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FOCUS PARTICLE INVENTORIES IN POLISH AS COMPARED TO GERMAN

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Abstract: The aim of this study is to show that Polish particles of analogy *również, także, też, nawet*, as well as restrictive particles *tylko, wyłącznie*, can be described according to an already existing classification system of focus particles proposed for German. Based on this system, the former are understood to be additive particles and the latter - restrictive particles. The afore-mentioned particles are further divided into scalar and non-scalar depending on the context. The results obtained are relevant to the contrastive description of German and Polish particle inventories.

Key words: focus particle, information structure, equivalence, additivity, restrictivity, scalarity.

1. Introduction

In German, focus particles represent a clearly differentiable subclass, which has been described in detail in the specialist literature. The additive particle *auch* (also), the restrictive particle *nur* (only), and the scalar particle *sogar* (even) are considered prototypical for this class of particles. The class of Polish focus particles has not been described as such at all. This does not mean, however, that Polish is devoid of such particles that occur syntactically and discourse-pragmatically in the usage similar to that of German focus particles. The aim of this paper is to identify a group of focus-sensitive particles in Polish that can function as equivalents to the German focus particles *auch*, *nur*, and *sogar*, taking into account the semantic features of additivity, restrictivity, and scalarity. Thus, on the one hand, the available data concerning the equivalence relation between German and Polish particles will be revised and, on the other hand, relevant semantic similarities and differences between the particle inventories of German and Polish will be indicated from the linguistic point of view.

With reference to the equivalence data from the German-Polish and Polish-German dictionaries consulted as well as from the contrastive studies conducted on the two languages, it can be stated that, as a rule, attempts are made to assign a Polish equivalent to a German particle and vice versa. This approach always leads to difficulties when particle meanings or usages in the two languages do not

correspond completely but only overlap, or when a particle has no equivalent in the other language. Another reason why these dictionaries and studies should be viewed critically is that the condition of belonging to the same word class, which should be recognised as a basic condition, especially with regard to particles, is often not taken into account when determining the equivalents. This condition results, above all, from the specific role of particles as focus-sensitive operators that contribute to the arrangement of information structure. From this perspective, it is difficult to imagine that units of other lexical words can function as equivalents to focus particles. The points of criticism already mentioned will be taken into account in the corpus analyses of Polish particle inventories to be carried out in Section 3 of this paper. Prior to this, in Section 2, the semantic and syntactic properties of the German focus particles as well as the Polish focus-sensitive particles will be discussed. Subsequently, the semantic features required for the subclassification of particle inventories in the two languages will be accounted for.

2. Focus particles in German and Polish

2.1 Definition

Focus particles in German represent a clearly differentiable, even if heterogeneous, subclass, whose units nevertheless have a number of semantic and syntactic properties common to all focus particles. According to Dimroth and Klein (1996: 74), they are optional elements "that always operate on a given structure ... and modify it in a characteristic way". That is, they can, in principle, be removed from the construction without the remaining clause becoming ungrammatical. Altmann (1976) states that the most important property of focus particles is that they refer to a part of the sentence that carries the focus (see also Jackendoff 1972). However, focus particles do much more than mark the focused expression. They imply a contrast without which the utterance could not be interpreted correctly. The contrast is between the focused expression and a set of alternatives to it. Furthermore, it should be noted that focusing plays a decisive role in the shaping of information structure. It follows that focus particles function as "extremely context-dependent" (König 1991: 5).

The Polish literature also points to the highlighting, or focusing, function of particles. Drawing on the latest definition of Polish particles by Grochowski et al. (2014: 26), they function as the operators of a metatext that affect the syntax of a sentence. They open up a position for the rheme of the sentence. In turn, grammatically unmarked expressions, i.e. expressions belonging to different parts of speech, syntactic groups, and whole sentences, can serve this purpose. They co-occur with these expressions, but do not have a syntactic relationship with them and do not demand any specific grammatical-semantic properties from their co-occurrences. The literature also points to their mobility in the sentence and to the role of the *common ground* in the correct interpretation of particle sentences in

the target language. In view of the above definitions, it can be stated that linguistically relevant similarities between the particle inventories in the two languages in question can be identified. Consequently, Section 2.2 will concern the subclassification of focus-sensitive particles in German and Polish, with special attention paid to their semantic features such as additivity, restrictivity, and scalarity (for more on focus particles in Slavic languages, see Kisiel 2019, for more on focus particles compared in German and Polish, see Jaremiewicz-Kwiatkowska 2016; 2017; 2018).

