitar, to play in bridge*, because this verb is to be complemented by PP in Polish;

*********Negative transfer: Prepositional in Polish (*podążać za kimś*) – *to follow after somenody;*

*********Also occurs as ditransitive.

**********Negative transfer – prepositional in Polish: *dojść do momentu* (*reach to a point*).

The lists of intransitive and monotransitive verbs are long and only the most frequent ones could be given. Learners should pay special attention to the structure of complement. As said in an earlier chapter, there are a lot of verbs which are monotransitive in English and prepositional in Polish, for example:

		negative transfer from Polish
reach	*- dojść do*	*reach to*
play	*- grać na/w*	*play on the guitar, play in football*
leave	*- wyjeżdżać z*	*leave from.*

There are also verbs which are monotransitive in Polish and prepositional in English, as in these examples:

		negative transfer from Polish	from English
słuchać	*- listen to*	*listen the radio*	*słuchać do…*
przeprosić	*- apologise to*	*apologise somebody*	

Learners need awareness-raising and practice in order to produce complement of the right structure.

6.2.4. Ditransitive VGs

In English, ditransitive verbs may be transformed into the passive in two ways, whereas in Polish equivalents one passive and one impersonal structure are possible:

She sent me a letter	*Wysłała mi list;*
A letter was sent to me	*List był wysłany (wysłano) do mnie;*
I was sent a letter	*Wysłano mi list (One sent me a letter).*

The Polish learner should be taught that what is impersonal structure in Polish is a passive structure in English lest one says *Sent me a letter* (*Wysłano mi list*), which error often occurs.

In English, two structures are possible:

a) Subject + VG + Indirect Object + Direct Object (*She sent me a letter*);
b) Subject + VG + Direct Object + PP (*She sent a letter to me*).

In other words, when we put direct object right after VG, the latter becomes a Complex Prepositional Phrase. This does not occur in Polish so often, so negative transfer from English to Polish is observed:

	negative transfer
She taught grammar to me	*- Uczyła gramatyki do mnie;*
She gave the book to me	*- Dała książkę dla mnie*.*

*This sentence is correct but it has a different meaning (She gave the book to somebody so that it could be given to me).

Here is a list of some common ditransitive verbs:

ask ab. a question	*- zadać komuś pytanie*
build sb. a house	*- zbudować komuś dom*
bring sb. a letter	*- przynieść komuś list*
buy sb. a present	*- kupić komuś prezent*
give sb. money	*- dać komuś pieniądze*
lend sb. money	*- pożyczyć komuś pieniądze*
leave sb. a fortune	*- zostawić komuś majątek*
offer sb. help	*- proponować komuś pomoc*
pay sb. an amount	*- zapłacić komuś kwotę*
serve sb. a meal	*- podać komuś posiłek*
send sb. a parcel	*- wysłać komuś paczkę*
sell sb. sth.	*- sprzedać coś komuś*
show sb. a room	*- pokazać komuś pokój*
teach sb. English	*- uczyć kogoś angielskiego*
tell sb. a joke	*- opowiedzieć komuś kawał*

Verbs such as these should not pose a problem in the active voice and positive syntactic transfer is possible. However, the English learner of Polish needs to know that the Polish indefinite pronoun (*ktoś – somebody*) is inflected by case.

6.2.5. Complex transitive VGs

These occur less frequently, though there are many translation equivalents which enable positive syntactic transfer, e.g.:

I appointed her my deputy – Mianowałem ją swoją zastępczynią (na swoją zastępczynię).

I	*appointed*	*her*	*my*	*deputy.*
pron.	VG	pron.	det.	N
		NP	NP	
Subject		VP		
		sentence (clause)		

(Ja)	*mianowałem*	*ją*	*swoją*	*zastępczynią.*
Pron.	VG	pron.	det.	N
Subject		NP		
			NP	
		VP		
	sentence			

(Ja)	*mianowałem*	*ją*	*na*	*swoją*	*zastępczynię.*
pron.	VG	pron.	prep.	det.	N
				PP	
Subject					
			VP		
	sentence				

The English learner of Polish needs to learn that in Polish the version with PP is more common. They must also remember that the noun in the two Polish sentences is inflected by different cases. The Polish learner of English should be taught that the second sentence cannot be translated word for word into English or else sentences such as *I appointed her for my deputy* will occur.

Another example is the word *call*. The structure of the VP is parallel:

He	*called*	*me*	*a*	*spy.*
(On)	*nazwał*	*mnie*	*szpiegiem.*	
pron.	VG	pron.	NP	
Subject				
		VP		
	sentence			

and so positive transfer is possible. The only differences are the article in English and case inflection (szpiegiem) in Polish. The interrogative mood needs attention. In English, the interrogative pronoun *What* is used, whereas in Polish – interrogative particle (*jak – how*). Negative transfer from English to Polish

will thus result in uttering sentences like *Co to nazywasz?* (*What do you call it?*) and negative transfer from Polish – *How do you call it?* (*Jak to się nazywa?*). Awareness-raising and frequent practice are necessary because (my) teaching experience shows that, despite having been made aware of this difference, learners continue to produce the wrong form for a long time.

Then there is the question of those complex transitive verbs which translate into different syntactic patterns, e.g., the verb *find*.

I	*find*	*this*	*book*	*interesting.*
pron.	VG	det.	N	Adj.
		NP		
Subject			VP	

sentence (clause)

Dla	*mnie*	*ta*	*książka*	*jest*	*ciekawa.*
prep.	pron.	det.	N	VG	adj.
PP		NP (subject)		VP	

sentence 1

sentence 2

Structure of English sentence: Subject + VG + Object + Object Predicative
Structure of Polish sentence: PP + Subject + VG + Subject Predicative.

The Polish verb (this is a simple VG) is intensive and the clause structure is completely different – valency of English verb: 2 (two complements); valency of Polish verb: 1 (one complement). The Polish learner needs to learn that the complement of the verb *to find* has a different structure. The learner may still say *For me this book is interesting*, which is correct but sounds Polglish.

6.2.6. Prepositional VGs

When we were discussing colligation (4.5.3), we showed instances of positive and negative transfer in prepositional Verb Phrases. Examples of the former include

go + PP	*iść + PP*
talk + PP	*mówić + PP*
arrive + PP	*przyjechać + PP.*

We also saw instances of different colligation leading to negative transfer from Polish to English and vice versa.

