

On adverbial *tyle-że*-clauses in Polish

Łukasz Jędrzejowski & Wojciech Guz

lukasz.jedrzejowski@uia.no & wojciech.guz@kul.pl



6th International Conference on Adverbial Clauses: *New Horizons*
Freie Universität Berlin, March 9-10, 2026

What is this talk about?

Adverbial clauses introduced by the connective *tyle że* (lit. ‘so much that’) in Polish, see [1]:

[1] Mój amerykański komputer działa bardzo dobrze w Warszawie,
my American computer work.3sg very well in Warsaw

tyle że używam transformatora.

tyle że use.1sg transformer

≈ ‘My American computer works very well in Warsaw,
though / except that / only / the only thing is that I use a transformer.’

(*National Corpus of Polish, Gazeta Wyborcza, 25/1/1992*)

Puzzle: No much is known about the connective *tyle że* in (the history of) Polish.

What is this talk about?

- The connective *tyle że* corresponds (roughly) to English *only*, which has been discussed in Williams (1895), Jespersen (1949), Brinton (1998), von Fintel & Iatridou (2019), Benbaji & Doron (2023), Davis & Winterstein (2023), and Ippolito et al. (2025).

As a limitation of what has just been said, *only* has front-position: *I quite agree with you, only I think that Henry is right on some points* | *He is a very nice man, only he talks too much*. (Jespersen 1949: 95)

- Examples from German, Greek, and Hebrew have been mentioned in passing.
- English *only* has been analyzed variously as ‘adversative *only*’ (Williams 1895), ‘discourse *only*’ (Ippolito et al. 2025), and ‘exclusive *only*’ (Benbaji & Doron 2023).
- In this talk, we will not investigate *only*-connectives from a cross-linguistic perspective due to time constraints. Instead, we will draw on insights from the literature on other languages and examine how they apply to Polish *tyle że*.

Research questions

- What is the meaning of *tyle że*?
- Are *tyle-że*-clauses concessives, adversatives or something else?
- What is the syntax of *tyle-że*-clauses?

- *Tyle-że*-clauses are neither concessives nor adversatives; best seen as belonging to a broader class of contrast markers.
- The adverbial relation expressed by *tyle że* is **contrastive refinement**.
- Adverbial *tyle-że*-clauses are syntactically non-integrated adjuncts.

1. Setting the scene
2. *Tyle że* as an adverbial complementizer
3. Meaning of *tyle że*
4. Syntax of *tyle-że*-clauses
5. Concluding remarks
6. References

1. Setting the scene
2. *Tyle że* as an adverbial complementizer
3. Meaning of *tyle że*
4. Syntax of *tyle-że*-clauses
5. Concluding remarks
6. References

- *Tyle że* consists of the adverb *tyle* (‘so much’) and the declarative complementizer *że* (‘that’), which introduces complement clauses. Together, they have grammaticalized into a single connective.
- Neither *tyle* nor *że* can be omitted:
 - [1a] ^{OK}Mój amerykański komputer działa bardzo dobrze w Warszawie, **tyle że** używam transformatora.
 - [1b] *Mój amerykański komputer działa bardzo dobrze w Warszawie, **tyle** używam transformatora.
 - [1c] *Mój amerykański komputer działa bardzo dobrze w Warszawie, **że** używam transformatora.
- According to the *Rules of Polish Spelling and Punctuation* (in force since 2026), *tyle że* is treated as a single complementizer introducing a subordinate clause and should therefore be preceded by a comma (RJP 2025: 62).

- Remarkably, *tyle że* can (still) occur in combination with the **focus particle** *tylko* ('only'):

[1a] Mój amerykański komputer działa bardzo dobrze w Warszawie, *tyle że* używam transformatora.

[1d] ?Mój amerykański komputer działa bardzo dobrze w Warszawie, *tylko tyle że* używam transformatora.

[1e] Mój amerykański komputer działa bardzo dobrze w Warszawie, *tyle tylko że* używam transformatora.

[1f] *Mój amerykański komputer działa bardzo dobrze w Warszawie, *tyle że tylko* używam transformatora.

