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The *AC-rzecz ujmując*-construction in Polish: A corpus-driven study

This article uses frame semantics, the concept of a communicative frame, usage-based construction grammar theory, and a corpus-based quantitative methodology to examine the characteristics of constructions in Polish that contain adverbial complements (ACs), the noun *rzecz* ‘thing’, and the quasi-participle *ujmując* ‘expressing/putting’. The author analyzes examples of this construction found in the National Corpus of Polish (NKJP) to understand its structural, semantic, distributional, and discourse-related features. In addition, the study identifies ACs that are strongly and weakly associated with this construction, and those that are more or less dependent on it. The research shows that this construction is often combined with various categories of ACs, each corresponding to distinct semantic and communicative frames. Furthermore, it has been observed that this construction is motivated by a specific conceptual metaphor, appears in different language registers, takes various forms, and serves multiple functions in discourse.

Keywords: quasi-participle construction, adverbial complements, construction grammar, frame semantics, NKJP, corpus-driven study

1. Introductory remarks and literature review

The emergence of electronic corpora and increased interest in grammatical and functional vocabulary have once again drawn linguists’ attention to Polish elements that structure discourse, such as *ogólnie mówiąc* ‘generally speaking’, *ściśle rzecz biorąc* (literally: ‘strictly the thing taking’), or *inaczej rzecz ujmując* (literally: ‘putting it another way’), bringing them to the forefront of language studies in Polish linguistics (Stępień 2014; Kubicka 2017; Żabowska 2020). These expressions involve the use of quasi-participles *mówiąc* ‘speaking’, *biorąc* ‘taking’, or *ujmując* ‘expressing/

putting' with adverbs and adverbial phrases. Some researchers have addressed the issue of the lexical status of these constructions (Bojałkowska 2010; Weiss 2005; Wróbel 1975; Kisiel and Żabowska 2011; Stępień 2014; 2015; Żabowska 2009) and distinguished between different types (Żabowska 2020). Others, on the other hand, have briefly discussed specific examples of their usage (Wróbel 1975; Weiss 2005; Grochowski 1983; 2002; 2007; Żabowska 2009; Bojałkowska 2010; Moroz 2010; Kisiel and Żabowska 2011), explained their general functions and prosodic features (Stępień 2014), determined their general distribution across different registers in the NKJP (Czachor 2019),¹ examined various formal and semantic aspects of adverbs (Kubicka 2017; see also Moroz 2007, for their formal features), and put forward hypotheses about the conditions under which adverbs can function independently (see Kleszczowa 2015; Kubicka 2017).

Selected expressions were also described in dictionary reviews (PJZ: Bogusławski and Wawrzyńczyk 1993; VPA: Bogusławski and Danielewiczowa 2005) and in dictionaries of contemporary Polish: SWJP, ISJP, and USJP. In the literature on the subject, these expressions have been treated in three different ways: as lexical or phraseological units (e.g., Bojałkowska 2010: 16–19), as the result of syntactic changes (Moroz 2010: 267–274), and as the result of linguistic operations in accordance with Bogusławski's perspective² (Bogusławski and Danielewiczowa 2005: 347).

To the best of author's knowledge, only Stępień (2014), Żabowska (2020), and Wiliński (2024) have conducted more comprehensive studies of the *AC rzecz ujmując*-construction. In her study, Stępień (2014: 158) states that the expression (*jakoś*) *rzecz ujmując* '(somehow) it putting' usually occurs with adverbs such as *ogólnie* 'generally', *delikatnie* 'delicately', *lapidarnie* 'succinctly', *prosto* 'simply', *statystycznie* 'statistically', *historycznie* 'historically', *krótco* 'briefly', *ściśle* 'strictly', *generalnie* 'generally', and several others. Interestingly, however, it does not occur with adverbs such as *analogicznie* 'analogously', *banalnie* 'banally', *biologicznie* 'biologically', *botanicznie* 'botanically', *chronologicznie* 'chronologically', *dramatycznie* 'dramatically', *ekologicznie* 'ecologically', or *ekonomicznie* 'economically'. Stępień (2014: 161) also noted that its abbreviated form, (*jakoś*) *ujmując* '(somehow) putting/(somehow) expressing,' tends to collocate with adverbs such as *ogólnie* 'generally', *prosto* 'simply',

¹ Czachor (2019: 229) found that quasi-present participles such as *mówiąc* 'speaking', *biorąc* 'taking', *ujmując* 'putting', *konkludując* 'concluding', *wracając do* 'returning to', *sądząc po* 'judging by', and several others are more common in conversation (21%), official language (11%), quasi-spoken discourse (9%), and Internet-interactive sources (9%). They are less frequent in literature (5%, including non-fiction, pre-1950 literary fiction, and post-1950 literary fiction), Internet-interactive sources (5%), and scientific-didactic texts (4%). They are rarely used in journalism (3%) and in informational-advisory registers (3%).

² In Bogusławski's (1988) theory of language, based on operational grammar and a functional approach, products of linguistic operations are specific syntactic and semantic realizations arising in the process of language use (in *parole*) from the elementary units of the system.

delikatnie ‘delicately’, *krótko* ‘briefly’, *szeroko* ‘broadly’, and *inaczej* ‘differently’. Her observations also include a variant of the *rzecz-ujmując* construction with a changed word order: *ujmując rzecz (jakoś)* ‘putting it (somehow)/expressing it (somehow)’. This variant occurs sporadically in right-hand contexts alongside expressions with the structure *w* ‘in’ + [adjective] + [noun], including cases such as *w jakichś kategoriach* (*np. moralnych*) ‘in some categories (e.g., moral)’, *w jakiś sposób* ‘in some way’, *w przenośni* ‘in a figurative sense’, *w jakichś terminach* ‘in certain terms’, and others.

Żabowska’s analysis (2020: 27) enabled a comparison of the usage of adverbs in different constructions with *ujmując*, which are characterized by divergent word order. This analysis, based on the balanced version of NKJP, revealed the co-occurrence of adverbs such as *delikatnie* ‘delicately’, *ściślej* ‘more strictly’, and *teoretycznie* ‘theoretically’ in both constructions. However, unlike *ujmując rzecz (jakoś)* ‘putting it (somehow)’, *(jakoś) rzecz ujmując* ‘(somehow) it putting’ did not occur with adverbs such as *schematycznie* ‘schematically’, *kiczowato* ‘kitschily’, *w przenośni* ‘figuratively’, *abstrakcyjnie* ‘abstractly’, or *szerzej* ‘more broadly’ in the corpus. Żabowska (2020: 30) also pointed out an alternative variant of this construction, *ujmując rzecz (jakoś)*, which colligates with adverbs in the comparative form with *bardziej* ‘more’, such as *bardziej brutalnie* ‘more brutally’, *bardziej ogólnie* ‘more generally’, *bardziej precyzyjnie* ‘more precisely’, *bardziej obrazowo* ‘more figuratively’, or *bardziej fachowo* ‘more expertly’.

