NOMINALIZATION IN ENGLISH AND POLISH — GENERAL REMARKS

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The present paper is an introductory part of a more extensive contrastive study on the problems of nominalizations in English and Polish¹. The purpose of this introduction is to present the scope and the general assumptions concerning the subject, emphasizing the most typical structures in English and Polish, which will be dealt with in the subsequent parts of the study, and will appear in the form of separate papers.

All three main types of sentence, namely declaratives, imperatives, and interrogatives, can be embedded into a matrix clause both in Polish and English. During the process of embedding the nominalization rules map the terminal strings underlying them onto their surface structures that frequently differ from the form they would acquire as the topmost sentences.

Following the UCLA model of transformational-generative grammar (Stockwell et al. 1968) the modified Chomskyan version with Fillmore's case analysis will be retained throughout the present study. The following four types of nominalizations will be examined in the whole work:

- 1. Factive
- 2. Infinitival
- 3. Gerundive
- 4. Indirect Questions.

Derived nouns like: proposal - propozycja, writing - pismo in:

- (1) His proposal made me angry.
- (1a) Jego propozycja zezłościła mnie.

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- (2) His writing is difficult to read.
- (2a) Jego pismo trudno odczytać.

as well as the class labelled "Action Nominals" (Lees 1960) e.g.

- (3) Painting the floor is a hard job.
- (3a) Malowanie podłogi to trudne zajęcie.

are taken here as lexically derived from the corresponding verbs, so should, in fact, fall out of the scope of the present investigation. The distinction between Action and Gerundive Nominals, however, though so vital for English, does not essentially exist in the Polish language, so in many cases it will be impossible to transfer these differences into the Polish examples. The Polish structure basically employs Action Nominals in the place of both Action and Gerundive ones in English. The relations between the English and Polish Action and Gerundive Nominal are the subject matter of the next paper of the present series. Certain tendencies towards gerundialization that can be observed in the contemporary Polish language nowadays will be signalled further in the present paper.

FACTIVE NOMINALS

The parameter of distinction between Factive vs. Non-factive Nominal assumes (Kiparsky and Kiparsky 1968), that in the case of factive predicate the speaker presupposes that the object or subject of the predicate is true, while for non-factive ones it is only the matter of assertion or belief, e.g.:

(4) It is odd that the door is closed.

(English examples taken from Stockwell et al. 1968, Nominalization: 3)

- (4a) To dziwne, że drzwi są zamknięte.
- (5) It isn't odd that the door is closed.
- (5a) Nie jest dziwne, że drzwi są zamknięte.

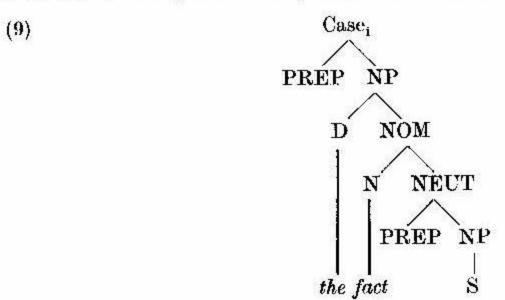
vs. non-factive:

- (6) I believe that the door is closed.
- (6a) Wierzę, że drzwi są zamknięte.
- (7) I don't believe that the door is closed.
- (7a) Nie wierzę, że drzwi są zamknięte.

All nominalizations including the so-called Verb-complementation are assumed to have their deep structure of the form:

The difference between Factive and Non-factive Nominals lies in the higher part of the branching tree-diagram. The factive predicates do not have sentential objects but the object consisting of the phrase the fact, which itself takes an object in the form of a sentence. So their structure may be presented in the

form of the following P-marker (Stockwell et al. 1968, Nominalization: 3):



The non-factive nominalization may appear in the derivation with any item except fact:

Non-factive nominals may be of two types:

1. generic:

- (11) Writing grammars is not fun.
- (11a) Pisanie gramatyk to nie żart.
- 2. a certain type of verb complements which appear as nominalized elements following a restricted number of verbs both in English and Polish:
 - (12) John avoids coming here.
 - (12a) Jan unika przychodzenia tutaj.

The differences between Polish and English in this respect are considerable. Compare:

- (13) The dog started biting the shoe.
- vs. ungrammatical or at least different Polish:
- (13a) * Pies zaczął gryzienie buta. (Grzegorczykowa 1967: 129) where the infinitive $gry\acute{z}\acute{c}$ bite must obligatorily follow the verb $zaczą\acute{c}$ begin in the Polish sentence:
- (13b) Pies zaczął gryźć but.

Both in English and Polish only factive predicates allow that-S or Fact-that-S nominalization as in the examples below:

- (14) The fact that she solved the problem is significant (odd, tragic).
- (14a) Fakt, że ona rozwiązała ten problem jest znamienny (dziwny, tragiczny).

