


Agnieszka Zatorska

Uniwersytet Łódzki

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2767-8888>

**"Zdawać się, zdać się" [to seem, to purport (imperf./perf.)] and
"wydawać się, wydać się" [to appear, to seem (imperf./perf.)]¹
in *The Doll* by Bolesław Prus. A syntactic, semantic,
and functional analysis**

Summary. The article is dedicated to mental verbs *zdawać się, zdać się* [to seem, to purport (imperf./perf.)] and *wydawać się, wydać się* [to appear, to seem (imperf./perf.)]. The material has been excerpted from the novel *The Doll* by Bolesław Prus. The examples have been identified in various text types. The author identified phrases in which the argument x was realized, corresponding with the mental state recipient or experiencer, separating them from phrases in which this argument was not disclosed. The novel characters corresponding with the phrase with the semantic experiencer role have been identified. For *wydawać się, wydać się* [to appear, to seem (imperf./perf.)], the mental state recipients in the often are most frequently Stanisław Wokulski, Izabela Łęcka, and Ignacy Rzecki; for *zdawać się, zdać się* [to seem, to purport (imperf./perf.)], the order is Wokulski, Rzecki, Miss Izabela. The article identifies the phrases that realize the primary pattern $P(x, q)$ for the analyzed verbs. Individual patterns were illustrated with the material. The article also presents the semantics of the propositional argument q , introduced by the verbs examined in the work. The role of the units studied for comparisons and metaphors was also mentioned.

Keywords: mental predicate, verb, experiencer, semantics, syntax, "Lalka" ["The Doll"], Bolesław Prus

¹ Remark from the translator: In the text of *The Doll*, "zdawać się", "wydawać się" are translated not only as "to seem, to appear, to purport", but - depending on the context - also as other verbs referring to mental states, such as "to feel, to think, to believe", etc.

Page numbers referring to quotations from *The Doll* refer to the Polish edition of the book as cited in the bibliography. The English version of *The Doll* used in the text is the translation by David Welsh, published originally by Twayne Publishers, Inc. in New York in 1972 in the electronic version by New York Review Books in 1996. However, the original translation by David Welsh has been modified as necessary to correspond fully with the quotations from the Polish version in the text of the article to maintain the clarity of the examples used.

**„Zdawać się, zdać się” oraz „wydawać się, wydać się”
w *Lalce* Bolesława Prusa.**

Analiza semantyczno-składniowa i funkcjonalna

Streszczenie. Artykuł poświęcono wybranym czasownikom mentalnym: *zdawać się, zdać się* oraz *wydawać się, wydać się*. Materiał wyekscerpowano z powieści *Lalka* Bolesława Prusa. Przykłady wybrano z różnych typów powieściowego tekstu. Wyróżniono zdania ze zrealizowanym argumentem x odpowiadającym odbiorcy stanu mentalnego w pozycji experiencera. Wyodrębniono również zdania bez wyeksplikowanego argumentu o semantycznej roli experiencera. Zbadano i obliczono, która z powieściowych postaci i jak często występuje przy rozpatrywanych czasownikach w roli odbiorcy stanu mentalnego. Przy czasownikach *wydawać się / wydać się* najczęściej w roli experiencera odnaleziono: Stanisława Wokulskiego, Izabelę Łęcką oraz Ignacego Rzeckiego, a obok *zdawać się i zdać się* rolę podmiotu doznającego odgrywali najczęściej Wokulski, Rzecki i panna Izabela. Według przyjętej metodologii badane czasowniki realizują bazową strukturę predykatowo-argumentową $P(x, q)$. Ukazano schematy składniowe realizujące tę wyjściową strukturę. Przyjrano się realizacji treści wnoszonej przez argument propozycjonalny q . Zaznaczono obecność porównań i metafor w konstrukcjach z analizowanymi czasownikami.

Słowa kluczowe: predykaty mentalne, czasownik, experiencer, semantyka, składnia, „Lalka”, Bolesław Prus

Introduction

The presented investigation of the writer's idiolect is based on a fragment of the lexical material from *The Doll* by B. Prus. "Vocabulary is the most significant and most frequently explored area of research on the language of writers" (Korpysz, Kozłowska 2011: 9). The catalyst for the research theme was the content of the novel – not only an epic panorama of the city and the society but mostly a psychological novel, directing the researcher towards its verbs related to thinking and imagination. According to O. Tokarczuk, *The Doll* is a story of initiation, change, and the inward journey of the antagonist (Tokarczuk 2019: 19). The analysis encompasses a small fragment of the vocabulary – two aspectual pairs² of mental verbs³, that is, *zdawać się / zdać się* [to seem, to purport (imperf./perf.)]⁴ and *wydawać się / wydać się* [to appear, to seem (imperf./perf.)] in *The Doll*

² I treat the aspectual pair *wydawać się* and *wydać się* as a single headword unit, although it is formed by two separate verbs; likewise, the two verbs *zdawać się* and *zdać się* [to seem, to purport (imperf. and perf.)] have been grouped in a single headword. This approach was exercised in the structure of headwords in the monograph *Zintegrowany opis...* in the part *Verba cogitandi* cf. Bibliography.

³ I use interchangeably the terms mental verbs, judgment verbs, belief verbs, opinion verbs, and *verba cogitandi*, being aware of the different range of meanings of these terms and their varying terminological tradition in the literature on the subject.

⁴ In SWil of 1861 the verb *zdać się* [to seem, to purport (perf.)] refers to *zdawać się* [to seem, to purport (imperf.)]. In SW, contrariwise, *zdawać się* [to seem, to purport (imperf.)] refers the reader to the verb *zdać się* [to seem, to purport (perf.)].

by B. Prus. The classification of occurrence was developed taking into account the syntactical structure of phrases in line with the semantic syntax model (Karolak 2001, 2002), creatively used with reference to verbs of thinking and feeling (Kiklewicz, Korytkowska, Mazurkiewicz-Sułkowska, Zatorska 2019). The functioning of *zdawać się / zdać się* [to seem, to purport (imperf./perf.)] and *wydawać się / wydać się* [to appear, to seem (imperf./perf.)] in the text was the subject of the analysis. These units have been shown to introduce a semantic diversity of phrases. In a narrower scope, a stylistic analysis was conducted, emphasizing the role of the predicates examined in comparisons (Budrewicz 1990) and metaphors (Czachorowska 2019).

***The Doll* by B. Prus – as seen by historians of literature and language researchers**

The Doll by Bolesław Prus, written in 1890, is a work increasingly appreciated by researchers who are more and more inclined to recognize it as a masterpiece, cf. the study entitled "Powieść z krainy arcydzieł" (Bachórz 2010). Prus's *The Doll* is an innovative piece characterized by the complexity of the themes and an open structure, polyphonic, revolutionary in typological and historical terms, close to a modernist novel (Przybyła 1995: 306). Literary scholars underline the peculiarity of the narration, limitations to the narrator's position, and encrusting of the text through the memoir form. The complex, seemingly chaotic structure is accompanied by a diversity of styles of various novel fragments – particularly the language diversification of the dialogs. Language scholars studying the idiolect of Aleksander Głowacki (Machnicka 2009; Czachorowska 2016, 2019) have also reached for the text of *The Doll* (Kurkowska 1948, 1949). The linguistic creation of characters and their surroundings in *The Doll* has already been subject to analysis, cf. on Stanisław Wokulski (Matuszczyk 2003; Modrzejewska 2010, 2011), Izabela Łęcka (Modrzejewska 2014), Ignacy Rzecki (Modrzejewska 2019). The dialogs have been examined in detail and presented in line with an innovative stylometric approach (Foltman 2018). For the present study, in particular, two works are significant – statistical research on the vocabulary and inflexion of *The Doll* by B. Prus (Smółkowska 1974), and the syntactic analysis, among other things, of the text of this novel (Mikołajczak 1983), as well as a study of the stylistic richness of the work (Budrewicz 1990). Selected inspirations on the linguistic signs of emotions in Prus's novel on the unrequited love of Wokulski have been found in a monograph dedicated to the translation of this work to English (Trochimiuk 2016).