Wiliński’s distinctive-collexeme analysis (2024a), in turn, focused on identifying the differences between the quasi-participle constructions *(jakoś) (rzecz) biorąc* ‘(somehow) thing taking’ (e.g., *ogólnie rzecz biorąc* ‘verbatim: generally it taking’) and *(jakoś) (rzecz) ujmując* (e.g., *ogólnie rzecz ujmując* ‘generally it putting/expressing’). Quantitative and qualitative analyses of data extracted from NKJP showed that these constructions differ not only in structure and meaning but also in distinct, often unique, collocation patterns with various adverbs and adverbial phrases.³

However, previous studies have focused solely on identifying a few or about a dozen adverbs and adverbial phrases in the construction and have not explored the semantic and pragmatic aspects of their use in the *AC rzecz ujmując*-construction. Furthermore, its discourse-related features and distribution across registers have not been identified, let alone rigorously quantified. What is more, the alternative version of this construction, namely *AC-ujmując*, has not been examined in much detail, nor have the adverbs used in this particular variant been consistently and accurately identified. Thus, given these research gaps, this article aims to achieve

³ This study, however, has been restricted to the identification of distinctive collexemes, i.e., words that best distinguish between two closely related constructions. It has failed to determine the specific properties of this construction, its variants, its semantic and pragmatic uses, and its distribution across registers.

several key objectives. First, it seeks to confirm the existence of the *AC rzecz ujmuje*-construction as a separate linguistic unit within the construction continuum. Second, it aims to improve on previous studies by presenting a more comprehensive analysis of its structural, semantic, pragmatic, distributional, and discourse-related attributes. Third, it seeks to identify ACs that are strongly or weakly associated with, and more or less reliant upon, the aforementioned pattern.

The rest of this article is divided into three separate sections. Section 2 presents the theoretical and methodological framework used in the corpus-based analysis. In particular, it provides a detailed explanation of the data source, the use of search and statistical analysis tools, and the procedures for extracting and quantifying the data. Section 3 defines the status of the *AC rzecz ujmuje*-construction, identifies its structural, semantic, pragmatic, distributional, and discursive-functional features, and describes its structural variants. In addition, this section presents and interprets the results of quantitative research on ACs associated with *ujmuje* in this construction. Finally, Section 4 evaluates the research results and presents conclusions.

2. Theory and methodology

This section provides an overview of the theoretical and methodological frameworks utilized in this study.

2.1. Theoretical frameworks

2.1.1. Usage-based model of grammar

This study combines usage-based construction grammar and frame-semantic theory to identify both the structural and semantic attributes of the construction under consideration. Usage-based grammatical models (Barlow & Kemmer 2000; Goldberg 2006; Diessel 2019; Perek 2023) are based on the assumption that grammar consists of constructions, combinations of form and meaning/function, which can be classified along a spectrum of complexity and schematicity (from morphemes and words to fixed phrases, idioms, and argument structure constructions). These constructions also have associated rules governing their semantic, pragmatic, and discursive interpretation. Take, for example, the *AC rzecz ujmuje*-construction (e.g., *ogólnie rzecz ujmuje*). It qualifies as a construction because it has a multifaceted form, performs a specific function, and conveys a specific meaning. In particular, it functions as a discourse marker, is used to establish context, or indicates how information will be presented later in the conversation or text. In principle, any linguistic unit in grammar can be conceptualized and stored as a construction, provided that it is used frequently enough to become rooted in the language system

and established in the speaker's consciousness (see Langacker 1987: 57–59; Schmid 2016; Divjak 2019: 131–157).

2.1.2. Semantic, cognitive, and communicative frames

Frame semantics (Fillmore 1982) aims to correlate lexical meanings with mental representations or schematic knowledge structures, commonly known as *cognitive frames*, which are essentially structured knowledge frameworks that provide a background understanding of given concepts. They also constitute linguistic or *semantic frames* that are specifically evoked by lexical items and other features of linguistic form (Andor 2010: 158).⁴ This theory assumes that the meaning of a word can be determined in relation to the general (background) knowledge associated with that word. For example, understanding the participle *ujmując*, which includes the concepts of 'expressing', 'presenting', or 'putting', depends on knowledge of the scenario of expressing something in words in a specific way. This scenario includes four essential elements: the speaker, the message, the medium, and the mode of communication, as well as various additional elements such as the addressee, the means, the purpose, and others. The appropriate structure of each cognitive frame selected for communication, along with all the factors that influence whether and how that frame is communicated, forms a *communicative frame* (Sullivan 2023). The structure of one or more cognitive frames is therefore embedded in each communication frame, just as each semantic frame contains only part of the structure of a cognitive frame. Communicative frames are therefore the most complex types of frames, followed by cognitive frames and then semantic frames (cf. Sullivan 2023: 9).⁵ In this study, this theory was used to define the meaning of the construction under study, explain the meanings of adverbs that co-occur with this construction, and describe the discursive-functional properties of this construction.

In the current study, the author has developed several communicative frames, each accompanied by a corresponding description, to provide a more precise and accurate definition of the meanings associated with both adverbs and the participle *ujmując*.⁶ These frames are as follows: GENERALIZATION, UNDERSTATEMENT, SUMMARIZATION, SIMPLIFICATION, REPHRASING, ACCURACY, THOROUGHNESS,

⁴ According to Sullivan (2023: 6), cognitive frames are "open-ended structures consisting of the background knowledge necessary to understand a concept," while semantic frames "specify the semantic requirements of words and other linguistic forms."

⁵ As Sullivan (2023: 6) further notes, communicative frames "arise when cognitive frames are encoded in language, art, or another medium, causing the cognitive frames to be created or activated in someone else's mind".

⁶ In functional terms, these frames resemble the textual relations and operations realized through metatextual comments (e.g., generalization, simplification, or summarization), as identified in Magdalena Żabowska's (2022) study.

DOMAIN-SPECIFIC STATEMENT, STYLE, THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE, ENHANCED EXPRESSION, OBJECTIVITY, PRACTICAL PERSPECTIVE, and TEMPORAL PERSPECTIVE. The semantic descriptions of these frames include the basic elements, typical participants, and roles that are often found in a given context. They emphasize the interaction between the EXPRESSING frame and the specific meaning conveyed by each AC in specific discourse. As a result, these frames inherit or activate the overarching features of the EXPRESSING frame (a cognitive frame in which a speaker expresses a message or mental content in a particular manner) while focusing on the specific manner or style in which the speaker conveys the message in a particular context.

The identification of these communicative frames was based on a simple semantic test. The test required the author to determine whether a given adverbial phrase (the adverb under investigation) evoked a specific frame when its meaning in context and co-context activated general knowledge associated with that word. This process required a thorough examination of the entire context, including the preceding and following sentences in which a specific example of the construction was used, to gain a complete understanding of the discourse. This methodology involved identifying lexical elements in context, recognizing the meaning of the adverbial complement based on its use in context and co-text, understanding the discourse function of each phrase, and verifying background knowledge associated with the word.