		English and Polish negative transfer
listen + PP	*słuchać + NP*	*I listen the radio; Słucham do muzyki;*
look forward + PP	*wyczekiwać + NP*	*I look forward it; Wyczekuję do tego;*
comment + PP	*komentować + NP*	*comment sth., komentować o czymś;*
discuss + NP	*dyskutować + PP*	*discuss about, dyskutować problem;*
reach + NP	*dojść + PP*	*reach to a point, dojść miejsca;*
answer + NP	*odpowiedzieć + PP.*	*answer to a question, odp. pytanie.*

Learners of both languages should be made aware of which lexical correspondences have parallel colligation (positive transfer) and which non-parallel (negative transfer).

If the teacher wants to avoid negative transfer, in some cases s/he may look for such synonyms which are monotransitive rather than prepositional, so that complementation pattern is parallel:

discuss + NP	*omawiać + NP*	positive transfer
reach + NP	*osiągnąć + NP*	positive transfer
answer + NP	*adresować + NP*	positive transfer,

but the cost is that sometimes we rid ourselves of morphophonetic positive transfer (cognates, e.g., *discuss, comment, operate*).

We shall now turn to transitivity. There are prepositional VPs which are intransitive (*go to school*) and such which are transitive (*comment on something*) in English. By contrast, all Polish prepositional verbs are intransitive. When we say *to było komentowane,* the verb *komentować* is monotransitive, not prepositional like its English equivalent. Let us look at a few examples:

English	
Active	Passive
They are looking at you.	*You are being looked at.*
They often talk about this issue.	*This issue is often talked about.*
They were looking at the screen.	*The screen was being looked at.*

Polish	
Active	Passive
Patrzą się na ciebie.	---------*
Często rozmawiają o tej kwestii.	---------*
Patrzyli na ekran.	---------*

*Impersonal structure is possible: *Patrzy się na ciebie* (*One is looking at you*), *Często rozmawia się o tej kwestii* (*One often talks about this issue*), *Patrzyło się na ekran* (*One was looking at the screen*).

The interrogative mood also needs a comment. In English, the preposition is usually placed at the end of the question:

What are you talking about?
Who were they operating on?
What is he looking at?

Teaching practice shows that students tend to either omit the preposition or put it in initial position:

About what are you talking?
On whom were they operating?
At what is he looking?

Which is correct but sounds Polglish. The English learner of Polish needs to be made aware that the preposition is in the front or else s/he might say *Co rozmawiasz o?*.

6.2.7. Complex prepositional VGs

Although I am not aware of any presence of this term in the literature, I deem it worthy of attention. Let us compare these two sentences:

I find the joke over the top.
I put the book on the shelf.

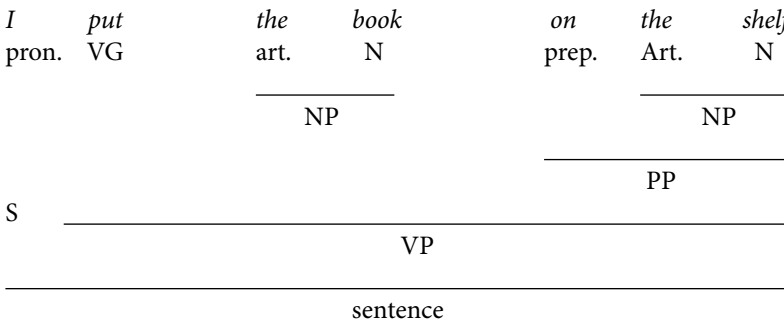
The PP in the first sentence instantiates an Object Predicative (it describes the quality of the Object) as *find* is complex transitive. The PP in the second sentence is not an Object Predicative; it does not describe the quality of the book. It is an

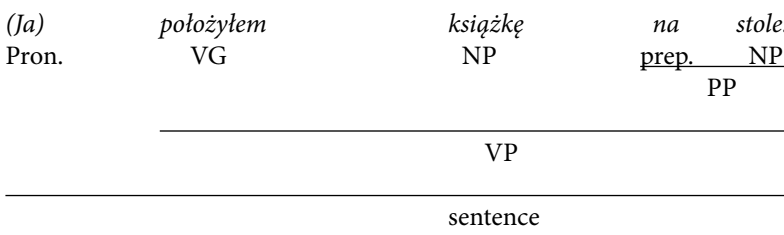
adverbial of place. It becomes clear to the reader who understands Polish when we translate both sentences:

Dla mnie ten kawał to przegięcie.
Położyłem książkę na półce.

We can see that it is only in the second case that direct translation is possible; *find* has already been shown to cause negative transfer.

The structure of complex prepositional Verb Groups is usually transferred without difficulty as the word order is parallel:





and so large amounts of practice are not necessary as long as the morphemes are known (including bound inflectional morphemes in Polish).

There are, however, cases where the patterns are different:

He	*explained*	*the problem*	*to me.*
Subject	VG	Direct Object	PP*

*The pronoun is Indirect Object

On	*wyjaśnił*	*mi*	*problem.*
Subject	VG	Indirect Object	Direct Object

and then negative transfer is observed both in English and in Polish:

He explained me the problem.
On wyjaśnił ten problem dla mnie,

so awareness raising and practice are recommended.

6.2.8. Auxiliary and modal verbs

The English language has two types of auxiliary verbs: primary auxiliary (*be, have*) and modal auxiliary (*must, can, may, need, will, shall, ought*) verbs. Polish only has modal auxiliary verbs (*musieć, móc, umieć, powinieneś, będziesz**). Primary auxiliary verbs are complemented by participle – progressive, perfect or passive, whereas modal – by infinitive. Let us carry out a contrastive analysis of VG structure in the future, present and past.

Future Simple

English	Polish
modal + lexical	lexical
will do	*Zrobi*

Future Progressive

English	Polish
modal + auxiliary + lexical	modal + lexical
will be doing	*będzie robić***

Future Perfect

English	Polish
modal + auxiliary + lexical	lexical
will have done	*zrobi*

Future perfect progressive

English	Polish
modal + auxiliary + auxiliary + lexical	auxiliary + lexical
will have been doing	*będzie (już) robił*

*It is a modal verb when followed by infinitive in future progressive.
**Preterite form *(robił) is also commonly used.*

The English learner of Polish faces a simple learning task as there are only simple and progressive aspect. The Polish learner of English is faced with a learning challenge, as *zrobi* may be translated either as future simple or future perfect and *będzie robił* as future progressive or future perfect progressive. Since Polish does not have perfect aspect, instruction and practice are necessary. The practice needs to be systematic as even advanced learners often tend to underproduce perfect aspect in future time.

It will also be remembered that, unlike in Polish, there is no inflection for future in English. There are future expressions which use either auxiliary verbs *(I am going to do*) or modal verbs (*I shall do*) provided in the present tense.