The objective and methodology of the study

90 occurrences of *wydawać się / wydać się* [to appear, to seem (imperf./perf.)] and 263 instances of the use of the pair *zdawać się / zdać się* [to seem, to purport (imperf./perf.)] were excerpted for analysis. When quoting the source material, the abbreviation "I" was used to refer to the first volume of *The Doll* (Prus 1991),

and "II" – to the second, where the Roman numeral was followed by an Arabic numeral designating the page number. In line with the findings of scholars, both pairs of verbs were classified (Maliszewska 2001; Danielewiczowa 2002; Kiklewicz, Korytkowska et al. 2019) as mental verbs (of feeling and thinking), implementing cogitandi predicates, which express beliefs that differ from knowledge. It is worth noting that in the Polish dictionaries of the late 19th and early 20th century, the mental meaning of the units examined was preceded by other definitions⁵. Nevertheless, the present study is focused on mental meaning. The semantic and syntactic description of phrases containing the units discussed has been developed using the terminological instruments related to research on the semantic structure of selected cogitandi verbs (Kiklewicz, Korytkowska, et al. 2019). First of all, the narrative parts of the text have been differentiated from dialog containing a given phrase to determine the tendency of the verbs analyzed to occur in specific passages. Secondly, structures with the filled and unfilled (contextually or not) experiencer argument positions have been distinguished. The next step in the research was determining the recipient of the mental state in the text or a given phrase. The analytical part of the article also includes a presentation of predicate fulfillments of phrases, which match the primary semantic pattern $P(x, q)$. The diversity of superficial formalizations of structures from the semantic plane has been depicted. The syntactic analysis is illustrated mainly with material from the narrative parts. The dialog parts are characterized by a separate syntax, which imitates colloquial conversations of the second half of the 19th century. The final part of the article is dedicated to the functions of phrases containing the analyzed units in the text. The content of the judgment q introduced has been discussed, as well as the diversity of this content in terms of probability. The functioning of *wydawać się / wydać się* [to appear, to seem (imperf./perf.)] and *zdawać się / zdać się* [to seem, to purport (imperf./perf.)] are also subject to analysis, in which they are treated as parts of metaphors and comparison segments.

Repartition of units analyzed into narrative and dialog fragments

The distribution of linguistic material (measured using various criteria) between narration and dialogs in *The Doll* by B. Prus has been illustrated by previous studies (Mikołajczak 1983: 18-19). In the material, there are phrases from classical narrative parts, provided in the third person by an omniscient narrator (Mikołajczak 1983: 15): *Potem zdaje mu się, że już gdzieś widział takie domy, taki ruch, takie kawiarnie; II96; [Then it seems to him he has seen such houses, traffic, cafés before]; Zdawało mu się, że się rozplacze, że zacznie krzyżeć, że wybije*

⁵ In SWil, for *zdawać się* [to seem, to purport (imperf.)], the mental meaning functions have been shown by meanings 3 to 6, and in SW – 3 to 5. For *wydawać się – wydać się* [to appear, to seem (imperf./perf.)], SWil lists the meanings, which are interesting to us here, in items 11 and 123, cf. p. 1947.

okno i wyskoczy z wagonu... II446 [He *felt* he would burst into tears, begin screaming, smash the window and jump out...]. The image is complicated by the quoted thoughts, which are close to free indirect speech (Kurkowska, Skorupka 2001: 339; Wóycicki 1922: 77): *Zdawało jej się, że cały świat jest dla niej, a ona po to, ażeby się bawić.* II450 [It *seemed to her* that the whole world existed for her sake, and she herself to have a good time.]; *Zdaje mi się – myślał Wokulski, schodząc ze schodów – że w tej chwili załatwiłem dwa interesy...* II560 [It *seems to me,* thought Wokulski, as he went downstairs, 'that at this moment I've settled two matters...]. The information was also obtained from the characters' conversations: – Łaskawa pani – odparł Wokulski – jeżeli panna Izabela jest taką, jak *mi się wydaje*, to może mnie kiedyś oceni. I278 ['My dear lady,' Wokulski replied, 'if Miss Łęcka is *what I think* she is, she may appreciate me at some future time.]; as well as conversations held with themselves and monologues: *Wtedy mówił z trwogą: "Ja nie jestem ten sam... Ja robię się jakimś innym człowiekiem... Zdaje mi się, że mi ktoś zamienił duszę!..."* I341 [And then he thought fearfully: 'I am not the man I was... I am becoming someone else... I *feel* as if someone had changed my soul...']; *Co to za miła dziecina! – myślał Wokulski – Gdyby była moją, zdaje się, że odzyskałbym równowagę umysłu* I181 ['What a pretty child,' Wokulski thought. 'If she were mine, I *think* I'd regain control of my senses which I'm losing from one day to the next]. The journal of the old clerk is a text in a text. "In Rzecki's memoir, individualization of the hero's language... responding emotionally to his experiences and situations encountered, is most fully visible" (Modrzejewska 2019: 140). The author of the journal spins his tale in the first person, e.g., *Zdaje mi się, że jest wdową, gdyż nigdy nie widuję jej z mężem, tylko z małą córeczką, Helunią* I267 [I *believe* she is a widow, for I never see her with a husband, only with her little daughter Helena]; «Krótki jest triumf bezbożników» – mówi, *zdaje mi się*, *Pismo święte czy może jaki ojciec Kościoła.* II470 ['Brief is the triumph of the ungodly,' says the Bible, or some Father of the Church.], while at the same time, he quotes the memorized dialogs, e.g., – *Okropność – zaptakata pani Małgorzata. – Zdaje mi się – dodała po chwili – że spełnię ostatnią wolę mego kochanego nieboszczyka, jeżeli poproszę pana, ażebyś...* II42 ['Terrible,' Mrs. Mincel burst into tears. 'It seems to me,' she added after a moment, 'that I should be carrying out the last wish of the late lamented if I ask you to...']. Dialogs (in various segments of the novel) are usually characterized by syntax, which is different from the narrative parts; on the one hand, they feature condensations and ellipses, and on the other – repetitions: – *W roku 1859, panie Rzecki... Zdaje mi się, że mam honor...* – *Tak, panie, jestem Rzecki, porucznik, panie, węgierskiej piechoty, panie...* II55 ['In 1859, Mr. Rzecki *It seems to me* that I have the honor... 'Yes, sir – I am Rzecki, former lieutenant, sir, of the Hungarian infantry, sir...']. Ritualization of dialogs is worth underlining, particularly in the function of courtesy formulas, such as greetings, cf. – *Zdaje mi się... – mówi, zacierając ręce – zdaje mi się, że mam przyjemność...* I61 ['Why, I *believe*...' he says, rubbing his hands together, 'I believe I have had the pleasure...]. Question phrases containing the analyzed units have also been considered,

such as: – *A jak ci się zdaje: ile przywiozłem?* I63 [‘And how much do you suppose I’ve brought back?’]; – *Wie pani, co mi się zdaje, kiedy patrzę na panią?* II380 [– ‘Do you know *what strikes me when I look at you?*’]. Conversations of the characters containing the cogitandi verbs being analyzed prove the linear organization of actants, which is typical for a conversation in which phrases with *wydawać się* and *wydać się* and *zdawać się* [to seem, to purport (imperf.)] and *zdać się* [to seem, to purport (perf.)] emerge as a response to the character’s last sentence, such as: – *A Łęcki kupuje u nas?... I66 (Wokulski)* [‘Is Łęcki buying at our store?’] – *Zdaje się, że to skończony bankrut I66 (Rzecki)* [‘They say he’s quite bankrupt’].

