

WPFG

working papers in functional grammar

wpfg no. 42
July 1991

Predicative adjuncts in Polish and the Egyptian pseudo-participle: a contrastive analysis
Eva Zakrzewska
Warsaw University

The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that every entry should be supported by a valid receipt or invoice. This not only helps in tracking expenses but also ensures compliance with tax regulations.

In the second section, the author outlines the various methods used for data collection and analysis. These include surveys, interviews, and focus groups. Each method has its own strengths and limitations, and the choice depends on the specific research objectives.

The third section delves into the statistical analysis of the collected data. It covers topics such as descriptive statistics, inferential statistics, and regression analysis. The goal is to identify patterns and trends in the data that can inform business decisions.

Finally, the document concludes with a summary of the findings and recommendations. It highlights the key insights gained from the research and provides practical advice for implementing these findings in a business context.

PREDICATIVE ADJUNCTS IN POLISH
AND THE EGYPTIAN PSEUDO-PARTICIPLE:
A CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS

Ewa Zakrzewska
Warsaw University

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1. Introduction¹

The present paper is a fragment of a larger study² devoted to a comparison of certain constructions with secondary predications in Polish and Egyptian, strictly speaking Middle Egyptian.³ These constructions show striking resemblances although the two languages are by no means connected. There can be no question of historical,⁴ geographical or cultural connections, and while structurally Polish is a predominantly inflectional language, Egyptian is a predominantly isolating one. Thus it may be assumed that the similarities between the two languages can be explained only in functional terms.

The point of departure of my study was thus the hypothesis that the expressions to be examined are external manifestations (or realizations) of similar underlying meaning complexes existing independently in both languages. Consequently, the aim of the research was to expose this concealed meaning and to describe how it takes shape in a specific construction. The description was partly based on the methods elaborated within the framework of Functional Grammar; it is this part of the study that will be presented in this paper.⁵ I will first characterize briefly the constructions that will be discussed, then present the predications underlying them and finally describe some of the linguistic phenomena occurring in their structure.

2. Constructions with predicative adjuncts in Polish - general information

There are two kinds of constructions with predicative adjuncts in Polish: with nouns (of the type He returned a hero) and with adjectives⁶ (He returned happy). The latter kind is the subject of the present study. Constructions with adjectival predicative adjuncts occur in two types:

(1) Type I

Maria wróciła szczęśliwa/zmartwiona /pierwsza/sama

Mary_{nom} returned_{past 3 fem sg} happy_{nom fem sg/}

/depressed_{nom fem sg/}

/first_{nom fem sg/}

/alone_{nom fem sg.}

(2) Type II

Jan widział Marię/ją szczęśliwą/zmartwioną/pierwszą/samą,

John_{nom} saw Mary_{acc/heracc} happy_{acc/instr fem sg/}

/depressed_{acc/instr fem sg/}

/((being) first_{acc/instr fem sg/}

/((being) alone_{acc/instr fem sg.}

The term 'predicative adjunct' needs explanation. Its first part ('predicative') will be discussed in section 4. The word 'adjunct' means that the adjectival form in constructions such as (1) and (2) is not syntactically required by the verb unlike in sentences of the type:

(3) Maria wydawała się szczęśliwa.

Mary seemed (to be) happy.

(4) Jan uczynił Marię szczęśliwą.

John made Mary happy.

Although not required, the adjective used as the predicative adjunct is strongly connected with the verb. In the constructions of the first type it is syntactically a part of the verbal phrase with which it also forms a prosodic unit. It may appear without any nominal form. This happens in two cases:

- in sentences without an explicit subject, in which the first argument is represented in the ending of the verbal form, e.g.:

(5) Wróciła szczęśliwa.

Returned happy (= She returned happy).

- if the verb is in an non-finite (impersonal) form, e.g.:

(6) Wrócić szczęśliwym i umrzeć.

To return happy (instr masc/neut sg) and to die.

The last example shows another type of connection between the verb and the adjective in the constructions in question, namely that the adjective may appear in the instrumental case. The sentences with the finite (personal) verbal form may have two variants in Polish:

(7) (a) Maria wróciła szczęśliwa_a (nom fem sg),

(b) Maria wróciła szczęśliwą_a (instr fem sg).

Sentences of type (7b), however, are obsolescent in contemporary Polish. In unmarked utterances, with a finite verb form, it is sentences of type (7a) - with the adjective in the nominative - that will appear. However, in utterances with an non-finite form of the verb, there is no nominal with which the adjective could agree. Consequently, the instrumental case is obligatory.

In the pragmatic dimension the predicative adjunct most often has focus function, which is proved by the eliminatory contrasting test:⁷

(8) Maria wróciła szczęśliwa a nie przygnębiona.

Mary returned happy and not depressed.

When a form subordinate to the main verb occurs in the final position, i.e. after the predicative adjunct, it becomes the focus of the sentence. According to some theories which assume that the topic-focus division is multistage,⁸ such a subordinate constituent is primary focus, the predicative adjunct being secondary focus:

(9) Maria wróciła szczęśliwa z wakacji.

Mary returned happy from holidays.

The initial position of the predicative adjunct in Polish is ambiguous since it may express emphasized focus or topic, depending on the intonation:

(10) Ostatni kładzie się spać, pierwszy wstaje.

last goes-to-bed first gets-up

He goes to bed LAST, he gets up FIRST (or:) Last he goes to bed, first he gets up.

In the constructions of the second type the predicative adjunct forms a prosodic unit with the nominal phrase in the accusative or, in negative sentences, in the genitive. This is the basic formal difference between the two types.

The other major properties of type II are the same as those of type I:

- The object-nominal may be a noun, a personal pronoun [as in (2)] or it may be omitted:

(11) Podawać gorące.

Serve (them) hot.

- The predicative adjunct most often has focus function.

- The predicative adjunct may appear in the instrumental case. In the feminine singular this cannot be seen since the endings of the accusative are identical to those of the instrumental [cf. ex. (2)]. But in the masculine and neuter we may have two variants:

(12) (a) Jan widział Piotra szczęśliwego/szczęśliwym.

John_{nom} saw Peter_{acc} happy_{acc} /happy_{instr.}

(b) Jan widział dziecko szczęśliwe/szczęśliwym.

John_{nom} saw the child_{acc/neut} happy_{acc} /happy_{instr.}

The instrumental case can also be found in negated sentences where the object nominal appears in the genitive:

- (13) (a) Jan nie widział Marii szczęśliwej.
 John_{nom} didn't see Mary_{gen} happy_{gen} /happy_{instr.}
- (b) Jan nie widział Piotra szczęśliwego/szczęśliwym.
 John_{nom} didn't see Peter_{gen} happy_{gen} /happy_{instr.}
- (c) Jan nie widział dziecka szczęśliwego/szczęśliwym.
 John_{nom} didn't see the child_{gen} happy_{gen} /happy_{instr.}

3. The pseudo-participle in Egyptian

Parallel constructions which can be found in Egyptian contain a verbal form called pseudo-participle (other names: old perfective, stative, resultative). In the following examples the pseudo-participles are shown in bold print and morphemes within one word are separated by dots.

Examples (14)-(15) below show pseudo-participles in constructions similar to Polish sentences (1) and (2).

(14) Type I

n sdr s **ḥkr.w** r dmi.ṯ
 not spend-the-night man hungry.3 masc sg in town.my

A man did not spend the night hungry in my town [Menthuw. 11-12 = Lefebvre (1955) §349].

