

NEGATED ADVERBIAL PARTICIPLES IN POLISH AND THEIR CORRESPONDING FORMS IN ENGLISH

MARIA GRALA

Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań

1.0 The present paper aims at contrasting negated Polish adverbial participles with their corresponding forms in English.

We assume that participles functioning adverbially are, both in Polish and English, derived from either paratactic or hypotactic non-relative constructions. The differences between negated adverbial participles in Polish and the corresponding forms in English seem to be caused by the different transformations that apply in English at the sentence level. We extend the discussion on the derivation of participial and other equivalent constructions in paragraph (3).

In paragraph (2) we discuss eight types of English forms which are found to correspond to Polish negated adverbial participles.

Our analysis is based on Polish material which includes:

- a) examples from contemporary Polish fiction (novels, and short stories), translated by professional translators,
- b) examples found in the Kościuszko and Stanisławski dictionaries,
- c) examples from Polish grammars, e.g. Klemensiewicz's and Szober's grammars,
- d) our own examples.

First we divide Polish negated adverbial participles according to the way they are translated into English. Forty-two typical Polish examples denoting various adverbial relations were given to English and American students who study Polish at Poznań University in the advanced course. They were asked to translate the given sentences into English. If they found more than one way of translating these sentences into English, they translated them in

several ways, marking the one which they would preferably use in the given context. The students' translations were compared with the original translations. The results obtained confirmed our observations; namely, that English tends to avoid negated participial constructions. Furthermore, the comparison of various translations of the same sentences has enlarged the scope of English forms corresponding to Polish negated adverbial participles.

We trace the differences and similarities between the Polish constructions under discussion and their English corresponding forms according to the methods introduced by Catford (1965), Di Pietro (1968), and James (1969). For our analysis we adopt the TG framework developed by Polański (1967), as well as methods developed by Jacobs and Rosenbaum (1968). In dealing with various ways of denoting negation in English we follow Klima (1964).

2.0 In comparing all occurrences of negated Polish adverbial participles preceded by the negative particle "nie" with their corresponding English forms, we observe that English tends to avoid negated participial constructions preceded by "not".

The following examples illustrate the variety of English forms corresponding to "nie" + adverbial participle in Polish.

(1) *Cofnąłem się nie opuszczając strzelby*

- | | | |
|----------------|------|-----------------------------|
| I stepped back | a) { | not lowering my gun |
| | b) { | without lowering my gun |
| | c) { | failing to lower my gun |
| | d) { | keeping my gun at the level |
| | e) { | and/but didn't lower my gun |

(2) *Nie lubiąc ludzi nie znajdziesz przyjaciół*

- | | | |
|--|------|------------------------|
| Not liking people
Without liking people
Disliking people
If you don't like people | a) { | you won't find friends |
| | b) { | |
| | c) { | |
| | d) { | |

(3) *Janek był bardzo zmartwiony nie zdawszy egzaminu*

- | | | |
|---------------------|------|---------------------------------|
| John was very upset | a) { | not having passed the exam |
| | b) { | at not having passed the exam |
| | c) { | at failing the exam |
| | d) { | not to have passed the exam |
| | e) { | because he didn't pass the exam |
| | f) { | as he failed the exam |
| | g) { | to have failed the exam |

(4) *Nie mówiąc ani słowa opuścił pokój*

- | | | |
|---|------|------------------|
| Not saying a word
Without saying a word
Failing to say a word
Saying no word
He didn't say a word and | a) { | he left the room |
| | b) { | |
| | c) { | |
| | d) { | |
| | e) { | |

We compile all the English forms rendering Polish negated adverbial participles in eight types, namely:

Type I negative clauses:

- a) paratactic
b) hypotactic adverbial (extensional) and intensional,

Type II not + present/perfect participle,

Type III negated gerunds:

- a) without + gerund
b) (at, by) + not + gerund

Type IV negated infinitives,

Type V present participles with inherent negative meaning,

Type VI forms with negative prefixes:

- a) dis- + present participle,
b) un- + { past participle
 adjective }

Type VII present participles + no (-body, -thing etc.),

Type VIII present participles in the affirmative, with a meaning opposite to the Polish original.