2.2. Methodological frameworks

2.2.1. Method

Regarding methodology, this study adopts the measures of attraction and reliance (Schmid 2000: 54–55), which aim to address the issue of directionality by distinguishing between the extent to which a grammatical construction is filled by a specific lexeme and the extent to which a lexeme relies on a particular construction. The former proportion metaphorically represents the attraction exerted by the construction on the lexeme, while the latter reflects the reliance of the lexeme on the construction (Schmid & Küchenhoff 2013: 548). Attraction is calculated by dividing the frequency of an adverb's occurrence in the construction by the frequency of the construction in the corpus. Reliance, on the other hand, is calculated by dividing the frequency of an adverb's occurrence in the construction by its overall frequency in the entire corpus. To express the scores as percentages, both divisions are multiplied by 100. The calculation is presented in Table 1, with examples using the scores for the adverb *ogólnie*. The percentage values derived from these statistical measures are used as indicators of both attraction and reliance. A higher percentage signifies a more substantial degree of attraction and reliance, whereas a lower percentage suggests a smaller level of attraction and reliance.

2.2.2. Corpora and data

This study is based on data from a carefully balanced version of the National Corpus of Polish (NKJP). This sub-corpus comprises an extensive repository of texts totaling approximately 300 million words and includes a rich selection of written and spoken Polish samples from a wide variety of sources. These sources include classical literature, daily newspapers, specialist journals and periodicals, transcripts of conversations, and a variety of short-form and online texts. This balanced version of the corpus was examined using the PELCRA corpus search engine (Pęzik 2012).

2.2.3. Data extraction and its evaluation

The data retrieval process consisted of several consecutive stages. First, frequencies associated with the combination of *rzecz ujmując* and the participle *ujmując* were automatically extracted from the NKJP corpus using the PELCRA search engine. This software tool was used to conduct an exhaustive search of all texts in the corpus, focusing on identifying occurrences of *rzecz ujmując* and its variant *ujmując* within a five-word context and a sample of 10,000 words. In other words, the search engine was configured to return at most 10,000 results for the participle *ujmując*. This exploration of the corpus yielded concordance lines, which were then manually checked. The aim was to identify correct combinations of the participle *ujmując* with adverbs and adverbial phrases. These correct combinations referred to cases that did not correspond to the simultaneous occurrence of events with the same subject in two sentences. Instead, they denoted features of current utterances closely related to the loss of categorical features associated with the participle. Any erroneous uses suggesting a standard reference between the participle subject and the initial argument of the main verb were excluded from further analysis. For example, the use of *ujmując* in the sentence *Pochylił się, ujmując mnie za ramię* 'He leaned over, taking me by the arm' was omitted as an incorrect match because it suggested the standard use of the active participle *ujmując*.⁷

The observed frequencies (a: the frequency of the adverb *ogólnie* 'generally' in the *AC rzecz ujmując*-construction; x: the overall frequency of all ACs in the construction), as shown in Table 1, were carefully determined through manual analysis of concordance lines. In contrast, the overall frequency of adverbs in the NKJP (e.g., e: the total frequency of *ogólnie*) was automatically calculated by a computer program.⁸

⁷ Uses such as *Odpowiedział, ujmując rzecz ogólnie* (He replied, putting it generally) were not treated by the author as quasi-participle constructions because, based on the assumptions made, they were interpreted as regular present participles, which retain their full syntactic structure and a compositional relationship with the matrix verb, rather than as lexicalized, structurally fixed, and entrenched units of a quasi-participle nature.

⁸ When calculating the number of occurrences of a given form in the corpus, I considered only the lexeme in its formal shape: I did not disambiguate between its different senses or grammatical functions.

Next, the recorded frequencies (marked as ‘a’, ‘x’ and ‘e’) in Table 1 were entered into an Excel spreadsheet. These frequencies served as the basis for calculating Schmid’s attraction and reliance measures. The percentages obtained were considered indicators of the degree of attraction to, and dependency on, the *AC rzecz ujmując*-construction.

Table 1. Frequency data for a statistical analysis

AC	a	x	e	attraction	reliance
ogólnie	82	551	7490	14.88 %	1.09 %
Note: a = The frequency of the adverb <i>ogólnie</i> in the <i>AC rzecz ujmując</i> -construction; x = The total frequency of all adverbs in the construction; e = The total frequency of the adverb <i>ogólnie</i> in NKJP					

A cursory examination of Table 1 indicates that the term *ogólnie* appears 82 times in the *AC rzecz ujmując*-construction. Therefore, its attraction score is high at 14.88%, meaning that this adverb accounts for 14.88% of all adverb uses in the construction under consideration. In short, *ogólnie* shows a strong relationship with the *AC rzecz ujmując*-construction. However, as shown in the last column, its dependency index is relatively low at 1.09%. This percentage means that only 1.09% of the uses of the word *ogólnie* can be observed in the *AC rzecz ujmując*-construction, whereas its occurrence in other contexts in the corpus accounts for 98.91% of its use. In essence, the word *ogólnie* appears more frequently in contexts other than the *AC rzecz ujmując*-construction. Finally, the results of the calculations were sorted by the attraction index and then subjected to qualitative analysis.

3. Results and discussion

3.1. Corpus-derived insights into the *AC rzecz ujmując*-construction

3.1.1. Its linguistic status

Concerning its status, the *AC rzecz ujmując*-construction meets all the criteria specified by Goldberg (2006; 2013) and Hilpert (2019) for identifying a linguistic pattern as a construction. First and foremost, its meaning or function does not derive directly from its individual components. The verb *ujmuć* in this construction has a metaphorical meaning: ‘to express, present, or formulate something in a specific way.’ This meaning is derived metaphorically from the basic meaning of the word *ująć* (*ujmować*), which means ‘to grab, catch, grasp, or take something in one’s hand.’ According to WSJP PAN, an online dictionary developed under the supervision of Piotr Żmigrodzki (<https://wsjp.pl/>), this basic meaning comes from the word *jać*, which in turn derives from the Proto-Slavic term *(j)ęti* or *(j)ьmъ* ‘to take, grab with your hands, catch, seize, grasp, as well as to begin or start.’ Consequently, this

construction is motivated by a conceptual metaphor: EXPRESSING SOMETHING IN LANGUAGE IS LIKE GRABBING SOMETHING, where the target domain of EXPRESSING is conceptualized in terms of the source domain of GRABBING. The quasi-participle *ujmując* (derived from the term *ujmować*) itself can be translated into English as ‘to grasp (one’s hand, a bottle, knife)’, ‘to capture (a thought, mood, scene)’, ‘to present (a topic, content)’, ‘to express (a thought, meaning)’, ‘to put (ideas, thoughts)’, or ‘to encapsulate (content, ideology)’. The noun *rzecz* means ‘thing’: i.e., an idea, comment, matter, or piece of information. Therefore, this construction refers to the semantic frame of EXPRESSING, in which the speaker articulates a message or mental content in a specific way.