(15) Type II

gm.ṯ.k wṯ km.kwṯ
 find.you me completed.1 com sg

You will find me completed [Rhind 67 = Lefebvre (1955) §349].

Egyptian has one more construction type with the pseudo-participle qualifying a prepositional phrase, e.g.:

(16) Type III

| | | | | |
|------------------|-------|----------|-------|-------------------|
| spr.n | wḏ | pn | r.ỉ | 'h'.kwı̄ |
| arrive.PERF | order | this | to.me | standing.1 com sg |
| m-ḥr-ı̄b | | whw.t.ỉ | | |
| in-the-middle-of | | tribe.my | | |

This order came to me when I was standing in the middle of my tribe [Sin. B 199 - 200 = Vergote (1955 : 349)].

In all these examples the pseudo-participle is the realization of a secondary predication (cf. section 4).⁹ The most striking difference between the adjective and the pseudo-participle is that the latter is a conjugated form: its ending carries information about person, gender and number. Thus, while the adjective in Polish can agree with the nominal in case, gender and number, the Egyptian pseudo-participle agrees with the nominal in person, gender and number.

The pseudo-participle can occur without any nominal form. This happens when it is subordinated to an impersonal form of the verb, i.e. the infinitive, the participle or the deverbal noun, e.g.:

(17) ṡm 'h'.(w)
 'Walking erect.3 masc sg' (CT VI, 302 c).

(18) Rsī wḏ3.w
 'He who is awake (being) healthy.3 masc sg' (CT VI, 339 l).

(19) r n tm ṡm.(w) shḏ.(w)
 spell for failing walking upside-down
 'A spell for not walking upside down.3 masc sg' (CT VII, 104 j).

The pseudo-participle expresses a state that 'has been attained by somebody or something as the result of an earlier situation' [Borghouts (1984) §77]. Its temporal value is therefore relative past, its basic meaning static in opposition to other, essentially dynamic, verbal forms [Gardiner (1957) §311]. It can be formed from transitive and intransitive verbs, as well as from so-called adjective-verbs, i.e. verbs denoting qualities, e.g. 'be good', 'be beautiful' etc., which are used in Egyptian instead of adjectives proper.

Syntactically, the pseudo-participle in (14)-(16) has the position of an adverb. Pragmatically it most often has focus function, as is shown by the test of eliminatory contrasting:

- (20) šm.ỉ 'h'.kwỉ n šm.ỉ shd.k(w)ỉ
 walk.I upright.1 sg com not walk.I upside-down.1 com sg

I will walk upright, I won't walk upside down (CT V, 29 f-g).

Just as in Polish, a constituent subordinate to the main verb, when it occurs at the end of the sentence, has the function of primary focus [cf. ex. (14)], while the initially placed pseudo-participle can probably have topic function:¹⁰

- (21) hnt.kwỉ ph.n.ỉ 3bw
 sail-upstream.1 sg reach.PERF.I Elephantine
 hdỉ.kwỉ ph.n.ỉ mhỉ.t
 sail-downstream.1 sg reach.PERF.I Delta

Having travelled upstream I reached Elephantine, having travelled downstream I reached the Delta (Hatn. 14.6 = Borghouts 1984 §80).

A closer look at the Polish and Egyptian constructions reveals that apart from the correlations of general meaning, lexical units from the same semantic fields very often appear as main verbs in both languages. Verbs

of movement play a particular role here, as well as verba dicendi, sentientiendi and cogitandi and verbs indicating a state or a change of a state. The predicative adjunct and the pseudo-participle, in their turn, are very often forms of lexemes describing the psycho-physiological state of a person. Why is this so? In the remaining part of the paper I try to interpret these correlations.

4. Underlying predications

Let us first return to the term 'predicative adjunct'. Its first part, 'predicative', relates to another term, 'predicate,' which can be understood in two ways. The first approach, which can be found in traditional grammars, is to define the predicate as the center of a clause - the part of a clause which asserts some action or state. Hence the expression: "the number of clauses is equal to the number of predicates". In most cases it is a verb which has the function of predicate in this understanding.

Grammarians who deal with predicative adjuncts and understand the term 'predicate' in the way explained above concentrate their efforts on proving that there can be another part of a clause with some assertive value [Jespersen (1924), Vergote (1955), Klemensiewicz (1957), Pisarkowa (1965)]. Thus, in our case, adjectives, which usually function as attributes, when used as predicative adjuncts, have half the assertive force of a normal - verbal - predicate.¹¹

In more recent grammatical theories, including Functional Grammar,¹² the term 'predicate' is understood in a different way: it is "a sign of a relation existing between some phenomena (indicated by the so-called arguments) or a sign of a property of a single phenomenon" [Weinsberg (1983 : 170 - 171)]. In order to express relations or properties, a language may use verbs, nouns or adjectives. Adjectives are thus, by their very

nature, predicative. The problem arises how to describe the 'half-assertive' value of predicative adjuncts - the value whose existence has already been proven. In other words: "How can we distinguish between embedded predications functioning as Attribute and those functioning as Praedicativum?" (e.g. predicative adjunct) [Pinkster (1983 : 210)].

This problem can be solved, in my opinion, if the constructions concerned are included in the group of complex predications. "Complex predications are predications in which one or more term positions (= argument or satellite positions) are specified by a predication" [Dik (1981 : 20)]. In our case it is the position of the satellite of circumstance which is filled by a predication, henceforth called the embedded predication.

I would like to present here some suggestions how to interpret such complex predications. For the graphic representation of the predication I choose a two-dimensional model, rather than a linear one. Diagram (22) below is the first approximation to representing the semantic relations in the first type of constructions with predicative adjuncts (e.g. Mary returned happy). Φ_1 indicates the main predicate, Φ_2 the embedded predicate. The relation between a predicate and an argument is marked by a continuous line, the relation between a predicate and a satellite by a dashed line. The selection restrictions are indicated next to these lines. X means an argument¹³ (cf. the index of symbols, p. 37).

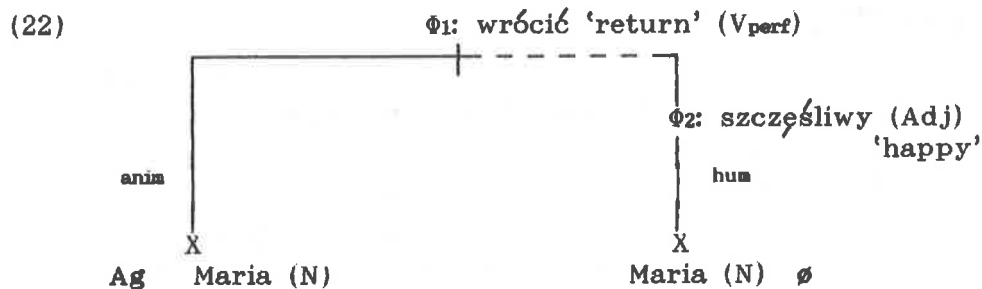


Diagram (22) should be read as follows:

Φ_1 , a perfective verb functioning as the main predicate requires an animate first argument, whose semantic function is agent (Ag). This argument is realized as the term Maria 'Mary'. Moreover, the main predicate appears with another predicate, Φ_2 , embedded in the satellite position. This is an adjectival predicate requiring a human first argument whose semantic function is "patient of state" (\emptyset). This argument is realized as a noun referring to the same person as the first argument of the main predicate.