- The **focus particle** *tylko* may also replace the adverb *tyle* ('much') or even the entire connective, taking scope over the content of the subordinate clause:

[1g] Mój amerykański komputer działa bardzo dobrze w Warszawie, *tylko że* używam transformatora.

[1h] Mój amerykański komputer działa bardzo dobrze w Warszawie, *tylko* używam transformatora.

- These patterns play a crucial role in the diachrony of *tyle że*, but we will not be concerned with them here.

1. Setting the scene
2. *Tyle że* as an adverbial complementizer
3. **Meaning of *tyle że***
 - concessive? adversative?
 - corpus study
 - **contrastive refinement!**
4. Syntax of *tyle-że*-clauses
5. Concluding remarks
6. References

Canonical concessive clauses express contrast, unexpected result, and an obstacle: the main clause proposition (q) holds despite the obstacle stated in the subordinate clause (p):

[2] (a) **Although** it's very late, I'm not tired. > 'although p , q '

(b) I'm not tired, **although** it's very late. > ' q , although p '

The unexpected result stems from a presupposition that holds in concessives:

'if p , then normally $\neg q$ '

(= presupposition r : *If it's very late, then normally I'd expect to be tired*)

Canonical Polish concessive connectives:

[3] (a) Nie jestem zmęczony, **chociaż/mimo że** jest bardzo późno. > ‘ q , although p ’

‘I’m not tired, **although** it’s very late.’

(b) **Chociaż/mimo że** jest bardzo późno, nie jestem zmęczony. > ‘although p , q ’

‘**Although** it’s very late, I’m not tired.’

Canonically, adversativity involves juxtaposition of two propositions indicating contrast or opposition between them (*'p but q'*) with two possibilities:

- **without** a denial of expectation; the relationship is symmetrical in the way the two events are juxtaposed:

[4] John is tall, but Bill is short.

(**semantic-opposition-*but***; direct opposition with respect to a particular property)

- **with** a denial of expectation:

[5] John is tall, but he's no good at basketball.

(**denial-of-expectation-*but***; denial of the presupposition *r: a tall person is expected to be good at basketball*)

Adversatives and their concessive counterparts

But-adversatives may be paraphrased as *although*-concessives in those cases where denial of expectation takes place.

[6] (a) It's very late, **but** I'm not tired. (denial of expectation)



(b) **Although** it's very late, I'm not tired.

[7] (a) John is tall, **but** Bill is short. (no denial of expectation)



(b) ***Although** John is tall, Bill is short. (Intended: no denial of expectation)

[8] It's very late, **but** I'm not tired. > 'p, but q'

[9] **Although** it's very late, I'm not tired. > 'although p, q'

Crevels (2000: 18):

- underlying presupposition *r*: *if it's late, one should be tired*. In both [8] and [9] *r* is denied.
- The force of *q* contra *r* is bigger than the force of *p* pro *r*. Thus, *q* expresses a primary concept ("**override**") in both constructions, while *p* expresses a secondary concept ("**obstacle**") in both constructions.
- In other words, adversative ***but*** introduces the primary concept, while concessive ***although*** introduces the secondary concept.

The contrast generally holds for concessives vs. adversatives, **except when concessive connectives are used adversatively**, i.e. when adversative 'although' introduces the primary concept.

In some languages ‘although’ may replace ‘but’ (in the same clause!) and acquire adversative status. The ‘although’-clause then expresses the primary concept q . This is an adversative use of connectives that normally serve as concessives.

Crevels (2000: 19):

Spanish (Indo-European)

- [10
]
- (a) *Aunque me duelen los pies, puedo andar.*
although to:me hurt:3PL the feet can:1SG walk:INF
‘Although my feet hurt, I can walk.’
- (b) *Me duelen los pies, pero puedo andar.*
to:me hurt:3PL the feet, but can:1SG walk:INF
‘My feet hurt, but I can walk.’
- (c) *Me duelen los pies, aunque puedo andar.*
to:me hurt:3PL the feet, although can:1SG walk:INF
‘My feet hurt, but I can walk.’