2.2 Subclassification

Since Altmann's research work (1978: 119-120), a distinction has been made in German between quantifying and scalar focus particles (see also Bayer 1996). Quantifying focus particles include the particles *auch* and *nur*, whereas the particle *sogar* belongs to the subclass of scalar focus particles. The differences between the prototypical particles mentioned above lie in the specific relation they establish between the focused expression and its alternatives (Rooth 1992: 2). Accordingly, the particle *nur* is called a restrictive, or exclusive, focus particle because of the exclusion of the alternatives, whereas the particle *auch* is called additive, or inclusive, because here the alternatives are included instead of excluded (see Examples 3a-4a below). The scalar particle *sogar*, in turn, relates the focused constituent "to a choice set whose elements have a certain order" (Dimroth 2004: 28). According to Altmann (1978: 120), this order is to be understood as a context-dependent scale formed from the relevant alternatives of the focus and on which the focus is assigned a maximum or minimum position. This scale assignment is usually accompanied by a valuation (see also Jacobs 1983: 129). Thus, for example, the listener can infer from an utterance (see Example 1) that money ranks high on the scale of desirability for the speaker or that he assumes that money fulfills this role for the listener.

(1) Ger. – "*Sogar* [Geld]_F *verachtet er*".

Eng. – "He despises **even** [money]_F".

Since the class of focus particles is not defined in Polish at all, the Polish equivalents to the German prototypical focus particles *auch*, *nur*, and *sogar* are assigned to other subclasses. With regard to the classification according to the Dictionary of Polish Particles (Grochowski et al. 2014), these belong to the class of comparative particles, that is, they comment on what is said about objects or facts that are being talked about in the sentence. Here, a comparison with other objects and facts is also implied. With this in mind, the speaker can either emphasise similarity between the objects or facts, as with the particles of analogy (inclusive, or additive), or the speaker can reject such similarity, as with the restrictive particles (restrictive, or exclusive, Bogusławski 1986). According to the Dictionary of Polish Particles (Grochowski et al. 2014), particles of analogy include lexical units such as: *jeszcze*

(also), *nawet* (even), *i* (and also), *również / także / też* (also) while the subclass of restrictive particles includes such items as: *jedynie*, *tylko*, *tylko i wyłącznie*, *wyłącznie* (only). For further analyses in the context of this paper, however, the number of Polish focus-sensitive particle inventories will be restricted for reasons of space. Therefore, the analogy particles *i* and *jeszcze*, as well as the restrictive particles *jedynie* and *tylko i wyłącznie*, will be excluded from the discussion. This decision is based on the observation that these particles appear less frequently than the rest as the equivalents of the German prototypical focus particles *auch*, *nur*, and *sogar*.

This classification underlines the quantifying function of the particles in question. It is also noticeable that the particle *nawet*, which is considered the equivalent of the German focus particle *sogar*, is assigned to the subclass of analogy particles. Presumably, there are no studies in Polish that have examined the scalar use of the particle *nawet*; however, this property of the particle *nawet* to assign a maximum or minimum position to the focus on a scale is signalled by some authors (Grochowski 2009; Kiklewicz 2004). For example, Kiklewicz (2004: 182) underlines the inclusive meaning of the particle *nawet*, i.e., the membership of an object in an associative collection, yet contrary to the assumed norm of that object (or group of objects). Analysing the example sentence (see Example 2), it becomes clear that Piotr belongs to a group of people who have solved the task, but he has done so despite a lack of ability, i.e., against his own norm.