As we can see, the same argument (in our example the proper name Maria) is required by two predicates and consequently appears twice on the diagram illustrating the underlying syntactic relations. But in the actual sentence the noun Maria appears only once. We have to assume that during the transition from the underlying predication to the actual construction one of the occurrences of this argument must be deleted.

We should notice, however, that deletion, besides being against the rules of Functional Grammar, would lead in this case to a substantial loss of information, for one can delete the occurrence of a given element (in certain conditions) but cannot delete its function without disturbing the integrity of the whole complex. Thus we have to assume that the realization of the argument X, even if it is mentioned only once, is related to both main and embedded predicates. With respect to Φ_1 it has semantic function Agent, with respect to Φ_2 - semantic function \emptyset . This is shown in diagram (23):

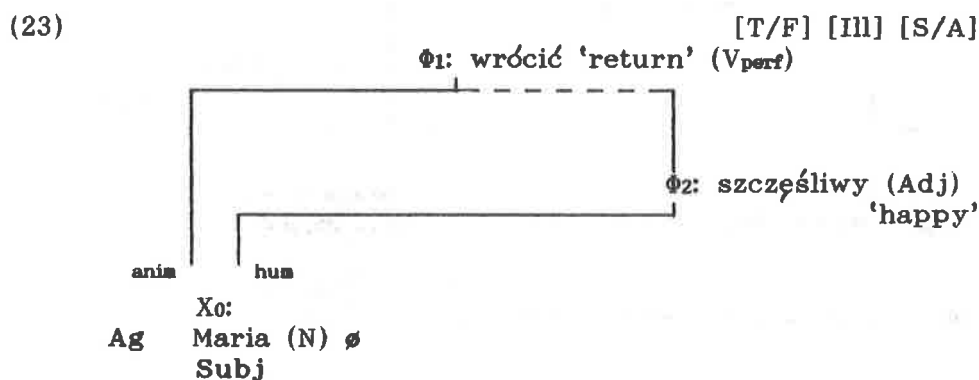


Diagram (23), which is a modification of the initial diagram (22), illustrates the same relations: element X is an argument of both main and secondary predicates. I will call it the joint argument (symbol X₀). In keeping with the opinion of most grammarians, I take the double dependency of the nominal element to be a characteristic feature of the constructions under investigation [cf. for discussion of a similar subject Dik (1981 : 31-35)].

The underlying predications which will be presented henceforth will thus have the form of diagram (23). The semantic function of the joint argument with respect to the main predicate is indicated here on the left side of its symbol, its semantic function with respect to the embedded predicate being shown on its right side. The term indicated by X₀ has syntactic function Subject with respect to the whole complex predication.¹⁴

For the sake of simplicity, information not relevant for the present discussion will be omitted from the diagram. This holds in particular for:

- operators of the main predication,
- possible other arguments or satellites of the main and embedded predicates,
- term operators.

The subscript [T/F] is a provisional indication of the pragmatic characteristics of the sentence. Let us notice that the predication represented schematically in diagram (23) can be realized in the form of various sentences, depending on the assignment of pragmatic functions, e.g.:

(24) (a) Maria wróciła szczęśliwa.

(b) Wróciła szczęśliwa.

(c) Szczęśliwa wróciła.

A diagram such as (23) thus represents a certain class of sentences of which particular specimens differ as to their pragmatic structure. They can differ also in regard to their illocutionary force [understood as in Dik (1989 : 49)], what is symbolized in a general way by the subscript [III].

The third subscript, [S/A], stands for grammatically relevant features of the participants of the speech act (Speaker, Addressee; cf. Hengeveld 1989 : 129). It can be useful on the expression level, when it is necessary to determine the gender of the adjective appearing with impersonal forms of the verb. These forms, contrary to their name, often refer to specific persons participating in the speech act:

(25) (a) [S_{masc}]:

Będzie się wracać zmęczonym, ale trudno.

One will return tired_{masc} but there is nothing to be done.

(b) [S_{fem}]:

Będzie się wracać zmęczoną, ale trudno.

One will return tired_{fem} but there is nothing to be done.

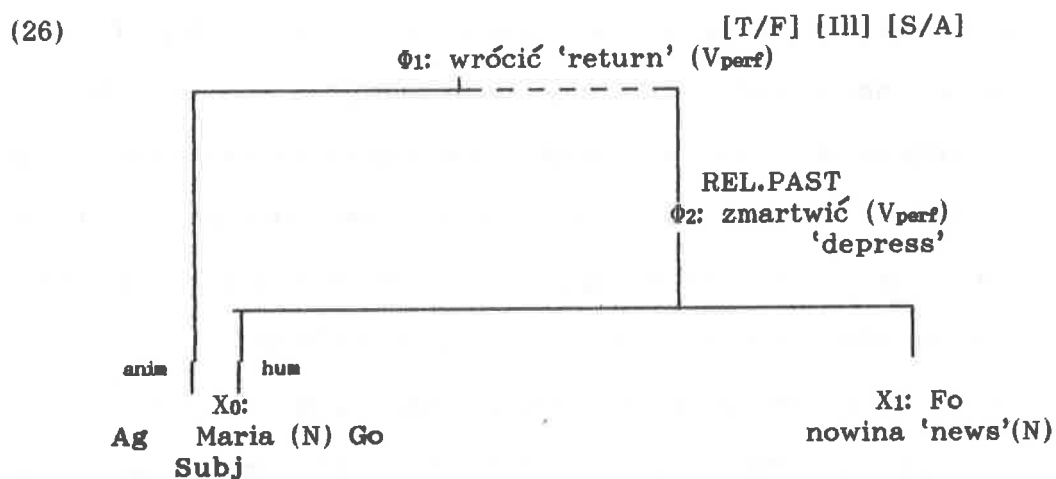
Finally, it may be noted that the selection restrictions of both main and embedded predicates with respect to X₀ should be consistent.

5. The embedded predicate

In order to illustrate the possibilities of filling the Φ_2 position in Polish and Egyptian I will present some complex predications of type I with a main predicate designating an action.

Diagram (26) below represents a predication with a transitive process verb in Φ_2 position. The first argument of this verb denotes the cause of the process (semantic function Force), while the second argument refers

to the person affected by it (semantic function Goal). The tense operator of the embedded predication (Relative Past) indicates that the verb *zmartwić* 'to depress' is realized in the form of the past participle. As it is a perfective verb, the participle has resultative meaning.

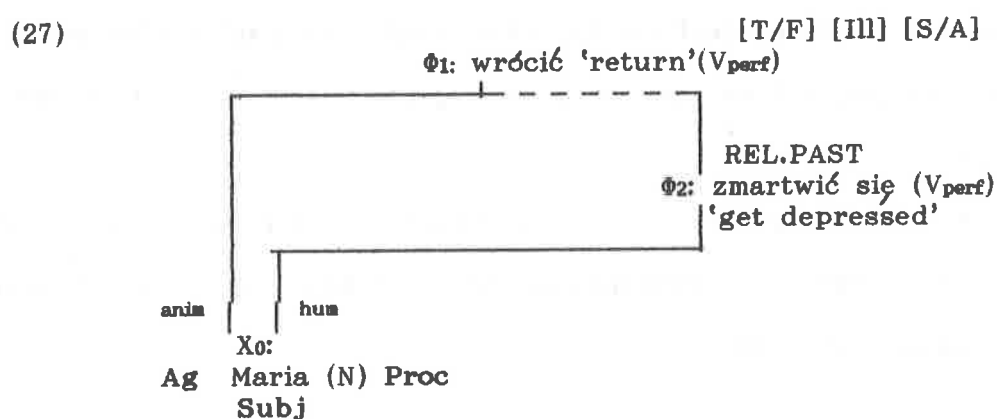


A possible realization:

Maria wróciła zmartwiona tą nowiną.