Adversative uses of concessive connectives

Spanish (Indo-European)

- [10] (a) *Aunque me duelen los pies, puedo andar.*
although to:me hurt:3PL the feet can:1SG walk:INF
'Although my feet hurt, I can walk.'
- (b) *Me duelen los pies, pero puedo andar.*
to:me hurt:3PL the feet, but can:1SG walk:INF
'My feet hurt, but I can walk.'
- (c) *Me duelen los pies, aunque puedo andar.*
to:me hurt:3PL the feet, although can:1SG walk:INF
'My feet hurt, but I can walk.'

Example (c) amounts to: 'My feet hurt, **although** I can walk', which parallels 'My feet hurt, **but** I can walk', and is an adversative counterpart of '**Although** my feet hurt, I can walk'

The same is possible with English *although*. Is the same possible with Polish concessives conjunctions?

Polish *choć* ‘although’ used adversatively:

[11] (National Corpus of Polish > NKJP)

A jeszcze lewą rękę miał trochę niewładną, przy deszczowej pogodzie często ją sobie pocierał. I też nigdy nie powiedział dlaczego, **choć** wyglądało to na reumatyzm.

‘And his left hand was a bit stiff; he often rubbed it in wet weather. He never said why, **although** it looked like rheumatism.’

Cf. corresponding *but*-adversative:

12) [...] I też nigdy nie powiedział dlaczego, **ale** wyglądało to na reumatyzm.

Note that in (11):

- The *choć*-clause expresses the primary concept, **not the obstacle** for ‘he never said why’

Interim summary:

- Concessives always involve a denial of expectation; adversatives only sometimes do
- When denial of expectation occurs, adversatives may be paraphrased as concessives
- Concessives always express the secondary concept (=the concession, the obstacle)
- Adversatives always express the primary concept (=the proposition that overrides the underlying presupposition)
- Some languages allow some concessive connectives to be used adversatively, in which case they express the primary concept

tyle że

In Polish, concession may be expressed, among others, by *tyle że*:

[13] Kochał ją oczywiście, **tyle że** nie była tą upragnioną, wytęsknioną, [...] (NKJP)

'He loved her of course, **only** she was not the one he desired and longed for.'

'q, although p'

- In [13], the *tyle-że*-proposition (*she was not the one he desired and longed for*) constitutes an obstacle to the main clause proposition (*he loved her of course*);
- *Tyle że* marks the secondary concept: the force of *q* contra *r* (*he did not love her*) is bigger than the force of *p* pro *r*
- *Tyle że* may also be replaced by *choć* or *mimo że* without changing the general meaning of the sentence.

Thus, *tyle że* looks like a concessive connective.

However, note that preposing the *tyle-że*-clause is impossible, as in [14], which otherwise is possible with concessives (but not with concessive adversatives):

[13] postposed original ('*q*, although *p*):

Kochał ją oczywiście, **tyle że** nie była tą upragnioną, wytęsknioną

'He loved her of course, **only** she was not the one he desired and longed for.'

(the force of *q* contra *r* is bigger than the force of *p* pro *r*; *tyle że* marks the secondary concept)

[14] preposed ('although *p*, *q*):

Chociaż/mimo że/*tyle że nie była tą upragnioną, wytęsknioną, kochał ją oczywiście.

Meaning of *tyle że*

Interestingly, even in postposed position, *tyle że* is impossible in many cases of canonical concession :

[15] Nie jestem zmęczony, **choć**/***tyle że** jest bardzo późno.

'I'm not tired, **although** it's very late.'

So are we dealing with:

- (a) a concessive conjunction that is restricted in its occurrence in some way?
- (b) a (concessive) adversative conjunction?
- (c) something else altogether?

Meaning of *tyle że*

On the other hand, *tyle że* is also possible in adversatives. Cf. the *tyle-że*-adversative and its *ale*-adversative counterpart in [16]:

[16] W młodości miał pewnie głowę pełną ideałów, chciał zmieniać świat – **ale/tyle że** nic z tego nie wyszło.

'In his youth his head was full of ideals, he wanted to change the world – **only** nothing came out of it.'

'p, ale/tyle że q'

Both *ale* and *tyle że* introduce the primary concept: the force of *q* contra *r* (=as an idealist he changed the world) is bigger than the force of *p* pro *r*.