2.1 Type I includes paratactic, as well as hypotactic constructions. English negative paratactic clauses usually correspond to Polish negated adverbial participles denoting attendant circumstances. It seems that their appearance depends on the neutralization between paratactic and hypotactic constructions, e.g.,

- (1) *Nie patrząc na nikogo wybiegła.*
She didn't look at anybody, and ran out.
- (2) *Poszedł spać, nie przebraawszy się nawet w piżamę.*
He didn't even change into his pyjamas, and went to bed.
- (3) *Poszedłem w kierunku wyjścia szybko, nie oglądając się.*
I went quickly toward the exit, and didn't look back.

Negated participial and gerundial constructions may be derived from hypotactic constructions, which are unrestricted in English and are frequent equivalents to the Polish forms under discussion, e.g.,

- (4) *Nie wydobywszy od niego żadnego wyjaśnienia*, wybrał się do lekarza. (JD)
As he didn't get any explanation from him, he went to see a doctor.
- (5) Starał się ją przekonać, *nie prosząc jednak o przebaczenie*.
He tried to convince her, *though he didn't ask her forgiveness*.

2.2 Type II, "not" + present participle is directly equivalent to "nie" + present adverbial participle. This construction, though avoided in many instances, may always appear in English, unless the whole ing- construction functions as a complement to a verb or predicate adjective, or as a direct object in passive constructions. In these functions it is replaced by a gerund or infinitive. The following examples illustrate Type II equivalents:

- (6) Trzasnął słuchawką *nie czekając na słowa pożegnania* ze strony Kiesla. (JD)
He banged down the receiver, *not waiting for Kiesel to bid him good night*.
- (7) — Ha, ha, ha! — śmiał się *nie wiedząc*, jak ma potraktować jej odpowiedź. (JD)
"Ha, ha, ha!" he laughed, *not knowing* how to react to her answer.

2.3 Type III (a) is the most frequent among the corresponding English forms. Gerunds in this type are preceded by the preposition "without".

- (8) Chciał jak najprędzej ubrać się i wyjść *nie spotykając Księżaka*. (SD)
He wanted to dress as quickly as possible and leave *without meeting Księżak*.
- (9) *Nie mówiąc nic nikomu* przebrała się i poszła na bal do A.S.P. (SD)
She had dressed up and gone to the Academy dance *without telling anybody*.

When the gerundial construction denotes cause or reason the gerund either appears without a preposition, or is preceded by "at", "by" (subtype (b)). The most frequently met verbs and predicate adjectives in this group are: surprise, please, delight, annoy, upset used in a passive sense; where a gerund functions as a direct object; and glad, angry, happy where a gerund functions as a complement.

- (10) Byliśmy zdumieni *nie widząc Janka*.
We were surprised *at not seeing John*.
- (11) Rozgniewaliśmy Sarę *nie wpuszczając jej do środka*.
We annoyed Sara *by not letting her in*.

2.4 Type IV are negated infinitival constructions often interchangeable with the gerundial equivalents in Type III (b), e.g.,

- (12) Byliśmy bardzo zmartwieni *nie spotkawszy cię w niedzielę*.
We were very upset *not to meet you on Sunday*.
- (13) Prawdę mówiąc, ucieszyłem się *nie otrzymawszy od niej żadnej odpowiedzi*.
As a matter of fact, I was glad *not to hear from her*.