The division of 90 appearances of *wydawać się* and *wydać się* [to appear, to seem (imperf./perf.)] verbs is illustrated by Table 1, while Table 2 provides a detailed classification of the types of fragments examined. For *zdawać się* [to seem, to purport (imperf.)] and *zdać się* [to seem, to purport (perf.)], a similar distribution of material has been presented in Tables 3 and 4.

Table 1. Verbs *wydawać się* and *wydać się* [to appear, to seem (imperf./perf.)] in narrative and dialog parts

narrative parts	68
dialogs	22

Source: own elaboration

Table 2. Verbs *wydawać się* and *wydać się* [to appear, to seem (imperf./perf.)] in phrases divided into types of narrative parts and dialog parts

narrative parts	57
narrative parts <i>The journal of the old clerk</i>	11
dialog	19
dialog in thought	1
dialog <i>The journal of the old clerk</i>	1
dialog in thought <i>The journal of the old clerk</i>	1

Source: own elaboration

Table 3. Verbs *zdawać się* [to seem, to purport (imperf.)] and *zdać się* [to seem, to purport (perf.)] in narrative and dialog parts

narrative parts	179
dialogs	84

Source: own elaboration

Table 4. Verbs *zdawać się* [to seem, to purport (imperf.)] and *zdać się* [to seem, to purport (perf.)] in phrases divided into types of narrative parts and dialog parts

narrative parts	144
narrative parts <i>The journal of the old clerk</i>	25
narration of thought	7
narration letters	1
narration quotes	2
dialog	59
dialog in thought	8
dialog quotes	2
dialog <i>The journal of the old clerk</i>	15

Source: own elaboration

The material contains only one phrase using a personal form of the verb *zdać się* [to seem, to purport (perf.)], cf. *Wtedy zdało się jej, że z wyżyn szczęśliwego Olimpu zstąpiła do beznadziejnej otchłani Wulkana*, 186 [Then it seemed to Izabela that she had descended from the heights of Olympus into the hopeless chasms of Vulcan.]. Data from the extraordinary novel by B. Prus indicates that the perfective form of the verb *zdać się* [to seem, to purport (perf.)] signifying the mental state or judgment is withdrawing from Polish lexical resources.

Experiencer

The argument position x , corresponding with the semantic role of an experiencer, is considered to be an imminent component of the structure $P(x, q)$ adopted for the description of cogitandi and sentiendi verb sets (Kiklewicz, Korytkowska, et al. 2019: 97). The discussed predicative units *wydawać się / wydać się* [to appear, to seem (imperf./perf.)] and *zdawać się / zdać się* [to seem, to purport (imperf./perf.)] belong to the cogitandi class. The experiencer is situated outside the subject for the units analyzed and assumes a dative form in Polish. On the level of sentence phrases, position x may be filled or unfilled. The form of linguistic realization of this argument position by nominal phrases corresponding with selected characters from the novel is illustrated by Tables 5 and 6.

Table 5. The semantic role of the experiencer in phrases with verbs *wydawać się* and *wydać się* [to appear, to seem (imperf./perf.)]

Wokulski	25
Izabela	17
Rzecki	12
Zasławska, Szuman	2
Dalski, baroness Krzeszowska, Łęcki, Marusiewicz, Mraczewski, Ochocki, Starski, Stawska, Szprot, Wąsowska, Węgiełek	1

Source: own elaboration

Most frequently (25 times), in the semantic role of the experiencer, a nominal phrase referring to the main protagonist in the novel appears next to verbs *wydawać się* / *wydać się* [to appear, to seem (imperf./perf.)], cf. – *Musi mnie papa kiedy nauczyć: jak się jada ryby nożem? Wokulskiemu wydało się to wprost niesmaczne.* 1420. [‘Papa, you must show me how to eat fish with a knife one of these days.’ This struck **Wokulski** as simply vulgar.] Rather frequently (17 times), they refer to Miss Izabela, e.g., a *pannie Izabeli* *chłopi na przykład wydawali się nawet zabawnymi swym odrębnym językiem i logiką.* 1382 [**to Izabela**, even peasants, for example, looked as if they might be amusing, with their different way of speaking and thinking.]; *Między zielonymi drzewami i obok posągów grubianin ten wydał jej się znowu innym aniżeli za kontuarem sklepu* 1381. [Amidst the greenery and beside the statues, this coarse man seemed **to her** yet again different from the man behind a shop counter]. The same observation can be made about dialogs, such as: – *Wtedy każde drzewo wydaje mi się istotą żywą, która chce mnie owinąć gałęźmi* 1242. [‘Then each tree seems **to me** a living thing, which wants to enfold me in its branches and strangle me’]. Clerk Ignacy Rzecki emerges 12 times as the experiencer of feelings and beliefs next to the predicative units being analyzed, e.g., *Dla osób obcych rozporządzenie to było dowodem niepoczytalności Wokulskiego; Rzeckiemu jednak wydawało się całkiem logiczne* 11583 [To strangers, these arrangements were proof of Wokulski’s irresponsibility: **to Rzecki**, however, they seemed perfectly reasonable]; also as the author of his journal, in which the experiencer assumes the form of a pronoun, handling the first-person narration, cf. *Po cmentarnym salonie pani Krzeszowskiej z meblami w ciemnych pokrowcach wydało mi się tu weselej* 1174 [After the tomb-like drawing room of Baroness Krzeszowska with its furniture done up in dark covering, **I felt** it was more cheerful here]. In two cases, the recipient of a mental state is Zasławska, e.g., – *Czy mi się tylko wydaje, czyli też panna Łęcka nie jest ci obojętną?* 1281 [‘Am I right in thinking you are not indifferent to Miss Łęcka?’] and Szuman, e.g., *pan Ignacy ze swoją wieczną polityką wydawał mu się nieznośnym* 1358 [Ignacy, with his everlasting politics, struck **him** as insufferable just then]. All of the remaining characters perform the function of the experiencer with this unit only once,

e.g., Stawska: *Z widzenia znała go od lat kilku, nawet wydawał jej się przystojnym człowiekiem* II380 [She had known him by sight for several years; he had even impressed **her** as a handsome man].

Table 6. The semantic role of the experiencer in phrases with verbs *zdawać się* [to seem, to purport (imperf.)] and *zdać się* [to seem, to purport (perf.)]