However, **in other cases *tyle że* is impossible in adversatives**. Example [13] is the original NKJP concessive structure; its adversative reformulation in [17] is only possible with *ale* and *chociaż*, not with *tyle że*:

[13] NKJP original, concessive

Kochał ją oczywiście, **tyle że** nie była tą upragnioną, wytęsknioną.

'He loved her of course, **only** she was not the one he desired and longed for.'

[17] adversative reformulation (with denial of expectation)

Nie była tą upragnioną, wytęsknioną, **ale/chociaż/*tyle że** kochał ją oczywiście 'p, but q'

(the force of q contra r (=nie kochał jej) is bigger than the force of p pro r; **but** and **chociaż** mark the primary concept, **tyle że** cannot)

Based on the above, we conclude that *tyle-że*-clauses exhibit inconsistent behaviour with respect to the concessive/adversative distinction in the sense that:

- *Tyle że* may express concessivity but is allowed only in some cases. It is fine in concessives such as [13], but not in [15] – why?
- *Tyle że* clauses cannot appear in initial position; even in cases like [14], where *tyle że* is used concessively, preposing is impossible – why?
- *Tyle że* may have concessive adversative uses, but is allowed only in some cases, as in [16], but not in others, as in [17] – why?

For the truly defining property(s) of *tyle-że*-clauses we need to look elsewhere.

Meaning of *tyle że*

In what follows we report a small corpus study addressing this overarching question:

Exactly what kind of adverbial relation is realized by *tyle-że*-clauses?

Meaning of *tyle że*

corpus study

Meaning of *tyle że* - corpus study

The basics:

- National Corpus of Polish (NKJP), publically available online
- a random sample of 100 occurrences, case-insensitive (including *tyle że* and sentence-initial capitalized *Tyle że*)
- mostly written language – fiction and journalism
- the sample was inspected for emerging patterns of use of *tyle że*

Meaning of *tyle że* - corpus study: results

Two broad categories:

Narrow scope (40/100) - *tyle że* introduces a phrasal element that modifies only some constituent of the matrix clause (e.g. a PP modifier that scopes over an NP):

[18] Był to zwyczajny pokój biurowy, **tyle że** z zakratowanymi oknami.

‘It was an ordinary office room, **only** with barred windows.’

Wide scope (60/100) - *tyle że* introduces a clause that modifies the matrix clause proposition (or a larger chunk of preceding discourse):

[19] Były to równorzędne stanowiska, **tyle że** podleśniczy zawiadywał mniej dochodowym leśnictwem.

‘They were equivalent positions; **the only difference was that/it’s just that that/except** the assistant forester was in charge of a less profitable forest district.’

Semantic types observed

Concessives are possible, as in [20], but they are rare – only 1 token in the sample:

[20] Zatrudniam emerytów, bo innego wyjścia nie ma. **Tyle że** odbywa się to ze szkodą dla uczniów – mówi nam jeden z dyrektorów technikum.

'I hire pensioners, because there's no other way. **Only** this happens at the expense of the students – tells us one of the school principals.'

'q, although p'

[20] is a concessive relation: the proposition in the *tyle-że*-clause (*it happens at the expense of students*) constitutes an obstacle to the main clause proposition (*I hire pensioners*); given *p*, *q* is an unexpected result.

Semantic types observed

Adversatives are present (25 tokens), with or without denial of expectation. *Tyle że* introduces the primary concept; the clause is informatively the more important one:

[21] denial of expectation (9/25):

Niebo nie zapowiadało jednak rychłej zmiany, **tyle że** deszcz stał się trochę spokojniejszy, więc postawiłem kołnierz i wyszedłem ze szkoły.

'The sky didn't seem to be changing anytime soon, **only** the rain had calmed down a bit, so I turned up my collar and left the school.'

[22] no denial of expectation (16/25):

A: "Ja bym w życiu tak nie zrobiła!"

B: "To się pani bardzo chwali, **tyle że** po to ma pani oczka i uszka, aby widzieć świat i wiedzieć, że ludzie mogą wszystko. Wszystko."

A: "I would never do that!"

B: "Good for you, **only** you have eyes and ears to see the world and to know that people are capable of anything. Anything."