Furthermore, this construction exhibits clear functional characteristics similar to those of a disjunct (Quirk et al. 1985), a stance adverbial (Biber et al. 1999), or a modal adjunct (Halliday 2004). Therefore, the primary function of expressions such as *ogólnie rzecz ujmując* ‘generally thing putting’ or *delikatnie rzecz ujmując* ‘delicately thing putting’ is to introduce or frame discourse. They form the basis for the rest of the conversation or text, providing context or signaling how the information will be presented. Their meaning is considered partially non-compositional, as it goes beyond the simple sum of the individual words.

Secondly, the AC *rzecz ujmując*-construction takes on a partially irregular and idiosyncratic form. This construction, in which the verb can be classified as a quasi-participle (Stępień 2015) or an irregular type of participle, has the following features: the speaker acts as the hidden subject of this structure, its temporal reference is related to the act of speech rather than to the states of affairs discussed, the subject determined by the participle differs from the subject in the basic utterance, the construction is separated from the rest of the utterance by intonational pauses, and the meaning of this construction makes it difficult to transform it into a subordinate clause – an operation commonly used in the case of participle constructions (cf. Weiss 2005: 182–188). Furthermore, corpus evidence suggests that this construction exhibits specific (idiosyncratic) limitations in its structure. Unlike the AC-*mówiąc* construction (e.g., *prawdę mówiąc* ‘to tell the truth’, *nawiasem mówiąc* ‘by the way/incidentally speaking’, or *szczerze mówiąc* ‘frankly speaking’) (see Wiliński 2024b), this construction does not allow certain words and expressions (such as *prawdę* ‘truth’, *nawiasem* ‘in parenthesis’, *między nami* ‘between us’, and many others) to be placed before the noun *rzecz* and the quasi-participle *ujmując*.

Thirdly, the construction is used with high frequency, which indicates its significant level of entrenchment in mental grammar, and shows a collocational preference for specific categories of adverbs and adverbial phrases. In other words, the consistent use of different types of adverbs in this structure (551 occurrences), combined with the conspicuous token frequency of a specific prototype construct (e.g., *ogólnie rzecz ujmując* with 82 occurrences), significantly contributes to the

entrenchment of the *AC rzecz ujmując*-schema. Consequently, this process plays an integral role in establishing the recognized status of the pattern as a construction (cf. Boyd and Goldberg 2009; Casenhiser and Goldberg 2005). Specific individual instances, such as *ogólnie rzecz ujmując* ‘generally thing putting’ or *najogólniej rzecz ujmując* ‘most generally thing putting’ may also qualify as constructions due to their high frequency of occurrence and conventionalization. Although these expressions are constructs (specific instances of a partially schematic construction), their recurrent use renders them the default choice in a given communicative context. This view, according to which sufficiently common expressions are stored as constructions, is empirically supported by psycholinguistic research (Arnon & Snider 2010).

3.1.2. Formal, semantic, pragmatic, and discourse-functional properties

The *AC rzecz ujmując*-construction is a partially filled pattern consisting of two fixed elements (the noun *rzecz* and the participle *ujmując*) and a variable slot that can accommodate various adverbial complements. These ACs can take the form of a single adverb (for example, *ogólnie* ‘generally’) or a prepositional phrase (such as *z grubsza* ‘roughly’ or *w skrócie* ‘in short’), each of which belongs to a specific semantic category. However, this construction imposes restrictions on the use of some nouns, such as *nawiasem* ‘parenthesis’ in the instrumental case or *prawdę* ‘truth’ in the accusative case.⁹ As for the noun *rzecz*, it can be omitted in discourse, as shown in example (1). The use of this construction can be illustrated with the following sentences taken from the NKJP:

- (1) *Ogólnie ujmując*, uczestnictwo Polski w UE jest oceniane bardzo pozytywnie. (Gazeta Ubezpieczeniowa) ‘In general, Poland’s participation in the EU is assessed very positively.’
- (2) Powieść, *z grubsza rzecz ujmując*, traktuje o polityce, miłości i kulturze. (Gazeta Wyborcza) ‘The novel, broadly speaking, deals with politics, love, and culture’
- (3) *Najkrócej rzecz ujmując*, jest to książka o Jurku Owsiaku. (Cosmopolitan) ‘In short, it’s a book about Jurek Owsiak.’
- (4) Zadawać takie pytanie na forum historycznym jest po prostu niepoważne, *delikatnie rzecz ujmując*. (forum.historia.org.pl) ‘Asking such a question on a historical forum is simply unserious, to put it mildly.’

⁹ Note that although the uses of *nawiasem (rzecz) ujmując* or *prawdę (rzecz) ujmuć* are not found in NKJP, such examples can be observed online. This suggests that speakers occasionally use them even when they are not correct from a normative perspective, even if they deviate from accepted standard usage, which is consistent with a constructivist, usage-based approach.

Upon closer examination of these instances, a division into two main elements becomes apparent. One involves a participle construction, which can be introduced at the beginning of the sentence, inserted in the middle, or placed at the end. The second element consists of a finite clause, usually placed at the end of the sentence, sometimes interrupted by a participle construction, as shown in example (2). The participle construction, highlighted in italics, contains a characteristic adverbial expression functioning as an adverbial complement (AC) – an essential element that cannot be omitted in this structure. Therefore, the use of the expression *rzecz ujmując* with these adverbs or their specific lexical choice in certain contexts is semantically and pragmatically limited. Essentially, the absence of any of these adverbs results in an awkward or unnatural use of the noun *rzecz* and the participle *ujmując*, as shown in the example **rzecz ujmując, dbamy o drogi* ‘*thing putting/expressing, we take care of the roads’, where the adverbial complement *generalnie* ‘generally’ is clearly missing.

The typical syntactic structure of this construction is presented as [AC *rzecz ujmując*, FINITE CLAUSE], as shown in Table 2. The adverbial phrase, the noun *rzecz*, and the participle are used together to form an adverbial participle clause, functioning as a metatextual expression (Ożóg 1990; Birzer 2017), a parenthetical expression (Moroz 2007; Stępień 2014), or a discourse-structuring element (Birzer 2012; 2015). This sentence encompasses the speaker’s intention, interpersonal meaning, and perspective in relation to the message. Therefore, the primary communicative purpose of this adverbial construction is to convey the speaker’s position, stance, or attitude towards the message and to comment on the style or form of the utterance.¹⁰

This construction functions as an optional element of the sentence and can be omitted in some parts of the utterance, as seen in examples (2) to (4). However, in many cases, as the above examples show, the participle construction has a significant impact on the entire sentence. Essentially, the adverbial clause adds an interpersonal comment on the content or style of the entire sentence. A comma is used to mark a pause between elements of the sentence and to separate the adverbial clause from the finite clause. The main clause usually has a topic-comment structure, indicating states or events. It is introduced by a specific subject, providing known information, followed by a comment (predicate) introducing new information. The specific semantic-pragmatic properties of the construction are discussed in Section 3.2.2.