Wokulski	116
Rzecki	40
Izabela	14
Wąsowska	5
Łęcki	4
baroness Krzeszowska, Ochocki, Starski, Stawska	3
Małgorzata Minclowa, the Duchess	2
Dalski, Ewelina, Florentyna, Geist, Jumart, Krzeszowski, the Duke, Maruszewicz, Mraczewski, Szprot, Szuman, Wirski	1

Source: own elaboration

Confirmations of structures, in which the experiencer's argument position is realized by the nominal phrase referring to Stanisław Wokulski, are definitively dominant (116 times). Cf. in narrative parts: *W pierwszej chwili zdawało się Wokulskiemu, że zbliżenie się do genialnego skrzypka będzie jednym z najtrudniejszych zadań, jakie mu kazano rozwiązać.* II398 [At first, it seemed **to Wokulski** that to approach the violinist of genius would be one of the most difficult tasks he had ever been commanded to execute.]. The experiencer is often expressed by a pronoun: *Niekiedy zdawało mu się, że w jego uczuciach tkwi jakaś omyłka* I141 [Sometimes it seemed **to him** there was a sort of error deep within his feelings]. The protagonist as the experiencer is also referred to in dialog passages: – *Zdaje mi się, że gdyby pani dotknęła człowieka ciężko poranionego, nie tylko ból by go opuścił, ale chyba zagoiłyby mu się rany.* II380 [It seems **to me** that if you were to touch a badly hurt person, not only would the pain leave them, but surely their wounds would heal.']. Other characters express opinions on the protagonist's beliefs in dialogs – Rzecki: – *Tobie się zdaje, że dopiero ty wynalazłeś miłość. Znam i ja ją, bah!* I499 [You seem to think you have only just invented love. I know about it, too – hm!]; Wąsowska: – *w jednej godzinie dowiedziałem się od pani więcej aniżeli przez całe życie (W).* – *Ode mnie?... Zdaje się panu.* II214 [I've learned more in an hour from you than ever before in my whole life (W). 'From me? You merely think so.]. The second place in the experiencer's position falls to Ignacy Rzecki (40 confirmations), cf.: *Zdawało się nawet panu Ignacemu, że gdzieś w tym chórze odróżnia zmęczony głos inkasenta Obermana,* I459 [It even seemed **to Ignacy** that somewhere in the chorus, he could distinguish the weary voice of Oberman the cashier]; *Rzecki przetarł oczy; zdawało mu się, że śni na jawie.* II388 [Rzecki rubbed his eyes; **he felt** he was dreaming, though awake.]; *Przymknął oczy i zdawało mu*

się, że widzi całe swoje życie, [...] rozwinięte na kształt panoramy, II596 [He closed his eyes, and it seemed **to him** he could see his whole life... unfolded like a panorama]. Some material with the experiencer identified in this manner can also be found in the fragments of *The Journal of the old clerk*, cf. i zdaje **mi** się, że zemdlał. I232 [It seems **to me** I fainted.]; both in dialogs: – Zdaje **mi** się [...] że Wokulski już stanowczo zerwał z Łęckimi... II414 [– **I think**... that Wokulski has finally broken with the Łęckis.], and in monologs: – “Zdaje **mi** się, że trochę utyłem.” I474 [It looks **to me** as if I’ve gained some weight.]. The third most frequent experiencer is Miss Łęcka: Zdawało się **jej**, że w którymś z tych biedaków, a może w każdym, jest utajony Chrystus, I85 [For it seemed **to her** that Christ might be hidden in one of these poor people.]; zdawało **jej** się, że marmurowy bożek ma coś z postawy i rysów skrzypka II410 [the marble god seemed **to her** to have something of the violinist’s attitude and features]; – Ach, zdaje **mi** się, że kilka dni temu poznałam i właściciela... II07 [**I believe** I met the proprietor too...]. The writer also assigned the experiencer role, among others, to Mrs. Kazimiera (5), e.g., *Pani Wąsowskiej* zdawało się, że dostrzegła w jego oczach coś na kształt łez. II541 [*Mrs. Wąsowska* thought she perceived something like tears in his eyes.]; Tomasz Łęcki (4), e.g., – [...] czy **mi** się zdaje, że panienka jest nie w humorze?... I519 [... does it seem to me that my child is out of humor?...]; the baroness (3), e.g., – Zdaje **mi** się, panie Maruszczyk, że mój zbłąkany mąż nareszcie się opamięta... II424 [**I am convinced** my wandering husband will come to his senses any day now...]; Ochocki (3), e.g., – Zdawało **mi** się, że jestem na wyspie Utopii II196 [**I seemed to be** in Utopia]; Stawska (3), e.g. zdawało **jej** się, że lalka musi być warta z piętnaście rubli II311 [**she** thought such a doll must be worth at least fifteen rubles]. Several characters perform this role once, e.g., Ewelina: – Czasem zdaje **mi** się, że wolalabym w grobie leżeć... II201 [Sometimes **I’d** sooner be dead...], Jumart: – Mogę wprowadzić interesantów? – spytał Jumart – Ci nie są, zdaje **mi** się, niebezpieczni. II101 [May I announce the visitors? They are not dangerous, **I think**.]; Szprott the commercial agent: **Mnie** się zdaje, że jest inny powód – wtrącił Szprott. – Wokulski stara się o pannę Łęcką, II295 [**I fancy** there’s another reason,’ Szprott interrupted. ‘Wokulski is wooing Miss Łęcka].

The tables do not include the collective (sometimes generalized), potential, not precisely defined groups of recipients, cf. a gdy jeszcze jej popielate włosy na czole utożyły się tak dziwnie, jakby je rozwiał tajemniczy podmuch, **patrzącym** zdawało się, że widzą anioła albo świętą. I91 [and when the golden and ash-colored hair on her temples was disordered, as if disheveled by a mysterious breath, then the **observers** seemed to behold an angel or saint]. In the following case, the group, distinguished humorously, corresponds with argument x: ciemnozielony surdut pana Rzeckiego, album pod pachą, a nawet fizjognomia à la Napoleon III wydają się **niższym organom władzy teatralnej** mocno podejrzanymi. I456 [Mr. Rzecki’s dark-green frock coat, the album under his arm, and even his countenance à la Napoleon III appeared highly suspect to the **lower hierarchy of the theater authorities**]. As a nomen and pronomen pl., the experiencer has also been included in dialogs, e.g., – **Głupiutki** są te panny – zaczęła po chwili prezesowa. – **Im** się zdaje, że jak złapie która bogatego męża,

a poza nim przystojnego kochanka, to już wypełni sobie życie... Głupiutki!... II262. [These young **girls** are **silly** creatures,' the Duchess began after a moment, '**they** think that when one of them catches a rich husband and a handsome lover as well, then she will fill up her life. Silly creatures!].

Explicative structures and their sentence realizations in the material

Three types of the basic explicative structure have been assumed for the analyzed units *wydawać się / wydać się* [to appear, to seem (imperf./perf.)] and *zdawać się / zdać się* [to seem, to purport (imperf./perf.)] for the basic propositional scheme $P(x, q): V V_q \dots N_x, V NV_q \dots N_x, V VI_q \dots N_x$ (Kiklewicz, Korytkowska et al. 2019: 112)⁶. The literature on the subject underlines that these explicative/explication schemes ensure the proper level of detail in the description (Kiklewicz 2020: 267). The examples include phrases with a sentence realization of the propositional argument $V V_q \dots, N_x > V \text{Con } V \dots, N_{\text{dat}}$: *Zdawało się jej, że powozem jedzie przez jakąś znaną miejscowość.* II12 [It seemed to her she was traveling by carriage in some familiar spot.]; *I zdawało mu się, że między tymi ludźmi życie upływa prościej i weselej aniżeli między nadętym mieszczaństwem albo arystokratyzującą szlachtą.* I200 [It seemed to him that life passed more simply and entertainingly among those people than among the pompous bourgeoisie or gentry seeking to enter aristocratic circles.]. To illustrate the sentence realization, the author selected mostly those phrases in which the verbs examined functioned as realizations of the main predicate (also in the course of longer statements, e.g., *Nie myśląc skręcił na drogę, gdzie wczoraj toczył się powóz panny Izabeli i gdzie zdawało mu się, że jeszcze widać ślady kół.* II265 [Without thinking, he turned along the road by which Izabela's carriage had driven away the day before, and where **he believed** traces of wheels were still visible.]) in the sentence opening the position for a propositional argument *q* (also taking into account those with the contextually unfilled argument position *x*, cf. *Kiedy słuchała, zdawało się, że chce wypić duszę z opowiadającego.* I79 [When she listened, **it seemed that** she wanted to long to drink up the speaker's soul.]), although the entire material analyzed here also includes the verbs being discussed as internal predicates. The propositional *q* can be manifested as an intensional sentence, cf. *I znowu wydawało mu się, że takie jak jego życie warto złożyć u nóg takiej jak panna Izabela kobiety.* II369 [It seemed to him **that** a life like his was worth placing at the feet of a woman like Izabela.]; *I otóż zdaje się jej, że już od kilku tygodni coś słyszała o tym człowieku.* II11 [Now, **she recalls** hearing about this man several times in the past weeks.]; *Zdawało mu się, że już kiedyś ją widział i że ją dobrze zna.* II40 [**He thought** he had seen her before and knew her well.]. Only one structure of this type was found in the material from narrative parts for *wydawać się / wydać się* [to appear, to seem (imperf./perf.)] (constituting 1.75% of 57 narrative parts). The number of sentence supplementations in