Semantic types observed

The defining features of virtually all examples in the sample are:

- ***Tyle-że* refines some part of the preceding discourse (phrase, proposition, section of discourse)**
- **As it refines, it also indicates contrast**

[23] narrow scope

Smardzewski także wspominał o ucieczce, **tyle że** nieudanej.

‘Smardzewski also mentioned a (prison) escape, **except** (it was) a failed one.’

In [23], *tyle że* (a) introduces a refinement and (b) contrasts a failed prison escape against another, successful escape

Semantic types observed

The defining features of virtually all examples in the sample are:

- ***Tyle-że* refines some part of the preceding discourse (phrase, proposition, section of discourse)**
- **As it refines, it also indicates contrast**

[24] wide scope

Prawdą jest, że Niemcy przez dziesięciolecia przewyżdzali przeszłość – **tyle że** nie byli to ci Niemcy, którzy osobiście ponosili odpowiedzialność za nazizm.

'It is true that Germans were struggling with the past for decades – **only** they were not the Germans who were personally responsible for Nazism.'

In [24], *tyle że* (a) introduces a refinement and (b) contrasts two groups of Germans.

Meaning of *tyle że* - corpus study: conclusion

Interim conclusion

We propose that the adverbial relation expressed by *tyle że* is contrastive refinement.

Meaning of *tyle że*

- Finally, *tyle-że*-clauses can also operate on the speech act level, modifying the illocutionary force of an utterance:

[25] Pojedziemy do Jazgarzewszczyzny,
go.1pl to Jazgarzewszczyzna
tyle że nie wiem, gdzie to jest.
tyle że neg know.1sg where this is

‘We will go to Jazgarzewszczyzna, but I don’t know where it is.’

- Comparable cases have also been observed in English:

[26] a. Fine, I'll go to Oleana with you, only where is it?
b. It's raining, only don't use that as an excuse to skip class!

(von Stechow & Iatridou 2019: slides 25-26, ex. 16, 18)

Meaning of *tyle że*

- However, like other speech act modifiers, *tyle-że*-clauses cannot be targeted by linguistic material, as they are syntactically disintegrated from the matrix clause, unlike their counterparts operating on the propositional level:

A: Pojedziemy do Jazgarzewszczyzny,
go.1pl to Jazgarzewszczyzna

tyle że nie wiem, gdzie to jest.

tyle że neg know.1sg where this is

‘We will go to Jazgarzewszczyzna, the only thing is that I don’t know where it is.’

B: Ale to nieprawda.

but this not:true

‘But that's not true.’

- Neither the demonstrative *to* nor the negation *nie* can target the content of the adverbial clause.

Meaning of *tyle że*

A: Mój amerykański komputer działa bardzo dobrze w Warszawie,
my American computer work.3sg very well in Warsaw

tyle że używam transformatora.

tyle że use.1sg transformer

‘My American computer works very well in Warsaw, **the only thing is that** I use a transformer.’

B: Ale to nieprawda.

but this not:true

‘But that's not true.’

- Both the demonstrative *to* and the negation *nie* can target the content of the adverbial clause.

- To what extent are *tyle-że*-clauses operating on the propositional level integrated into the matrix clause?

1. Setting the scene
2. *Tyle że* as an adverbial complementizer
3. Meaning of *tyle że*
4. **Syntax of *tyle-że*-clauses**
5. Concluding remarks
6. References

Syntax of *tyle-że*-clauses

- Movement to the left periphery of the matrix clause is not permitted. *Tyle-że*-clauses must follow the matrix clause:

[1] Mój amerykański komputer działa bardzo dobrze w Warszawie,
my American computer work.3sg very well in Warsaw
tyle że używam transformatora.
tyle że use.1sg transformer

‘My American computer works very well in Warsaw, the only thing is that I use a transformer.’

[1'] **Tyle że* używam transformatora, mój amerykański komputer działa bardzo dobrze w Warszawie.

- There is no *wh*-phrase that could target the *tyle-że*-clause.

- Variable binding into the adverbial *tyle-że*-clause is likewise impossible:

[27] *Prawie [każdy ranny]_i otrzymał natychmiastową pomoc,
almost every wounded received immediate help
tyle że nikt [mu]_i nie powiedział, co się wydarzyło.
tyle że nobody him neg said what refl happened

Intended: ‘Almost every wounded person received immediate help, the only thing is that no one told them what had happened.’