In semantic terms, instances of the construction in (2)-(4) draw upon the metaphor and evoke the EXPRESSING frame. In this frame, a speaker conveys a message or mental content in a specific manner. The participle construction itself aims to signify the way of expressing something in words, while the finite clause articulates

¹⁰ For similar functions of disjuncts, see Quirk et al. (1985) and Biber et al. (1999).

the message related to the specific topic. Both the subject (topic) and the predicate (comment) in the finite clause deliver a clear and specific message. The recipient is implicitly implied throughout the entire sentence. These unique characteristics of the construction are concisely outlined in Table 2.

Table 2. Characteristics of the prototypical *AC rzecz ujmując*-construction

form	an adverbial participle clause: <i>AC</i> + the noun <i>rzecz</i> + the present participle <i>ujmując</i>	(,)	finite clause (subject + predicate)
meaning	The EXPRESSING frame; the metaphor: EXPRESSING SOMETHING IN LANGUAGE IS LIKE GRABBING SOMETHING	a comma	states/activities/achievements/ accomplishments/
function	a discourse structuring element	a slight pause or transition	topic/comment; given/new

3.1.3. Distributional properties

As regards the distribution of the *AC rzecz ujmując*-construction in various registers in the NKJP, Table 3 shows the frequency of occurrence of the twenty most common *AC*s co-occurring with the noun *rzecz* and the participle *ujmując* in six different registers of the corpus: journalism, literature, conversations, quasi-spoken texts (including parliamentary transcripts), internet sources (forums, chats, mailing lists, etc.), and academic texts and scientific and educational textbooks. A closer analysis of these frequencies indicates that this construction occurs primarily in journalism, maintains a relatively high frequency in quasi-spoken and scientific-didactic texts, appears quite often in literature, has a relatively lower frequency in online sources, and is virtually absent in conversational contexts.

Table 3. The distribution of the twenty ACs across six selected registers

Note: jour = journalism; qu-sp = quasi-spoken; lit = literature; Net-int = Internet-interactive; sc-di = scientific-didactic; conv = conversation							
rank	ACs	jour	qu-sp	lit	Net-int	sc-di	conv
1.	ogólnie	25	7	0	3	22	0
2.	najogólniej	26	7	0	0	10	0
3.	delikatnie	18	7	8	2	0	0
4.	najkrócej	17	5	3	1	1	0
5.	najprościej	15	3	3	1	1	1
6.	generalnie	15	8	0	1	3	0
7.	inaczej	8	2	2	1	2	0
8.	dokładniej	7	0	2	0	6	0
9.	ściślej	11	1	0	0	3	0
10.	statystycznie	14	0	1	0	3	0
11.	dokładnie	10	1	0	1	1	0
12.	historycznie	10	3	0	0	2	0
13.	szerzej	4	1	1	0	2	0
14.	ściśle	7	0	2	0	1	0
15.	z grubsza	7	1	1	0	0	0
16.	krótko	3	2	0	0	1	0
17.	formalnie	3	1	1	0	1	0
18.	lapidarnie	2	2	0	1	1	0
19.	logicznie	3	1	0	1	0	0
20.	najdelikatniej	4	1	0	0	0	0

As can be inferred from the data in Table 3, there are clear discrepancies in the distribution of the examined constructions in the NKJP corpus. It is worth noting that pairs containing terms such as *ogólnie* ‘generally’, *najogólniej* ‘most generally’, *generalnie* ‘generally’, *dokładniej* ‘more precisely’, *ściślej* ‘more strictly’, or *statystycznie* ‘statistically’ occur much more frequently in journalistic and scientific-didactic texts than in literature and online sources. On the other hand, expressions containing *delikatnie* ‘delicately’, *najkrócej* ‘most briefly’, or *najprościej* ‘most simply’ appear significantly more often in literary works and quasi-spoken discourse than in online sources and scientific and educational discourse. Furthermore, combinations such as *ogólnie*, *delikatnie*, or *najkrócej* occur more frequently in online sources than in conversational contexts. It is also important to note that all of these configurations are relatively more common in journalism compared to other language registers.

3.1.4. Variants

3.1.4.1. The AC ujmując-construction

This construction occurs in several additional forms. In the first variant, the noun *rzecz* is omitted, and the adverbs are combined only with the participle *ujmując*. These are used as stylistic devices to indicate the manner of expressing views, comments, or ideas (*inaczej* ‘differently’, *najkrócej* ‘most briefly’, *najprościej* ‘most simply’, etc.). Although this variation of the construction is relatively rare, recognizable examples can be found in the corpus:

- (5) W dużej mierze stan taki spowodowany jest przez, *delikatnie ujmując*, kulejącą w naszym kraju profilaktykę. (Dziennik Bałtycki) ‘To a large extent, this situation is caused by, *to put it mildly*, the lacking preventive measures in our country.’
- (6) Oznacza to, *statystycznie ujmując*, powstawanie średnio 6–7 towarzystw rocznie. (Gazeta Ubezpieczeniowa) ‘This means, *statistically speaking*, the establishment of an average of 6–7 associations per year.’

The data corpus shows that this alternative construction appears 74 times in the NKJP. Table 4 displays all adverbs and their observed frequencies. As illustrated in Table 4, the construction tends to co-occur with adverbs that offer a broad overview of the topic (e.g., *ogólnie* ‘generally’, *najogólniej* ‘most generally’, *szerzej* ‘more broadly’, *generalnie* ‘generally’, *z grubsza* ‘roughly’, *szeroko* ‘broadly’, and *holistycznie* ‘holistically’), emphasize precision or detail (*dokładnie* ‘accurately’, *dokładniej* ‘more accurately’, *ściśle* ‘strictly’, *precyzyjnie* ‘precisely’, *trafniej* ‘more aptly’, or *ściślej* ‘more strictly’), signal simplicity (*najprościej* ‘most simply’ and *prosto* ‘simply’), or indicate a concise presentation of information (*najkrócej* ‘most briefly’, *krótko* ‘briefly’, or *w skrócie* ‘in short’). Moreover, the construction is associated with adverbs that temper the tone of the forthcoming information (*delikatnie* ‘delicately’, *najdelikatniej* ‘most delicately’ or *lekko* ‘lightly’), rephrase statements in alternative ways (*inaczej* ‘differently’), introduce domain-specific statements (*statystycznie* ‘statistically’ and *historycznie* ‘historically’), highlight various communication styles (*formalnie* ‘formally’ or *metaforycznie* ‘metaphorically’), propose a compromise (*kompromisowo* ‘compromisingly’), or indicate a traditional explanation (*klasycznie* ‘classically’). With the exception of *holistycznie* ‘holistically’, *szeroko* ‘broadly’, *kompromisowo* ‘compromisingly’, *trafnie* ‘aptly’, and *lekko* ‘lightly’, the remaining adverbs are also used in conjunction with the AC *rzecz ujmując*-construction.

