

FORMATION OF RESULTATIVE ADJECTIVES IN POLISH AND ANALOGICAL LEVELLING

The present paper investigates diachronic changes and the present-day variability in the form of Polish resultative adjectives. It is argued that the replacement of some obsolete resultative adjectives by rival forms, or the occurrence of adjectival doublets, can be attributed both to the changes in the restrictions on the attachment of adjectivizing (or stem-forming) suffixes and to the phenomenon of analogical leveling (as defined in Joseph 1998).

Two types of Polish resultative adjectives, which denote a state implying a previous event, are discussed here:

a/ those terminating in the sequence *-ty*, e.g. *zgnity* 'rotten', *spleśniały* 'mouldy';

b/ those terminating in the sequence *-ny* or *-ty*, e.g. *zamrażnięty* 'frozen', *zmęczony* 'tired'.

From the diachronic point of view, many of them are adjectivized participles (Bartnicka 1970). The resultative adjectives of the first type are based on stems of the past participle (i.e. *-l-* stems). The adjectives of the second type are based on the stems of the passive participle, which contains the morpheme *-n-* or its variant *-t-*.

A drastic decrease has been observed in the use of adjectival past participles since the 19th century (cf. Bajerowa 2003), as is indicated by some obsolete words of this type given in (1). At present, resultative adjectives terminating in *-ty* are productively formed from prefixed verbs denoting change of state, mainly from verbs containing the thematic suffix *-e(j)-* and *-nq-* (exemplified in 2).

Verbs with the suffix *-nq-* can be divided into several subgroups, depending on the morphological shape of their past tense forms (cf. Laskowski 1998). The suffix *-nq-* surfaces either in all past tense forms of a given verb (as shown in 3), in none of them (in 4) or in some of them (see 5-6). The infinitive, the imperative and the present/future tense forms are fairly regularly based on the extended verb stems (which contain the *-nq-* morpheme).

The existence of such slightly distinct models of verb conjugation contributes to the appearance of nonstandard verb forms, such as those in (7).

A relatedness is postulated in this paper between the instability of the conjugation paradigm of *-nq-* verbs and the occurrence of doublets in adjectival derivation, i.e. pairs of resultative adjectives terminating either in *-ty* or *-ny* (exemplified in 8-9). The form terminating in *-ty* is the more recent one. It may still be perceived as non-established or colloquial (as in 8). Alternatively, it may be gradually replacing the earlier *-ty* adjective, which starts to be perceived as rare or as having a poetic flavour (see 9). Resultative *-l-* adjectives exhibit the shortened form of the verb stem, while the *-t-* adjectives are based on the extended stem. Thus, the derivation of rival adjectives in *-ty* can be interpreted as resulting from the pressure towards the preservation of the *-nq-* suffix and, consequently, towards the consistency of the stem form within conjugational and derivational paradigms.

- (1) *nieudały* (obs.) ‘failed’ (cf. *nieudany* ‘failed’, from *nie udać się* ‘to fail’)
pekły (obs.) ‘burst’ (cf. *peknięty* ‘burst’ from *peknąć* ‘to burst’)
- (2) *oniemiały* ‘speechless’ (from *oniemieć* ‘to become speechless’)
pożółkły ‘that has become yellow’ (from *pożółknąć* ‘to become slightly yellow’)
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| <p>(3) <i>krzyknąć</i> ‘shout_{INF}’
 <i>krzyknij</i> ‘shout_{IMPER}’
 <i>krzyknę</i> ‘shout_{FUT.1SG}’
 <i>krzyknąłem</i> ‘shout_{PAST.M.1SG}’
 <i>krzyknął</i> ‘shout_{PAST.M.3SG}’
 <i>krzyknęła</i> ‘shout_{PAST.F.3SG}’</p> | <p>(4) <i>rosnąć</i> ‘grow_{INF}’
 <i>rośnij</i> ‘grow_{IMPER}’
 <i>rosnę</i> ‘grow_{PRES.1SG}’
 <i>rośłem</i> ‘grow_{PAST.M.1SG}’
 <i>rośł</i> ‘grow_{PAST.M.3SG}’
 <i>rosła</i> ‘grow_{PAST.F.3SG}’</p> |
|--|---|
- (5) *wychudnąć* ‘grow-thin_{INF}’
wychudnij ‘grow-thin_{IMPER}’
wychudnę ‘grow-thin_{FUT.1SG}’
wychudłem ‘grow-thin_{PAST.M.1SG}’
wychudł or *wychudnął* ‘grow-thin_{PAST.M.3SG}’
wychudła ‘grow-thin_{PAST.F.3SG}’
- (6) *zziębnać* ‘freeze_{INF}’
zziębnij ‘freeze_{IMPER}’
zziębne ‘freeze_{FUT.1SG}’
zziębnałem or *zziębłem* ‘freeze_{PAST.M.1SG}’
zziębnał, *zziębnął* or *zziębł* ‘freeze_{PAST.M.3SG}’
zziębła ‘freeze_{PAST.F.3SG}’
- (7) *?*wychudnęła* (nonstandard) ‘grow-thin_{PAST.F.3SG}’ (cf. *wychudła* in 4)
*?*zziębnęła* (nonstandard) ‘freeze_{PAST.F.3SG}’ (cf. *zziębła* in 6)
- (8) *osłabły* or *?*osłabnięty* (nonstandard) ‘that has grown weak’ (from *osłabnąć* ‘to grow weak’)
wyblakły or *wyblaknięty* (rare, colloq.) ‘pale’ (from *wyblaknąć* ‘to become pale’)
wychudły or *?*wychudnięty* (nonstandard) ‘thinned’ (from *wychudnąć* ‘to grow thin’)
zwiędły or *zwiędnięty* (rare, colloq.) ‘withered’ (from *zwiędnąć* ‘to wither’)
- (9) *zmoknięty* or *zmokły* (rare) ‘soaking wet’ (from *zmoknąć* ‘to get wet’)
zziębnięty or *zziębły* (rare) ‘that has frozen’ (from *zziębnąć* ‘to freeze, to grow cold’)

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