Mary returned depressed by this news.

Let us now have a look at diagram (27):



A possible realization:

Maria wróciła zmartwiona.

Mary returned depressed.

The embedded predicate in (27) is a product of detransitivisation resulting in what is called a reflexive [Dik (1985 : 5), Vet (1985 : 53 ff.)], "ergative" [Lyons 1968 : 350-388), or medium [Schenkel (1971), Bartnicka (1970 : 51), Wilczewska (1966 : 57-58)].¹⁵ Verbs derived in this way in Polish usually denote a mental, physiological or psycho-physiological process to which someone is subjected. They relate mainly to humans, only exceptionally to other animate entities. The restrictions imposed by the embedded predicate (hum) are thus in this case stronger than those imposed by the main predicate (anim). Still, the selection restrictions are consistent, since 'human' is a proper subset of 'animate'.

Let us note here the shift of the function of the X₀ term: it is not the second argument any more, but the first one. The semantic function of an argument designating such an entity will be specified as Processed.

Past participles of the 'reflexives' of this type are the most frequent, most typical realization of the Φ_2 position in the complex predications discussed. Let us notice however, that unless the Agent or Force is expressly mentioned ('depressed by somebody/something') the distinction between the transitive verb and the 'reflexive' functioning as the predicative adjunct is neutralized. In other words, the past participles of the verbs zmartwić (trans.) and zmartwić się (intr., 'refl.') are homonymous: zmartwiony.

In many cases participles can be replaced by synonymous or nearly synonymous adjectives designating states. In this way we obtain series of interchangeable forms:

- (28) (a) zmartwić 'depress' > zmartwiony 'depressed'
zmartwić się 'get depressed' > zmartwiony 'depressed'
smutny 'sad'
- (b) poranić 'wound' > poraniony 'wounded'

| | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------|
| poranić się 'get wounded' | > poraniony 'wounded' |
| | ranny 'wounded' |
| (c) przemoczyć 'wet' | > przemoczony 'wet' |
| przemoknąć 'get wet' | > przemoknięty 'wet' |
| | > przemokły 'wet' ¹⁶ |
| | mokry 'wet' |

In the examples quoted above, the joint argument of the two predicates has semantic function Agent with respect to the main predicate, while its semantic function with respect to the embedded predicate is - broadly speaking - patient: Goal of an action or of a process, Processed, or a 'patient of state'.¹⁷ Thus its characteristic feature with respect to the embedded predicate is non-agentivity, the absence of control. In other words, the entity denoted by the joint argument is presented in such a construction as having been subjected to somebody's action, or as having been influenced by a force, or as having been subjected to a process, or as remaining in a certain state.

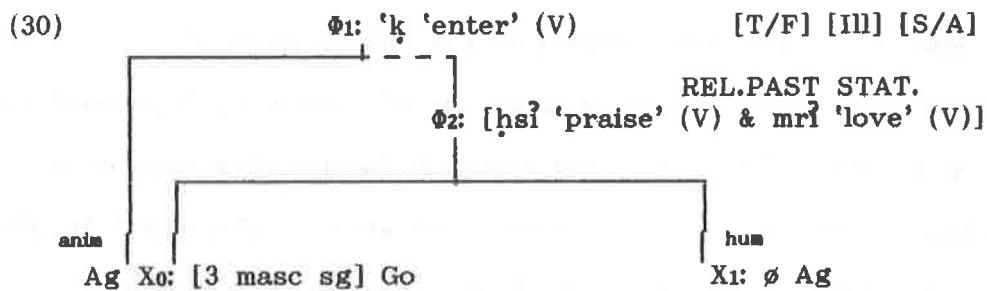
Apart from participles and adjectives, the ordinal numbers (including the adjective ostatni 'last') and pronouns such as sam 'alone; him/herself', taki 'such as', wszystek 'all' may occur in constructions that are built identically to the constructions with predicative adjuncts [cf. (1), (2) and (29) below]:

- (29) Maria wroczyła pierwsza/ostatnia/sama / taka...
 Mary returned first / last /alone; herself/ such as...

There is a theoretical problem here, however, since these elements are generally treated as operators (quantifiers) rather than predicates [cf. Pinkster (1983 : 205 - 208)]. How should they then be described? There are two ways to solve this problem. One is to assume that quantifiers

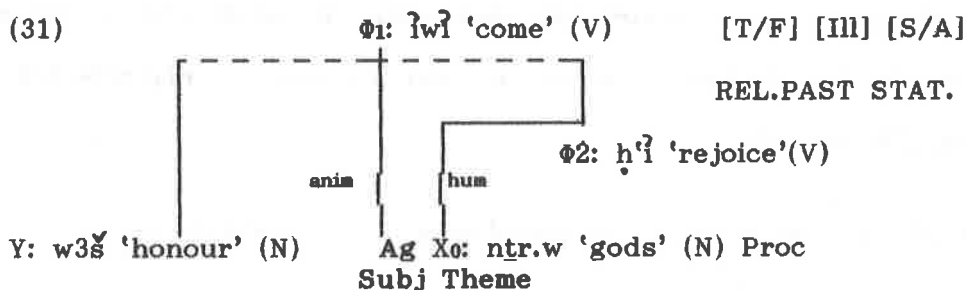
may have a predicative function and appear as secondary predicates, although they do not express the relative past tense. The other solution is to relate the position of these elements to their special functions in the pragmatic structure of the sentence [this solution has recently been proposed in the studies devoted to Floating Quantifiers in French, cf. Bouma (1987), (1987a)]. This problem is left unsolved here.

Now let us have a look at the parallel Egyptian constructions. Examples of relevant underlying predications are as follows:



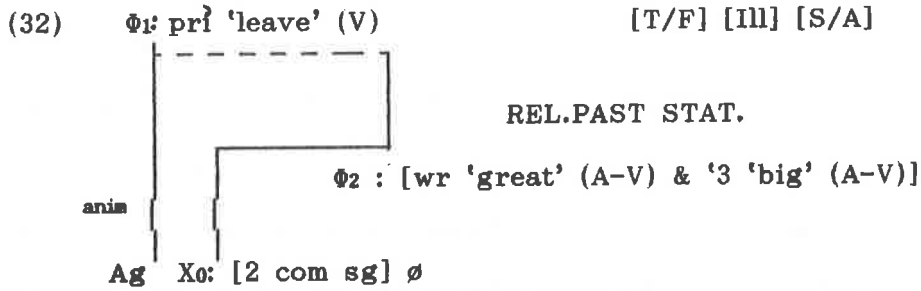
The realization:

'k̄.f ḥs̄l̄.(y) mr.yw
 enter.he (having been) praised.3 masc sg (having been) loved.3 masc sg
 He will enter praised and loved (CT IV, 96 g).