Table 4. The observed frequencies of the AC *ujmując*-construction

ogólnie (12), delikatnie (4), inaczej (8), najogólniej (6), najkrócej (5), najprościej (5), statystycznie (3), szerzej (3), generalnie (2), historycznie (2), z grubsza (2), krótko (2), prosto (2), w skrócie (2), szeroko (2), ściśle (2), dokładnie (1), dokładniej (1), formalnie (1), holistycznie (1), klasycznie (1), kompromisowo (1), metaforycznie (1), najdelikatniej (1), precyzyjnie (1), trafnie (1), ściślej (1), lekko (1)
--

The emergence of this variation may be ascribed to the reduction process applied to its standard form, the AC *rzecz ujmując*-construction, and its higher frequency of occurrence. Bybee's research (2006; 2010; see also Bybee & Hopper 2001) suggests that more complex expressions with higher frequencies are more likely to undergo phonological reduction than those with lower frequencies. This is attributed to the enhanced recognition in the brain through repetition (cf. Bybee 2006: 714). Morphologically complex forms that are frequently used may lose their internal structure and become independent of their original forms (Bybee 2006: 715; Bybee 2010: 46–53). The increasing frequency of modified forms, in turn, arises from their usefulness and efficacy in communication, essentially guided by their meaning and function (cf. Schmid 2010: 117).

3.1.4.2. The *ujmując rzecz* AC-construction

The second variant identified in the corpus, characterized by lower occurrence rates compared to the preceding construction, is the *ujmując rzecz* AC-construction (with 60 occurrences in NKJP). In this construction, the participle *ujmując* and the noun *rzecz* precede adverbial complements, as illustrated in examples (7) and (8):

- (7) *Ujmując rzecz najkrócej*: śmiało kontynuował dzieło Shi Huang-ti. (Bestiariusz codzienny) 'To put it most succinctly: he boldly continued the work of Shi Huangdi.'
- (8) *Ujmując rzecz historycznie*, akcja Iliady ma miejsce mniej więcej w XII wieku p.n.e. (Miłość, wojna, rewolucja: szkice na czas kryzysu) 'Historically speaking, the events of the Iliad take place roughly around the 12th century BCE.'

As in the previous pattern, this construction appears in combination with ACs that express generalization (such as *ogólnie* 'generally', *najogólniej* 'broadly', *szerzej* 'more broadly', *z grubsza* 'in general', and *szeroko* 'broadly'), denote precision (*precyzyjnie* 'precisely'), introduce concise statements (*najprościej* 'most simply' and *w skrócie* 'in short'), convey information in a different way (*inaczej* 'differently'), suggest simplicity (*najprościej* 'most simply'), indicate a figurative style (*metaforycznie* 'metaphorically'), or introduce statements about a specific field (*historycznie* 'historically'). In addition, as the corpus data suggests, it seems to impose fewer restrictions on acceptable ACs compared to the AC *rzecz ujmując*-construction.

As a result, it collocates with a wider range of adverbial complements and allows for more combinations with prepositional phrases (*w uproszczeniu* ‘in a simplified way’, *w sposób* ‘in some way’, *po żeglarsku* ‘in a nautical style’, *na oko* ‘approximately’, *z przymrużeniem oka* ‘with a grain of salt’, and *od drugiej strony* ‘from the other side’) and adverbs (*abstrakcyjnie* ‘abstractly’, *skrótowo* ‘concisely’, *precyzyjnie* ‘more precisely’, *schematycznie* ‘schematically’, *brutalnie* ‘brutally’, *wprost* ‘directly’, *prościej* ‘more simply’, *szczegółowiej* ‘in more detail’, *pro wizorycznie* ‘provisionally’, *plastycznie* ‘plastically’, *kolokwialnie* ‘colloquially’, *kiczowato* ‘in a kitschy manner’, or *emfatycznie* ‘emphatically’). However, unlike the previous variant, it does not occur together with adverbs such as *statystycznie* ‘statistically’, *krótko* ‘briefly’, *prosto* ‘simply’, *formalnie* ‘formally’, *holistycznie* ‘holistically’, *klasycznie* ‘classically’, *kompromisowo* ‘compromisingly’, as well as adverbs that soften the statement (*delikatnie* ‘delicately’, *najdelikatniej* ‘most delicately’, and *lekko* ‘lightly’) and some adverbs expressing detail and precision (*ściśle* ‘strictly’, *dokładnie* ‘exactly’, *dokładniej* ‘more precisely’, *trafniej* ‘more aptly’, and *ściślej* ‘more strictly’). A detailed distribution of adverbs, along with their frequency of occurrence in this construction, is presented in Table 5 below.

Table 5. The observed frequencies of ACs in the *ujmując rzecz* AC-construction

najkrócej (4), inaczej (4), ogólnie (3), historycznie (3), abstrakcyjnie (3), w uproszczeniu (2), w sposób (2), skrótowo (2), precyzyjnie (2), najprościej (2), najogólniej (2), metaforycznie (2), z grubsza (2), generalnie (2), brutalnie (2), w skrócie (2), po żeglarsku (1), wprost (1), szerzej (1), szeroko (1), szczegółowiej (1), schematycznie (1), prościej (1), pro wizorycznie (1), precyzyjnie (1), plastycznie (1), na oko (1), z przymrużeniem oka (1), od drugiej strony (1), najogólniej (1), mechanicznie (1), po marksowsku (1), kolokwialnie (1), kiczowato (1), w kategoriach (1), emfatycznie (1), w detalach (1)

3.1.4.3 The variants involving the substitution of the noun *rzecz*

The final patterns of occurrence discerned in the corpus involve the substitution of the noun *rzecz*. In these particular variants, the noun *rzecz* can be replaced by the pronoun *to* ‘it’ or the nouns *problem* ‘problem’, *materia* ‘matter’, *kwestia* ‘issue’, *sprawa* ‘case’, or *zagadnienie* ‘topic’, as illustrated in examples (9) and (10) below:

- (9) Faktem bezspornym jest, że po tylu latach świadomość ta jest mizerna, *delikatnie sprawę ujmując*. (Gazeta Ubezpieczeniowa) ‘An indisputable fact is that, after so many years, this awareness is meager, *to put the matter delicately*.’
- (10) *Ujmując to inaczej*, każdy musi wypić piwo, które sam nawarzył. (Plamka światła) ‘*Putting it differently*, everyone must drink the beer they brewed themselves.’