- Furthermore, *tyle-że*-clauses are not sensitive to any material occurring in the matrix clause (negation, speaker-oriented adverbs).

- Remarkably, *tyle-że*-clauses do fall under the scope of the illocutionary force of the matrix clause:

[28] Czy wszystkie amerykańskie komputery działają w Polsce,
whether all American computers work in Poland

tyle że trzeba używać transformatora?

tyle że one:needs use.inf transformer

‘Do all American computers work in Poland, the only issue being that you have to use a transformer?’

*Q > *tyle że* / ^{OK}*tyle że* > Q

- *Tyle-że*-clauses must follow central (e.g. **temporal**) and peripheral (e.g. **concessive**) adverbial clauses:

[29] a) Dostałem pierwszy komputer, **kiedy** miałem pięć lat, **choć** tego nie pamiętam, **tyle że** mam jeszcze gry komputerowe do niego.

‘I got my first computer when I was five years old, although I don’t remember it; the only thing I know is that I still have the computer games for it.’

b) *Dostałem pierwszy komputer, **kiedy** miałem pięć lat, **tyle że** mam jeszcze gry komputerowe do niego, **choć** tego nie pamiętam.

c) *Dostałem pierwszy komputer, **tyle że** mam jeszcze gry komputerowe do niego, **kiedy** miałem pięć lat, **choć** tego nie pamiętam.

- To determine the size of *tyle-że*-clauses, we divide modifiers into three groups following Krifka (2023):

- [30]
- a. JP modifiers: *bodaj* ‘probably’, *chyba* ‘presumably’, *prawdopodobnie* ‘probably’, *rzekomo* ‘allegedly’, *z pewnością* ‘certainly’, *ponoć* ‘purportedly’, *może* ‘maybe’, *jakoby* ‘supposedly’, *najwyraźniej* ‘apparently’;
 - b. ComP modifiers: *bez jaj* (lit. ‘without balls’) ‘no shit’, *bez kitu* (lit. ‘without putty’) ‘I’m not kidding (you)’, *naprawdę* ‘really’, *jak Boga kocham* (lit. ‘as I love God’) ‘as I live’, *rzeczywiście* ‘really’, *przysięgam* ‘I swear’, *faktycznie* ‘in fact’, *fakt faktem* (lit. fact.NOM fact.INSTR) ‘the fact remains’, *na miłość boską* (lit. ‘on God’s love’) ‘for God’s sake’;
 - c. ActP modifiers: *innymi słowy* ‘in other words’, *przecież* ‘after all’, *nawiasem mówiąc* ‘by the way’, *szczerze mówiąc* (lit. ‘honestly speaking’) ‘to be honest’, *ściśle biorąc* (‘strictly taking’) ‘strictly speaking’, *jakby nie patrzeć* (lit: ‘as if not look at’) ‘after all’, *jednak* ‘however’, *bądź co bądź* ‘anyway’, *swoją drogą* ‘by the way’.

- As for their internal syntax, *tyle-że*-clauses can host different kinds of modifiers:

[31] *Z przyjemnością opowiedziałbym ci, jak mi*
with pleasure tell.1SG.COND you.DAT how me.DAT
minął wieczór wczoraj, tyle że szczerze powiedziałem ja
pass.1-PTCP.SG.M evening yesterday *tyle że* honestly said I
naprawdę chyba nic nie pamiętam.
really presumably nothing NEG remember.1SG

‘I’d gladly tell you how my evening went yesterday, but the thing is, to be honest, I really don’t think I remember anything.’

1. Setting the scene
2. *Tyle że* as an adverbial complementizer
3. Meaning of *tyle że*
4. Syntax of *tyle-że*-clauses
- 5. Concluding remarks**
6. References

- The adverbial relation expressed by *tyle że* is contrastive refinement.
- Adverbial *tyle-że*-clauses appear to be syntactically non-integrated adjuncts.

- Since *tyle-że*-clauses can operate on the speech act level, it would be worthwhile to investigate their syntax and semantics in greater detail and to compare them with other speech act modifiers.