⁶ The remaining syntactic symbols also followed the notation used in the work quoted, cf. Kiklewicz A., Korytkowska M. et al. 2019.

narrative parts is much higher for *zdawać się* / *zdać się* [to seem, to purport (imperf./perf.)]: 118 (82% of 144). Realizations with nominalizations characterized by the explication scheme $VNV_q \dots N_x$ are also represented as $VNV_{aq} \dots Adj_{pq} \emptyset_{vq} N_x > VN_{nom} \dots Adj_{instr} N_{dat}$: *Nieustanny turkot i szmer wydał się Wokulskiemu nieznośnym* I134 [The constant *rumbling* and *murmuring* were *intolerable* to Wokulski]; *bardzo ciekawym wydał się jej widok kilkudziesięciu pracownic* I84 [it was *so interesting* to see a dozen girls]; *chęć pochwylenia tygrysa za ucho. [...] Dziwny ten pociąg wydał się jej samej niebezpiecznym i nawet śmiesznym*. I112 [*desire* to seize the tiger by that ear. [...] This strange *impulse* had struck her as both *dangerous* and *absurd*]. Another two formulas illustrate the phenomenon of raising the argument, cf. $VN_{aq} \dots Adj_{pq} \emptyset_{vq} N_x > VN_{nom} \dots Adj_{instr} N_{dat}$: *Panna Izabela wydała mu się całkiem obojętną, a natomiast zaczęła go interesować pani Wąsowska*. II541 [He felt *indifferent* towards *Izabela*, while Mrs. Wąsowska had begun to interest him.]; $VN_{aq} \dots Adj_{pq} \emptyset_{vq} N_x > VN_{nom} \dots Adj_{nom} N_{dat}$: *Wstąpił do swego pokoju, lecz wydał mu się bardzo pusty* II261 [He went to his *room*, but it seemed *very empty*]. It should be noted that this formal pattern (both Adj_{instr} and Adj_{nom}) has been identified frequently. There is also a visible explication of structure in the form of $VN_{aq} \dots N_{pq} \emptyset_{vq} N_x > VN_{nom} N_{instr} N_{dat}$ cf. *Każda uboga kobieta wydawała mu się praczka* II156 [Each *poor woman* looked like a *washerwoman*]. The *q* may take the form of an infinitive verb, cf. $VN_{aq} VI_q \dots \emptyset_x > VN_{nom} VI \dots$ *Młody człowiek, aczkolwiek wyglądał elegancko, nie był wcale elegantem; nawet nie zdawał się troszczyć o swoją powierzchowność*. I302 [Though the young man looked elegant, he was not at all smart: *he even seemed [to be] careless* of his appearance.]; *Starski z takim zajęciem patrzył w karty, że zdawał się nie uważać na to, co zaszło* II236 [Starski was gazing at his cards so intently that *he appeared not to notice* what had happened.]; *Panna Izabela [...] przystaniała twarz do połowy wachlarzem i cudownymi, rozmarzonymi oczyma zdawała się pożerać aktora*. I459 [Izabela... half-screened her face with a fan and *seemed to be devouring* the actor with her magnificent, dreaming eyes.].

Phrases with predicates analyzed, used by the writer in dialogs, are characterized by separate syntactic tendencies, typical for spoken Polish contemporary to Prus. A fragment of the overheard conversation of Helena Stawska with Wokulski has been identified, which lacks the explicated propositional content *q*, cf. «*I nie wiem, dlaczego zdawało mi się...*» II354 [And I don't know why, but *it seemed to me...*']. (We do not find out what Mrs. Stawska thought when she met Wokulski during his visit to the tenement house). The conversation was overheard by Mr. Ignacy Rzecki, the author of the journal and an intermediary between the interlocutors and the reader. Conversations of the characters, containing the cogitandi verbs being analyzed, prove the structuring of actants, which is typical for a conversation, and the forms *wydawać się* and *wydać się* [to appear, to seem (imperf./perf.)], and *zdawać się* [to seem, to purport (imperf.)] and *zdać się* [to seem, to purport (perf.)] emerge, for instance, in fragments that constitute a response to utterances of other characters, e.g., – *Znudzoną? – powtórzyła panna*

Izabela – *Mnie on wydaje się przede wszystkim zabawnym* I280 [*Bored?* Izabela echoed, *'he strikes me most of all as comical.'*]; – *Ach, to ty Leonie... Gdzie pan?... – Zdaje się, że jaśnie pan u Stępka...* II426 [*Oh, it's you, Leon. Where's your master?' 'At Stepek's café, I believe...'*]. It is worth underlining that the explicitation schemes and sentence realizations documented in the novel by B. Prus are consistent, as far as the research has been conducted, with the condition of the contemporary Polish language, cf. (Kiklewicz, Korytkowska, et al. 2019).

Many of the structures analyzed indicate the **unfilled argument position** in the **experiencer** function. The adjacency of phrases containing an explicitly indicated recipient of the mental state makes it possible to reconstruct the experiencer, cf. *pomyślał Wokulski, podziwiając mądre spojrzenie swego rywala i nagłą zmianę tonu. Zdawało się, że przez jego usta przemawia inny człowiek.* I305 [*Wokulski thought, privately admiring the wise look of his rival and his sudden change of tone. It was as though another man were speaking now.*]. The absence of the experiencer results in doubt regarding the authorship of the judgment, indicating the novel's narrator as the one expressing a given opinion. *Młody człowiek wydawał się jeszcze bardziej zniszczonym i onieśmielonym niżeli wczoraj.* I319 [*The young man looked still more run-down and bashful than the day before.*]; *Ochocki zamyślił się [...]. Parę razy zdawało się, że chce wyskoczyć z breka* II239 [*Ochocki pondered... Several times he seemed to want to jump out of the brake.*]. The material makes it possible to draw a hypothesis on the functioning of a third person character *it seems*, without an expressed experiencer as a synonym of an expression of probability, a signal of modality⁷ (Maliszewska 2001: 97): *Zdaje się, że zrobię w życiu jedno kapitalne głupstwo, zapewne dla panny Izabeli.* I300 [*It seems to me I will commit one capital folly in my life, for Izabela's sake.*]; – *Pan już od dawna interesuje się naszymi sprawami. Zdaje się, że w kwietniu... tak, w kwietniu nabył pan nasz serwis?...* I524 [*You have been interested in our affairs for a long time. It seems that in April... you acquired our dinner service?...*]. The function of an expression of hypotheticality can be emphasized in the above examples by the word order; cf. the interjections: *Na stole zaś parę ilustracji i albumów, które, zdaje się, oglądali wszyscy.* I327 [*a few magazines and albums on the table, which everyone had apparently handled*]; *Jest tam para małżonków, należących, zdaje się, do profesji rzeźniczej,* I489 [*They consisted of a married couple apparently in the butchering line of business.*]. Structures of this type are parenthetical expressions (Stępień 2014). They are characterized by a different scheme concerning their position in relation to the proposal, for which they serve as a modal framework. Analysis of the phrases of B. Prus's *The Doll*, which are at the center of our attention here, emphasizes those expressions, which, according to the scholar examining parenthetical phenomena, are "contexts that comment