It is noteworthy that, except for the expression *ujmując to inaczej* (13 occurrences), these variants appear extremely rarely in the corpus, and their combinations are limited, as detailed in Table 6:

Table 6. The variants with the substitution of the noun *rzecz*

<i>AC-to ujmując</i>	inaczej (2), ogólnie (1), metaforycznie (1), delikatnie (1), generalnie (1)
<i>AC-problem ujmując</i>	ogólnie (1)
<i>AC-materię ujmując</i>	delikatnie (1)
<i>AC-sprawę ujmując</i>	delikatnie (2), generalnie (1), historycznie (1), ostrożnie ‘cautiously’ (1), najszerszej ‘in the broadest sense’ (1)
<i>AC-ujmując (tę) kwestię</i>	prosto (1), najogólniej (1), klasycznie ‘classically’ (1)
<i>AC-ujmując sprawę</i>	holistycznie ‘holistically’ (1)
<i>Ujmując problem-AC</i>	w skrócie ‘in short’ (2), syntetycznie ‘synthetically’ (1), prowokacyjnie ‘provocatively’ (1), w uproszczeniu ‘in simplified terms’ (1), łagodnie ‘mildly’ (1), krótko (1), konkretnie ‘concretely’ (1), ogólnie (1), w pejoratywnym sensie ‘in a pejorative sense’ (1), w takich kategoriach ‘in such terms/categories’ (1), lapidarnie ‘laconically’ (1), globalnie ‘globally’ (1)
<i>Ujmując to-AC</i>	inaczej (13), obrazowo (3), metaforycznie (2), szerzej (2), od strony ‘from the side of’ (1), elegancko (1), w kategoriach ‘in terms of’ (1), obszernie ‘extensively’ (1), słowami ‘in the words of’ (1), skrótowo ‘summarily’ (1), najprościej (1), brutalnie (1), w konkret ‘in concrete terms’ (1), w stylu ‘in the style of’ (1), malarsko ‘pictorially’ (1), łagodnie (1), w języku ‘in the language of’ (1), w formę ‘in form’ (1), w słowach ‘in the words of’ (1), w gestach ‘in gestures’ (1), w skrócie ‘in short’ (1), prościej (1), naukowo ‘scientifically’ (1), dokładniej (1), w skali ‘on a scale’ (1), precyzyjnie (1)
<i>Ujmując kwestię-AC</i>	w taką formę ‘in such a form’ (1), lżej ‘more lightly’ (1)
<i>Ujmując zagadnienie-AC</i>	w szerszym kontekście ‘in a broader context’ (1), najogólniej (1), bardzo schematycznie ‘very schematically’ (1)
<i>Ujmując to samo-AC</i>	z innej perspektywy ‘from another perspective’ (1)

In these patterns, the notion of delexicalization helps explain the status of the nominal segments. Like the noun *rzecz*, the pronoun *to* and nouns such as *sprawę*, *problem*, or *kwestię* do not introduce concrete referents: i.e., they do not function as regular direct objects that refer to a specific “issue” or “problem”. Rather, they become semantically bleached and structurally fixed in discourse-organizing constructions (such as *generalnie sprawę ujmując* ‘putting the matter generally’, *ujmując problem w uproszczeniu* ‘putting the problem in simplified terms’, or *ujmując to inaczej* ‘putting it differently’) that signal generalization, simplification, or reformulation.¹¹

¹¹ The nominal component undergoes semantic weakening (bleaching) and constructional entrenchment.

These alternative configurations confirm the productivity and creativity of language users. The entrenchment of basic schemas, such as *AC rzecz ujmując* and *ujmując rzecz AC*, enables users to generalize these frameworks to a broader array of novel situations or contexts. This process facilitates the creation of new structures and expressions, allowing for the conveyance of different meanings (cf. Goldberg 2019).

3.2. Results and their interpretation

This section presents the quantitative findings and evaluates them by examining the construction's semantic and pragmatic properties.

3.2.1. Quantitative findings

Unlike its variants, the *AC rzecz ujmując*-construction occurs more frequently in the NKJP (551 times). ACs extracted from the corpus revealed a diverse range of 93 AC types, of which 47 occurred only once in this construction. However, due to space constraints, this section will focus primarily on quantitative results for the 40 ACs that are most frequently used in this construction. Nevertheless, we will also briefly discuss some of the less popular ACs and their frequency of occurrence. Table 7 below presents the attraction and reliance results for the forty ACs, covering the raw frequency of AC occurrence in the construction, the overall frequency of all ACs in the construction, and the total frequency of these ACs in the entire corpus. Then, Table 8 at the end of this section contains the results for the remaining, less significant ACs.

Table 7. The 40 most strongly attracted ACs of the *AC rzecz ujmując*-construction¹²

Note: a= The frequency of the AC <i>ogólnie</i> in the <i>AC rzecz ujmując</i> -construction; x= The total frequency of all ACs in the construction; e= The total frequency of the AC <i>ogólnie</i> in NKJP						
rank	ACs	a	x	e	attraction	reliance
1.	ogólnie	82	551	7490	14.88%	1.09%
2.	najogólniej	47	551	594	8.53%	7.91%
3.	delikatnie	38	551	4560	6.90%	0.83%
4.	najkrócej	30	551	770	5.44%	3.90%
5.	najprościej	29	551	1039	5.26%	2.79%
6.	generalnie	28	551	8005	5.08%	0.35%
7.	inaczej	21	551	42079	3.81%	0.05%
8.	dokładniej	19	551	2698	3.45%	0.70%

¹² Note that this quantitative analysis was restricted solely to the *AC rzecz ujmując*-pattern. Its variant forms examined in Subsection 3.1.4 were excluded from this analysis.

9.	ściślej	19	551	1744	3.45%	1.09%
10.	statystycznie	18	551	1093	3.27%	1.65%
11.	dokładnie	15	551	31063	2.72%	0.05%
12.	historycznie	15	551	913	2.72%	1.64%
13.	szerzej	11	551	3274	2.00%	0.34%
14.	ściśle	11	551	7827	2.00%	0.14%
15.	z grubsza	9	551	1166	1.63%	0.77%
16.	krótko	8	551	14599	1.45%	0.05%
17.	formalnie	7	551	3957	1.27 %	0.18%
18.	lapidarnie	6	551	122	1.09%	4.92%
19.	logicznie	6	551	1200	1.09%	0.50%
20.	najdelikatniej	6	551	149	1.09%	4.03%
21.	obrazowo	6	551	566	1.09%	1.06%
22.	teoretycznie	5	551	4926	0.91%	0.10%
23.	w skrócie	5	551	2691	0.91%	0.19%
24.	lepiej	4	551	52648	0.73%	0.01%
25.	obiektywnie	4	551	1457	0.73%	0.27%
26.	ogłędnie	4	551	341	0.73%	1.17%
27.	eufemistycznie	3	551	160	0.54%	1.88%
28.	genetycznie	3	551	1097	0.54%	0.27%
29.	globalnie	3	551	339	0.54%	0.88%
30.	kolokwialnie	3	551	156	0.54%	1.92%
31.	najłagodniej	3	551	70	0.54%	4.29%
32.	poważnie	3	551	11327	0.54%	0.03%
33.	precyzyjnie	3	551	4002	0.54%	0.07%
34.	precyzyjniej	3	551	242	0.54%	1.24%
35.	prosto	3	551	9864	0.54%	0.03%
36.	realnie	3	551	1731	0.54%	0.17%
37.	żartobliwie	3	551	977	0.54%	0.31%
38.	chronologicznie	2	551	248	0.36%	0.81%
39.	encyklopedycznie	2	551	5	0.36%	40%
40.	geograficznie	2	551	233	0.36%	0.86%