2.5 Type V comprises English active participles with an inherent negative meaning. The most frequent form within this type is "failing to", which has no direct equivalent form in Polish and under certain restrictions conveys the meaning of "not". The remaining forms have their direct equivalents in Polish, namely:

- avoiding — unikając
ignoring — unikając, lekceważąc
refusing — odmawiając

Nevertheless, "failing to" and the remaining three forms appear also as equivalents to Polish participles preceded by "nie", provided that the Polish forms convey a similar meaning, or more precisely they act synonymously in the given context. There are, however, certain restrictions on the usage of these forms:

"avoiding" may be equivalent to "nie patrząc", "nie widząc", and "nie chcąc" + infinitive or gerund denoting perception, if it is followed by an action nominal, e.g.,

- (14) Siedział przed lustrem *nie patrząc weń*. (SM)
He sat facing the mirror *avoiding his own reflexion*.
- (15) Skręcił za róg *nie chcąc spotkać chłopaka*.
He turned the corner *avoiding meeting the boy*.

"ignoring" followed by a complement (for the most part, nominal one in the genitive case) may be equivalent to (jakby) "nie słysząc", "nie widząc", and "nie chcąc" + infinitive denoting perception.

- (16) *Jakby nie słysząc jej słów*, zapytał: ... (JD)
As if ignoring her remark he asked: ...
- (17) *Nie widząc jej rosnącego gniewu* ciągnął dalej.
Ignoring her growing anger he went on.

"refusing" + infinitive may be equivalent to "nie chcąc", although it conveys a slightly different meaning:

- (18) *Nie chcąc iść za nim* udalem chorego.
Refusing to follow him, I pretended to be sick.

It may also correspond to "nie biorąc", "nie przyjmując" which, when put in the same context with "odmawiając", seem to be synonymous with this form, e.g.,

- (19) Postępował uczciwie *nie biorąc pieniędzy*.
 By *refusing to accept money*, he acted honestly.

As already mentioned, the most frequent form of this type is "failing to" followed by the appropriate verb in the infinitive. Usually "fail to" replaces "not" when the whole negated construction implies that there is no intention involved on the agent nominal. Syntactically, "failing to" functions as an adverbial participle; whereas the English verb equivalent to the Polish participle functions as an infinitival complement to "failing", e.g.,

- (20) *Nie znajdując odpowiednich słów* uśmiechnęła się.
Failing to find the right words she smiled.
 (21) *Nie zdając sobie sprawy z niebezpieczeństwa* zapalił zapalkę.
Failing to realize the danger, he lit a match.
 (22) *Nie rozumiejąc o co chodzi* stał bez ruchu.
Failing to understand what was going on, he stood motionless.

2.6 Type VI comprises (a) present participles with the negative prefix "dis-" and (b) past participles and adjectives with the negative prefix "un-". In subtype (a) we do not discuss English participles with negative prefixes other than "dis-", like "un-" and "ir-" (unwilling, irresponding), as they are not numerous. "un-" and "ir-" seem to be neither productive nor typical with present participles. The negative prefix "dis-", however, is found in many present participles. The most frequent participles of that type are:

disagreeing	for	nie zgadzając się
disallowing	for	nie pozwalając, odrzucając, odmawiając
disapproving	for	nie pochwalając, potępiając, ganiąc
disbelieving	for	nie wierząc, nie dowierzając
disliking	for	nie lubiąc
distrusting	for	nie ufając, nie dówierzając

- (23) *Nie zgadzając się na nasze propozycje* postanowili zebrać się jeszcze raz.
Disagreeing with our suggestions they decided to meet again.
 (24) *Nikommu nie dowierzając* czuł się samotny i nieszczęśliwy.
Distrusting everybody he felt lonely and miserable.

Past participles and adjectives of the subtype (b) appear whenever the corresponding English verb does not form the present participle, e.g.,

- (25) *Nie wzruszywszy się jej sytuacją* odmówił pomocy.
Unmoved by her situation, he refused to help.
 (26) *Nie obawiając się niebezpieczeństwa* ruszył w kierunku wyjścia.
Unafraid of the danger he moved towards the exit.