Let us have a look at some of the possibilities for the way time is expressed:

Future Simple expressions

English	Polish
modal present	future tense
will do	*zrobi*

Future Progressive expressions

English	Polish
mod. present + aux. + lexical	mod. future + lexical
will be doing	*będzie robił*

Future Perfect expressions

English	Polish
modal + aux + lexical	---
will have done	

Future Perfect Progressive expressions

English	Polish
modal + aux + aux + lexical	---
will have been doing	

Present Simple expressions

English	Polish
lexical	lexical
does	*robi*

Present Progressive expressions

English	Polish
auxiliary + lexical	lexical
is doing	*robi*

Present Perfect Simple expressions

English	Polish
auxiliary + participle	---
has done	

Present Perfect Progressive expressions

English	Polish
auxiliary + auxiliary + participle	---
has been doing	

Modal + Simple Present

English	Polish
modal + infinitive	modal + infinitive
must do	*musi zrobić*

Modal + Present Progressive

English	Polish
modal + auxiliary infinitive + lex. participle	modal + infinitive
must be doing	*musi robić*

Modal + Present Perfect

English	Polish
modal + auxiliary infinitive + lex. Participle	modal past-tense + lex. infinitive
must have done	*musiał zrobić*

Modal + Present Perfect Progressive

English	Polish
mod. + aux. inf. + aux. part. + lex. part.	Modal + lex. infinitive
must have been doing	*musiał + robić*

Since Polish does not have an auxiliary verb in the present tense, either progressive or perfect, Poles underdifferentiate the continuity aspect. For this reason, underproduction is often observed in English (*He sleeps now*). Learning to express aspect syntactically is a new learning task.

Before we continue, one remark needs to be made concerning the Present Perfect Simple. Sentences in this tense and aspect may be translated into Polish either as present (*Znam go od roku*) or past (*Właśnie go poznałem*). They are translated as present tense for states (*Znam go od roku – I have known him for a year, Jestem tutaj od rana - I have been here since morning*) and as past tense for accomplishments, experiences or events (*Skończyłem – I've finished, Byłem w Londynie kilka razy - I've been to London a few times, Był wypadek – There has been an accident*).

Passive Present Simple

English		Polish	
auxiliary + lex. participle		auxiliary + lex. participle	
is	*done*	*jest*	*(z) robiony*

Passive Present Progressive

English			Polish	
auxiliary + auxiliary (participle) + lexical part.			auxiliary + lex. part.	
is	*being*	*done*	*jest*	*robiony*

Negative transfer from Polish into English consists in aspect underproduction (*It is done at this moment*) and instruction as well as frequent opportunities for practice should be provided.

Past Simple

English	Polish
preterite lexical	preterite lexical
did	*zrobił**

Past Progressive

English		Polish	
past auxiliary + lexical (prog. participle)		lexical	
was	*doing*	*robił**	

Past Perfect

English		Polish
auxiliary (past) + lexical (part.)		---
had	*done*	

Past Perfect Progressive

English			Polish
auxiliary + auxiliary + lexical			---
had	*been*	*doing*	

Since there is aspect underdifferentiation (*zrobił* for both *did* and *had done*; *robił* for both *was doing* and *had been doing*), underproduction is possible, so instruction as well as systematic practice are necessary.

Passive Past Simple

English		Polish	
auxiliary + lexical (participle)		auxiliary + lexical (participle)	
was	*done*	*był*	*zrobiony**

Passive Past Progressive

English			Polish	
auxiliary + auxiliary (part.) + lexical (part.)			auxiliary + lexical	
was	*being*	*done*	*był*	*robiony**

Positive transfer for declarative Passive Simple Past can be expected as the syntactic pattern is parallel. Again, since we do not have a progressive participle for the auxiliary in the passive in Polish, underproduction often results and pedagogic care needs to be taken to help learn the English pattern.

*It is worth noticing that in the past aspect is marked in different ways: in English we mark progressive aspect syntactically (auxiliary plus lexical) and in Polish we mark perfective aspect by the prefix *z-*.

6.2.9. Tense and time

As we have already pointed out, English does not have inflectional future tense but it does refer to the future by employing present-tense expressions. In fact, even preterite forms are used to refer to future time: *I would like to meet you tomorrow* – and the same is done in Polish (*Chciałbym ciebie jutro spotkać*). This, however, is another matter, for we use preterite forms to express present inner states concerning the future.

Where Polish uses future inflection (*pójdę, będę, napiszę*), English, as already pointed out, employs present modal or auxiliary verbs. Since tense is an inflectional category and time a semantic category, we can claim that, although there is future time in English, there is no, as already stated, future tense.

6.2.10. Conclusions for instruction and additional remarks

Verb complementation patterns display many differences which call for instruction and practice. The English learner of Polish needs to learn which intransitive verbs are simple and which are accompanied by the reflexive pronoun. Additionally, all learners need to know that many intransitive verbs display other valency, too, in which case the Polish language has different lexical equivalent. Polish learners of English need to know that Subject Predicative does not occur as an Adverb Phrase and the English learner of Polish will need to remember that, instead of an AP, Polish often uses PP (*wyglądasz na zmęczonego* – VG + Prep. + Adj.).

Instruction is necessary for irregular transitive verbs. Otherwise, overgeneralisation will occur. As far as transitivity is concerned, Polish learners of English need to overcome problems related to aspect underdifferentiation and English learners of Polish should be taught that Polish perfective aspect is derived by prefixation. While English progressive aspect is syntactically more complex than simple aspect, Polish, on the other hand, uses more morphological complexity for perfective. Also, as regards transitivity, learners should be taught that Indirect Object in English Complex Transitive Verb Phrases may be moved to final position and it becomes a Prepositional Phrase and that in Polish such transformations often change the meaning.

Prepositional verbs in English are intransitive or transitive and in Polish they are usually intransitive. Learners need to learn that in the Passive Voice the preposition is moved to final position and that putting it in the front results in phrases which sound Polglish. I have additionally introduced the term 'Complex Prepositional Verb Grups' because they need a distinction from Complex Transitive. Some of such verbs, such as *explain*, need awareness raising because complementation patterns are different.

Modal verbs in both languages are complemented by infinitives but, unlike in English, in Polish a modal can be complemented by another modal (*będziesz musiał*) and a modal may be non-finite (*musząc…, umiejąc*). The last differences are that Polish learners need to learn the Perfect Aspect (not to be confused with perfective) from scratch and that in Polish, unlike in English, there is inflectional future tense.

Despite the differences, a certain amount of positive transfer can be anticipated. Intransitive Verb Phrases usually display a similar pattern – there is no complement but adjunct is possible. Monotransitive verbs are complemented by object and can be transformed into Passive Voice in similar ways. Many Complex Transitive Verb Phrases have the same structure, as do ditransitive.