(2) Pol. – "*Nawet [Piotr]_F rozwiązał to zadanie*".

Eng. – "[**Even** [Peter]_F has done this task]".

This is in line with the observation that the German particle *sogar* behaves in the same way as the focus particle *auch* with regard to assertion and presupposition, but here another meaning component is added that is crucial for the classification of *sogar*. In the literature, this is analysed as a conventional implicature (Sudhoff 2012: 206-207). To illustrate this, consider Examples 2a and 2b.

(2a) Ger. – "*Sogar [Peter]_F hat diese Aufgabe gelöst*".

Eng. – "**Even** [Peter]_F has done this task".

Assertion: Ger. – "Peter hat diese Aufgabe gelöst".

Eng. – "Peter has done this task".

Presupposition: Ger. – "Niemand außer Piotr hat diese Aufgabe gelöst".

Eng. – "No one but Peter has done this task".

Conventional implicature: Ger. – "Es ist unwahrscheinlich, dass Peter diese Aufgabe gelöst hat".

Eng. – "It is unlikely that Peter has done this task".

(2b) Pol. – "**Nawet** [Piotr]_F rozwiązał to zadanie".

Eng. – "**Even** [Peter]_F has done this task".

Assertion: Pol. – "Piotr rozwiązał to zadanie".

Eng. – "Peter has done this task".

Presupposition: Pol. – "Nikt oprócz Piotra nie rozwiązał tego zadania".

Eng. – "No one but Peter has done this task".

Conventional implicature: Pol. – "Jest mało prawdopodobne, że Piotr rozwiązał to zadanie".

Eng. – "It is unlikely that Peter has done this task".

The analysis of the relationship between assertion and presupposition can also be used to support the parallels already shown in the subclassification of German and Polish particle inventories into the groups of additive and restrictive particles (see Examples 3ab-4ab):

(3a) Ger. – "**Nur** [Peter]_F hat diese Aufgabe gelöst".

Eng. – "**Only** [Peter]_F has done this task".

Assertion: Ger. – "Niemand außer Piotr hat diese Aufgabe gelöst".

Eng. – "No one but Peter has done this task".

Presupposition: Ger. – "Peter hat diese Aufgabe gelöst".

Eng. – "Peter has done this task".

(3b) Pol. – "**Tylko/Wyłącznie** [Piotr]_F rozwiązał to zadanie".

Eng. – "**Only** [Peter]_F has done this task".

Assertion: Pol. – "Nikt oprócz Piotra nie rozwiązał tego zadania".

Eng. – "No one but Peter has done this task".

Presupposition: Pol. – "Piotr rozwiązał to zadanie".

Eng. – "Peter has done this task".

(4a) Ger. – "**Auch** [Peter]_F hat diese Aufgabe gelöst".

Eng. – "**Also** [Peter]_F has also done this task".

Assertion: Ger. – "Peter hat diese Aufgabe gelöst".

Eng. – "Peter has done this task".

Presupposition: Ger. – "Noch jemand außer Peter hat diese Aufgabe gelöst".

Eng. – "Someone else besides Peter has done this task".

(4b) Pol. – "**Także/Również** [Piotr]_F rozwiązał to zadanie"/"[Piotr]_F **też** rozwiązał to zadanie".

Eng. – "**Also** [Peter]_F has done this task"/"[Peter]_F has **also** done this task".

Assertion: Pol. – "Piotr rozwiązał to zadanie".

Eng. – "Peter has done this task".

Presupposition: Pol. – "Jeszcze ktoś oprócz Piotra rozwiązał to zadanie".

Eng. – "Someone else besides Peter has done this task".

In conclusion, even though both classification systems of particles (German and Polish) differ from each other, it can be observed that in both languages a distinction can be made between additive and restrictive focus-sensitive particles. Moreover, it can be stated that the scalar use of particles is not exclusively the domain of German, but can also be demonstrated for Polish.