The realization:

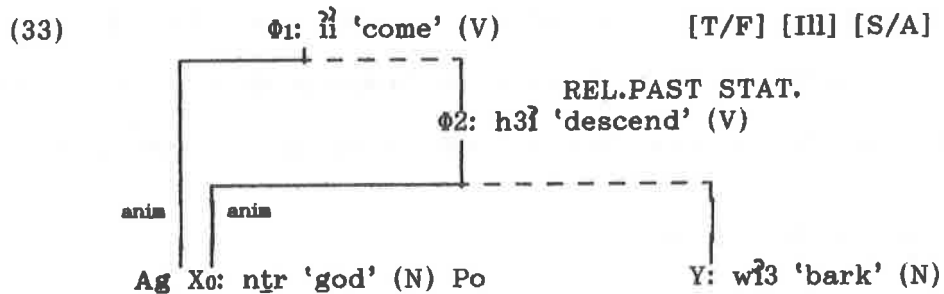
ntr.w ḥw̄l̄.sn ḥ'.y m w3š
 god.s come.they having-rejoiced.3 com pl in honour
 As for the gods, they come rejoicing, in honour (CT VI, 136 q).



The realization:

pr¹.n.k wr.t¹
 leave.PERF.you (having become) great.2 masc sg
 '3.t¹
 (having become) big.2 masc sg

You left great and big (CT I, 38 b).



The realization:

i¹ ntr h₃¹(w) r w₁³
 comes god having-descended.3 masc sg into bark

The god comes, having descended into the bark (CT VI, 60 f).

Exx. (30 - 32) show that the semantic functions of the joint argument in the Egyptian constructions with embedded predications are the same as in Polish: Ag - Go, Ag - Proc, Ag - \emptyset . Ex. (33), however, illustrates another type of relation: Agent - Positioner. This relation occurs when the embedded predicate is a verb of movement. Since the pseudo-participle is a static form, with verbs of movement it expresses not the

movement itself, but its result, which can be rendered in English by an expression like "is come" [Gardiner (1957) §320]. The result of the movement is a position. In Polish, verbs of movement cannot appear in such constructions. In this respect Egyptian possesses a richer choice of secondary predicates. On the other hand, the use of quantifiers in this function is limited in Egyptian: apart from the pseudo-participles of the adjective-verbs w'y 'be alone' and tm 'be complete' only the expression 'him-/herself' (ds + personal suffix) can occur as adverbial adjunct [Borghouts (1984) §43]. Ordinal numbers (as well as the adjective nb 'every, all') do not appear in this position.

Many verbs in Egyptian may be used transitively or intransitively, depending on the context [cf. Korostovtsev (1968, 1972)]. E.g. the verb w'b may mean 'be clean', 'clean oneself', 'clean (somebody/something)'. If these distinctions have no discernible formal markers, the pseudo-participles are homonymous in a way similar to that presented in (28).

6. The main predicate: type I

In the previous section, in order to illustrate various possibilities of filling Φ_2 position, I presented some predicate frames with the main predicate of the action type. Now I would like to concentrate on the main predicate itself. Besides action, it can designate process, location, existence and state.

Process verbs which can be used in constructions with predicative adjunct in Polish and with the pseudo-participle in Egyptian usually have the meaning 'be asleep', 'be born', 'be alive', 'die', e.g.:

(34) Urodzony wolnym

Born free (the title of memoirs).

(35) n mn².n.f 'h'.(w)

not die.PERF.he standing

He will not die standing (CT VI, 199 o-p).

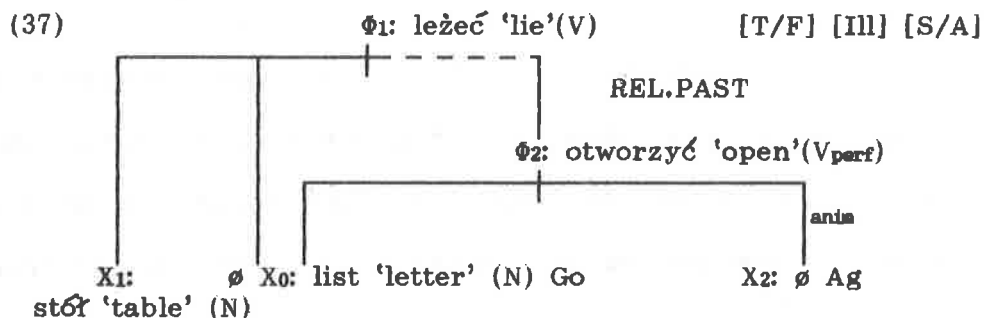
The underlying predications of such constructions have the same form as those with action verbs in Φ_1 function.

Moreover, in Polish, as in German and Dutch, verbs indicating position, when used with inanimate subjects, form locative predications of the following type:

(36) List leży na stole.

The letter is lying on the table.

Such sentences may contain a predicative adjunct:

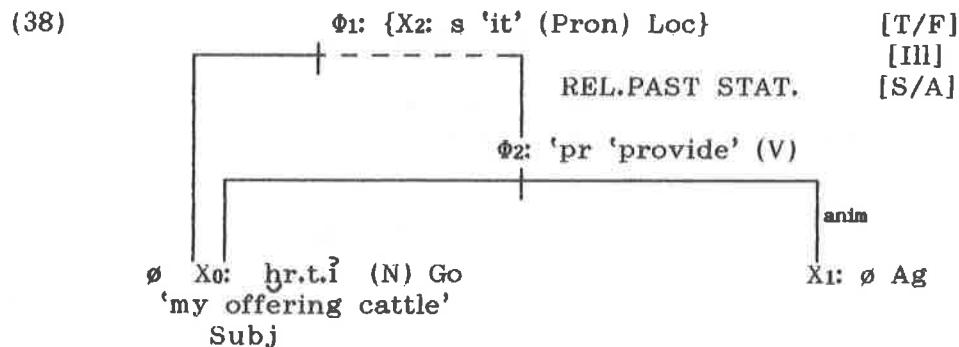


The realization:

List leży na stole otwarty.

The letter is lying on the table opened.

The Egyptian pseudo-participle occurs in locative constructions which do not contain a copular verb:



The realization:

ʔw hr.t.ʔ ʔm.s ʔpr.t(ʔ)

PART offering cattle.my in.it provided.3 fem sg

My offering cattle is inside it, (properly) provided (CT VII, 222 s).¹⁸

The pseudo-participle may also occur in Egyptian existential sentences, at least with dynamic meaning [cf. Lyons (1968 : 397)], which can be illustrated by the following example:

(39) ʔpr.n.k tm.tʔ m ntr nb
 come-into-being.PERF.you complete.2 com sg as god every

You came into being complete as every god (CT VI, 391 h).

Existential sentences with the verbs 'be', 'become' cannot appear with the predicative adjunct in Polish, since they could not be distinguished from sentences with an adjectival predicate. However, with other verbs of existential meaning constructions of the following kind are possible:

(40) Mur trwa niewzruszony.

The wall remains immovable (Długosz).

Besides, in Egyptian, sentences with an adjectival predicate, themselves expressing a static quality, may occur with the pseudo-participle as a secondary predicate, e.g.:

(41) \emptyset 1: k3i 'be exalted' (A-V) [T/F] [Ill] [S/A]
 REL.PAST STAT.
 \emptyset 2: prʔ 'leave' (V)
 \emptyset X \emptyset : N (N) Po Subj Y: tp 'head' Loc

The realization:

k3i N pn prl.(w) m tp
 exalted N this left.3 masc sg at head

This N is exalted, having left at the head (CT IV 20 a).