The structure of many Prepositional Phrases is parallel, just like that of Complex Prepositional ones.

6.3. The structure of Noun Phrases

Nouns in both languages, indeed in any other language, describe objects and other (abstract) entities. The structure of Noun Phrases displays both parallel and non-parallel patterns. In this section we shall explore premodifiers and postmodifiers, defining and non-defining clauses, determiners, Subject and Object structure as well as relative pronouns.

6.3.1. Premodifiers and postmodifiers

Within the Nominal Group, one can enumerate the Epithet, Classifier, Head Noun and Qualifier. Additionally, determiners can be put in initial position:

That	*beautiful*	*Polish*	*student*	*from the university*
Ta	*piękna*	*polska*	*studentka*	*z uniwersytetu*
det.	epithet	classifier	head	qualifier

In other cases the classifier is put after the head, in which case there is a PP in English:

studentka matematyki		*a student of mathematics*	
head	classifier	head	qualifier,

so awareness raising and practice are necessary. Moreover, in Polish the qualifier may be placed before the head: *obecni studenci* (*the students present*); and this may result in negative transfer in both languages. Polish learners should be taught about the difference in meaning between *the students present* and *the present students* and English learners need to know that phrases such as *studenci obecni* are incorrect.

In English, Classifiers may be instantiated by an adjective (*foreign students*) or a noun (*mathematics students*). In Polish, if it is an adjective, it is placed before the head (*zagraniczni studenci*) and if it is a noun, it is inflected for case and put after the head (*studenci matematyki* – postmodifier). Thus, instruction is necessary in both languages. As regards epithet, in both languages it is placed before the head noun, so positive transfer is likely.

6.3.2. Defining and non-defining clauses

Noun Phrases containing defining and non-defining clauses have similar structure:

the man that we met in the gallery
człowiek, którego spotkaliśmy w galerii

However, punctuation is different. In Polish, both defining and non-defining clauses are separated with commas, while in English – only non-defining clauses:

Człowiek, którego spotkaliśmy w galerii, jest moim sąsiadem.
The man that we met in the gallery is my neighbour.

Moja żona, którą już poznałeś, jest poetką.
My wife, whom you have already met, is a poet.

The Polish learner often fails to put the preposition in final position (*the teacher we were talking about*) because in Polish it is placed before the head (*nauczyciel, o którym rozmawialiśmy – the teacher about whom we were talking*).

6.3.3. Determiners

Both languages employ demonstrative determiners and the word order is parallel, so positive transfer is anticipated:

this book – ta książka	*these men – ci mężczyźni*
that man – tamten człowiek	*those women – tamte kobiety*

As regards possessive determiners, they are often confused with possesive pronouns by Polish learners because Polish possessive determiner has the same form as the pronoun:

This is my car – To jest mój samochód;
This car is mine – Ten samochód jest mój;
That's your book – To jest twoja książka;
That book is yours – Ta/tamta książka jest twoja.

Negative transfer is often observed (*This car is my; That book is your*). The only instance of positive transfer is the third person singular masculine, where

the form of possessive determiner and pronoun overlaps (*This is his car – This car is his; To jest jego samochód; Ten samochód jest jego*).

There are no articles in Polish and, as a result, we often observe article underproduction in English (negative transfer: *Give me book* instead of *Give me the book*). Additionally, Polish learners of English, even when they know articles, have difficulty in using the right articles because there are complex rules governing their use; there are many exceptions (e.g., articles are not placed before country or city names but we say *The United States*, *The Hague*).

The Polish learner of English will have to learn that the use of articles changes reference, e.g., definite article or zero article (*Mississippi, the Mississippi*) or the indefinite article before uncountable nouns (which translate into different lexical items in Polish, e.g. *air – powietrze, an air – atmosfera (nastrój); people – ludzie, a people – naród, plemię*). Learners also need awareness-raising in the area of count nouns and mass nouns: *glass – szkło, a glass – szklanka*. Article use is one of the most complex issues in English grammar and lots of instruction and practice are necessary.

6.3.4. Subject structure

Subject, sister of Predicate, can take a variety of parallel forms in both languages.

a) pronoun:	*He is learning –* *On się uczy;*
b) single noun:	*Money makes the world go round –* *Pieniądze rządzą światem;*
c) nominal group:	*Rich people do not usually understand the poor –* *Bogaci ludzie zazwyczaj nie rozumieją biednych;*
d) infinitive:	*To lose now would be stupid –* *Przegrać teraz byłoby głupio;*
e) participle:	*Studying is hard –* *Studiowanie* jest trudne;*
f) Adjective Phrase:	*The rich don't understand the poor –* *Bogaci nie rozumieją biednych.*

g) s-bar**: *Whether we win remains to be seen –*
*(To) czy wygramy to się jeszcze okaże****

*Noun in Polish, but it plays the same syntactic role.
** A complementiser + clause;
***If we were to translate directly from English, we would say *Czy wygramy się jeszcze okaże*.

There are also many differences. Polish learners often have difficulty using the existential pronoun *there* and the expletive pronoun *it* because both *there is* and *it is* translate into *jest*:

There is a problem – Jest problem;
It is silly to do it – Głupio jest to robić.

We have to deal with three problems here. Firstly, there is no existential pronoun in Polish, so it needs to be learnt in English. Insufficient amounts of practice often result in the learners saying *Is a problem* (*Jest problem*). Secondly, the expletive pronoun is not used in Polish as often as in English – *(To) niemądrze tak robić* and underproduction is also observed (*Isn't wise to do so*). Thirdly, because Polish underdifferentiates form (*jest* for both *there is* and *it is*), learners tend to confuse the existential and expletive pronouns.

In English there can only be one morphosyntactic Subject, whereas in Polish more than one:

Whether we win		*remains to be seen.*
NP (Subject)		VP (Predicate)

To, czy wygramy,	*to*	*się jeszcze okaże.*
NP	NP	VP

Because of the differences, negative transfer is observed in both languages:

This, whether we win, it remains to be seen; or in Polish:
Czy wygramy okaże się.

Let us also observe the commas in Polish and their absence in English. This also needs awareness-raising. Another common mistake consists in putting a demonstrative pronoun before *What-* Subjects:

This what you have said doesn't make sense. Again, this is negative transfer from Polish: *To, co powiedziałeś, nie ma sensu*.

We shall say more about Subjects in clauses in 6.5.1.

6.3.5. Object structure

We have already mentioned word-order in ditransitive VGs. In English, a mono- or di-transitive VG may contain only one Direct Object, whereas in Polish a pronominal redundancy is possible:

I don't like what you have said –
Nie podoba mi się to, co powiedziałeś.