2.3 Restrictiveness, additivity and scalarity as semantic features

An important point in the discussion regarding the classification of focus-sensitive particles into the subclass of additive, restrictive, and scalar particles is that not all focus particles can be clearly assigned to one class (Sudhoff 2012: 208). As the following examples (5-7) show, the particle *sogar* can occur scalarly and additively at the same time. The particle *auch*, in turn, has the scalar meaning dimension in addition to the additive one. And finally, the restrictive particle *nur* can be used both scalarly and restrictively. In other words, the feature of scalarity seems to be able to occur as an independent meaning dimension in both additive and restrictive focus particles, thus affecting the meaning contribution of the particle.

(5) Ger. – "*Peter hat **sogar** [Maria]_F geküsst*".

Eng. – "Peter kissed **even** [Maria]_F".

(6) Ger. – "*Diese Frage ist **auch** [für Experten]_F schwierig zu beantworten*".

Eng. – "This question is difficult to answer **even** [for experts]_F".

(7) Ger. – "*Maria ist Professorin, Peter **nur** [Doktorand]_F*".

Eng. – "Maria is a professor, Peter is **only** [a doctoral]_F student".

As a solution to these differentiation difficulties, Foolen (1983) proposed a classification system in which, on the one hand, the terms restrictive [+ restrictive] and additive [– restrictive] are understood as a pair of opposites, and, on the other hand, scalar and non-scalar focus particles [+/- scalar] are distinguished in addition to these two dimensions of meaning. According to Sudhoff (2012), however, this system proves to be insufficient as it cannot accommodate such particles as *nur* and *auch*, which can be used either scalarly or non-scalarly depending on the context. Consequently, the author proposes an extension of this system to include another feature [α scalar]. This should be understood as distinguishing three subsets of focus particles with respect to the characteristic of scalarity: those that are never scalar [– scalar], those that are always scalar [+ scalar], and those that are interpreted as either scalar or non-scalar [α scalar] (see Table 1 according to Sudhoff 2012: 210).

Table 1. Classification of German, Dutch, and English focus particles according to Sudhoff (2012: 210)

		[– scalar]	[α scalar]	[+ scalar]
[– restrictive]	dt. nl. en.	ebenso evenzo also	auch ook	sogar zelfs even
[+ restrictive]	dt. nl. en.	allein allen purely	nur only	maar

As Table 1 shows, this extended system was applied by the author to the focus particle inventories of German, Dutch, and English. Based on the fact that the present paper concentrates on the prototypical focus particles *auch*, *nur*, *sogar* as well as their Polish equivalents, further in the paper, the aforementioned classification will be applied to the Polish particle inventory and contrasted with the German data (in Section 3). It is even more interesting that the Polish particles have not yet been studied with respect to the feature of scalarity. Before that, however, some exemplary particle sentences with *auch*, *nur*, *sogar* will be presented (see Examples 8-12), showing the multidimensionality of their meanings or usages pointed out by Sudhoff (2012) (see Examples 8-12). Like in the analysis of Polish particle inventories (in Section 3), these are corpus clauses presented in a narrow context. The selected examples are obviously limited to the prototypical particles discussed in the framework of the present paper and were taken from the ParaSoL corpus.

(8) Ger. – " *'Lass mich vorbei!' Iwan sprang nach rechts, der Kantor ebenfalls, Iwan sprang nach links, [der Schurke]_F auch. 'Hampelst du mir mit Absicht vor den Beinen rum?' – schrie Iwan in tierischer Wut. 'Ich bring dich auch gleich zur Miliz!' "*

Eng. – " 'Let me pass!' Ivan jumped to the right, the cantor too, Ivan jumped to the left, the [scoundrel]_F **too**. 'Are you jumping in front of my legs on purpose?' – Ivan shouted in animal rage. 'I'll take you to the militia right away too!' " (**additive dimension of meaning**).

(9) Ger.– "*Kein fremdes Schicksal interessierte Sie mehr, nur noch Ihr eigenes. Ihre Angehörigen fangen an, Sie zu belügen. Sie wittern Unrat, laufen zu gelehrten Ärzten, dann zu Kurpfuschern und vielleicht auch [zu Wahrsagerinnen]_F*".