Egyptian has formal means which make the distinction of the two static forms easy. In Polish, on the other hand, sentences of this type contain adjectives as both the main predicate and the predicative adjunct. Consequently, they are very rare and demand special word order and intonation, as in the following example in which the predicative adjunct is the Theme:

(42) Głodny - jest zły.

Hungry - (he) is angry.

It should be stressed that at this stage of my research the comparison between Polish and Egyptian proved to be very fruitful. It helped i.a. to identify types of constructions hitherto undescribed in the grammars of both languages (the pseudo-participle in sentences with a locative and an adjectival predicate, the predicative adjunct in Polish sentences with an adjectival predicate).

7. Predications of type II

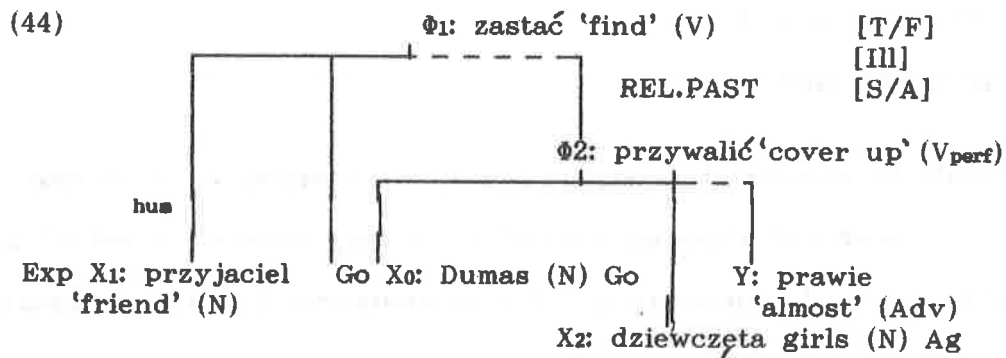
The main predicate underlying this construction type is a verb designating an action, perception, mental process or emotional ties. It requires at least two arguments. The second argument, which has semantic function Goal, is the joint argument of the main and the embedded predicates. Syntactically, the realization of the joint argument can be the subject or the object of the sentence:

(43) (a) John saw Mary happy.

(b) Mary was seen happy.

Strictly speaking, sentences like (43 b) belong to a category intermediate between type I and type II. Formally they follow the pattern of the first type, where the predicative adjunct or the pseudo-participle qualifies the subject of the sentence. But semantically they do not differ from other constructions of the second type which are built like (43 a). For this reason, the underlying predications which will be discussed in the present section will represent complex predications with the joint argument being the second argument of the main predicate - regardless of the form in which they are realized.

Constructions of type II in Polish can be represented as follows:



The realization:

Jeden z przyjaciół zastał Dumasa niemal przywalonym dziewczętami.

One of (his) friends found Dumas almost covered with girls

(Wańkowicz).

The joint argument in this predication is the second argument of both the main and the embedded predicate and has Goal function with respect to both. Of course, one can easily imagine another arrangement of the semantic functions, e.g.:

(45) Go - Proc

Zastał Dumasa zamyszonego.

He found Dumas lost in thought.

(46) Go - \emptyset

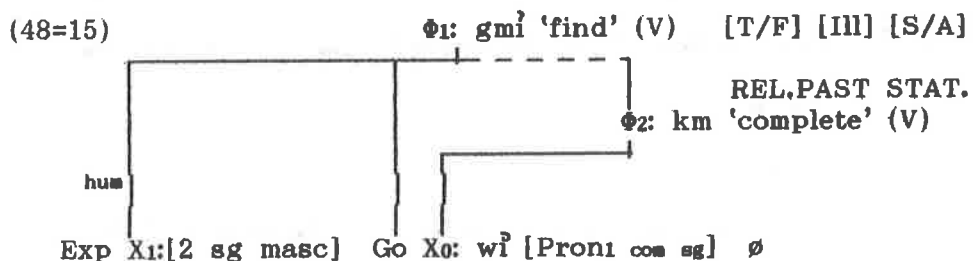
Zastał Dumasa wesółym.
 He found Dumas joyful.

(47) Go - Quant

Zastał Dumasa samego.
 He found Dumas alone.

The underlying predications for the Egyptian type II can be constructed in a similar way. The joint argument, which is the second argument of the main predicate, is realized as a bare noun or pronoun, a so-called dependent pronoun. The joint argument can also be a subject of passive sentences.

The underlying predication of (15), quoted above, looks as follows:



The realization:

gmī.k wī km.kwī
 find.you_{sg masc} me completed.1 com sg

You will find me completed [Rhind 67 = Lefebvre (1955) §349].

The following examples show other possible semantic roles of the joint argument:

(49) Go - Proc

m33.sn nw? Wsīr N pn h'i.w
 see.they [(Go) Osiris N this (Proc)] having-appeared-in-glory.
 3 masc sg

ḥr nb.sn
above lord.their

They see this Osiris N (i.e. the deceased) having appeared in glory,
dominating their lord. (CT IV, 32 f).

(50) Go - Po

ṛ gm̄.k ntr.w ḥms.y ḥms̄.k3.k
if find.you [(Go) god.s (Po)] seated sit-down.rur.you
r.k ḥn'.sn
for.you together-with.them

If you find the gods seated, you will sit down with them (CT I, 273
f-g).

(51) Go - Go

m3.n.sn N pn ṛwr.(w) ms̄.w
see.they [(Go) N this (Go)] conceived.3 masc sg born.3 masc sg
m ḥr ṛw'.w
as Horus heir

They see this N conceived and born as Horus the heir (CT IV, 37 c).

As can be seen, this type of predication remains in semantic opposition to complex predications of the type "I saw her run" where the joint argument has Goal function with respect to the main predicate and Agent function with respect to the embedded predicate. In our examples this argument can be anything except Agent (or Force); in other words the embedded predicate expresses not the action performed by the referent of the second argument term of the main predicate, but the state in which he happens to be. It is in this state that he is perceived or is subjected to an action on the part of the Agent of the main predicate.

8. Predications of type III

Finally, I shall devote some attention to the third type of construction type in Egyptian - with the pseudo-participle qualifying a prepositional phrase. This type is particularly difficult to interpret since it can be distinguished only on formal grounds. The prepositional phrase which is qualified by the pseudo-participle can be a realization of various underlying elements. Most often it is the second argument of the main predicate, as illustrated by ex. (16) above. Egyptian verbs of movement often take prepositional 'objects' specifying e.g. the destination [Borghouts (1984) §65]. Ex. (16) thus semantically approaches type II, formally however it is entirely different. In other words, for such examples we must postulate underlying predications identical to type II; the differentiation of the two types must be captured by the expression rules.

The prepositional phrase qualified by the pseudo-participle can also be a realization of the satellite of the main predication, e.g.:

(52) *sš.n* *n.ỉ* *Gb* *'r.ty.f(y)* *hr.ỉ*
 open.PERF for.me Geb jaws.his on-account.my
'h'.kwỉ *m* *Hr* *hnt(y)* *P.f*
 standing.1 sg as Horus foremost Buto.his

'Geb opened his jaws on account of me when I was standing as Horus, the chief of his (city) Buto' (CT VI, 102 b-c).