2.7. Whenever Polish has participial constructions with double negation, a common English equivalent is that of Type VII, namely, a participle followed by so-called "special negatives" (Klima's terminology) like "no", "nobody", "nothing", etc., that is, "not" in the form of "no" /no-/ is shifted to a complement, for example,

- (27) *Nie patrząc na nikogo* wybiegła.
 She rushed out, *looking at nobody*.
 (28) Spał *nic nie czując*.
 He slept, *feeling nothing*.
 (29) *Nie mówiąc ani słowa* opuścił pokój.
 He left the room, *saying no word*.

2.8. The last Type, namely Type VIII is represented by converted participial phrases, i.e., in the affirmative, with a meaning opposite to the Polish original, e.g.,

- (30) Później szóstka koni od karawanu, *nie czując ciężaru*, co chwila ponosiła. (SM)
 Later, the six horses harnessed to the hearse, *feeling the lightness of their load*, kept on running away.
 (31) Stali, *nie zwracając na nas uwagi większej, niż zwracają na podróźnych przydrożne słupy*. (SM)
 They were standing, *paying as much attention to us as road signs do to passing travellers*.
 (32) *Nie chcąc mi zrobić przykrości* dobrała sałatki.
Trying to please me, she helped herself to more salad.

3.0 Negated adverbial participles in both languages are constructions derived transformationally from negative sentences embedded into, (in case of hypotactic constructions) or adjoined to, (in case of paratactic constructions) another sentence. (Polański 1967: 17)

Negation is a very complicated issue in TG. Should it for instance be treated as an element which acts on the whole sentence like some quantifiers or should it be treated as a part of verbal modality? The definite solution to these ques-

tions has not yet been worked out. In dealing with participles, essentially verb forms, we find it useful to treat negation as part of the auxiliary. (Polański, 1969: 93)

Negated sentences, as a source of negated participles and some other derived forms have been embedded or conjoined to other sentences according to one of the following rewriting rules responsible for recursiveness of S (Jacobs and Rosenabum 1968: 44 - 50, 192 - 198, 253 - 263).

