

Towards a History of Linguistics in Poland

From the early beginnings
to the end of the 20th century

EDITED BY

E.F.K. Koerner

Aleksander Szwedek

JOHN BENJAMINS PUBLISHING COMPANY

TOWARDS A HISTORY OF LINGUISTICS
IN POLAND

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Volume 102

Edited by Konrad Koerner and Aleksander Szwedek

Towards a History of Linguistics in Poland
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FROM THE EARLY BEGINNINGS TO THE END
OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

EDITED BY

E.F.K. KOERNER

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JOHN BENJAMINS PUBLISHING COMPANY
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To the memory of
Mikołaj Kruszewski
on the occasion of the
150th anniversary
of his birth on
6 December 1851



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FOREWORD & ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

On the occasion of a visit to Toruń in April 1993 by the first editor, the idea was broached to consider undertaking a special (double) issue of *Historiographia Linguistica* devoted to the History of Linguistics in Poland. As the record shows, it took several years to eventually realize such a project. At the time it appeared to us that there was little interest in the history of linguistics in Poland. Since the Fall of the Berlin Wall people were interested in more ‘useful’ activities (cf. this volume, pp. 117-118, as an example), and the history of such a subject as the study of language was, understandably, at the bottom of priorities. Still, we remained undaunted, persevered against many odds,¹ and the result of our joint efforts was, we believe, quite respectable (see *HL* 25:1/2 [1998]). On 220 printed pages we had managed to bring together articles dealing with the history, development, and present state of such subjects as lexicography, dialectology, onomastics, historical-comparative linguistics, and the philosophy of language, including logic. As well, there were articles devoted to three of the most distinguished Polish linguists: Jan Baudouin de Courtenay, Mikołaj Kruszewski, and Jerzy Kuryłowicz.

However, we felt that one major subject, albeit discussed in some detail in conjunction with the work of Baudouin and Kruszewski, had been missing, and so we invited Zdzisław Wąsik to write a survey article on the history of general linguistics in Poland which was duly published in *Historiographia Linguistica* 26.149-198 (1999), and which added treatments of the work of Jan Rozwadowski (1867–1935), Wiktor Porzeziński (1870–1929), Stanisław Szober (1879–1939), Andrzej Gawroński (1885–1927), Witold Doroszewski (1899–1976), Tadeusz Milewski (1906–1966), and others, including linguists whose work had been the subject of the previously mentioned articles.

Soon after publication of the special *HL* issue, the editors, realizing that their efforts had been well received by the scholarly community, conceived of the idea not to have those scholarly papers remain buried in a specialist journal but to retake and rework the bulk of these articles, invite Professors Franciszek Grucza of Warsaw and Jerzy Bańczerowski of Poznań to contribute studies from their fields of expertise, Applied Linguistics and Theoretical Linguistics, respectively. Bańczerowski, in particular, provided in-

¹ Some of these technical and other difficulties were recorded in the “Chief Editor’s Foreword” in *HL* 25:1/2.iii-iv (1998), and need not be reiterated here.

depth analyses of the scientific contributions of two further Polish scholars of distinction, Mikołaj Rudnicki (1881–1978) and Ludwik Zabrocki (1907–1977). Finally, we decided to replace the short evaluations of the work by Kuryłowicz (1895–1878) in the areas of Theoretical and Indo-European Linguistics written by three separate authors (see *HL* 25.141-162) by a single account produced by Professor Wojciech Smoczyński of Kraków.

As in the original project, there was considerable work left for the editors, not all of which could be related here. It involved, again, translations into English, revisions of texts written in English, ensuring that they conformed to our expectations, both in content and form.

In a number of instances, we received help from translators Dr Ariadna Strugielska (Drozdowicz), Dr Waldemar Skrzypczak, Mr Tomasz Fojt and Mr Przemysław Żywicznyński, all from the English Department in Toruń, and Dr Danuta Kierzkowska from the Warsaw Institute of Applied Linguistics. Consultations with Prof. Barbara Kielar from the aforementioned Warsaw Institute and Prof. Stefan Grzybowski of the Toruń Institute of Slavic Languages contributed to the quality of the final texts. Their names may not always appear at the bottom of the first page of each chapter that has been translated, but they all deserve a public “Thank you!” here. One person in particular deserves special mention as his name does not always appear where it rightfully should: John Kearns, Lecturer in Toruń University’s English Department, who not only meticulously proofread several of the translations before they were sent on to Ottawa for the production of camera-ready copy, but very substantially contributed to the style and consistency of many texts. His professionalism and generosity have been truly exemplary.

We would also like to thank all those who helped us with all kinds of bio- and bibliographical data. Apart from various kind librarians, the following showed particular *engagement*: Prof. Teresa Dobrzyńska and Prof. Ewa Wolnicz-Pawłowska of Warsaw, Prof. Kazimierz Polański of Kraków, and Dr Władysław Zabrocki of Poznań.

Thanks are also due to a number of institutions for their kind help, including permission to reissue materials copyrighted by them: to the personnel departments of various universities for providing dates of individuals; to the publishers of Adam Mickiewicz University of Poznań and the Jagiellonian University of Kraków for permission to reprint papers; to Książnica Miejska in Toruń for the picture of Samuel Linde’s monument, and the University Library in Toruń for the reproduction of the title-page of his famous dictionary.

Konrad Koerner
Hull, Québec

August 2001

Aleksander Szwedek
Bydgoszcz

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EDITORS' INTRODUCTION

Looking at previous Polish scholarship devoted to the History of Linguistics during the 20th century in general, not to mention the historiography of linguistic scholarship in Poland specifically, one comes up with a rather meagre crop. Having left hardly any stone unturned to dig up whatever may have been written that touches upon or is in fact devoted to the history of linguistic work in Poland during the past two or more centuries (see the bibliography appended to this introduction), we believe it is not unfair to say that most of it is essentially textbook history written for the general reader in linguistics, more often than not addressed to neophytes and, quite typically, derivative and unoriginal.

Still, it would be unfair not to acknowledge the particular political situations Poland has had to endure in its at times rather tormented history and, on the other hand, not to take notice of the fact that at least in recent years good progress has been made in linguistic historiography, if we scan the publications in this area of interest between 1901 (an essay by Baudouin de Courtenay, followed by a much larger account in 1909) and 1999 (the volume edited by Andrzej Śródka, which was conceived as part of an overall stock-taking of the sciences in Poland). However, if we look at this volume more closely, we realize that we should have been forewarned that the subject reads “Nauki filologiczne [Philological sciences]”, not linguistics. As a result, the bulk of the contributions is devoted to literature, not the science of language. It's true that the chapters on “Classical philology” (by Marian Plezia), “Oriental studies” (by Jan Reychman), “Polish studies in linguistics” (by Irena Bajerowa), or “Slavistic linguistics” (by Janusz Rieger) are of distinct interest to the historian of linguistics insofar as they deal with language study, though mainly Zdzisław Wąsik on “General Linguistics” remains central to the subject of our present undertaking.