- (15) * The fact that she solved the problem is likely (true, sure).
- (15a) * Fakt, że ona rozwiązała ten problem jest prawdopodobny (prawdziwy, pewny).
- where (15) and (15a) are ungrammatical because of their internal logical contradiction.

The similar parameter, which keeps valid only for English, however, states that only the factives allow gerundive construction, e.g.:

- (16) Her having solved the problem is significant.
- (16a) Rozwiązanie tego problemu przez nią jest ważne.
- (16b) Rozwiązanie tego problemu przez nią jest ważnym faktem.
- (16c) Fakt rozwiązania tego problemu przez nią jest ważny, vs. ungrammatical English:
- (17) * Her having solved the problem is likely, and the corresponding grammatical Polish sentence:
- (17a) Rozwiązanie tego problemu przez nią jest prawdopodobne. Since there is no perfective aspect in Polish that would be expressed similarly as the English have-en form, sentence (17a) is ambiguous, being either an equivalent of (17) in which sense it will not be grammatical in Polish either, or corresponding to the English:
- (17b) Her solving of the problem is likely, where solving functions as an action nominal and may indicate the action to be performed in future. If one tries to find a semantically identical form in Polish, that would correspond to (17), there should be suggested a sentence with the subordinate nominal that-clause:
- (17e) * Fakt, że ona rozwiązała ten problem jest prawdopodobny. The contradiction between fakt and prawdopodobny again makes this sentence unacceptable.

Sentential subject of non-factives must obligatorily stand in initial position both in Polish and English. In the case of sentential subjects of factives, this position is optional. Let's consider the following examples of factives (ex. 18 - 19a) vs. non-factives (ex. 20 - 21a)

- (18) That he comes early amuses me.
- (18a) Fakt, że on przychodzi wcześnie bawi mnie.
- (19) It amuses me that he comes early.
- (19a) Bawi mnie fakt, że on przychodzi wcześnie. but:
 - (20) * That he comes early seems to me.
 - (20a) * Fakt, że on przychodzi wcześnie wydaje mi się.
 - (21) It seems to me that he comes early.
 - (21a) Wydaje mi się, że on przychodzi wcześnie.

The fact that neither in English nor in Polish the predicates in (20 - 21a) allow Fact-that-S nominalizations proves the non-factive status of this type of predicate in both the languages.

Concluding these remarks on factive nominalizations in English and Polish one should notice that the English complementizer that always corresponds to the Polish że, which is obligatorily preceded by fakt in Polish, and the fact in English (optional) if standing in sentence-initial position.

INFINITIVAL . NOMINALIZATIONS

The derivation of the infinitival complements does not seem to be a single substitute of a sentential constituent by an infinitive but involves many intermediate stages reaching the deepest structure of the construction. The distinction between Emotive and Non-emotive predicates which is retained here following the UCLA model, is expressed for the emotive predicates by the subjective value of the preposition taking for in infinitival nominalizations in English which corresponds to the Dative ending of the Noun in infinitival, or preposition dla in the gerundive nominalizations in Polish, e.g.:

- (22) It's difficult for me to solve the problem.
- (22a) Jest mi trudno rozwiązać ten problem.
- (22b) Rozwiązanie tego problemu jest dla mnie trudne.

The nominal constructions with infinitives in English are supposed to have their deep structure roughly of the form:

- (23) I want (I go)⇒ I want to go.
 The corresponding deep structure of the equivalent Polish string underlying the equivalent Polish sentence would be then:
- (23a) Ja chcę (Ja idę)⇒Ja chcę iść. The evidence that would justify such an analysis in Polish is rather scarce. It seems to some authors (Grzegorczykowa 1967: 129 30), however, that the constructions with the infinitive in Polish most often connote the narrowing of the semantic interpretation of the utterance when compared with the gerundive or action nominals. That is why there is no semantic identify between
 - (24) Staram się przyjechać.
- (24a) I'm trying to come.

e.g.:

- and the constructions with the action nominal:
 - (25) Staram się o przyjazd.
 - (25a) I'm trying for somebody (not stated clearly for whom, may be also for myself) to come.

Such examples of the constructions with infinitives may constitute some evidence for the claim that in Polish an infinitive following a verb must have the

co-referential subject with the preceding verb in the deep structure.

The next type of infinitival nominalization represented in English by:

(26) I want him to go.

requires an object clause in the Polish equivalent structure:

(26a) Chee,
$$\begin{cases} \dot{z}eby \\ aby \\ by \end{cases}$$
 on poszedł.