paratactic constructions

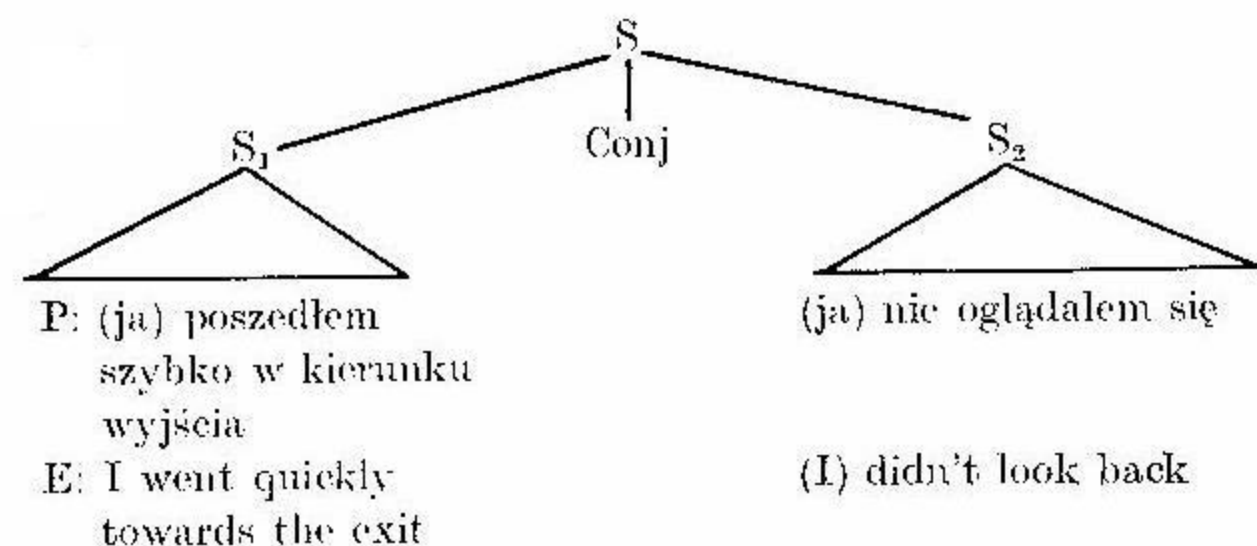
$$S \rightarrow S_1 S_2$$

hypotactic constructions

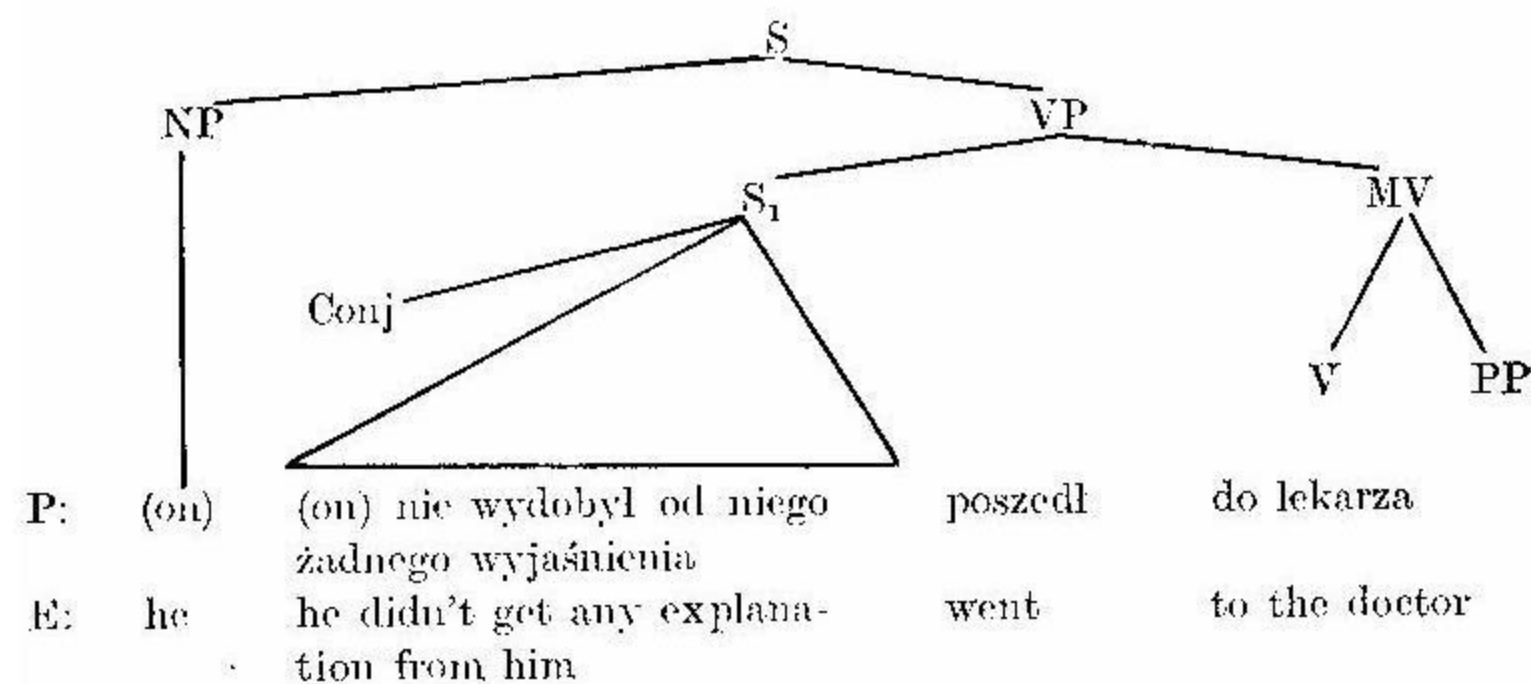
$$S \rightarrow NP VP$$

$$VP \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} V NP \\ S MV \end{array} \right\}$$

3.1. Using Type I (a) as a starting point we reach the conclusions illustrated below:



Type I (b) may be derived in the following way: (Polański, 1967: 141)



In the above examples we assume that a Conjunction has already been inserted, as a part of modality (Polański, 1969: 94 - 95). After the generation of a participle it may be optionally deleted.