⁷ The terms *modality*, *hypotheticality*, *probability* are used interchangeably here as indicators of a state other than knowledge. I also abstract from the person expressing the opinion, which, for the verbal expressions of modality is narrowed to the first person, while other grammatical persons are used to refer the states of belief of the speaker concerning the opinions of other persons.

upon basic expressions in the manner, which allows them to express the speaker's attitude towards the content of their statement" (Stępień 2014: 92), cf. — *Obecnie z Anglii, dokąd przyjechał prosto z Chin. Zawsze piękny i obecnie jedzie do babki, która, zdaje się, odda mu majątek.* I513 [*Straight from England, whence he'd gone from China. As handsome as ever, and now he's going to his grandmama's — she, apparently, is to leave him her fortune.*]; *zawołał, majstrując około binokli, które, zdaje się, stanowiły jedy-ny kłopot jego życia* II434 [*fidgeting with his eyeglasses, apparently his only care in life*].

Remarks concerning the content introduced by the predicative units analyzed

The verbs *wydawać się / wydać się* [to appear, to seem (imperf./perf.)] and *zda- wać się / zdać się* [to seem, to purport (imperf./perf.)] operate as signals of beliefs other than knowledge, situating themselves on the probability scale as the expres- sion of beliefs of a reduced strength of probability (Maliszewska 2001: 98–99); they are characterized by an emphasized subjectivism of judgment. It is worth noting that the sentences with the units from *The Doll* by B. Prus, analyzed here, are di- versified in their hypotheticality category, that is, the degree of probability of the content of the internal predicate q . When the narrator informs us about the protag- onist, that *Zdawało mu się, że ktoś za nim idzie.* II453 [*He had the impression that some- one was coming after him*], it expresses a high degree of probability if we remember that in a moment, Wokulski will be saved by the railroad man Wsocki. However, some sentences have been identified in the work, in which *zdawać się* [to seem, to purport (imperf.)] refers to an untrue or improbable situation, e.g., — *Przez chwilę zdawało mi się, że jestem w kraju i że nim noc zapadanie, znowu was zobaczę.* I68 [*For a moment, I thought I was in the country and would see you again before the night fell*]. There are phrases characterized by a high degree of improbability, illustrating metaphorically a neurotic emotional state, e.g., *Zdawało mu się, że już jest zmarłym człowiekiem, który patrzy na własny pogrzeb.* II514–513 [*It seemed to him he was already a dead man, watching his own funeral*], referring to the emotions, visions, and fears of the characters, e.g., *zdawało mu się, że ziemia rozstępuje się pod nim i sufit upada na niego* II119 [*the earth seemed to be giving way, the ceiling coming down upon him*]; as well as the focus of the characters on their states: *A Wokulskiemu zdawało się, że wszyscy mówią tylko o jego klaczy i drwii z kupca, który bawi się w wyścigi.* I346 [*the uproar of a thousand voices made it seem to Wokulski that they were all talking of nothing but his mare and were mocking this tradesman playing at horse-racing*]. *Zdawało mu się, że wszyst- kie oczy zwrócą się na nich i że on musi skompromitować się jakimś niewłaściwym czynem.* II221 [*It seemed to him that all eyes would be upon them both and that he would compromi- se himself by some tactless act*]. The content q even speaks of hallucinations, e.g., *Zda- wało mu się, że stoi we wnętrzu ogromnej wieży, która zawaliła się, nie wydawszy łoskotu.* II450 [*He seemed to be standing inside a huge tower that was silently collapsing*]. T. Budre- wicz, writing about the characters from the novel on Wokulski's unrequited love, indicates such contexts with *zdawać się*, [to seem, to purport (imperf.)] which

describes the state in which "in a given moment, they experience emotions so strong that their personality splits; they are themselves and someone else, here and someone else at the same time..." (Budrewicz 1990: 85) cf. *Zdawało się mu, że w nieoświetlonej części gabinetu jeszcze widzi ciemną gęstwinę łazienkowskich drzew*, I316 [It seemed to him that he could still see the thick clumps of trees in the Łazienki Park in the dark part of his study.] The researcher of Krakow (Budrewicz 1990: 85) interprets some of the evocation contexts as metaphysical experiences, cf. "He can see the stateliness of Prus in the framework of the Christian view of the world" (Budrewicz 1990: 85), e.g., *Zdawało mu się, że nad pagórkami, z którego uciekł, unosi się jakaś święta groza*, I307 [It seemed to him that a divine terror was lurking on the hillock from which he had fled.]; *Zdawało mu się, że w końcu drogi nazwanej rokiem widzi tylko niezmierną otchłań [...] I311 [It seemed to him that at the end of the road called a 'year,' he saw only a bottomless abyss...].* Biblical terminology is used in the ironic description of concerns of Miss Izabela, "who perceives the diminishing circle of her admirers as a mockery of fate, and she is not noble in her fear, but ridiculous" (Budrewicz 1990: 86): *Czasem zdawało się jej, że jest potępiona i że już za życia rozpoczęło się dla niej piekło*, I380 [Sometimes it seemed to her she was doomed, and that Hell had opened up for her while she was still alive.]. The content of the propositional argument is the obsession with love and images created by envy and imagination, e.g., *I zdawało mu się, że na jej twarzy, szyi, ramionach i piersiach widzi, jak piętna, ślady pocałunków Starskiego...* II504 [And it seemed to him that on her face, neck, shoulders, and breast he saw the stamp, the traces of Starski's kisses...]. The semantics of a state of belief other than knowledge is illustrated, among others, by this sentence: *I szła powoli z wyciągniętą do niego ręką, z której zdawał się opadać szeroki rękaw*, II184. [[She] came slowly towards him, her hands outstretched, the wide sleeves falling away.]. This information, less significant from the perspective of the novel's action, explicitly shows that the observer – the narrator – and perhaps even the characters – are unable to assess the cut of the sleeve being described. It has been indicated already that *zdaje się [komuś], że [it seems [to someone] that]* and *wydaje się [komuś], że [it appears [to someone] that]* describes the epistemic states derived from sensual information (Danielewiczowa 2002: 186). The analyzed units implicate phrases referring to visual perception⁸: *Okolica z tego punktu wydawała się płaska i prawie bezleśna* II181. [The district looked flat and almost bare from here]; – *Zdaje mi się, że widzę coś pąsowego – odparł Wokulski*, II184 [- 'It seems to me I can see something red,' Wokulski replied], as well as auditory perception, e.g., *Wokulskiemu zdawało się, że w poczekalni słyszy szelest kobiecej sukni*, II104; [Wokulski thought he could hear the rustle of a woman's dress in the vestibule.] *Zdawało mu się, że wciąż słyszy niemiły głos barona*, I360 [It seemed to him he could still hear the Baron's unpleasant voice.]; their hyperbolization: *Zdawało mu się, że szmer uliczny za jego oknami rozszerza się i potęguje, ogarniając cały Paryż, Francję i Europę*, II166. [It seemed to him that the hum of the street outside his windows was growing and spreading,

⁸ The meaning of verbs *wydawać się* [to appear, to seem (imperf.)] and *wydać się* [to appear, to seem (perf.)], which is focused on sensual, visual perception, cf. SWil, clause 11: 'appear in someone's eyes'.