It appears that only the late Adam Heinz's (1914–1984) 518-page *Dzieje językoznawstwa w zarysie* [A history of linguistics in outline] of 1978 provided a broad survey of the methodology of linguistic thought and practice from antiquity to the mid-20th century which would compare to accounts undertaken in the West (cf. Koerner 1978 for a ‘tour d’horizon’ of the scholarship between 1822 and 1976). As it is, Heinz's work remained in the conventional format; it reminds us, also in the addition of pictures of scholars and

other illustrations, of Holger Pedersen's popular book (Pedersen 1931), though it is true that the scope of the Danish Indo-Europeanist's book was less broad. However, the various scholarly efforts in this direction by others, notably Stanisław Urbańczyk (e.g., 1993 and 1994[1978]), should not be overlooked. But by the 1990s, the situation generally appears to have improved from fairly superficial listings of names, works and problems to more in-depth, truly historiographic studies, for instance when we take note of Joanna Williams Radwańska's 1993 monograph on Kruszewski and Arleta Adamska-Sałaciak's study on the historical work of the latter as well as Baudouin de Courtenay, and Rozwadowski.

Yet, with all due respect to our colleagues and predecessors, we believe that the present volume attempts to go a bit farther and start to lay the ground work for a History of Polish Linguistics still to be written. In 1998, we published, in a double issue of *Historiographia Linguistica* a series of articles covering such fields as dialectology, lexicography, general and — if we take Jan Safarewicz's piece on Kuryłowicz as an Indo-Europeanist (*HL* 25.147-152) also into account — historical linguistics, and so we were in a position to retake a larger number of them here and mould them, together with several additional articles (by Franciszek Grucza, Jerzy Bańcerowski, and Wojciech Smoczyński) plus the survey of general linguistics by Zdzisław Wąsik, which had previously been published in *Historiographia Linguistica* 26.149-198 (1999) into a fairly coherent volume of altogether ten chapters of almost equal length.

Given the focus of the present volume on matters related to Linguistics, both theoretical and applied, we have decided not to reprint Jerzy Pelc's "Logic of Language and Philosophy of Language in 20th-Century Poland" (which previously appeared in *Historiographia Linguistica* 25:1/2.163-220 [1998]), although we certainly would want to draw attention to this almost monograph-length piece of work that has no rival in this area of interest. Indeed, the contribution of Polish logicians to modern language philosophy is immense, and so at least a summary of this article is offered in the next paragraph.

According to Pelc's study, the logic of language and the philosophy of language in 20th-century Poland ran in two mainstreams, the so-called Lvov-Warsaw school and that of phenomenological thought. The former was dominant, the latter was represented mainly by the work of Roman Ingarden (1903–1970). Among works of the Lvov-Warsaw school, this essay considers the most important achievements of its founder, Kazimierz Twardowski (1866–1938), and the oldest generation of his disciples: Stanisław Leśniewski

(1886–1939), Tadeusz Kotarbiński (1886–1981), Kazimierz Ajdukiewicz (1890–1963), and Izydora Dąmbska (1904–1983), as well as Alfred Tarski (1902–1983) who, in philosophy, was a disciple of Jan Łukasiewicz (1878–1956), Leśniewski and Kotarbiński. The paper is limited to the discussion of the most important of their reflections on natural language, in particular to what is most characteristic of them: elaborated and deep analyses of semantic sections connected with epistemological ones, and pragmatic sections connected with psychological ones, all presented with great attention to clarity, precision and comprehensibility of formulations. Major semantic conceptions of Ingarden were also mentioned: the theory of meaning as a relation between an intending object and an intentional object, as well as semantic differences between a name, verb and sentence. (The article also carries photographs of Twardowski, Leśniewski, Ajdukiewicz, Tarski, and Ingarden.)

The present volume has been organized under two major headings. The first five chapters deal with historical accounts of the development of the various linguistic subfields whereas the following five chapters focus on the legacy of one major linguistic thinker.

Chapter One, authored by Zdzisław Wąsik, “The Development of General Linguistics within the History of the Language Sciences in Poland: Late 1860s – late 1960s”, is about the longest of them all, covering more or less exactly the one hundred years between 1868 and 1968. It offers an overview of the contribution of Polish linguists to the development of general linguistics during the period between Baudouin de Courtenay’s celebrated doctoral work on analogy conducted under the guidance of Schleicher at the University of Jena and Leon Zawadowski’s departure for North America. It analyzes, within an epistemological perspective, the heritage of academic teachers of the period who developed their own proposals to the theory of language against the scientific legacy which characterized European linguistics of the time. The division into periods of development considers not only historical-political circumstances contributing to the formation of linguistic centers, but also professional turning points in the careers of individual linguists illustrated by the nature and dates of particular publications as well as at times by changes in university appointments.

Chapter Two, drafted by Franciszek Grucza, “Origins and Development of Applied Linguistics in Poland”, argues that, although applied aspects of language science have been pursued for many centuries, the history of any conscious separation of applied linguistics from supposedly pure linguistics and its objects is barely two hundred years old. This division was first introduced by a German scholar August Friedrich Bernhardt (1769–1820) in 1801,

and made much later again by the Pole Baudouin de Courtenay (1870). In the second half of the 20th century Applied Linguistics has become a rather complex — and important — part of the language sciences. First, it divided into such subdisciplines as glottodidactics, translation studies, and contrastive analyses of various kinds; secondly, within each of these research dimensions there have developed basic (pure) and applied strands. The chapter presents the main developments in Poland in many of those areas.

Chapter Three, written by Tadeusz Piotrowski, “Lexicography in Poland: From the early beginnings to the present”, sketches the history of research in Polish lexicography and of the most important dictionaries of Polish from the beginnings in the late Middle Ages until the end of the 20th century. Its focus is on monolingual dictionaries, while bi- and multilingual publications are touched upon only insofar as they constitute significant contributions to the development of monolingual dictionaries. This chapter stresses the continuity of some solutions which relate above all to what may be called the opposition between prescriptivism and liberalism. Individual dictionaries are discussed against a wide cultural background, and the evolution of lexicographic methods and techniques is treated at some length as well. Ample space has been given to the discussion of the situation after 1990, the year when Poland regained its full sovereignty, and when dictionary publishers, like other entrepreneurs, endeavoured to adjust to new market conditions.