Eng. – "No one else's fate interested you any more, only your own. Your relatives begin to lie to you. You smell mischief, run to learned doctors, then to quack doctors, and perhaps **also** [to fortune tellers]_F" (**scalar dimension of meaning**).

(10) Ger. – " *'Ich verstehe Sie sehr gut', antwortete Strawinski ernst, berührte den Poeten am Knie und fügte hinzu: 'Bleiben Sie ruhig und fahren Sie fort'. 'Das tue ich,' sagte Iwan, bemüht, sich Strawinskis Ton anzupassen, denn er wusste schon aus bitterer Erfahrung, dass nur [Ruh]_F ihm helfen konnte*".

Eng. – " 'I understand you very well,' Stravinsky replied gravely, touched the poet on the knee and added, 'Stay calm and continue.' 'I will,' Ivan said, trying hard to match Stravinsky's tone, for he already knew from bitter experience that **only** [staying calm]_F could help him" (**restrictive dimension of meaning**).

(11) Ger. – "*Eine Bühne, ein dunkelroter Samtvorhang, der mit vergrößerten Abbildungen goldener Zehnroubelstücke wie mit Sternen übersät war, ein Souffleurkasten und sogar Publikum. Nikanor Iwanowitsch wunderte sich, dass dieses ganze Publikum **nur** [aus Männern]_F bestand und dass sie alle aus irgendwelchen Gründen Barte hatten*".

Eng. – "A stage, a dark red velvet curtain dotted with enlarged images of golden ten-rouble coins like stars, a prompter's box and even an audience. Nikanor Ivanovich was surprised that this whole audience consisted **only** [of men]_F and that they all had beards for some reason" (**scalar dimension of meaning**).

(12) Ger. – "*Er trat noch einen Schritt näher an William heran, als hätte er Angst, dass ihn jemand hörte: 'Auch hier geht es um, auch hier in diesen geweihten Mauern! Weißt du es?' 'Ich weiß es,' der Abt hat es mir gesagt, er [hat mich] **sogar** [gebeten]_F, ihm bei der Aufklärung behilflich zu sein*".

Eng. – "He took another step closer to William, as if he was afraid someone would hear him: 'It's about to happen here, too, within these hallowed walls! Do you know it?' 'I know it,' the abbot told me, he **even** [asked me]_F to help him find out" (**scalar dimension of meaning**).

Based on the elementary division of focus particles into the subclasses of additive, restrictive, and scalar particles, which is common in German-language literature, Sudhoff (2012) proposed an even more differentiated subdivision. According to this author, among the additive and restrictive particles there are those that are "always scalar", "never scalar", and also those that can be "either scalar or not scalar" depending on the context. This classification system by Sudhoff (ibid.) will also be applied in the following corpus-linguistic analysis of the Polish focus particle inventories (Section 3).

3. Corpus linguistic analysis of Polish particle inventories

3.1 Materials and methods

As the Polish equivalents of the prototypical focus particles *auch*, *nur*, and *sogar*, lexical units from the group of analogical particles (*również*, *także*, *też*, *nawet*) as well as restrictive particles (*tylko*, *wyłącznie*), as already elaborated in Section 2, will be included in the present analysis. The aforementioned Polish particles will then be examined for such semantic features as additivity, restrictivity, and scalarity using Sudhoff's classification model (as discussed in Section 2), and thus compared to the German focus particles. The question to be answered is whether the analogous particle inventories of the two languages fully correspond in their meanings and usages. The National

Corpus of the Polish Language was chosen for the analysis. For each of the particles to be analyzed, 50 occurrences were selected and, in this way, 450 particle sentences were included in the analysis. These were selected using the IPI PAN and PELCRA corpus search engines. The sample was random, and the selected sentences containing particles were taken from both written and oral texts. Similarly to Foolen (1983) and Sudhoff (2012), the data obtained will be tabled and supported with a number of examples.