Negative transfer with two Direct Objects is shown in the marker:

I	*don't like*	*this*	*what you have said.*
NP	VG	NP (Od)	NP (Od)
	sentence		

Awareness-raising and practice are needed to avoid calques like this.

6.3.6. Relative pronoun 'which' before a clause

In English, if we want to use anaphora for the preceding sentence, we use the relative pronoun *which*:

She's late again, which worries me.

In Polish we use the pronoun *co (what):*

Ona się spóźnia, co mnie martwi.

Negative transfer consists in the learner using *what* instead of *which*:

She is late, what worries me.

Awareness-raising and practice are recommended.

6.3.7. Conclusions for instruction

Where NP structure is parallel, positive transfer may occur. This concerns the position of epithet, the position of classifier when it is an adjective, the position of qualifier if it is a PP. When it comes to the differences, they concern classifiers (in Polish they may follow the head if it is a noun), qualifiers (in Polish they may precede the head), defining and non-defining clauses (in Polish there is a comma in both), possessive determiners and pronouns (*my* vs. *mine* etc.), articles (no articles in Polish), subjects (one grammatical subject per clause), and objects (two objects are possible in English but not two morphosyntactically present direct objects).

6.4. Other phrase types

In this section we shall consider the structure of Adjective Phrases, Adverb Phrases and Prepositional Phrases.

6.4.1. Adjective Phrases

Adjective Phrases in both languages are modified by degree adverbs, such as *very – bardzo, really – naprawdę, quite – dosyć, indeed – doprawdy*. In the case of most adverbs, one speaks of premodifiers:

modifier	head
quite	*nice*
dosyć	*fajany*
very	*beautiful*
bardzo	*piękna*
really	*big*
naprawdę	*duży*

The adverb *indeed* may cause negative transfer because it follows the head, while its Polish lexical translation precedes it:

head	modifier	modifier	head
cold	*indeed*	*doprawdy*	*zimny*,

so instruction and practice are needed. Adjective Phrases in both languages may be complemented by a VP, in which case we can speak of positive transfer:

head	complement
able	*to do it*
zdolny	*to zrobić**

Positive transfer is also possible for prepositional complements:

head	complement
capable	*of doing this*
zdolny	*do zrobienia tego,*

providing there is awareness raising so that the form *capable to do* is not produced.

The expression *keen* + PP is translated into Polish as *przepadać* + PP:

I'm not keen on boxing (Gerundial noun) –
Nie przepadam za boksem (noun);

the learner needs to know that the prepositional complement is not instantiated by lexical correspondences (*on, za*). The same concerns the pair *fond* + PP, *przepadać* +PP:

I'm not fond of sweets – Nie przepadam za słodyczami.

*PP is more usual: *Zdolny do zrobienia tego*.

6.4.2. Adverb Phrases

Adverb Phrases have similar modification patterns:

Degree Adverb	Head Adverb
very slowly	*bardzo wolno*,

but caution is needed with the already mentioned *indeed: very slowly indeed – doprawdy bardzo wolno*.

What the Polish learner of English will have to learn is that many adverbs have the same form as adjectives:

This is hard – *To jest trudne,*
She works hard – *ona ciężko pracuje*.

The English learner of Polish should notice that if *hard* is an adverb it is translated into Polish as a pre-verb description of the action.

6.4.3. Prepositional Phrases

Prepositional Phrases have a parallel structure in both languages (Prep. + NP):

to the garden – do ogrodu,
from school – ze szkoły,
on the table – na stole,

so positive transfer is possible. Learners need to know about the syntactic functions of Prepositional Phrases.

a) adjunct:

I met him at school – Spotkałem go w szkole,

b) disjunct:

To my surprise, he passed – Ku mojemu zdziwieniu, on zdał,

c) complement of Noun:

The question of trade – in this case the Polish translation contains a NP (*kwestia handlu*) without the preposition. Learners need to know that *of* is used in English where Polish inflects for case.

d) complement of VG:

He went to the garden – Poszedł do szkoły.

In some cases non-parallel patterns occur:

Phrasal Verb	Prepositional Phrase
look forward	*to the meeting*
Lexical Verb	Noun Phrase
wyczekiwać	*spotkania*

where the Polish learner of English needs to remember about the preposition and the English learner of Polish should know noun declension. The former also needs to know that in the case of a verb, a participle is used: *look forward to meeting you*. The frequent error consists in them saying or writing *I look forward to meet you.*

6.5. The structure of clauses

The term 'clause' refers to a simple sentence which consists of a Noun Phrase and a Verb Phrase in English. The NP corresponds to grammatical Subject and the Verb Phrase – to the Predicate. Subjects can represent people, objects, other entities or be semantically vacuous. Predicates describe actions, states, events, phenomena or changes. In this section we shall consider sentential components, word-order, Sentence Adverbials and Mood.

6.5.1. The necessity of Subject in English

As stated above, a typical clause consists of Subject and Predicate:

*The teacher ` *	*bought a book.*
Nauczyciel	*kupił książkę.*
NP (Subject)	VP (Predicate)

and in such cases positive sentential transfer is possible. If we replace the English NP with a pronominal Subject, the sentence will be translated into Polish with or without the pronoun:

He bought a book – (On) kupił książkę.*

In coordinate clauses the pronoun is not repeated in Polish but in English it is:

He bought the book but he didn't read it – (On) kupił książkę lecz jej nie przeczytał.

*Implicit Subject

A learner of Polish may transfer from English to produce a Polglish sentence: *On kupił książkę lecz on jej nie przeczytał*. Learners of English may transfer from Polish and say *Bought the book but didn't read it.* The clause has different structure in English and Polish, as represented below:

He	*bought the book*	*but*	*he*	*didn't read it.*
NP	VP	Conj.	NP	VP
clause			clause	
coordinate clause				

(On)	*kupił książkę*	*lecz*	*jej nie przeczytał.*
NP	VP		VP
VP			
sentence			

We shall say more about coordinate clauses in 6.6.1.

In Standard English, there must always be a grammatical Subject; in the case of semantically vacuous Subject we use free functional morphemes, such as existential pronoun and expletive pronoun. In such cases there is no grammatical Subject at the beginning of the Polish sentence:

There	*is nothing to talk about.*
Subject	Predicate
sentence	

Nie ma nic do omówienia.
Predicate = Sentence

It	*is dangerous on the street at night.*
Subject	Predicate
sentence	

W nocy na ulicy jest niebezpiecznie.
Predicate = Sentence

Erroneously constructed clauses may be produced as a result of negative transfer:

At night on the street is dangerous (from Polish)
To jest niebezpiecznie w nocy na ulicy (from English),

and so both awareness-raising and practice are necessary.