In the case of locative constructions, the prepositional phrase qualified by the pseudo-participle can be the realization of the predicate itself [cf. ex (38) above in which the pseudo-participle qualifies the subject of a locative sentence];

(53) *pt* *hr.k* *dỉ.t(ỉ)* *m* *mstpt*
 heaven above.you having-been-placed.2 COM sg in hearse

'Heaven is over thee, thou art placed in the hearse' [Sin. B 193-4 = Gardiner (1957) §314].

Egyptian constructions of type III have parallels in Polish in the form of extremely rare but perfectly grammatical constructions which involve predicative adjuncts agreeing with a nominal in an oblique case other than the accusative or genitive:

(54) Pomyśl o sobie starszej.
Think of yourself_{acc} (being) older.

9. Conclusions

I have presented several predications representing the underlying relations in constructions with adjectival predicative adjuncts and with the pseudo-participle. Possible semantic functions of the joint argument with respect to the embedded predicate were Go, Proc, \emptyset in Polish and Go, Proc, \emptyset , Po in Egyptian. The semantic functions of the joint argument with respect to the main predicate were Ag, Proc, Po, \emptyset , Go, Rec. Each arrangement of the semantic functions ascribed to the joint argument can be represented in the form of a underlying predication and each of the resultant predications defines a distinct state of affairs. What do they have in common?

Let us start with the Egyptian pseudo-participle. It represents a static meaning. If it is derived from an action verb or a process verb, it expresses a state attained as the result of this action or process. It is thus a resultative form in the narrow sense of the term (defined by Nedjalkov and Jaxontov 1988 : 6-7). On the other hand, when derived from an adjective-verb, the pseudo-participle expresses a state which does not imply any previous event; it is then the resultative in the broad sense, or the stative. Sometimes, and this usually happens if the verb

expresses a mental process, the event takes place simultaneously with its result - this is what Nedjalkov and Jaxontov (1988 : 14) define as quasi-resultative.

The predicative adjunct in Polish has all three functions listed above. As the resultative proper it is attested in forms like przemoknięty, przemoczony 'wet', as stative in form like mokry 'wet', and as the quasi-resultative in forms like zasmucony 'depressed', zmęczony 'tired'. The adjectivizations of participles (cf. note 16) corresponds to the transition from resultatives in the narrow sense or quasi-resultatives to statives. Apart from resultatives or statives, quantifiers can also be used as secondary predicates in Polish. This possibility is limited in Egyptian.

The resultative forms used as predicative adjuncts in Polish present the situation from the point of view of the patient, i.e. of the participant who does not influence the situation, but is passively subjected to it, having semantic function Goal, Processed or \emptyset . Arguments assuming the role of patient can appear with both transitive and intransitive verbs. In the first case the Speaker has a choice: he can either present the situation from the point of view of the Agent, Experiencer or Force (in the form of an active construction) or from the patient's point of view in the form of a construction in the passive voice. In the case of intransitive verbs this choice does not exist. The only possibility of presenting the situation is from the perspective of the first argument (most often it is the only argument of a given verb). But if the referent of this argument does not influence the situation, his role is in this respect semantically equivalent to that of the patient in passive constructions. Thus, although we cannot speak of the passive voice in this case, we can speak of a passive meaning. Resultatives in Polish all have a passive meaning.

Resultatives derived from active verbs occur in Egyptian (exx. 16, 33, 50, 52). We may suppose, however, that such static forms have undergone

a change of meaning and denote situations in which the referent of the first argument is no longer active (Kozinskij 1988 : 513-514). Apart from this, Egyptian - just like Polish - has resultatives with passive meaning, derived from verbs where the patient is the first or the second argument.

Resultatives are formed, as a rule, from telic (terminative) verbs (Nedjalkov, Jaxontov 1988 : 35-36). Such verbs refer to situations which have a natural terminal point [Comrie (1976 : 44)]. To reach this point is to obtain the result of a given event.

In Polish, where verbs have the category of aspect, terminativity is additionally combined with the perfectivity of the verb. It is characteristic that the overwhelming majority of participles functioning as predicative adjuncts are derived from perfective verbs.

Perfective aspect has natural connections with the passive, since perfective verbs provide information about a change which has taken place. The change is in most cases more important to its object (patient) than to its subject (agent or force). Therefore, the most natural way to present the change is to present it from the patient's perspective [Piernikarski (1969 : 80-81, 185-187), Wierzbicka (1980 : 135-136), Comrie 1981]]. Thus the predicative adjuncts in Polish harmoniously combine terminativity, perfectivity and passive meaning, which creates optimal conditions for expressing a result.

A similar correlation exists in Egyptian, where the pseudo-participle combines the passive meaning with the meaning of accomplishment.

Resultative forms express the achievement of the terminal point of an event. They present the event as if cumulated at this point. It is at the same time the starting point of a new situation: the state. Regardless of the possible duration of the preceding event and of the following state, the resultative form itself refers to a point on the temporal axis. This is

of capital importance for the constructions where it appears as a secondary predicate.

In constructions of the first type the predicative adjunct or the pseudoparticiple qualifies the subject. In other words it defines the situation of the referent of the first argument while the action expressed by the main predicate is going on. This can be schematically shown as follows:

(55) [X did something] [in the situation that...]

Since the qualification of the X's situation refers to a point on the temporal axis, it delimits in time the action of the main predicate.

Because of this the main predicate can only be a verb designating a state of affairs which can be localized on the temporal axis. The test which reveals this property of a verb is its use with a punctual adverb of time, i.e. at 6 o'clock, at half past 8 etc. Verbs which can appear with such a time adverb can also appear with predicative adjuncts in constructions of the first type.¹⁹

It is very interesting that adjectives denoting a state delimit the action of the main verb in the same way as the resultatives do. Quantifiers, however, do not share this property. Consequently, they can appear with verbs which are not used with punctual time adverbs, i.e. live, love, remember.

Such verbs occur also in the second type of constructions with predicative adjuncts. The explanation of this fact may be connected with the different way of embedding the secondary predicate which defines the situation of the referent of the second argument:

(56) [Somebody saw] [(X) (in the situation that...)].

In this case the secondary predicate functions not only like an adverb of time, but also like a special kind of relative clause.²⁰

Let us now devote some attention to nominal forms in which the joint argument of the examined predications is realized. Even a fragmentary observation of the examples shows that in the majority of cases this nominal is a personal noun, often replaced by a pronoun or by \emptyset (zero). This is not at all surprising, if we bear in mind what has already been said. Thus, the double dependence of the joint argument causes the overlapping of the selectional restrictions of both the main and the secondary predicates. The joint argument must match the stronger restrictions. Thus, if the main predicate is an action verb, the argument X must refer to an animate entity so that the secondary predicate can only be a verb which requires an animate Goal. Similarly, if the secondary predicate refers to a person (this happens very often), the joint argument must be a personal noun regardless of the meaning of the main verb.

Now, if the main predicate is a verb localized on the temporal axis, it denotes an actual situation with specific participants (Bulygina 1982 : 28-29, 34-38). Therefore, the arguments of such a predicate will tend to be referentially definite: they are realized as proper names, pronouns or definite nouns. Exceptions are rare:

(57) Ktos siedzi głodny a tu zjawia się Teresa z garnkiem pierogów.

Someone is sitting hungry, and look: T. appears with a pot of ravioli. (Kąkolewski).

(58)=(14) n sdr s hkr.w r dml.i

A man did not spend the night hungry in my town.