Chapter Four, by Stanisław Gogolewski, “Dialectology in Poland, 1873–1997”, is devoted to the development of dialectology in Poland. Its author sees the first stage of development dialect geography in connection with what he terms ‘the neogrammarian trend’, but which in fact goes back to work of the teachers of the *Junggrammatiker*, specifically August Schleicher (1821–1868). In 1873, Lucjan Malinowski (1839–1898), a student of Schleicher, published in Leipzig the first scientific description of a Polish dialect. In turn, his student, Kazimierz Nitsch (1874–1958), included in his research the entire territory of the Polish language, and in 1915 published the first synthesis *Dialekty języka polskiego* [Dialects of the Polish language]. In the inter-war period and later, there appeared a number of descriptions of dialects of individual villages and larger regions. A new, synthesizing discussion of the subject, in Karol Dejna’s (b.1911) *Dialekty polskie* [Polish dialects], was published in 1973. Geolinguistic atlases of particular dialects were produced, as well as *Mały atlas gwar polskich* (Little atlas of Polish dialects) comprising the whole country. A number of dialectal dictionaries were issued; work on the voluminous *Słownik gwar polskich* [A dictionary of Polish dialects] is in progress. Gogolewski concludes his account by stating that a new area of re-

search is developing: historical dialectology, concerned with the issues of the participation of particular dialects in the formation of literary Polish.

Chapter Five, penned by Sławomir Gala, “Onomastics in Poland: From 19th-century beginnings to the present”, deals with the particular area of linguistic investigation called *onomastics* “the study of names”. It discusses its scope of research, methodology, and relation to other branches of linguistics, such as language history, dialectology, as well as other fields outside of linguistics such as history. The central part of the chapter presents particular periods of onomastic research. A systematic development of the discipline is shown through a discussion of the relevant literature and mention of the most important scientific organizations and institutions. According to the author, the essence of the qualitative development of Polish onomastics consists in undertaking ever new problems which attest to the broadening of the scope of research to include new classes of speech signs recognized as *nomina propria*. Gala also regards it as essential to grapple with theoretical issues, such as defining the place and function of proper names within the system of language.

The second part of the volume is devoted to the life and work of arguably the most prominent Polish linguists of the 19th and 20th centuries, but the work of others, some may say of equal importance, is treated in various places in the present book as well, notably in Chapter One. We are thinking of person-ages like Jan Rozwadowski, Witold Doroszewski, Adam Heinz, Tadeusz Milewski, and others.

Chapter Six, written by Arleta Adamska-Sałaciak, “Jan Baudouin de Courtenay’s Contribution to General Linguistics”, is devoted to the 60-year career of the internationally best known Polish scholar who spanned the last third of the 19th and almost the entire first third of the 20th century. The extent of Jan Baudouin de Courtenay’s (1845–1929) contribution to general linguistic theory, she argues, is still hard to assess. He never wrote a major synthetic work, nor has the bulk of his production ever been translated into English. Thanks primarily to Roman Jakobson (1896–1982), at least his formative influence on modern phonology is generally acknowledged. Fewer linguists, the author holds, are aware of the relevance of Baudouin’s teachings devoted to the study of language change. His conceptualisation of the nature of change, its causes and goals, and the role played in it by the language system, all seem of more than merely historical interest to the theoretically-minded diachronic linguist.

Chapter Seven, “Mikołaj Kruszewski and 20th-Century Linguistics”, has been authored by the only non-Polish contributor and the most distinguished

Russian historian of linguistics during the last third of the 20th century, Fedor M. Berezin of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Moscow. The chapter deals with important issues in general linguistic theory discussed by Mikołaj Habdank Kruszewski (1851–1887), who, in the author's view, is an unjustly forgotten linguist of genius of the late 19th century. Berezin argues that Kruszewski could be seen as standing at the roots of the 20th-century structuralism, long before the appearance of Ferdinand de Saussure's lectures on general linguistics. In his major book *Očerki nauki o jazyke* [An outline of the science of language] of 1883,¹ Kruszewski conceived of language as a system of signs, laying stress on the semiotic function of language. His understanding of sound alternation is in many ways close to modern principles of phonology and morphonology. His hypothesis of the universal character of the sound laws too, Berezin holds, anticipated the discovery of language universals in the 20th century. As a result, the author agrees with Radwańska Williams' (1993) characterization of Kruszewski's theory as 'a lost paradigm' in the history of linguistics. Well-known linguists of the 20th century such as Jakobson, Kuryłowicz, and others rightly have argued that Kruszewski was one of the founders of modern linguistic theory.

In Chapter Eight, by Jerzy Bańczerowski, "Mikołaj Rudnicki's General Linguistic Conceptions", the author interprets Rudnicki's (1881–1978) views in terms of current linguistic knowledge, without necessarily being presentist. Language, in Rudnicki's view, is a form of consciousness, understood as language knowledge — essentially a form of cognition. This language consciousness is a consciousness of a given language community which is reflected in the language consciousness of the individual. Fundamental in such a conception are reproduced and reproductive images. The reproduced images are individual, concrete language objects in articulatory and acoustic forms. The reproductive images are the entities which exist within language consciousness. Language performance is a set of countless acts of language reproduction characterized by a certain psycho-physiological parallelism — a chain of images makes its way through the consciousness, and correspondingly there is a chain of movements of the speech organs. Language is susceptible to historical change comprehended as a mutability of the language consciousness. Rudnicki formulated a series of general laws of such phenomena as assimilation, dissimilation, metathesis, and palatalization which are merely various manifestations of the identification-differentiation forces op-

¹ Cf. Koerner (1995), which contains the first English translation of Kruszewski's major work, which until then had only been available in German (and barely accessible, one may add).

erating as *causa movens* in the space of language images. Rudnicki developed two types of structural phonetics: articulatory and auditory, as well as a theory of diacrisis and phonology in quite an advanced form.