6.5.2. Word order

Word order in English is usually fixed:

John mended the fence with a hammer –

in this sentence the objective and instrumental cases are marked by word order which cannot be changed within the Verb Phrase. In Polish the case is marked by declension and therefore word order may be changed:

John naprawił młotkiem płot (*John mended with a hammer the fence* – negative transfer);
John naprawił płot młotkiem (*John mended the fence with a hammer* – positive transfer);
John młotkiem naprawił płot (*John with a hammer mended the fence* – negative transfer).

Learners of Polish need to learn the inflection for instrumantal case and learners of English should be instructed about the canonicality of word order.

In English, and often in Polish, complement occupies the position before adjunct:

Mary	*went*	*to the garden*	*to sow vegetables.*
Subject	VG	Complement	Adjunct
		VP	
		Sentences	

Mary	*poszła*	*do ogrodu*	*siać warzywa.*
Subject	VG	Complement	Adjunct
		VP	
		Sentence	

and this parallel structure offers positive transfer. But in Polish adjuncts can precede complements:

Spotkałem ją po południu w szkole (*I met her in the afternoon at school* – negative transfer)

or whole clauses:

Po południu spotkałem ją w szkole (*In the afternoon I met her at school* – also possible).

6.5.3. Sentence adverbials

Sentence adverbials and sentences are sister nodes in both languages and they are daughters of a Sentence:

To my surprise, he passed the exam.
Ku mojemu zdziwieniu, on zdał egzamin.

Sentence Adverbial Sentence
Sentence

and this parallel structure enables positive transfer. In adverbials such as

Having written the letter, …
Napisawszy list, …

or

Writing the letter, …
Pisząc list, ...

the learner may be instructed that *Having* + Perfect Participle = *-wszy (Napisawszy – Having written, Zrobiwszy – Having done)* and *-ing* = *-ąc (Writing – Pisząc, Doing – Robiąc*). Such functional morphosyntactic equivalents make positive transfer possible as long as instruction is provided.

Adverbials of concession often pose a problem for Polish learners of English and errors occur:

Although the bad weather, we went on a picnic.
Despite the weather was bad, we went on a picnic.

This is caused by the fact that the adverbial component *although* and the preposition *Despite* are translated into Polish as *mimo, mimo że*. It will be helpful to make the learners aware of the colligation of the English items:

Although + Sentence + Sentence (*Although the weather was bad, we went on a picnic*);

Despite + Noun Phrase + Sentence (*Despite the bad weather, we went on a picnic*).

6.5.4. *While* and *during*

Frequently occurring errors involve English sentences like *During I was on holiday, I was sightseeing* or *While the lesson, we wrote a test*. This results from confusing translations of *Podczas (During)* and *Podczas gdy (While)*. The learner of English needs to be aware of the following colligations:

While + Sentence + Sentence*:
While I was studying, they were watching TV.
Podczas gdy ja się uczyłem, oni oglądali telewizję. or

While + Progressive Participle + Sentence*:
While cooking, she was listening to the radio.

During + NP + Sentence:
During holidays we did some sightseeing.

Once the learner of English has internalised these colligations, producing correct sentences will be easier. The learner of Polish needs to remember the corresponding colligations: *Podczas* + NP + Sentence; *Podczas gdy* + Sentence + Sentence.

*The two sentences contain two different Subjects, whereas in the second case there is only one Subject.

6.5.5. Mood

Since Mood is a universal grammatical category, large amounts of positive transfer can be expected although, as the contrastive analysis shows, the syntactic detail often differs across languages such as Polish and English. In direct speech acts, both in English and in Polish, Declarative Mood shares information, whereas in indirect it may serve as a request. The structure of the clause is similar although, as stated above, grammatical Subjects are not always necessary in Polish (but there is usually an implicit Subject). Once the structural possibilities discussed so far in Chapter Six have been mastered, Declarative Mood will not be problematic. Imperative mood was discussed in 4.2.7 and it will suffice to reiterate here that in English the bare infinitive is used, whereas Polish has a separate inflectional form. The remainder of this section is devoted to Interrogative Mood.

In both languages Interrogative Mood can be expressed by raising intonation. In such a case the morphosyntactic structure corresponds to Declarative Mood:

You are already here? *Już tu jesteś?*

As regards morphosyntactic organisation of an interrogative clause, it is simple in Polish (The particle *czy – if/whether* is used in all structures) and complex in English. Therefore, the learner of Polish faces a simple cognitive task (No inversion or auxiliary verbs) and the learner of English – a tremendous one:

Czy mi pomożesz?	*Will you help me?*
Czy będziesz szedł do miasta?	*Will you be going to town?*
Czy zamierzasz mu pomóc?	*Are you going to help him?*
Czy umiesz pływać?	*Can you swim?*
Czy ty pracujesz?	*Do you work?*
Czy on pracuje?	*Does he work?*
Czy ty musisz palić?	*Must you smoke?*
Czy mogę zapalić?	*May I smoke?*
Czy ona teraz pracuje?	*Is she working?*
Czy byłeś tam wczoraj?	*Were you there yesterday?*
Czy byłeś w Londynie?	*Have you been to London?*
Czy widziałeś go w szkole?	*Did you see him at school?*

The learner of English needs to know when to use inversion (primary and modal auxiliary verbs) and when to use operators (*do/does/did*). They will also

have to learn that the base verb form is used in object questions and preterite form in subject questions:

Who did you help? Who helped you?

Then, they must remember that, while preterite form is used in Declarative Mood, Interrogative Mood employs the base form:

He went to school. Where did he go?

in the past tense but in the perfect aspect both Declarative Mood and Interrogative Mood use perfect participle:

He's been to London. Has he been to London?

Additionally, they need to know how to use *does* in present tense or else questions like *Does he works? m*ay be asked. They should also learn that in *Wh…?* questions the structure is still syntactically interrogative (inversion or auxiliary maintained) while in Polish the interrogative particle is omitted. This is actually something that learners of Polish need to know lest they produce questions like *Gdzie czy pan pracuje? – Where do you work?*

A learner of English who has not mastered interrogative forms is likely to transfer from Polish: *If you will help me? If you live here? (Will you help me? Do you live here?)*.

Question tags are another cognitive task. While in Polish the particle *Nieprawdaż?/Prawda? (Is it so? Right?)* may be used in almost all structures, the English question tag must be syntactically adjusted to the structure of the declarative clause:

Przyjdziesz, prawda?	*You'll come, won't you?*
Nie powiesz im, prawda?	*You won't tell them, will you?*
Jesteś obcokrajowcem, prawda?	*You're a foreigner, aren't you?*
Nie jesteś wrogiem, prawda?	*You're not enemy, are you?*
Widziałeś go, prawda?	*You saw him, didn't you?*
Nie oblałeś, prawda?	*You didn't fail, did you?*

Without mastering question tags, a resourceful learner can always fall back on Y*ou're a foreigner, right?, You didn't fail, right?*.