3.2 Results and discussion

With regard to the obtained data, which are included in Table 3 below, it should be noted that the Polish particles *również*, *też*, *także*, which are assigned to the group of additive particles, can also be used scalarly in certain usages [– restrictive/ α scalar]. Thus, they can be identified as the complete equivalents of the German focus particle *auch*. The same applies to the restrictive particle *tylko*, that is, this particle, too, can occur in either the scalar or non-scalar meaning dimension, depending on the context, and thus function as the equivalent of the German particle *nur* [+ restrictive/ α scalar]. Furthermore, it should be observed that the Polish particle *nawet* turns out to be scalar and at the same time also additive [+ scalar/– restrictive], just like the German particle *sogar*. Finally, in Polish there is one more scalar particle which at the same time has a restrictive meaning dimension [+ scalar/+ restrictive], i.e. the particle *wyłącznie*. Thus, we can speak of an equivalence between the German focus particle *nur* and the Polish particle *wyłącznie* only in this meaning or usage (in the sense of *nur/ausschließlich*). However, from the corpus data it appears that this equivalence relationship is characterised by a low frequency of occurrence.

Table 2. Classification of Polish focus particles, as compared to German (Source: Own processing)

		[– scalar]	[α scalar]	[+ scalar]
[– restrictive]	dt. pl.		auch również też także	sogar nawet
[+ restrictive]	dt. pl.		nur tylko	wyłącznie

What follows is an exemplification of how the particles included in Table 2 are distributed in sentences. Each sentence with a particle is presented in a broader context, since only by contextual embedding can the scalar meaning dimension of additive/restrictive particles be grasped (Examples 13-22).

(13) Pol. – "Tylko nielicznych przywieziono w wyniku udowodnionej im działalności w organizacjach konspiracyjnych. Zadecydowana większość znalazła się w obozie bez żadnego, nawet najbardziej

nieformalnego wyroku. Czerwonym winklem oznaczono **również** [ludzi zatrzymanych w łapankach ulicznych lub aresztowanych w wyniku masowych represji]_F".

Eng. – "Only a few were brought in as a result of proven activity in underground organisations. The vast majority found themselves in the camp without any, even the most informal, verdict. The red line **also** marked [people arrested in street round-ups or arrested as a result of mass repression]_F" (**additive dimension of meaning**).

(14) Pol. – "Drodzy państwo, dzisiaj chcemy porozmawiać o rzeczy niesłychanie trudnej, o rzeczy, która dotknęła. Nie tylko tych, którzy zostali deportowani siedemdziesiąt lat temu, ale również dotknęła nasze rodzin i czy tego chcemy, czy też nie dotyka **również** [nas samych]_F w konsekwencjach".

Eng. – "Dear Ladies and Gentlemen, today we want to talk about something extremely difficult, something that has affected not only those who were deported seventy years ago but also our families and, whether we like it or not, it **also** affects [ourselves]_F in its consequences]" (**scalar dimension of meaning**).

(15) Pol. – "Madlena Kratiuk zdobyła złoty medal podczas turnieju kwalifikacyjnego do MP w judo, w kategorii wagowej do 52 kg. Zostawiła w pokonanym polu osiem konkurentek i uzyskała oczywiście finałowy awans. To ogromny sukces samej zawodniczki klubu UKS "Samuraj", którego jest aktualnie reprezentantką i w dużej mierze **także** [Wojciecha Augustynowicza]_F, pod którego okiem m. in. trenuje".

Eng. – "Madlena Kratiuk won the gold medal during the qualification tournament for the Polish Championships in judo, in the weight category up to 52 kg. She left eight competitors in the field of defeat and, of course, she gained the final promotion. It is a great success of the UKS "Samuraj" Club, which she currently represents, and **also** [Wojciech Augustynowicz]_F, under whose supervision, among others, she trains" (**additive dimension of meaning**).