[25] Pojedziemy do Jazgarzewszczyzny,
go.1pl to Jazgarzewszczyzna
tyle że nie wiem, gdzie to jest.
tyle że neg know.1sg where this is

‘We will go to Jazgarzewszczyzna, but I don’t know where it is.’

- The diachrony of *tyle-że*-clauses offers a promising topic for a PhD project.
- A cross-Slavic perspective could provide a better understanding of how *tyle-że*-clauses behave.

References

- Benbaji, Ido & Omri Doron. 2023. Adversative *only* is only *only*. *Proceedings of Sinn und Bedeutung* 27: 64–80.
- Brinton, Laurel J. 1998. “The flowers are lovely; only, they have no scent”: The evolution of a pragmatic marker in English. In Raimund Borgmeier, Herbert Grabes & Andreas H. Jucker (eds.), *Anglistentag 1997 Giessen. Proceedings*, 9–33. Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag.
- Davis, Christopher & Grégoire Winterstein. 2023. From exclusive particles to adversative connectives. In Özge Bakay, Breanna Pratley, Eva Neu & Peyton Deal (eds.), *Proceedings of NELS 52*, 211–220. Amherst, MA: GLSA Publications.
- von Fintel, Kai & Sabine Iatridou. 2019. The *only* connectives. Talk delivered at ESSLLI 2019 at the University of Latvia, August 2019.
- Ippolito, Michela, Angelika Kiss & Will Williams. 2025. Discourse *only*. In Nikolas Webster, Yağmur Kiper, Richard Wand & Sichen Larry Lyu (eds.), *Proceedings of the 41st West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics*, 222–231. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.
- Jespersen, Otto. 1949. *A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles*. Part VII: *Syntax*. Copenhagen: Munksgaard.
- Krifka, Manfred. 2023. Layers of assertive clauses: Propositions, judgements, commitments, acts. In Jutta Hartmann & Angelika Wöllstein (eds.), *Propositionale Argumente im Sprachvergleich: Theorie und Empirie / Propositional Arguments in Cross-Linguistic Research: Theoretical and Empirical Issues* (Studien zur deutschen Sprache 84), 115–182. Tübingen: Narr.
- RJP – Rada Języka Polskiego. (2025). *Zasady pisowni i interpunkcji polskiej*. Warszawa: Polska Akademii Nauk.
<https://rjp.pan.pl/app/uploads/2025/11/2-zalacznik-do-komunikatu-11-25-wersja-jednolita.pdf>
- Williams, R. O. 1895. *Only* – adversative – misplacement of adverb. *Modern Language Notes* 10(3): 66–68.

Thank you for your attention!

Meaning of *tyle że* - corpus study: results

In the wide-scope group, an additional distinction can be made between:

- *tyle-że*-clauses that modify the **immediately preceding clause** (in the same typographical sentence or in a new sentence following a full stop) (49/60)
- *tyle-że*-clauses that modify a **larger chunk of preceding discourse** (in a new sentence following a full stop) (11/60)

(examples overleaf)

Meaning of *tyle że* - corpus study: results

- **immediately preceding clause:**

25) Oprócz pracy mam zawsze trochę przyjemności. **Tyle że** zamiast na piłkarzy patrzę na kibiców.

‘Apart from work, I always get a bit of pleasure. **The only difference is that/It’s just that/Except** instead of watching the footballers, I watch the fans’

- **larger chunk of discourse:**

26) A jako że serce ma zapasowe odpływy, u zdrowych ludzi niewykorzystywane, więc to nimi krew może wrócić. Umożliwiłoby to leczenie zawału u chorych z wieloma rozszanymi w różnych miejscach zwężeniami tętnic wieńcowych bądź u takich, u których zatkana jest cała tętnica. A to przytrafia się zwykle ludziom starszym. **Tyle że** musiał znaleźć się odważny, który pierwszy puściłby tak krew

‘And since the heart has auxiliary outflow pathways — unused in healthy people — blood could return through them. This would make it possible to treat a heart attack in patients with multiple narrowings of the coronary arteries scattered in different locations, or in those whose entire artery is blocked. That usually happens to older people. **The only problem was that/ It’s just that/Except** someone brave had to be found to be the first to let the blood flow that way.’