In general, when it comes to interrogative morphosyntactic structures, learners of Polish face an easy task and learners of English are in for months, if not years, of instruction and practice.

6.5.6. Negation

In Polish, the negative particle *nie* (*no, not*) is used in all negative sentences, be it single or double negation (which is also Standard Polish). English employs either the negative particles *no* and *not* or negative pronouns such as *none, nothing, nobody* or negative adverbs such as *never, hardly ever*. A learner of Polish faces a simple learning task: in negative sentences we use the negative particle *nie* plus the morphosyntactic declarative structure:

Nie chcę o tym rozmawiać:	*Nie* + sentence (*I don't want to talk about this*);
Nie przyszedłeś na lekcje:	*Nie* + sentence (*You didn't come to the lessons*);
Nie umiem pływać:	*Nie* + sentence (*I can't swim*).

Learners of English have more to learn. We shall focus on the most problematic issues. Firstly, they need to learn that with the negative particle *not* the base form of verb is used in past tense but with negative pronoun or adverb – preterite form:

He didn't come	*Nie pszyszedł;*
Nobody came	*Nikt nie przyszedł (Nobody didn't come);*
He didn't help me	*Nie pomógł mi;*
He never helped me	*Nigdy mi nie pomógł (He never didn't help me*).

Secondly, they must internalise the rule for the present tense in simple, progressive and perfect aspect as well as for auxiliary verbs and the copula. Additionally, there is a need for instruction in forming the negative with the negative particle *not* and negative adverbs (no double negation in Standard English):

He doesn't work	*On nie pracuje;*
He never works	*On nigdy nie pracuje (He doesn't never work);*
He hasn't got (any) money[39]	*On nie ma pieniędzy;*
He has no money	*On nie ma wcale pieniędzy (He hasn't got no money*);*

[39] *He hasn't got any money with him* would mean that he is not prepared for the shopping.

He isn't tired	*On nie jest zmęczony;*
He's never tired	*On nigdy nie jest zmęczony (He isn't never tired).*

*Possible in non-standard varieties of English.

Future negative expressions are relatively easy to learn in Polish and English once the student knows that *won't = nie* and *won't be … ing = nie będę + infinitive/preterite*:

I won't help you	*Nie pomogę ci.*
I won't be using the book	*Nie będę używać/używał książki.*

Polish negation is not really challenging to learn for native speakers of English, who may in fact find it surprisingly simple when compared to English negations. Polish learners of English need to learn more; the amount of learning is comparable to mastering interrogative forms.

6.5.7. Conclusions for instruction

Positive transfer is possible when learners notice the parallel clause organisation on certain levels. This is possible with the division of a sentence into Subject and Predicate, but instruction is needed as far as the canonical presence of Subject in English is concerned. Learners of English should not usually have a problem with Complement-Adjunct word order as it is [usually] parallel, and where Polish admits other possibilities, instruction is needed. Positive functional transfer is also possible when teachers and materials designers wisely draw attention to morphosyntactic equivalence.

Learners of English should be taught the existential pronoun as it does not exist in Polish. Without instruction, underproduction, or a calque from Polish, is likely. They should also learn the expletive *it* because it is also likely to be underproduced. Learners of Polish need to learn that, although pronominal Subjects are used, they are often unnecessary as the gender and number are carried by the conjugated verb.

The biggest differences are observed for interrogative and negative structures. Although Interrogative Mood may be expressed by prosody in both languages, the morphosyntactic organisation is very different, with Polish using one interrogative particle and English a whole system of forms which need to be taught over an extensive period of time. In order to avoid negative transfer, learners also need to learn that double negation is used in Standard Polish but not Stan-

dard English. Additionally, they should be instructed that in Polish negative sentences a single particle is employed while in English a variety of forms needs to be mastered.

6.6. Complex sentences

Complex sentences exist in both languages and, on a general level, they display similarity: there are both coordinate and subordinate clauses which are organised into parallel patterns. The differences emerge as we go into detail. In this section we explore coordinate and subordinate clauses, conditional sentences and expressing regrets.

6.6.1. Coordinate clauses

Besides what has been said earlier, coordinate clauses display parallel patterns. Having mastered the structure of simple clauses and coordinating conjunctions in both languages, positive transfer can be expected on a general level. We have already exemplified the use of *but* (*ale*); now let us turn to *and* (*i*): in English, the anaphoric pronoun may but does not have to be used. These two possibilities are represented by two different tree markers:

The student	*bought a book*	*but*	*he*	*didn't read it.*
Subject	Predicate	Conjunction	Subject	Predicate
Clause			Clause	
Coordinate Sentence				

The student	*bought a book*	*but*	*didn't read it.*
Subject	VP	Conjunction	VP
	Coordinate VP		
Sentence			

In Polish, only the second structure is usually used:

Student	*kupił książkę*	*lecz*	*jej nie przeczytał.*
Subject	VP	Conjunction	VP
	Coordinate VP		
Sentence			

English learners of Polish should know that in Polish there is usually no anaphoric pronoun if both VPs predicate about the same subject. When the two clauses refer to different people, two subjects are represented syntactically in both languages:

He was listening to the radio	*and/but*	*she was watching TV.*
Clause	Conjunction	Clause
Coordinate Sentence		

On słuchał muzyki	*a/ale*	*ona oglądałała telewizję.*
Clause	Conjunction	Clause
Coordinate Sentence,		

so positive transfer is possible on sentential level.

6.6.2. Subordinate clauses (punctuation)

In this kind of structure, the subordinate clause (S1) is embedded in the Main Sentence in both languages:

I think	*that*	*he will make it.*
Myślę,	*że*	*uda mu się.*
	Complementiser	S1
S2		

I wonder	*whether*	*he understands.*
Ciekawe,	*czy*	*on rozumie.*
	Complementiser	S1
S2		

and so we can expect positive transfer on the structural level. However, negative transfer usually occurs in punctuation. In Polish, there is a comma before the complementiser (a complementiser is a subordinative conjunction complemented by a clause); in English there is none. As a result, learners often write:

I think, that he will make it;
Myślę, że mu się uda,

so awareness-raising and practice should be anticipated. Another structure worth attention is the English Subject + VG + Object + Infinitive (*I want you to go*), which, when translated into Polish, is represented as a subordinative clause:

Subject + VG + Complementiser + Clause (*Ja chcę, żebyś ty poszedł – *I want that you went* or **I want that you go*). This is another type of sentence which needs instruction.