Chapter Nine, by Wojciech Smoczyński, “Jerzy Kuryłowicz as Indo-Europeanist and Theorist of Language”, affirms, quite rightly we believe, that Kuryłowicz (1895–1978) was one of the greatest Polish linguists ever. A polyglot (speaking English, German, French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Russian, Arabic, Persian, and a few other languages), he was primarily interested in language structure and its mechanisms. Having studied with renowned linguists in Paris early in the 20th century, notably with Antoine Meillet (1866–1936), by also with Joseph Vendryes (1875–1960), Marcel Cohen (1884–1974), among others, he worked out his own methodology and theories. His main achievements were in Indo-European and the theory of language, and, moreover, in all areas of language structure — phonology, morphology, and syntax. One of his major work according to Smoczyński, *Études indo-européennes* of 1935, once described by a contemporary as ‘a theoretical outline of the structural basis of Indo-European grammar’, contains *in nuce* his main ideas about language and linguistics. Still, it is true that his theory of laryngeals brought him the most enduring recognition and lasting fame.

Finally, in the concluding Chapter Ten, “Aspects of Ludwik Zabrocki’s Linguistic World”, Jerzy Bańcerowski tries to give full justice to Zabrocki’s (1907–1977) wide scholarly interests which included general linguistics, comparative (historical, typological, contrastive, confrontative) linguistics, psycho- and sociolinguistics, cybernetic linguistics, Indo-European linguistics, and applied linguistics (glottodidactics). His original contributions were in linguistic codematics, synchronic and diachronic structural phonetics, diacritology, communicative and language communities, aspects of language comparison, cybernetic systems of language communication. The concept of code allowed Zabrocki to capture the dynamic aspect of language and language communication. He viewed sound processes as purely phonetic (universal) or initiated and controlled by a particular phonological system. It deserves to be pointed out that Zabrocki was the first to work out a comprehensive theory of communicative and language communities. As Bańcerowski puts it, a language community is a communicative community, which makes use of a fairly uniform means of communication, that is, a shared, common language. Hence, each language community is a communicative community, but not conversely. Cybernetics was defined by Zabrocki as the science of abstract optimal information systems. In linguistics his work is still relevant

to general linguistics, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, and indeed to glottodidactics and language teaching methodology as well.

It remains true that the present volume constitutes little else than a dedicated attempt at a stock-taking of Polish scholarship in various areas of linguistic science as well as of the contribution of Poland to world linguistics. The emphasis of our endeavours has been on *accounting* for the development of these subfields and the theoretical advances made over the past two hundred and more years rather than on *explaining* them within their respective historical, political, and intellectual settings. However, at least for the moment we will be satisfied if we have succeeded in reaching what has since Noam Chomsky's work of the 1960s (actually building on ideas developed by Louis Hjelmslev during the 1940s) been called the level of 'descriptive adequacy'. It would then be the next step to develop the kind of methodological and epistemological bases for a true historiography of the sciences of language in Poland, and this we could call the stage of 'explanatory adequacy', a level which even within linguistics *tout court* has thus far not yet been reached to everyone's satisfaction.

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PART I
POLISH LINGUISTICS: ORIGINS AND TRENDS

CHAPTER 1
GENERAL LINGUISTICS IN THE HISTORY OF THE
LANGUAGE SCIENCES IN POLAND
LATE 1860S – LATE 1960S*

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0. *Introductory remarks*

Before reviewing the contribution of Polish philologists to the development of general linguistics as a scientific discipline practiced in the 19th and 20th century over a one hundred year period of Poland's history, we have to specify the borderlines between the subject-matter of general linguistics and that of particular linguistics, making a distinction between 'language as a theoretical construct' and 'languages as empirical data'. From such a viewpoint, general linguistics is approached as a discipline which deals with language as a definitional model formulated in theoretical, i.e., non-observational statements.

Thus, the choice of historiographical materials is limited here to such works which search for the *genus proximum* and *differentia specifica* of language as a whole, its elements and structures, while separating extrasystemic facts, belonging to the investigative field of the neighboring disciplines of linguistics, from the systemic facts of language constituting the investigative domain of linguistics proper studied in relation to or in the abstraction from its environment.

1. *Landmarks in the Polish panorama of general linguistics*

1.1 *Attitudes towards comparative linguistics in the period of Romanticism*

The theoretical view of language arose in the context of comparative studies of languages. At the beginning of the 19th century, when the conceptions of Franz Bopp (1791–1867), Rasmus Kristian Rask (1787–1832), and Jacob Grimm (1785–1863) were prevailing in Europe, the author of Polish grammars for national schools, Onufry Kopczyński (1735–1817), still adhered to a belief that there must be a universal grammar of human speech

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which reflects the grammars of particular languages of the world (cf. Urbańczyk [1977:762]; for details, see Florczak [1978:147]).

More advanced was Walenty Skorochód-Majewski (1764–1835) as far as the knowledge about the discoveries of the first comparatists is concerned. In his papers on Sanskrit delivered from 1815, he informed Warszawskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk [Warsaw Society of the Friends of Sciences], on such subjects as “Badania o pochodzeniu Słowian i ich języku tudzież obyczajów i zwyczajów Indostanów ... [The search for the origin of Slavs and their language as well as the customs and ways of life of Hindustans ...]”. He also organized the first printing-house in Warsaw equipped with Sanskrit fonts and edited some booklets popularizing the knowledge of Sanskrit in Polish translations (*nota bene* distributed free of charge), as, for example, *Gramatyka mowy starożytnych Skuthów czyli skalnych górali* [The grammar of the ancient Scyths or rock mountaineers], published in Warsaw in 1828 and *Gramatyka mowy starożytnych Skuthów [...] Sanskrytem, czyli dokładną mową zwaną* [The grammar of the ancient Scyths ... called Sanskrit, that is exact speech] of 1833 (for further information see Rudnicki 1956:7). Yet the ideas of Boppian-style comparative grammar met with resistance in Poland. Seen as ‘a fruit of the Germanic Spirit’ which could only bring ‘great damages and disasters’ to the Polish language, their adoption was considered as ‘a sin against a nationality’ (Urbańczyk 1977:767-768).¹

1.2 *External and internal factors in the formation of Polish linguistic centers*

It has been noted (cf. Bajerowa 1987:803) how a breakthrough in the history of Polish linguistics was heralded by the investigations of two Indo-Europeanists, Jan Niecisław Baudouin de Courtenay (1845–1929) and Jan Michał Rozwadowski (1867–1935), working in two distant academic centres of Kazan, the provincial town of tsarist Russia on the Volga, and Cracow, the original site of the Polish kings, then under the control of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

At the time of Baudouin’s studies in the Historical-Philosophical Faculty of the Warsaw Main School, linguistics with a theoretical pretention was lectured from the handbooks of Hipolit Cegielski (1815–1869), *O powstaniu mowy i szczególnych języków* (On the origin of speech and particular languages) of 1841, and Jan Popławski (1819–1885), *O początku i różnorości mowy* (On the beginnings and varieties of speech) of 1867. But neither of

¹ Here and elsewhere throughout this historical overview quotations from Polish sources have been translated by the author (Zdzisław Wąsik) and marked by single rather than double quotation marks. Editors.

them took account of the findings of the new language sciences. Popławski was, in the later opinion of Baudouin, even more backward than Cegielski. It is reported that when ‘explaining the origin of speech he sent the listeners and readers back to paradise with Adam and Eve, and [when] explaining the diversities of speech — to the Tower of Babel’ (Weinsberg 1987:790).