engulfing the whole of Paris, France, and Europe.]. Information on the perception of colors has also been noted: *Panna Izabela znowu poczęła patrzeć na swój pokój, który wydał jej się popielatym* I104 [Izabela began to look around her room again, which seemed **gray** to her]; also, to a higher degree: *ukazała się pani Krzeszowska. Zdawało się, że jest bledsza, żółciejsza i jeszcze czarniej ubrana niż wczoraj.* I165; [Baroness Krzeszowska appeared. She seemed **paler, greener, and more somberly** dressed than the previous day.]; *Ta jednak kamienica wydawała się żółciejszą od innych.* I323 [This house seemed **more yellow** than the others.], or referring to the feature of the color of reduced intensity: *Wokulski otarł pot z twarzy, która przy białej chustce wydawała się prawie popielatą.* II523 [Wokulski wiped the sweat from his face, which, compared with his white handkerchief, looked **almost ashen**.]. The content introduced may refer to the perception of dimensions of various persons and objects, cf. *jej słodkie oczy wydawały się jeszcze większe i jeszcze smutniejsze.* II421 [her charming eyes seemed even **larger** and unhappier than before.]; *Plac wydawał mu się dzisiaj nieskończenie wielkim* I346 [Today, the stadium seemed **immeasurably large**], as well as their shape, e.g., – [...] *ziemia wydaje się wklęsłą, jak ogromny, głęboki talerz* II239 [... the earth seems **concave**, like a huge soup plate.]. The content *q* is often made of assessments, cf. – *Ja trochę znam Wokulskiego. Zawsze wydawał mi się człowiekiem skrytym i dumnym.* I9 [I know Wokulski slightly. He always strikes me as a **secretive** man, a **proud** man.]; *spytał Wokulski, twarz bowiem gościa wydała mu się dziwnie sympatyczną.* II135 [inquired Wokulski, for his visitor's face seemed **strangely likable** to him.]. Numerous negative or disavowing assessments have been identified, cf. *Galanteryjny kupiec po Rossim, którego podziwiał cały świat, wydał jej się tak śmiesznym, że po prostu ogarnęła ją litość.* I412 [The haberdashery tradesman seemed so **ludicrous** compared to Rossi, admired by the whole world, that she was overcome with **pity** for him.]; *taka więc nagła podróż wydała jej się niewłaściwą.* II215 [the sudden journey had seemed **improper** to her.]; – *O ile mi się zdaje, jest to dosyć mierny skrzypek.* II397. [He strikes me as a rather **second-rate** violinist.]. Internal arguments also carry some aesthetic qualifications, e.g., *Kobiety wydawały mu się brzydkimi, ich barwne stroje dzikimi, ich kokieteria wstrętną.* I349 [The women looked **ugly**, their colorful dresses barbarous, and their flirtations hateful.]; *Nigdy nie wydała mu się tak piękną jak teraz, w wybuchu niecierpliwości.* I351 [She had never seemed **so beautiful** as in this outburst of excitement.]. These opinions are also marked with irony and humor, cf. *Wdów i panien na wydaniu, które zdają się być odważniejszymi od węgierskiej piechoty* I253. [Widows and eligible young ladies, who seem **bolder than Hungarian infantry**.].

Wydawać się / wydać się [to appear, to seem (imperf./perf.)] and zdawać się / zdać się [to seem, to purport (imperf./perf.)] in comparative structures and metaphors

Researchers of the style of the work have identified a rich representation of comparative structures. Various forms of verbs *wydawać się* [to appear, to seem (imperf./perf.)] and *zdawać się* [to seem, to purport (imperf.)] may indicate comparatio

(Budrewicz 1990: 84). However, the same scholar points to the blurred boundary between similarity and a comparison, as well as between a comparison and a metaphor (Budrewicz 1990: 88). In the material analyzed, we find phrases, which compare the characters to other persons or phenomena, cf. the passage on Ochociki: *Młody człowiek [...] Zdawało się, że ma rysy Napoleona Pierwszego, przystonięte jakimś obłokiem marzycielstwa.* I299 [*The young man... He seemed to have the features of Napoleon, veiled by clouds of dreaminess.*]. Another fragment describes the feelings of Stanisław Wokulski himself: *Zdawało mu się, że powóz nie jedzie po bruku, ale po jego własnym mózgu.* I283 [*It seemed to him that the carriage was not driving along the street but over his brains.*]. Signals of comparative structures are carriers of similarity and indicators of integration, e.g., *baron znowu wydawał się jej podobnym do niewyprawnej skóry,* I380 [*while the Baron seemed to resemble some untanned animal hide.*]; *Geist wydał mu się w tej chwili jak Mojżesz, który do obiecanej ziemi prowadzi jeszcze nie urodzone pokolenia.* II161 [*Geist at this moment seemed to him like Moses leading an unborn generation into the Promised Land.*]. The conjunctive *like* leads us to the assumption that we are dealing with a comparison: *Zdawało mu się, że na tej drodze, kipiącej przepychem i weselem, on sam jest jak zdeptany robak, który wlecze za sobą wnetrzności.* II110 [*In this street, effervescent with splendor and gaiety, he seemed like a crushed worm dragging its entrails behind it.*]. The next fragment brings the comparison quoted to a metaphor, in which falling in love is depicted as the sense of swinging: *Zdawało mu się, że jak ptak siedzi na gałęzi, którą wiatr chwieje w prawo i lewo, do góry i na dół, a potem nagle roześmiał się [...]* I448 [*He felt like a bird on a branch, which the wind blows to left then right, up then down, but he suddenly smiled...*].

Metaphoric images introduced by predicative units, in which we are interested here, are numerous; the writer used these to describe, among other things, the emotional states of his characters. Let us conclude the presentation of material in the analytical part with a metaphor, which illustrates the enormous aspirations and longing of the protagonist: *Zdawało mu się, że widzi jakąś niezmierną fabrykę, skąd wybiegają nowe słońca, nowe planety, nowe gatunki, nowe narody [...]* II156 [*It seemed to him he could see an immense factory, from which emerged new suns, new planets, new species, new nations...*].

Summary

The small set of units analyzed provided an opportunity to mention many aspects of the text examined and its style – the syntactic structure of phrases containing these units, their functioning as components of stylistic means, or as predicates opening space for a diversity of substance. The verbs *wydawać się / wydać się* [to appear, to seem (imperf./perf.)] and *zdawać się / zdać się* [to seem, to purport (imperf./perf.)] were identified in varying parts of the novel. Some exemplary explicitation schemes have been indicated for the predicative units analyzed and the corresponding sentence realizations from the text. A grammatic, syntactic

analysis of the structures found in *The Doll*, which have been examined, has revealed their syntactic shape, close to the shape contemporary of the early 21st century. It was also noticed that the unfilled position of the experiencer in a sentence with the verbs *zdawać się* / *zdać się* [to seem, to purport (imperf./perf.)] may result in a semantic function, which is synonymous with the expression of hypotheticality, cf. *chyba* [probably]. This applies, in particular, to parenthetical expressions, which are separated from others. The richness of content implied in the internal predications by these predicative units was surprising in light of the limited number of four verbal lexemes. The verbs listed in the novel are present as elements of diverse comparisons. They may also perform the predicate function in metaphors. A detailed analysis of a minimal fragment of the verbal vocabulary of *The Doll* by B. Prus has made it possible to list, confirm and clarify the facts which have been known, as well as to point to phenomena that have been less often included in the research on the language of Bolesław Prus's masterpiece as an exemplification of specific verbs in realizations of predicative-argument structures.