Time agreement in subordinate clauses is another issue. The Polish language does not apply this syntactic category and negative transfer may occur. Instead of translating

Myślałem, że jesteś zajęty

into

I thought you were busy,

learners often say

**I thought you are busy*.

Polish learners of English need to know that when past tense is used in the subordinate clause, it should be translated into English as Past Perfect:

Myślałem, że byłeś zajęty – I thought you had been busy.

6.6.3. Conditional sentences

Conditional sentences in the two languages have a similar structure in that they consist of two clauses:

If you help me, we'll finish earlier.
Jeśli mi pomożesz, skończymy szybciej.

If I were president, I would change the law.
Gdybym był prezydentem, zmieniłbym prawo.

If you had told me, I would have come on time.
Gdybyś mi powiedział, przyszedłbym na czas.

The clauses, however, display both differences and similarities. Let is consider the possible structures.

a) First Conditional

If	*you help me* present tense, future time	*we'll finish on time*. future time (modal present)
Jeżeli	*pomożesz mi,* Future tense	*skończymy szybciej.* future tense

The differences in time expression lead to negative transfer in both languages:

If you will help me, we'll finish on time;
Jeżeli mi pomagasz, skończymy na czas.

Teaching practice shows that such errors occur frequently, so awareness-raising and practice should be anticipated.

b) Second Conditional

If	*I were president,* past tense	*I would change the law.* subjunctive
Gdybym	*był prezydentem,* past tense	*zmieniłbym prawo.* subjunctive

This is a parallel structure but there is a need for instruction: the learners of Polish need to learn that the subjunctive verb is inflected by person and number (*gdybym, gdybyś, gdyby, gdybyśmy, gdybyście*) and the learner of English should be instructed that even for the first person the copula should have plural inflection (*were*), though the singular is often heard in substandard speech.

Third Conditional

If	*you had told me,* Past Perfect	*I would have come*. modal + perfect infinitive (subj.)
Gdybyś	*powiedział mi,* Past tense	*przyszedłbym na czas*. subjunctive

Because the Polish conditional is identical with Second Conditional, underproduction is likely: *If you told me yesterday, I would come*. Awareness-raising and practice are therefore recommended.

6.6.4. Expressing regrets

Regrets may be expressed by structures of parallel or non-parallel syntactic organisation.

Parallel:

What a shame I haven't got more free time.
Jaka szkoda, że nie mam więcej wolnego czasu.

Non-parallel:

I wish I had more time.
Szkoda, że nie mam więcej czasu.

I wish you had come earlier.
Szkoda, że nie przyszedłeś wcześniej.

Because the "Subject + *wish* + Past Simple/Past Perfect" is not usually translated into Polish directly, learning difficulty arises. Materials designers and teachers should anticipate instruction time for this construction.

6.6.5. Conclusions for instruction

In both languages coordinate clauses consist of two simple clauses connected by a coordinating conjunction. In such cases positive sentential transfer can be expected. Negative transfer may occur where in English anaphoric pronominal Subject may be transferred to Polish. If there are two different subjects, there is no anaphora and both of them need pronominal or nominal representation, thus enabling positive syntactic transfer. Subordinate clauses may also be subject to positive transfer on a structural level because in both languages they consist of an embedded subordinate clause and a main clause. However, learners need to be cautious about punctuation: in English there is no comma before a complementiser.

The Second Conditional has parallel patterns in both languages and positive transfer on sentence- and morphological levels may be expected. Only sentential

transfer (two clauses in both) will be observed for the First and Third Conditional but the morphosyntactic components display difference. There are also differences in ways of expressing regrets and so instruction and practice should be anticipated.

Final conclusions

Polish and English belong to two different families, but they originate from the same Indo-European proto-language. As a result, there are both differences and similarities between them. The similarities facilitate language acquisition and the differences make it more difficult. In the book I have attempted to investigate such areas as phonology, morphology, semantics and syntax in order to identify components of potential positive and negative transfer. A learner's target language competence will be high where parallel L1 structures exist, but where there are non-parallel structures in the L2, the learner's competence will be negatively affected. The language learner's L2 system encompassing both types of components is called interlanguage and in this book I have referred to it as 'Polglish': Polish spoken by English native speakers and English spoken by Polish native speakers.

The contrastive analysis in this book has drawn a map of the components which enable positive transfer and therefore do not need extensive practice other than fluency practice and equally those which result in negative transfer, requiring awareness-raising and extensive practice. It goes without saying that the map cannot be exhaustive and many a lengthy volume would have to be written to exhaust the topic. Only selected issues could be explored but I believe their selection is justified as they constitute the core of language structure.

There is almost always no escaping from interlanguage – the target language is usually to a larger or lesser extent affected by the structural properties of the mother tongue (The reader may well have noticed that this book, in spite of all efforts, also contains many examples of Polglish). Apart from developmental errors in children and overgeneralisation, negative transfer is a factor that shapes target language competence.

We have seen that there is a large amount of potential positive transfer and an even larger potential for negative transfer. On the positive side there are phonemes overlapping in place of articulation, the same word stress in many borrowings, morphological borrowings and equivalents, the similar meaning and

form of many cognates, lexical correspondences, universal concepts, translatable transparent fixed phrases, the existence of universal grammatical categories, complementation of modal verbs by infinitives and general sentence structure which are among those language components that enable positive transfer and it is in the educator's interest to identify them in order not to spend lengthy periods of time explaining them. Informing the learners about the similarities will usually do and, besides, they will produce structures L1-wise anyway.

On the other hand, we can identify many problems: the articulation of phonemes such as /s/ or /d/, false friends, extensive inflection in Polish, canonical word order in English, non-overlapping meanings of words, opaque multi-word items which do not have word-to-word translation equivalents, the question of aspects and different punctuation, morphosyntactic structure of VG and VP, the structure of many phrases and some aspects of pragmatic behaviour all need to be considered in drawing a map of components which contribute to negative transfer. Such components should be practised extensively because awareness-raising and the "Presentation-Practice-Production" approach will not do as old learning habits, those shaped by L1, tend to override the results of new learning and learners often slip back into the old habits, which leads to error. New knowledge must be revised cyclically and new habits need to be reinforced by systematic practice.

The map of such components should be translated into the contents of coursebooks and other teaching materials. Authors need to be acquainted with the structural properties of the native language of the potential learners. Until this happens, unnecessary attention will be paid to parallel patterns and non-parallel patterns will be underpractised. Teachers should also be able to incorporate the map of components in the materials and activities which they prepare. Attention and practice time should be shifted from parallel to non-parallel patterns, so that interlanguage approximates the shape of the target language as much as possible.

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