It was not only customary for Poles studying linguistics both at Russian and Austrian universities to apply for grants to allow them to extend their education in Western centers of scholarship, such as in Jena, Prague, Leipzig and Berlin, but it was also a necessity, since the university chairs of Sanskrit and comparative grammar of Indo-European were created in Poland as late as in the 1870s (cf. Williams 1993:30). Paris too, in this respect, with its Linguistic Society having since 1866 as a publishing organ the *Bulletin de Société Linguistique de Paris* at the École Pratique des Hautes Études, was recognised as an important center of learning.

The history of Polish theoretical thought on language begins in 1868 (according to Porzeziński 1927:44), the date of publication of Baudouin’s study “Einige Fälle der Wirkung der Analogie in der polnischen Deklination”, edited by August Schleicher (1821–1868) in Jena (cf. also Baudouin 1904) and recognized later in Leipzig in 1870 as a doctoral dissertation at the instigation of August Leskien (1840–1916). Note that in the same year (1868) the rules of analogy were explicated on German material by the Austrian-born philologist Wilhelm Scherer (1841–1886), who has been credited, rightly or wrongly, for being a discoverer of this phenomenon (for details, see Weinsberg 1987:791).

Linguistic thought developed elsewhere in the world, outside the main Polish centers of learning, at the end of 1881 and the beginning of 1882 after Baudouin had presented several philological works from the University of Kazan, by himself and his student Mikołaj Habdank Kruszewski (1851–1887), at four consecutive meetings of Société de Linguistique de Paris (cf. Williams 1993:139). Three of these meetings were attended by no other than Ferdinand de Saussure (1857–1913), at that time the assistant secretary of the Linguistic Society of Paris and in charge of writing the reports of the Society’s bimonthly meetings. It was noted by historiographers that, on preparing his lectures in Geneva, Saussure mentioned Baudouin de Courtenay and Kruszewski along with the names of contemporary linguists ‘that should be cited’ (Saussure 1954[1908]:66), especially “when discussing cardinal contributions to the theory of language”, as Roman Jakobson (1896–1982) underlined (Jakobson 1971[1960]:420-421).

Professional-organizational possibilities opened up for Polish linguistics in Cracow, the heart of Polish academic tradition since the late medieval period, as soon as the Akademia Umiejętności (Academy of Arts and Sciences) had begun its operation in 1873,² and which subsequently gave birth to Komisja Językowa Akademii Umiejętności, i.e., the Commission of Language of the same Academy in 1874. Its first secretary, until 1898, was Lucjan Malinowski (1839–1898), who was working in the field of Polish dialectology. The importance of the Commission (with Rozwadowski as its secretary from 1898) increased during the presidency of Baudouin de Courtenay (between 1894 and 1900). After Baudouin left Cracow in 1900, the responsibility fell to Rozwadowski who acted as president in subsequent years between 1908 and 1935. Its next secretary (1908–1935) and its last president (1935–1952) was Kazimierz Nitsch (1874–1858), a Slavist and Polish dialectologist, pupil of both Malinowski and Baudouin de Courtenay. For over 76 years the proceedings of linguistic meetings were recorded first in *Sprawozdania Komisji Językowej Akademii Umiejętności* (Minutes of the Commission of Language of the Academy of Arts and Sciences), 1880–1884, then in *Materiały i Prace Komisji Językowej* (Materials and Works of the Commission of Language), 1901–1918, and eventually in *Prace Komisji Językowej Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności* (Works of the Commission of Language of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences), 1917–1950. After the creation of the Polska Akademia Nauk (Polish Academy of Sciences) in 1951, which started its activity in 1952, the earlier series was replaced by *Prace Językoznawcze Polskiej Akademii Nauk* (Linguistic Works of the Polish Academy of Sciences) which have been edited by the Komitet Językoznawstwa Polskiej Akademii Nauk (Linguistics Committee of the Polish Academy of Sciences) from 1954 onwards.

As far as the developmental periods in Polish theoretical thought on language are concerned, one has to concede that their division did not always depend on historical events. Professional and generational changes too would have to be considered as contributing to the formation of scientific centers, as well some upheavals in the scientific curricula of individual linguists marked by the dates of their publications or their appearance on the international scene. Thus, the following major time spans may be distinguished in the history of general linguistics in Poland: 1868–1918, 1918–1939 and 1944–1952, 1952–1958, 1958–1979, and from 1979 onwards to the present day.

² The Akademia Umiejętności was founded in 1871 and renamed as Polska Akademia Umiejętności after 1919. (Its official English translation is Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences.)

2. *Periods in the development of Polish linguistics*

2.1 *The first great period of Polish linguistics, 1868–1918*

In this period between, one can distinguish two groups of Polish practitioners of language sciences whose works influenced the rise of theoretical linguistics. To the first belonged scholars coming from the Russian empire: Baudouin de Courtenay, educated in Warsaw, Jena, and Petersburg, who held university positions in St. Petersburg (1870–1871), Kazan (1874–1883), Dorpat (1883–1893), Cracow (1893–1899), again in St. Petersburg (1900–1914, 1917/1918), and finally in Warsaw (1918–1929); Kruszewski who graduated from the russified Warsaw University and who held university positions as a pupil of and later a successor to Baudouin in Kazan (1881–1886); and Jan Wiktor Porzeziński (1870–1929), Polish by birth but raised in Russia, who received his education and held university positions in Moscow (*docent* from 1895, professor from 1902, from 1914 as the successor of the leading Russian Indo-Europeanist Filipp Fedorovič Fortunatov (1848–1914), and then in Warsaw and Lublin (1922–1929).

The second group of scholars of the period consisted of linguists working in Cracow and Lvov forming, until the end of World War I, important centers of learning in Galicia, a crown land of the Austro-Hungarian empire: Jan Rozwadowski associated with the Jagellonian University, first as a student from 1885, then as professor from 1899 until his death in 1937; Mikołaj Rudnicki (1881–1978), who had studied and obtained his habilitation (1912) in Cracow and then became professor at the University of Poznań in 1919 where he worked until his death; and Andrzej Gawroński (1885–1927), educated first in Lvov and then in Cracow where he obtained his habilitation in 1912, who received his first university position at the Jagellonian University in 1916, and then moved to Lvov becoming professor at Jan Kazimierz University (1917–1927).