Other factors which influence the realization of the joint argument are connected with the pragmatic structure of the sentence. The joint argument is most often the topic. This is a consequence of the passive

meaning of the secondary predicate whose patient is chosen as the point of departure for presenting the situation [Comrie (1981), Wierzbicka 1980: 138-142, 165)]. There is a well-known tendency to use definite nominals as topics, including proper names and pronouns. Occasional uses of indefinite nominals in this function demonstrate however that this is a tendency and not an obligatory rule.

In this way, departing from the resultative meaning of the embedded predicates in Egyptian, we established the resultativity of the predicative adjuncts in Polish. Subsequently, the examination of properties of the resultative forms allowed us to establish the factors conditioning the use of the main verb and the use of the nominal form. As can be seen, all the factors described, localization on the temporal axis, terminativity, perfectivity, passive meaning and finally the definiteness of the noun, condition and complement one another, leading to the construction in the form we observe. The research I have presented is an attempt to examine all these factors in their mutual relations.

There is a possibility to extend the scope of the present research through the detailed examination of the related constructions: with adjectives required by the verb (exx. 3-4), with substantives as predicative adjuncts (He returned a hero), or with detached modifiers (Mary, exhausted, returned).

There is also a possibility of extending the present research to other languages. Similar constructions exist in Russian, Latin, Spanish, to a lesser degree in English, German and Dutch and in the Afro-Asiatic family, in Hebrew, Akkadian (the permansive) and in classical Arabic (ĕl-ħāl). It would be worthwhile to see whether they follow the rules formulated above for Polish and Egyptian. Perhaps it would also be possible to check whether similar constructions exist in languages belonging to other

families. Typological research of this kind seems to me not merely interesting, but extremely rewarding as well.²¹

NOTES

1. This paper was prepared in the Department of Egyptology, Leiden State University. Some parts of it were read at the meetings of the Workgroup on Functional Grammar in Amsterdam, of the Slavic Seminar in Amsterdam and of the Department of Comparative Linguistics in Leiden. I wish to thank Prof. dr. J.F. Borghouts and Prof. dr. S.C. Dik for their comments and Prof. dr. J.L. Mackenzie for correcting the English text and for editorial suggestions.

2. "The Polish adjective as predicative adjunct in comparison with the Middle Egyptian pseudo-participle" (Ph.D. dissertation prepared under the supervision of Prof.dr. R. Grzegorzczkova, defended at Warsaw University in 1990).

3. The Middle Egyptian language which is dealt with in this paper will be henceforth referred to simply as Egyptian.

4. Unless we accept the theory of the common origin of Indo-European and Afro-Asiatic languages, cf. Schenkel (1971).

5. The original inspiration for such an approach was the 'Meaning \Leftrightarrow Text' model developed by I.A. Mel'čuk (cf. Mel'čuk 1974, Mel'čuk, Pertsov 1987) and adapted for Polish by A. Weinsberg (1983). I also implemented other descriptive methods provided they were compatible with the 'Meaning \Leftrightarrow Text' model [Saloni, Świdziński (1985); Bogusławski (1977); Huszcza (1980), (1983)]. The Functional Grammar model proved to be very useful for describing the semantico-syntactic relations, i.e. 'underlying predications' presented in this paper.

6. In recent grammars of Polish all the forms characterized by adjectival inflexion (adjectives proper, adjectival participles, pronouns and ordinal numbers) are treated as adjectives, cf. Saloni, Świdziński (1985).

7. For the principles of the test cf. Bogusławski (1977 : 183-199).

8. Such approach has been postulated by Bogusławski (1977) and Huszcza (1980), (1983).

9. The pseudo-participle can also be used independently (as the main clause) and as a non-restrictive relative clause, but this is not relevant for the present discussion.

10. This hypothesis is based on the theories of Bogusławski (1977) and Huszcza (1980), (1983). According to Dik (1989 : 282) corresponding constituents in parallel constructions are focalized even if they contain known information. The pseudo-participle in constructions as in ex. (21) would be interpreted as focalized by most egyptologists too.

11. Cf. Pisarkowa (1965 : 10).

12. Cf. Dik (1989 : 46).

13. In order to make the reading easier I use simplified term formulae, e.g. 'X₁: cat' instead of a full formula '(X₁: cat (x₁))'.

14. In the first type of constructions with predicative adjuncts the realization of the joint argument has subject function also if in Φ_1 position a transitive verb is used (e.g. Mary read this book encouraged by her friend). A sentence with goal of the main predication in subject function would here be ungrammatical: *This book was read by Mary encouraged by her friend.

15. For principles of deriving intransitive process verbs in Polish cf. Kleszczowa (1986); in other languages - cf. Kahrel (1985).

16. Participles with the marker -ł-, like przemokły, are often subjected to the process of adjectivization, so that in certain respects they do not behave like verbal forms any more. There are several tests which allow us to examine the degree of adjectivization, which can differ from participle to participle (cf. Bartnicka 1970). We observe here gradual deverbalization of the embedded predicate: participles (non-finite verbal forms) - adjectivized participles - adjectives. Similar gradual loss of the verbal character has also been noticed in the case of the nominalizations [Mackenzie (1985 : 31-32), Dik (1985 :21)].

17. Tests for identifying the patient regardless of the kind of predicate can be found in Seliverstova (1982 : 110 - 115).

18. For another function of the pseudo-partciple in a locative construction cf. ex. (53) below.

19. The division of predicates into those which express situations localizable on the temporal axis and those which do not roughly corresponds to the division of English verbs into those which do occur in the progressive and those which do not. There is no one-to-one correspondence, however, cf. Bulygina (1982 : 12-22).

20. Cf. the interpretation of predicative relative clauses in French in v.d. Auwera (1985) and the discussion on this subject in Dik, Hengeveld (1990 : 32-38).

21. Within the framework of FG of interest may be Hannay, Vester (1987) and Shiratsuki (1985).

INDEX OF SYMBOLS

General:

- Φ_1 = main predicate
 Φ_2 = embedded predicate
 X_i = argument variable
 Y_i = satellite variable
 X_0 = the joint argument of Φ_1 and Φ_2
 $X_i \emptyset$ = zero realization of an argument
 Quant = Quantifier
 & = Coordination
 [T/F] = pragmatic functions assignment (unspecified)
 [Ill] = illocutionary characteristics of the proposition
 [S/A] = grammatically relevant features of the participants of the
 speech act (Speaker; Addressee)
 ——— = relation between the predicate and an argument
 - - - = relation between the predicate and a satellite

Semantic functions:

- Ag = Agent
 Go = Goal
 Rec = Recipient
 Loc = Location
 Proc = Processed
 Fo = Force
 Po = Positioner
 \emptyset = Zero function
 Exp = Experiencer

Pragmatic functions:

- T = Topic
 F = Focus

Syntactic function

- Subj = Subject

Lexical categories:

Adj = adjective
 Adv = adverb
 A-V = adjective-verb
 N = noun
 V = verb
 V_{perf} = perfective verb
 Pron = pronoun
 PART = particle

Selectional restrictions:

hum = human
 anim = animate

Grammatical categories:

FUT = future
 PERF = perfect
 REL.PAST = relative past
 STAT = stative
 masc, fem, neut = gender
 pl, sg, com (common) = number
 1, 2, 3 = person
 nom, gen, acc, instr, loc = case

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