Equally frequently when the infinitive refers to the action performed not by the subject but by the object of the verb, i.e. in the case of causal constructions, the actions expressed by the subject and the object of the verb are expressed by separate lexical units both in Polish (Grzegorczykowa 1967: 125) and English:

- (27) I must go.
- (27a) Muszę iść.
- (28) I made him go.

with the corresponding infinitival construction in Polish:

(28a) Kazałem mu iść.

or the subordinate clause:

- (28b) Kazałem, aby szedł.
- (29) I can do it.
- (29a) Mogę to zrobić.
- (30) I enabled him to do it.

with the equivalent gerundive nominal in Polish:

(30a) Umożliwiłem mu zrobienie tego.

Sentences (27a) and (28a) are the only instances then, where the English infinitival nominal is equivalent to the identical infinitival structure in Polish.

The last problem worth mentioning at this point refers to the variation of the infinitive — nomen actions type. In Polish the latter one is preceded by a preposition in the majority of cases. Not all infinitival forms, however, seem to be acceptable in English:

- (31) Zdecydował się powiedzieć prawdę.
- (31a) He decided to tell the truth.
- (32) Zdecydował się na powiedzenie prawdy.
- (32a) He decided on telling the truth.

but:

- (33) Przywyknął chodzić wcześnie spać.
- (33a) *He got used to go to bed early.
- (34) Przywyknał do wczesnego chodzenia spać.
- (34a) He got used to going to bed early.

Some other structures of the same type showing some idiosyncretic qualities of distribution seem to have equivalent forms in Polish, e.g.:

(35) He remembers to do it.

- (35a) On pamieta, aby to zrobić (że ma to zrobić). with the infinitive in the adverbial clause, or:
- (35b) On pamieta o zrobieniu tego. with the action nominal preceded by a preposition. Both (35a) and (35b) are equivalent to (35).
 - (36) He remembers doing it.
- (36a) On pamieta robienie tego. where the gerundive nominal in the Polish example is used much less frequently than the equivalent construction with an object clause:
- (36b) On pamieta, że to zrobił. with the corresponding English version:
 - (36c) He remembers that he has done it.

GERUNDIVE NOMINALS

Gerundive nominals sensu stricto are rare in Polish. The English gerundives have the corresponding equivalent forms in Polish in the form of the so-called substantivum verbale (verbal-substantive phrases) that may be also referred to as action nominals. As a class they will be discussed separately, while at this point certain tendencies towards their gerundivalization in Polish will be pointed out (Damborskỳ 1965: 154 - 157).

1. They can be modified by adverbs of manner.

e.g.:

- (37) śpiewanie dobrze
- (37a) singing well
- 2. The introduction of the reflexive pronoun:
 - (38) całowanie się
 - (38a) kissing each other
- 3. The usage of subjective Dative:
 - (39) dostarczanie książek samemu

[Dat.]

- (39a) supplying the books by oneself
- 4. The usage of Accusative following the comparative conjunction jako preceded by a nominalized item: (Damborský 1967: 227)
- (40) traktowanie tego jako warunek rokowań besides
- (41) traktowanie tego jako warunku rokowań (40a) and (41a) treating it as a condition for negotiation

 $\left\{ egin{array}{l} ext{Accusative} \ ext{Genitive} \end{array}
ight\}$

INDIRECT QUESTIONS

Indirect Questions will cover the class of embedded interrogatives in the present study. The necessity of distinction between true embedded questions (ex. 42, 42a) and pseudo-embedded questions (ex. 43, 43a) has been already pointed out in the UCLA grammar, (stockwell 1968, Nominalization: 69), e.g.:

- (42) I don't remember what has happened.
- (42a) Nie pamiętam co się stało. vs.
 - (43) I don't like what has happened.
 - (43a) Nie podoba mi się to co się stało.

As can be seen then, both in Polish an English a different verb introducing the subordinate structure is used to distinguish between the true embedded interrogative and pseudo-embedded question. The problem of differentiating between embedded interrogative (ex. 44, 44a) and relative clause (ex. 45, 45a) seems to be vital in both the languages too.

- (44) I don't know who was in the room.
- (44a) Nie wiem kto był w pokoju.
- (45) I don't know the person who was in the room.
- (45a) Nie znam osoby, która była w pokoju.

The characteristic feature of the constructions with relative clauses is that the basic strings of their deep structure must contain an identical element which will be a subject to relativization. The occurrence of an embedded question in a given position on the other hand seems to be caused by the presence of some lexical morphemes in the matrix clause which allow the embedding of the interrogative constructions into the matrix constituent (K. Polański 1967: 82).