(16) Pol. – " 'Moje wyścigi są nagrane, będziemy je analizować i po nich będę wiedziała więcej na temat tego, dlaczego byłam tylko druga. Szczerze mówiąc cieszę się z tego srebrnego medalu bardzo'. 'A z tego, że zostawiłaś za sobą kilkunastu chłopaków, nie tylko z Polski, ale innych krajów Europy, **także** [RPA]_F?' – 'Jasne, że satysfakcja po wygraniu z chłopakami zawsze jest' ".

Eng. – " 'My races are recorded, we will analyse them and after that I will know more about why I came only second. To be honest, I'm very happy with the silver medal.' 'And the fact that you left behind a dozen or so guys, not only from Poland, but other European countries [South Africa]_F **too**?' 'Sure, there is always satisfaction after winning with the boys.' " (**scalar dimension of meaning**).

(17) Pol. – "W moim doświadczeniu specyficzne jest to, że prawie nie miałem rodziny. Prawie wszyscy zginęli podczas wojny. Poza rodzicami uratowała się tylko bratowa ojca z córką i synem. Przeżyli

wojnę na aryjskich papierach, gdzieś na wsi pod Lwowem. Uratował się **też** [Szymon Szechter]_F, dalszy kuzyn mojego ojca, który walczył w Czerwonej Armii".

Eng. – "What is peculiar about my experience is that I had almost no family. Almost everyone was killed during the war. Apart from my parents, only my father's sister-in-law with her daughter and son survived. They survived the war with Aryan papers somewhere in the countryside near Lviv. **Also** [Szymon Szechter]_F, my father's more remote cousin, who fought in the Red Army, survived" **(additive dimension of meaning)**.

(18) Pol. – "Głos Wiesława tchnie chłodem. Jakby rozmawiał z kimś obcym, obojętnym. Milczenie, ciche chlipanie i wreszcie skarga wykrzyczana przez łzy: '**Też** [ty]_F jesteś przeciw mnie! Rozumiem, boli cię, że twoja córka jest oskarżona? Ty się chyba czegoś boisz tatusiu?' "

Eng. – "Wiesław's voice gives off coldness. It is as if he were talking to a stranger, to someone indifferent. Silence, silent sobbing, and finally a complaint shouted through tears, '[You]_F **too** are against me! I see it hurts you that your daughter has been accused? You must be afraid of something, daddy?' " **(scalar dimension of meaning)**.

(19) Pol. – "Jeśli okaże się, że drzewa usychają, naliczymy kary grzywny – mówi Jadwiga Szymańska, kierownik Referatu Ochrony Środowiska w UmiG w Serocku. W przypadku obumarcia drzew kary będą bardzo wysokie i mogłyby wynieść w zależności od obwodu drzewa **nawet** [80 tys. zł za sztukę]_F".

Eng. – "If it turns out that the trees wither, we will charge fines, says Jadwiga Szymańska, the head of the Environmental Protection Department at the municipal office in Serock. If the trees die, the fines will be very severe and could amount to **even** [80 thousand zloty per tree]_F, depending on the circumference" **(scalar dimension of meaning)**.

(20) Pol. – "Jeśli mam wyznać prawdę, w tamtych czasach w ogóle przestałam się uczyć: całą moją pozał się Boże wiedzę zdobyłam w szkole podstawowej, później już było tylko stopniowe zapominanie, czego się nauczyłam, głupienie, staczanie się po równi pochyłej. Przechodziłam z klasy do klasy, a jakże – i to z opinią bardzo dobrej uczennicy! – **wyłącznie** [dzięki mojej Wrodzonej Inteligencji i Nabytej w domu Kulturze]_F. **Wyłącznie**".

Eng. – "If I have to confess the truth, in those days I quit learning completely: all my knowledge, God forbid, was acquired in primary school, then it was just a gradual forgetting of what I had learnt, getting stupid, going downhill. I went from class to class and, indeed, with a reputation as a very good student! – **only** [thanks to my Innate Intelligence and Home Acquired Culture]_F. **Only**." **(scalar dimension of meaning)**.