Within the time interval between 1868 and 1918, one has to highlight the 1871–1887 period in recognition of their anticipation of a structural-systemic theory of language in the work by the two Polish linguists, Baudouin and Kruszewski. The importance of their findings may be summarized in four points:

- 1) It was initiated by Baudouin's St. Petersburg inaugural lecture (published in 1871) in which he explained his conception of linguistics in general and of the study of language change in particular.
- 2) The period also encompasses the dates of Baudouin's published programs of lectures in the academic years 1875–1876, 1876–1877, and 1877–78, when he served as *docent* and then professor of Indo-European in Kazan (see Jakobson 1971[1960]:397–402, for details).

3) Baudouin's early works of the time exhibits important traces due to his co-operation with Kruszewski during 1878–1883 (cf. Williams 1993: 134–142).

4) A caesura was introduced by the date 1887 which ended the Petersburg–Kazan period of Baudouin's activity, marked by the death of Kruszewski and the subsequent change of Baudouin's views (cf. the interpretations of Jakobson 1971[1960]:417, and by Williams 1993:143–150, especially p.142), supposedly under the influence of Kruszewski's obituary written by Leonard Kołmaczewski (1850–1889) in 1888 (cf. Baudouin 1888 and 1888–1889).

During the 1870s and 1880s the Polish scientists in Russia who were identified with a 'new movement in linguistics' formed in the West by Neogrammarians developed their views "concurrently and partly independently of the West" (Williams 1993:31). Even sharing with Western scientists a positivistic pursuit for generalizations by collecting and comparing empirical facts and explaining regularities and laws on the basis of experience, they formulated some of their statements earlier than Neogrammarians or anticipated the opinions of their opponents, thus paving the way towards a future structuralist movement which viewed language as a system of invariant elements.

The merits of Polish linguists, in comparison with the achievements of German scholars in the theoretical domain of comparative linguistics, were recognized by historiographers on the strength of the following practices:

- 1) The admission of a psychologically motivated principle of analogy to historical comparative studies, aiming at the explanation of phonetic changes which occur in the actual use of language (Baudouin; cf. Williams 1993:29);
- 2) the application of empiricist associationism generalizing the operation of analogy across all observable phenomena of human culture (Kruszewski; cf. Williams 1993:60ff.);
- 3) the reinforcement of the idea of a uniformitarian evolution (on the source and history of the term see Christy 1983, cf. Adamska-Salaciak 1996:16-17), which shifted the emphasis from historical studies of documented dead languages to the registration and explanation of changes found in contemporary (living) variations of a given language or in differentiations of separate languages (Baudouin and Kruszewski; cf. also Williams 1993:30);
- 4) the unification of the perspective of a divergent evolutionism with that of a convergent diffusionism in order to emphasise that languages develop not only exclusively by splitting up in new branches, but also by influencing each other through the dissemination of changes, so that every language might be recognized as having a mixed character (Baudouin; cf. Sternemann & Gutschmidt 1989:314; Olmsted 1989:31-32);

- 5) the promotion of a methodological holism postulating an overall view of language which admits various approaches to its nature (Baudouin; cf. Adamska-Salaciak 1996:73-74);
- 6) the arrival at such distinctions as those between a psychological and a physiological, i.e., acoustic and articulatory (individual language properties), and the psychological vs. the social (collective language as an average of the properties of the speech of individuals) nature of language (Baudouin; cf. Adamska-Salaciak 1996:67-68);
- 7) the anticipation of the terminology of a future structuralist movement by such distinctions and categories as language vs speech (Baudouin); systems and their parts, forms and their functions, static and dynamic aspects of speech sounds (Baudouin and Kruszewski); phonemes and morphemes (Kruszewski and Baudouin); signs and their significations, a taxonomy of assimilations into phonetic, morphological, and lexical assimilations (Kruszewski); a taxonomy of alternations (Kruszewski following Baudouin) into divergents (later called variants of a phoneme, i.e., allophones) and correlatives (later called alternation series of speech sounds, i.e., morpho(pho)nemes), and into sound changes and sound alternations (cf. German *Lautwandel* vs *Lautwechsel/Lautabwechslung*); associations by contiguity and associations by similarity (Kruszewski), later termed *rappports syntagmatiques* and *rappports associatifs* or syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations (cf., *inter alia*, van Schooneveld 1989:11-16; Leška 1989:17-23; Olmsted 1989:25-34).

Since 1888, as Weinsberg, a Polish linguist and historiographer, notes (1987:797), we move from a short precursory stage in the history of general linguistics to a longer receptive period, the achievements of which are to be measured not by preceding certain developments in international linguistics, but by keeping pace with its subsequent evolution (on Poland's contribution to world linguistics, see also Fisiak 1972).

The next three decades between 1888 and 1918, partly extended in the history of Polish linguistics until 1929, passed mainly under the dominance of Neogrammarians positions, such as, for example, historicism — stating that languages as changeable objects should be studied from genetic and evolutionary perspectives; atomism — maintaining that each element in a language has its separate history; individualism — assuming that the only accessible objects are verbal means of communication produced by particular speakers; empirical mentalism or positivistic psychologism — believing that verbal means may be observed and memorized, but their meaning exist only in the mind of their users; and heteronomism — claiming that languages are user-dependant, and hence, may be studied by disciplines which study humans in their environments (Rozwadowski, Gawroński, and Rudnicki).

A separate position in the discussion with the Neogrammarians was held by Baudouin whose theory of language united both heteronomous and autonomous, historical and geographical, psychological and sociological aspects. He approached various forms of existence of language in a monistic way, confronting, for example, language as a psycho-physical unity with language as a psycho-social unity, and considering the statics of language as a specific manifestation of its dynamics (kinematics), or consequently claiming that history is both chronology and development, i.e., based, on the one hand, on a series of successive substitutions of uniform and/or different phenomena, and, on the other, on an uninterrupted continuity of their essential transformations (cf. Szober 1959[1930]:412-413; see especially Baudouin's autobiography of 1896 in Vengerov [1897:18-45], where he characterized himself as a theoretician of language).