The embedded questions may be subject to infinitivalization under the condition of co-referentiality of NP's in subject position in the matrix clause and embedded question as well as the constraint on the auxiliary which must be future in the indirect question (Stockwell 1968, Nominalization: 71). This results in Equi-NP-Deletion and Infinitive-Introduction. Stockwell in his paper (1968: 71) postulates the following derivation of the infinitivalized indirect question in English:

- (46) a. I don't know what will I do
 - b. I don't know what I will do
 - c. I don't know what to do
- (46a) a. Nie wiem Co będę robić
 - b. Nie wiem co będę robić
 - c. Nie wiem co robić.
- (47) a. I didn't take into account How would I do it

- b. I didn't take into account how I would do it
- c. I didn't take into account how to do it
- (47a) a. Nie wziąłem pod uwagę Jak będę to robić
 - b. Nie wziąłem pod uwagę jak będę to robić
 - c. Nie wziąłem pod uwagę jak to (z)robić.

The infinitival reduction suggested above may, however, raise some objection concerning the postulated paraphrase relations between the constructions with embedded questions and the corresponding infinitival structures. The constructions with embedded questions of the type given in (46, 46a) and (47, 47a) seem to contain both in English and Polish some more evident implication as to the possible completing of the action described in the dependent question.

- (46) b. I don't know what I will do.
- (46a) b. Nie wiem co będę robić.

are, according to the tradition in TG, generated from:

- (46) b₁. I don't know I will do WH something
- (46a) b₁. Nie wiem Będę robić Int. coś

The clauses with the infinitival reduction, on the other hand, seem also to contain the possible alternative denial of completing the action in the infinitival structure.

- (46) e. I don't know what to do.
- (46a) c. Nie wiem co robić.

seem to contain the possible implication.

- (46) c₁. It is possible that I won't do anything.
- (46a) e₁. Możliwe, że nie nie będę robić.

The above observation may suggest some closer relation between the infinitivalized type of dependent questions and the alternative interrogative constructions.

The other remark I would like to add at this point refers to the infinitivalized embedded questions with some other constructions embedded into them. The embedding of an adverbial clause of the final type into the embedded question, naturally requires different constituent strings in the basic structure of the construction with an embedded question. What is interesting, however, is the fact that this process seems to be completed apart from the requirement of the co-referentiality of NP's and the future auxiliary in the dependent question.

Sentences:

OT

- (48) I didn't take into account how to do it to make it work
- (48a) Nie wziąłem pod uwagę jak to zrobić, aby to działało
- (49) I don't know where to go to get it

(49a) Nie wiem dokąd pójść, aby to dostać

do not necessarily suggest the occurrence of the co-referential I in (48, 49) and ja in (48a, 49a) in the dependent question. Neither do they seem to obligatorily assign the future marker to the auxiliary in it. The paraphrase relation holds rather between (48, 48a), (49, 49a) and (48, 48a), (49, 49a), respectively:

- (48), I didn't take into account how one should do it to make it work or I didn't take into account how it should be done to make it work
- (48a), Nie wziąłem pod uwagę jak należy to zrobić, aby to działało or Nie wziąłem pod uwagę jak powinno się to zrobić, aby to działało or Nie wziąłem pod uwagę, jak to powinno być zrobione, aby to działało.
 and
 - (49), I don't know where one should go to get it
 - (49a), Nie wiem dokąd należy (powinno się) pójść, aby to zdobyć.

The final observation on infinitivalization of embedded questions refers to the interrogative clauses with why. Both in English (Stockwell, Nominalization: 71) and Polish they disallow infinitival reduction, though in the intuition of the native speakers the Polish example with the infinitive in perfective aspect—seems to be more acceptable:

- (50)* She knows why to do it.
- (50a)* Ona wie dlaczego to robić.
- (50b)* Ona wie dlaczego to zrobić.

To conclude these few remarks on nominalization in Polish and English one further comment will be here added to signal the phenomenon of equivalence between the markers serving to introduce nominalized complements in both languages. These so-called complementizers (Rosenbaum 1965) have, as could be noticed in the examples above, the following forms in English: that or the fact that for factive nominalizations, for-to for infinitival, -ing for gerundives, and the variety of interrogative pronouns marked with the [Wh] feature in their lexical matrices, for indirect questions. The corresponding class of complementizers in Polish contains the following markers (Rothstein 1966: 23): $\dot{z}e$ and fakt, $\dot{z}e$ or to, $\dot{z}e$ for factives, Inf - \dot{c} for infinitival phrases, $\dot{z}eby$ (aby, by) for embedded object clauses equivalent to infinitives in meaning,

Nom $\begin{cases} -enie \\ -anie \\ -ecie \end{cases}$ for verbal-substantive phrases, most often corresponding to the

English gerundive and action nominals, and the interrogative pronouns for embedded questions.

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