List of abbreviations and symbols

- Adj_{instr} : phrase with an adjective in the instrument
 Adj_{nom} : phrase with an adjective in the nominative
 Adj_{pq} : adjective realizing the predicative in the predicate q
 Con : conjunction
 N_{aq} : the content of the propositional argument as a *nomen*
 N_{dat} : nominal phrase in the dative
 N_{nom} : nominal phrase in the nominative
 N_{pq} : nominal phrase realizing the predicative in the predicate q
 N_x : an argument, mental state recipient, experiencer
 NV_{aq} : a nominal phrase as the effect of nominalization
 NV_q : the content of the propositional argument as a nominalization
 P : predicate
 q : internal predicate, propositional argument
 $V...$: verb realizing the content of the propositional argument with supplements
 V_q : a verb in the sentence phrase corresponding with the predicate from the propositional argument q
 $VI...$: verb in infinitive form realizing the content of the propositional argument
 VI_q : the content of the propositional argument, expressed by an infinitive verb
 x : an argument, mental state recipient, experiencer
 \emptyset_x : unfilled experiencer position
 $\emptyset V_q$: non-realization of the copula of the nominative predictor

Source

SW – Karłowicz J., Kryński A., Niedźwiedzki W., *Słownik języka polskiego*, Warsaw: the Mianowski Fund Publishing House, vol. VII 1919, vol. VIII 1935.

SWil – Zdanowicz A., 1861, *Słownik języka polskiego* (Słownik wileński), Vilnius: Orgelbrand, vol. II.

Literature

- Bachórz J., 1991, *Wstęp*, in: Prus B., *Lalka*, vol. 1 and 2., Wrocław-Warsaw-Krakow: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich.
- Bachórz J., 2010, *Spotkania z "Lalką". Mendel studiów i szkiców o powieści Bolesława Prusa*, Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Słowo/Obraz Terytoria.
- Budrewicz T., 1990, *"Lalka". Konteksty stylu*, Krakow: Wydawnictwo Naukowe WSP.
- Czachorowska M., 2016, *Idiolekt Bolesława Prusa. Przegląd najnowszych ustaleń*, "Poznańskie Studia Polonistyczne," 23 (43), pp. 21–36. <https://doi.org/10.14746/pspsj.2016.23.2.2>
- Czachorowska M., 2019, *Uwagi na temat dziennikarskiego stylu Bolesława Prusa na podstawie kronik o Ogrodzie Saskim (wybrane cechy)*, "Studia Językoznawcze" 18, pp. 43–54.
- Danielewiczowa M., 2002, *Wiedza i niewiedza. Studium polskich czasowników epistemicznych*, Warsaw: Warsaw University, Faculty of Formal Linguistics.
- Foltman J., 2018, *Jak mówią postaci "Lalki" Bolesława Prusa. Analiza stylometryczna*, "Polonica" XXXVIII, pp. 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.17651/POLON.38.2>
- Karolak S., 2001, *Założenia gramatyki o podstawach semantycznych*, in: S. Karolak, *Od semantyki do gramatyki. Wybór rozpraw*, Warsaw: Sławistyczny Ośrodek Wydawniczy, Institute of Slavic Languages of the Polish Academy of Science, pp. 21–61.
- Karolak S., 2002, *Podstawowe struktury składniowe języka polskiego*, Warsaw: Sławistyczny Ośrodek Wydawniczy (SOW) Institute of Slavic Languages of the Polish Academy of Science.
- Kiklewicz A., 2020, *Frekwencja czasownika a jego właściwości walencyjne: opis składni eksplikacyjnej w świetle "prawa Mańczaka"*, "Prace Filologiczne" LXXV, 1 (75), pp. 263–282. <https://doi.org/10.32798/pf.660>
- Kiklewicz A., Korytkowska M., Mazurkiewicz-Sułkowska J., Zatorska A., 2019, *Zintegrowany opis semantyczno-syntaktyczny czasowników bułgarskich, polskich i rosyjskich: Verba cogitandi i verba sentiendi* (Part I, II.1 and II.2), Warsaw: Institute of Slavic Languages of the Polish Academy of Science. Slavic Languages Foundation. <https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.12528/1087>
- Korpysz T., Kozłowska A., 2011, *Wstęp* in: *Język pisarzy. Problemy słownictwa*, vol. 3, ed. T. Korpysz, A. Kozłowska, Warsaw: Wydawnictwo UKSW, pp. 9–12.
- Kurkowska H., 1948, *O języku "Lalki" Bolesława Prusa*, "Poradnik Językowy" booklet 1, pp. 2–8.
- Kurkowska H., 1949, *Uwagi o budowie zdania w "Lalce" Bolesława Prusa*, "Sprawozdania z Posiedzeń Komisji Językowej TNW" III, pp. 67–80.
- Kurkowska H., Skorupka S., 2001, *Stylistyka polska. Zarys*, Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.

- Machnicka V., 2009, *Piśmiennictwo Bolesława Prusa w opracowaniach językoznawczych*, "Conversatoria Linguistica" 3, pp. 119–142.
- Maliszewska A., 2001, *O problemie kryteriów klasyfikacyjnym predyktorów mentalnych*, "Rozprawy Komisji Językowej ŁTN" 46, pp. 91–134.
- Matuszczyk B., 2003, *Uczony przyrodnik czy galanteryjny kupiec? Antynomie osobowości Wokulskiego w świetle frazeologii i metaforyki "Lalki" Bolesława Prusa*, in: E. Paczoska, J.A. Malik (eds), *Prus i inni. Prace ofiarowane profesorowi Ficie*, Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL, pp. 73–81.
- Mikołajczak S., 1983, *Składnia wybranych utworów Bolesława Prusa i Stefana Żeromskiego*, Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu.
- Modrzejewska R., 2010, *Od subiekta do bogatego kupca – językowa kreacja Stanisława Wokulskiego w "Lalce" Bolesława Prusa*, "Studia Językoznawcze" 9, pp. 139–160.
- Modrzejewska R., 2011, *Językowa kreacja uczuć Stanisława Wokulskiego do Izabeli Łęckiej w "Lalce" Bolesława Prusa*, "Studia Językoznawcze" 10, pp. 189–209.
- Modrzejewska R., 2014, *Funkcje barw w językowej kreacji świata Izabeli Łęckiej w "Lalce" Bolesława Prusa*, "Studia Językoznawcze" 13, pp. 157–171.
- Modrzejewska R., 2019, *Środki leksykalno-stylistyczne służące kreacji Ignacego Rzekiego w "Lalce" Bolesława Prusa*, in: T. Korpysz, A. Kozłowska (eds), *Język pisarzy: środki artystycznego wyrazu*, vol. 12, Bielańskie Prace Językoznawcze, Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UKSW, pp. 127–143.
- Prus B., 1991, *Lalka*, vol. 1 and 2 BN, Wrocław–Warsaw–Kraków: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich.
- Prus B., 1996, *The Doll*, transl. by Dawid Welsh, Introduction by S. Barańczak, rev. by D. Tołczyk & A. Zaranko, New York: Central European Classics Trust.
- Przybyła T., 1995, *"Lalka" Bolesława Prusa. Semantyka – kompozycja – konteksty*, Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo WSP.
- Smólkowa T., 1974, *Słownictwo i fleksja "Lalki" Bolesława Prusa. Badania statystyczne*, Wrocław–Warsaw–Kraków–Gdańsk: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich.
- Stępień M., 2014, *Wyrażenia parentetyczne w strukturze wypowiedzi – właściwości semantyczne, składniowe, prozodyczne*, Warsaw: BEL Studio.
- Tokarczuk O., 2019, *Lalka i perła*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie.
- Trochimiuk K., 2016, *Językowe wykładniki emocji w angielskim przekładzie "Lalki" Bolesława Prusa*, Nowy Targ: Podhale State Vocational School in Nowy Targ.
- Wóycicki K., 1922, *Z pogranicza gramatyki i stylistyki. Mowa niezależna, zależna i pozornie zależna*, "Przegląd Humanistyczny" 1, pp. 75–100.