2.2 Linguistic life at Polish universities between the two world wars

The period between 1918 and 1939 was crucial for Polish linguistics from institutional-professional, social-organizational, and scientific-didactic points of view. In this period we can point to the following developments 1) the first Polish Linguistic Society was created; 2) new linguistic chairs headed by scholars with recognizable names were founded, others restored; and 3) Polish linguists, now members of learned societies, investigated (and resolved) problems in their fields and presented their findings at international conferences while at the same time reflecting their reception on national scale through the publication of papers as well as through major works and synthesizing handbooks.

Assuming that the turning point in the history of world linguistics was the year 1930 marked by the appearance of new schools of linguistic thought in Europe and America, the period between 1918 and 1939 may be divided into the 1920s and 1930s.

2.2.1

In the 1920s, the life of linguistic departments at new or restored Polish universities was organized, among others, by Baudouin de Courtenay and Stanisław Szober (1879–1939) in Warsaw, Wiktor Porzeziński in Warsaw as well as Lublin, by Jan Rozwadowski in Cracow, by Mikołaj Rudnicki in Poznań, and by Andrzej Gawroński in Lvov.

This period was rich in organizational events both in Poland and abroad. On 31 May 1925, the first general assembly of Polish linguists, under the leadership of Rozwadowski, Gawroński, and others, gathered at Lvov and decided to launch the Polish Linguistic Society, which was to meet annually and to publish a new journal devoted to general linguistics (cf. Safarewicz

1982:209-212; Zaleski 1975:21-28). Abroad, there was the creation of the Prague Circle of Linguistics in October 1926 on the initiative of the Czech Anglicist Vilém Mathesius (1882–1945). The difference, however, between the role of Polish Linguistic Society and that of the Prague Circle was remarkable with regard to the range of their respective influence on the international scale. The propagation of the principles of Prague School was crucial for the development of European structuralism. And it was accomplished in the 1930s, as soon as a postulate to separate phonology from phonetics had been put forward on the first International Congress of Linguists held at The Hague in 1928.

The opinions of Polish linguists, however, between 1918 and 1930 were expressed in:

- 1) The continuation of a neogrammarian agenda with regard to linguistic study (Rozwadowski, Gawroński, and Rudnicki);
- 2) the critical evaluation (Gawroński) or the partial appropriation (Rozwadowski) of Saussure's perspectives on language, such as synchronism — assuming that particular languages are relatively static in their functioning, and when their structure and constituents change they differentiate into new types of languages; systemism — defining languages as ordered sets of elements related to each other through functional coexistence and/or alternative collocations, correlations, or commutability; collectivism or sociologism — stating that languages are properties of speech communities; their users are not allowed to introduce any changes in their structure except that they have to obey rules of social conduct while acquiring them or introducing innovations into them being enabled by an inborn linguistic capability; only the activities of speaking and thinking are recognized as having an individual character; rational mentalism or idealistic psychologism — believing that verbal signs are memorized as a twofold unity of meaning and form in the minds of their users; autonomism — stating that language should be studied as a fact in itself by internal linguistics, but it may constitute the investigative domain of external linguistics concerned with its relation to nations, personalities, territory, and the like;
- 3) the rejection of Karl Vossler's (1872–1949) aesthetic idealism — regarding language as a creation of an individual which reflects his intuitions, his way of life and habits of thought; but, at the same time, the reception of Hugo Schuchardt's (1842–1927) type of individualism and collectivism — assuming that language is a manifestation of personality generalized into a collective body of society through imitation (Rozwadowski);
- 4) the acceptance of Bronisław Malinowski's (1884–1942) functional anthropologism — treating a language as one of the institutional forms of culture, with reference to processualism — searching for the meaning of speech acts realized in order to satisfy integrational, narrative, practical,

and magic needs of people, as well as to contextualism — relativizing the role of language with respect to situations, uses and functional requirements (Gawroński and Rozwadowski);

5) the assumption that language is the most comprehensive reflection of man, embedded in his culture and civilization, his cognition and morality, religion and poetry (Rozwadowski); and

6) the confrontation between semantic associationism (Szober), on the one hand — taking into account Anton Marty's (1847–1914) psychological philosophy of language and Hermann Paul's (1846–1921) associationist psychology of individuals based on Johann Friedrich Herbart's (1776–1841) psychology and partly opposed to associationist social psychology (*Völkerpsychologie*) of Heymann Steinthal (1823–1899) and Moritz Lazarus (1824–1903) — and grammatical formalism, on the other, in defining words as parts of speech (Porzeziński).

2.2.2 In the 1930s, except for the leading role of Rozwadowski (d.1935) and the achievements of Szober (d.1939), significant contributions to the theoretical foundations of their disciplines were made by Witold Doroszewski (1899–1976) from Warsaw University and Jerzy Kuryłowicz (1895–1978) from the University of Lvov. Mikołaj Rudnicki (1881–1978), one of the theoreticians of psychological linguistics, devoted his energies to descriptive and historical studies of the Polish language.

The decade between 1929 and 1939 has been recorded by historians of world linguistics as a early period of structuralism, dominating international journals and conferences. Important European centers emerged in Prague, Vienna, Geneva, and Copenhagen, and, in America, at Yale. The ideas of the Kazan School, originated by the forerunners of structuralism, Baudouin de Courtenay and Kruszewski, and the theoretical thought of Saussure bore fruit in the form of a functionalist and formalist structuralism on the European ground, and the distributional structuralism in the U.S.A.

As to the participation of Polish scholars in these discussions on structural linguistics, the 1930s could be characterized, *inter alia*, in the following terms:

- 1) As a search for the sources which had inspired the ideas of Saussure and by the postulation of a kind of processualism as opposed to factualism which presupposed that language is a social activity, and not a social fact in the Durkheimian or Saussurean understanding (Doroszewski);
- 2) by transplanting structural methods of chronological relativism from synchrony to diachrony, with the aim of explaining the evolution of language on the basis of oppositions between its productive and non-productive intrasystemic elements (Kuryłowicz);
- 3) by refuting the dualism of phonology as a linguistic discipline opposed to phonetics as a part of the natural sciences, in favor of monism

uniting descriptive phonetics and functional phonetics as two branches of the same discipline; and, consequently — by postulating the analysis of speech sounds as functionally active, passive or neutral depending on their position within a word (Doroszewski following Rudnicki);

4) by opposing synchronic analyses while favoring the theory of structural bipartition in the explanation of the meaning of derivatives, at the same time postulating that the historical formation of words should be analyzed in terms of word-stems being divided into the hierarchy of word-formatives and word-bases (Doroszewski following Rozwadowski);

5) by applying functionalist methods in a search for distinctive features of speech sounds on the basis of their role in communication or by adhering to a formalist perspective in order to determine the function of language units on the basis of their homotopic occurrence and commutability (Kuryłowicz);

6) by confronting the methods of qualitative isoglosses with the methods of quantitative isoglosses used in linguistic geography in order to register the boundaries between dialects and to check the instability of the output of their speakers being under the influence of a standard variety (Doroszewski); and

7) by formulating two principles of word evolution: a) lexicalization — the tendency of word-structures to be autonomized as word-signs in use, and b) crystallization of dominants — the tendency to select one dominant form over another or to separate functions which are determined by each particular form (Doroszewski).