In Polish both occurrences of NP, if they are personal pronouns, may be deleted because the ending of the main verb indicates which personal pronoun is missing in the surface structure.

3.2. Type II equivalents, namely "not" + present participle, are derived through a set of participial transformations which apply to negative clauses illustrated in the above paragraph.

In English they account for:
the deletion of NP constituent identical to NP matrix, the deletion of Tense and BE in the progressive forms, the deletion of Tense and the insertion of the participial suffix -ing in so-called "non-activity" verbs:

$$\text{Tense} + V_{\text{const}} \Rightarrow \text{Suf}_{\text{ptc}} + V_{\text{inf}}$$

where V_{const} = constituent verb
 Suf_{ptc} = participial suffix
 V_{inf} = infinitive, basic form

In English the form of a participle, namely, present or perfect depends on the tense form of the constituent verb, e.g.,

is/are/was/were writing → writing
 have/has/had been writing → having written
 love/s, ed/ → loving
 have/has/had loved → having loved

In Polish they account for:
the deletion of NP constituent identical to NP matrix, the deletion of Tense and the separation of the constituent verb stem, V_s , and the insertion of the participial suffix -ąc:

$$\text{Tense} + V_{\text{const}} \Rightarrow \text{Suf}_{\text{ptc}} + V_s$$

In Polish, the participial suffix depends on the features of the constituent verb. Polish Present Adverbial Participles are formed from imperfective verbs, while Past Adverbial Participles are formed from perfective verbs.

Thus the aspectual feature $\langle \pm \text{perfectivo} \rangle$ must be placed on the verb in order to specify the proper suffix.

When the feature is $\langle - \text{perfective} \rangle$, the suffix is -ąc,
 when the feature is $\langle + \text{perfective} \rangle$, the suffix is -wszy/-wszy.

The next in the set of participial transformations is the affix transformation which accounts for the proper order of elements in Polish, and in English

when the constituent verb belongs to the "non - activity" category, yielding:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{P: } & \text{Suf}_{\text{pte}} + V_s \Rightarrow V_s + \text{Suf}_{\text{pte}} \\ \text{E: } & \text{Suf}_{\text{pte}} + V_{\text{inf}} \Rightarrow V_{\text{inf}} + \text{Suf}_{\text{pte}} \end{aligned}$$

The last is an optional shift transformation which may move the generated participial phrase to any position appropriate for an adverbial modifier.

3.3 The surface differences between negated adverbial participles in Polish and Type III (a) constructions in English, namely, those in which we have the preposition "without" + gerund is accounted for by a different set of transformations that may apply in English at the sentence level. It seems that in English at the sentence level, there is a choice between several transformations, among others, the participial and the gerundial transformation. The gerundial transformation generating "without" + gerund may apply to negative adverbial clauses, unless the clause denotes reason.

The gerundial transformation under discussion accounts for: the deletion of NP constituent identical to NP matrix, the deletion of Tense and, in case of the progressive form, the deletion of the participial suffix -ing (ING₁). Next the transformation changes "not" into the inherent negative preposition "without". Whenever "without" is present in the generated construction, the gerundial transformation applies and inserts the gerundial suffix -ing (ING₂) in the place of Tense, yielding:

$$\text{Tense} \rightarrow V_{\text{inf}} \Rightarrow \text{ING}_2 + V_{\text{inf}}$$

The affix transformation accounts for the proper order of elements.