(21) Pol. – "A Bill Gejts wie co mówi. On się zna na tym. Kto rządzi obrazami rządzi umysłami. Dlaczego o tym mówię, dlaczego cytuję po raz drugi Gejtsa, **tylko** [w innym kontekście]_F. Otóż dlatego, że konsumowanie obrazów medialnych wyjaławia umysł i redukuje potrzebę ciszy".

Eng. – "And Bill Gates knows what he is talking about. He knows his stuff. He who rules images rules minds. Why am I mentioning this, why am I quoting Gates a second time, if **only** [in a different context]_F. Well, because consuming media images emaciates the mind and reduces the need for silence" (**restrictive dimension of meaning**).

(22) Pol. – "*Tylko [szczerze i otwarcie]_F. Daję wam robotnicze słowo, tylko [szczerłość]_F wam pomoże. Towarzysz Mauser silił się na łagodny ton: – 'Nie zapominajcie o waszych kontaktach w Gdyni i o kpinach z wystawy. "Oto jest Ameryka" zorganizowanej we Wrocławiu' "*

Eng. – "**Only** [sincerity and openness]_F. I give you the workers' word, **only** [sincerity]_F will help you. Comrade Mauser was trying to be gentle in tone, 'Do not forget your contacts in Gdynia and the mockery of the exhibition. 'This is America' organised in Breslau.' " (**scalar dimension of meaning**).

4. Conclusions

In this paper, the semantic features required for the subclassification of focus-sensitive particles in Polish were discussed and compared with the German focus particle inventories. The analysis of the obtained data allows one to conclude that scalarity can appear as an independent dimension in the case of both particles of analogy and restrictive particles, although special importance of contextual embedding in differentiating individual modes of meaning should be pointed out here. This is especially noticeable in the field of particles, where the specification of meanings and the possibility of equivalence are often associated with great difficulties, whereas consistent descriptive categories seem to be of great significance. In other words, the present study has relevance to the lexical-semantic description of Polish particle inventories, on the one hand, and for German-Polish lexicography, on the other.


It should also be noted that during the analysis of the results, an interesting observation was made from which a starting point for future research may arise. It is noticeable that the scalar usage of the focus particles *nur/tylko* is characterised by a relatively high frequency compared to the purely restrictive one. With regard to the focus particle *auch*, it could again be established that its scalar meaning dimension proves to be much less conspicuous in comparison to the purely additive usage. However, based on the fact that in Polish there are three different particles (*również, także, też*) that can function as the equivalents of the German focus particle *auch*, the question arises as to how this relationship is distributed in terms of frequency of occurrence in the two (additive and scalar) meaning dimensions for each of these particles. Further investigation is needed here to prove the significance of this observation.

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Résumé

The aim of the study is to identify a group of focus-sensitive particles in Polish, which can function as equivalents to the German focus particles *auch*, *nur*, and *sogar*. In this way, the available data on German-Polish particle lexicography are revised. This investigation also has additional relevance for the lexical-semantic description of Polish particle inventories as compared to German focus particles. It should be noted that research on German focus particles has been conducted since the 1960s, whereas the class of Polish focus particles has not been described as such at all. This does not mean, however, that Polish is devoid of such particles that occur syntactically and discourse-pragmatically in the usage similar to that of German focus particles. With regard to the equivalence relationship between the German and Polish particle inventories, it should again be observed that, as a rule, attempts are made to assign Polish equivalents to German particles and vice versa. However, the exact specification of meanings as well as the mutual assignment of lexical units of the two languages is often connected with great difficulties, especially in the area of particles, which serve as focus-sensitive operators for structuring information. Therefore, consistent descriptive categories are

needed. The present paper uses a classification model based on such semantic features as additivity, restrictivity, and scalarity. The analysis of German and Polish sentences containing particles shows that it is difficult to clearly assign individual particles to a certain class. A special role seems to be played here by the feature of scalarity, which can occur as an independent dimension of meaning for both additive and restrictive focus particles. From the results obtained, it is also possible to identify many similarities in meaning and usage between the German and Polish particle inventories in question.

Key words: focus particle, information structure, equivalence, additivity, restrictivity, scalarity.

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