Studying the history of the Polish science of linguistics with reference to generational and professional successions we can notice that the partitions of Poland had contributed to the formation of two informal circles during the interwar period: 1) Warsaw–Vilnius–Lublin, with Baudouin de Courtenay, Porzeziński, Szober, and Doroszewski, and 2) Lvov–Cracow–Poznań, with Rozwadowski, Rudnicki, Gawroński, and Kuryłowicz. This tacit division of labor shaping the science of the interwar period had also been partly renewed by linguists affected by political settings at the universities of contemporary Poland after World War II.

2.3 *The heritage of Polish thought on language after World War II*

From those theoreticians of language who took part in the discussions of world linguistics of the interwar period and who continued their careers at Polish universities after the World War II only two remained, Doroszewski and Kuryłowicz. Shortly before the war they were joined by Tadeusz Milewski (1906–1966), an Indo-Europeanist, who emerged in the late 1940s as the author of a handbook on general and comparative linguistics.

After 1944, there was a noticeable generation gap at Polish universities. As a result of war and occupation, linguistic departments had been rebuilt by

very old professors who survived, surrounded by young assistants and students. The legacy of such a situation was a conservatism of their teachers (cf. Lewicki 1993:595). Hostile attitudes towards structural methods were expressed, for example, by Doroszewski whose adherence to Rozwadowski's and Szober's way of thinking contributed to the fact that until the 1980s no changes of note could be made in the academic grammar of Polish (cf. Lewicki 1993:610). Methodological conservatism, however, had protected linguists from politically motivated tendencies of regarding Saussurean and Hjeltmslevian type linguistics as not conformity with Marxist-materialistic philosophy, because they stood in opposition to historicism. Owing to the fact that Western and American science had been banned by the Communist authorities, those who worked according to the principles of structuralism had only very limited possibilities to publish (cf. Lewicki 1993:595).

At the end of 1950s younger philologists gathered around professors offering informal seminars on structuralism, such as Tadeusz Milewski in Warsaw, Ludwik Zabrocki (1907–1977, Poznań), Leon Zawadowski (1914–, Wrocław), Olgierd Wojtasiewicz (1916–1991) and Maria Renata Mayenowa (1910–1988), both in Warsaw, to mention the major scholars only. Participants in these seminars, working on modern languages, later played an active role in the dissemination of Western ideas in the 1960s and 1970s, and were open to new trends in the 1980s and 1990s (cf. Lewicki 1993:611–612). Modern ideas were traded in Milewski's *Wstęp do językoznawstwa* (Introduction to linguistics) as early as in 1954, extended subsequently in his much revised book *Językoznawstwo* (Linguistics) in 1965, but a structuralist turnover was given a significant boost by Jakobson's paper presented at a meeting of the Linguistic Committee of the Polish Academy of Sciences on 12 January 1958 in Warsaw, entitled "The origin of the concept of phoneme in Polish and world linguistics" (summary and discussion in Jakobson 1958) which brought to the attention of Poles their pioneering structuralist heritage in the work Baudouin de Courtenay and Kruszewski. Symptomatic of the aftermath of the post-war attitude toward structural linguistics was the fact that the first Polish translation in 1961 of Saussure's *Cours de linguistique générale* was published with an introduction by no other than Doroszewski who was not favourably disposed toward Saussurean structuralism. Its revised second edition appeared 30 years later, but this time with a historiographical and unbiased introduction written by Kazimierz Polański (1991).

In 1966, *Lingwistyczna teoria języka* (A linguistic theory of language) based on inductive methodology was published by Leon Zawadowski, and in 1968, the achievements of European and American structuralism against the

background of traditional perspectives were summarized in *Słownik terminologii lingwistycznej* [A dictionary of the linguistic terminology] compiled by Zbigniew Gołąb, Adam Heinz, and Kazimierz Polański. The following decades saw the production of a series of new university manuals and encyclopedias. A synthesis of heteronomous approaches to language was presented in *Językoznawstwo otwarte* (Open linguistics) by Antoni Furdal (1990 [1977]), whose author advocated an interdisciplinary position of linguistics, taking into account the relationship of language to humans in their biological, psychological and sociological settings, and *Językoznawstwo ogólne* [General linguistics] by Adam Weinsberg (1983), which provided, among others, a critical overview of structural methodologies, semiotics as well as various other approaches to the analysis of meaning, sociolinguistics, the differentiation of languages in time and space, as well as an introductory model of language based on generative-transformational rules and grammatico-semantic formulas. Furthermore, an anthropocentric view of language was advocated in *Zagadnienia metalingwistyki: Lingwistyka — jej przedmiot, lingwistyka stosowana* [Issues in metalinguistics: Linguistics — its subject-matter, applied linguistics] by Franciszek Grucza (1983), postulating a search for the main object of linguistics neither within the system of verbal means of communication nor in the processes of communication, but in human linguistic capacities of speaking and learning. A systemic autonomous view of the linguistic domain was propagated in *Wstęp do językoznawstwa* [Introduction to linguistics] by Jerzy Bańczerowski, Jerzy Pogonowski and Tadeusz Zgółka (1982), presenting a highly formalized description of the system of language, its entities, units and constructions. It resembles in part the approaches of Copenhagen school Glossematics with its application of notations and distinctions used in logic and the methodology of science with special reference to categorial grammars.

It was during this period of Polish linguistics that a first historiographical account was made in *Dzieje językoznawstwa w zarysie* [A history of linguistics in outline] by Adam Heinz (1914–1984), which provided a history of the methodology of linguistics from antiquity to the 20th century (Heinz 1978). The achievements of the Polish practitioners of language sciences in the domain of general linguistics and the studies on the Polish language in the years 1900–1970 were summarized by Kwiryna Handtke and Ewa Rzetelska-Felczko in their annotated bibliography *Przewodnik po językoznawstwie polskim* [A guide through Polish linguistics] of 1977 (cf. Lewicki 1993:619).

At present general linguistics is in very good condition to develop, given the state of knowledge included not only in the mentioned academic hand-