3.4 In connection with the generation of the main representative of Type V, namely, "failing to" we suggest that the vast majority of negated verbs, i.e., not + verb is ambiguous, e.g.,

(33) Not making a decision, he reached for the next documents.

may mean:

- (a) He didn't intend to make a decision or,
- (b) He didn't make a decision, without however, any intention on his part, i.e., he was unable to make a decision, he might have wanted to but he did not succeed.

At this point we would like to offer one of several possible hypotheses to account for the above sort of ambiguity. In order to solve the problem of ambiguity as shown in (33) (a) and (b) we divide English verbs into two groups:

Group I comprises unambiguous verbs, namely those, that are either unspecified as to intention, that is, denoting an action or state that cannot be affected by our will, or specified positively, that is, having the feature <+ in-

tion). The verbs of Group I are not numerous. The most frequent are: grow, have, know, be born, and want which has the feature <+ intention>.

Group II contains the remaining verbs, i.e., those which when preceded by "not" may denote intention or lack of intention. Sometimes the surrounding context, in which the negated verb appears, resolves the ambiguity as is the case in the following sentences:

(34) Not speaking English fluently you cannot work here.

(i.e., not knowing the language)

(35) Not cooking dinners she has a lot of spare time.

If the context does not specify the negated verbs as to intention or lack of intention, the construction may be understood in two ways, for example:

(36) Not lowering his rifle he stepped back.

- (a) he did not lower his rifle on purpose,
- (b) he did not lower his rifle unintentionally, for example, he did not think to lower it.

(37) Not looking at anyone, she ran out.

- (a) she did not want to look at anybody,
- (b) she did not look at anybody without any intention on her part, not realizing what she was doing.

(38) Not taking part in the conversation, he sat in the corner.

- (a) he didn't take part in the conversation because he did not intend to,
- (b) he didn't take part in the conversation because he could not follow or did not know the topic.

We find that, in the majority of cases, "fail to" as a participial construction, that is "failing to", may replace "not" followed by a participle derived from verbs of the second group whenever the lack of intention is meant, as is the case in (33) (b), (36) (b), (37) (b), (38) (b).

(33) (b₁) Failing to make a decision, he reached for the next document.

(36) (b₁) Failing to lower his rifle he stepped back.

(37) (b₁) Failing to look at anyone, she ran out.

(38) (b₁) Failing to take part in the conversation, he sat in the corner.

"Fail to" or "failing to" cannot replace "not" irrespective of the fact whether it is followed by verbs or participles of the first group or those of Group II where the context implies intention, e.g.,

* Failing to know the situation he couldn't help his friend.

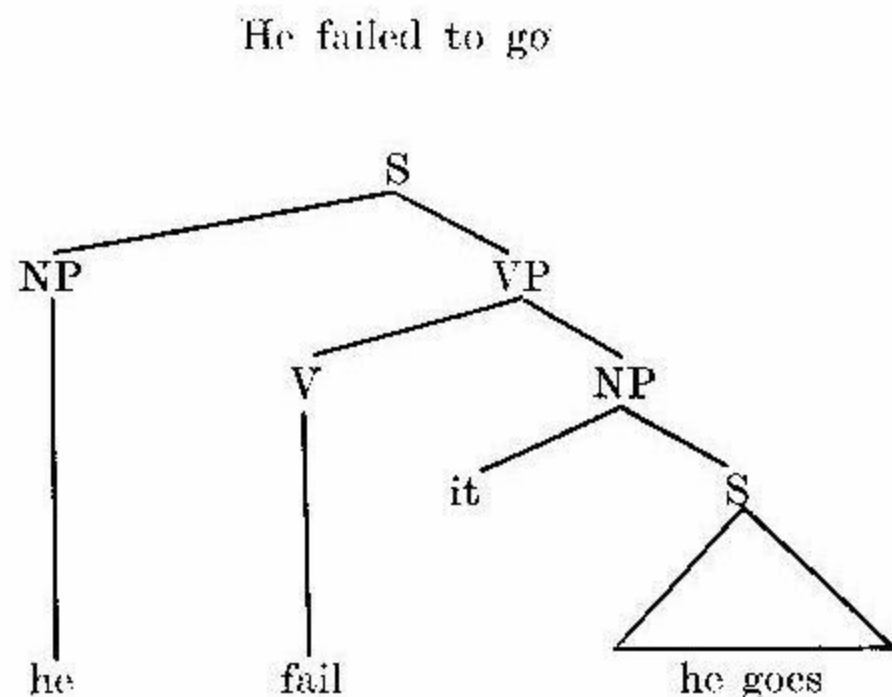
* Failing to cook dinners she has much spare time.

We suggest that the ambiguous constructions of the type illustrated in examples (33), (36), (37), and (38) are derived from two structures, namely,

those denoting the meaning of (33) (a), (36) (a), (37) (a), and (38) (a) as well as all the verbs of Group I and those of Group II illustrated in (34) and (35) are derived from negative clauses with "not". Constructions of the type illustrated in (33) (b), (36) (b), (37) (b), and (38) (b) are derived from the following structure:

NP V it S
where V=fail

The following tree illustrates this construction:



An optional transformation may change this construction into one with "not", namely, "he does not go", which, as already stated, is ambiguous, that is, it could also be derived from "he goes" by the insertion of "not" from an auxiliary, yielding "he does not go".

Sometimes, however, we find that a construction with "fail to" corresponds to a "not" construction, where "not" is generated from an auxiliary. In such a case we are probably dealing with a neutralization of the contrast between the semantic value of "not" followed by a verb and "fail to" followed by an infinitive. "Fail to" in this function is frequently met whenever the whole construction implies that the person did not do what he was expected to do and what he should have done, as in the following examples:

- (39) He failed to utilize his talents.
(40) He failed to respond.

"Fail to" is also met in this function when followed by "take" in the sense "to avail oneself of something". When the given context points to intention "fail to" followed by "take" in the above sense has only one reading, e.g.,

- (41) Failing to take a position in the Reformation controversy he was ostracised by both sides.

When the given context does not specify the construction as to intention, it may be understood in two ways, e.g.:

- (42) Failing to take the opportunity he lost his chance.
(a) He didn't want (intend) to take the opportunity.
(b) He didn't manage to take the opportunity.

In the sense of (41) and (42) (a) "failing to" is interchangeable with "refusing to".

Whenever "fail to" is used with the verbs of Group I, the verbs are used in the meanings different from the basic ones, like in the following sentences:

- (43) He failed to know his adversary (where "know" means "get to know").
(44) He failed to know the potential involved in the atom (where "know" means "understand").

Sentences like (43), and (44) seem to support our considerations, as they are used whenever the speaker does not specifically want to imply intention on the part of the agent.

The remaining types of English corresponding forms, namely, Type III (b), IV, VII, and VIII will be the subject of a separate paper.

4.0 The material examined in the previous paragraphs (2 and 3) seems to confirm our observations that the construction "not + participle" in the adverbial function tends to be avoided in English.

A possible explanation for the avoidance of "not + participle" in English is, that typically, "not" is fused with the auxiliary. It receives support from the auxiliary, whereas in the "not+participle" construction, the "not" appears exposed, too prominent, and therefore this construction tends to be avoided.

For instance, "to+not+infinitive", e.g., "to not go" is considered ungrammatical, and yet this construction is used, because "not" fused with the infinitive is less exposed than when preceding the whole infinitival construction, namely, in front of "to". As a common mistake with native speakers, "to+not+infinitive" represents how they feel about their language, despite the norms of prescriptive grammar, and may serve to strengthen any hypothesis that the negative particle "not" before a verb tends to be avoided.

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- JD -- Jan Dobraczyński
SD -- Stanisław Dygat
SM -- Sławomir Mrozek

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