The quantitative evidence and results presented in both tables have been organized and ranked by the measure of attraction. These results confirm the hypothesis that some ACs show a strong preference for the AC *rzecz ujmując*-construction. A preliminary analysis of the results shows that the upper part of Table 7 contains ACs with particularly high frequency, such as *ogólnie* ‘generally’, *najogólniej* ‘most

generally', *delikatnie* 'delicately', and *najkrócej* 'most briefly'. The precise positioning of these ACs in the top ranking can be reliably explained by their overall frequency in the NKJP corpus. It is assumed that this advantage significantly affects the statistical probability of their occurrence in a particular construction. For example, because of their higher frequency in the studied construction, *ogólnie* 'generally' (attraction score of 14.88%) and *najogólniej* 'most generally' (attraction score of 8.53%) obtained significantly higher attraction scores than their less frequent counterparts, such as *encyklopedycznie* 'encyclopically' (attraction score of 0.36%) and *geograficznie* 'geographically' (attraction score of 0.36%).

However, apart from *najogólniej* 'most generally', *najkrócej* 'most briefly', and *najprościej* 'most simply' (with reliance scores of 7.91%, 3.90%, and 2.79%, respectively), the ranking for reliance shows significantly higher results for less common ACs that occur in this construction. Noteworthy examples include *najłagodniej* 'most gently' (reliance score 4.29%), *encyklopedycznie* 'encyclopically' (reliance score 40%), and *po marksistowsku* 'from a Marxist perspective' (reliance score 8.33%, as shown in Table 8). The reason for these significant percentages is the statistical test used to measure the relationship, which takes into account the overall frequency of each lexeme in the NKJP corpus. To clarify, although *najogólniej* 'most generally' has a higher frequency than *encyklopedycznie* 'encyclopically' in this specific construction, the latter obtained a significantly higher reliance score due to its lower overall occurrence in the NKJP (5 occurrences). Therefore, the dependence of the word *encyklopedycznie* on the construction *AC rzecz ujmując* is more significant (40%). On the other hand, the word *najogólniej* is less dependent on this pattern because it appears more often in other contexts in the corpus (547 occurrences), which indicates its occurrence in alternative contexts in a proportion of 92.09%.

Table 8. The rest of the less strongly attracted ACs of the *AC-rzecz ujmując*-construction

Note: a = The frequency of the AC <i>konkretniej</i> in the <i>AC rzecz ujmując</i> -construction; x = The total frequency of all ACs in the construction; e = The total frequency of the AC <i>konkretniej</i> in NKJP						
rank	ACs	a	x	e	attraction	reliance
41.	konkretniej	2	551	187	0.36%	1.07%
42.	łagodnie	2	551	2193	0.36%	0.09%
43.	ogólniej	2	551	95	0.36%	2.11%
44.	powierzchnownie	2	551	281	0.36%	0.71%
45.	relatywnie	2	551	1562	0.36%	0.13%
46.	zasadniczo	2	551	2644	0.36%	0.08%
47.	analogicznie	1	551	946	0.18%	0.11%

48.	banalnie	1	551	404	0.18%	0.25%
49.	biologicznie	1	551	405	0.18%	0.25%
50.	botanicznie	1	551	4	0.18%	25%
51.	całościowo	1	551	307	0.18%	0.33%
52.	chemicznie	1	551	199	0.18%	0.50%
53.	dramatycznie	1	551	1392	0.18%	0.07%
54.	ekologicznie	1	551	371	0.18%	0.27%
55.	ekonomicznie	1	551	1200	0.18%	0.08%
56.	filozoficznie	1	551	301	0.18%	0.33%
57.	fonetycznie	1	551	74	0.18%	1.35%
58.	klasycznie	1	551	288	0.18%	0.35%
59.	konkretnie	1	551	4993	0.18%	0.02%
60.	konsekwentnie	1	551	3623	0.18%	0.03%
61.	lakońicznie	1	551	328	0.18%	0.30%
62.	logiczniej	1	551	21	0.18%	4.76%
63.	ładnie	1	551	5653	0.18%	0.02%
64.	najgłębiej	1	551	370	0.18%	0.27%
65.	normatywnie	1	551	23	0.18%	4.35%
66.	od strony formalnej	1	551	117	0.18%	0.85%
67.	optycznie	1	551	177	0.18%	0.56%
68.	paradoksalnie	1	551	2267	0.18%	0.04%
69.	po marksistowsku	1	551	12	0.18%	8.33%
70.	politycznie	1	551	3025	0.18%	0.03%
71.	pompatycznie	1	551	76	0.18%	1.32%
72.	popularnie	1	551	718	0.18%	0.14%
73.	potocznie	1	551	1130	0.18%	0.09%
74.	poważniej	1	551	508	0.18%	0.20%
75.	pozytywnie	1	551	6544	0.18%	0.02%
76.	pragmatycznie	1	551	138	0.18%	0.72%
77.	praktycznie	1	551	16316	0.18%	0.01%
78.	procentowo	1	551	462	0.18%	0.22%
79.	prościej	1	551	794	0.18%	0.13%
80.	rachunkowo	1	551	14	0.18%	7.14%
81.	schematycznie	1	551	254	0.18%	0.39%
82.	skrótowo	1	551	342	0.18%	0.29%
83.	subtelnie	1	551	289	0.18%	0.35%
84.	syntetycznie	1	551	128	0.18%	0.78%

85.	średnio	1	551	8445	0.18%	0.01%
86.	tajemniczo	1	551	820	0.18%	0.12%
87.	tradycyjnie	1	551	5648	0.18%	0.02%
88.	uczciwie	1	551	2645	0.18%	0.04%
89.	umownie	1	551	493	0.18%	0.20%
90.	w gospodarczym żargonie	1	551	1	0.18%	100%
91.	z pyszna	1	551	38	0.18%	2.63%
92.	zawodowo	1	551	2544	0.18%	0.04%
93.	zbiorczo	1	551	59	0.18%	1.69%

3.2.2. Semantic-pragmatic properties

3.2.2.1. ACs introducing generalization

The adverbs presented in Tables 7 and 8 can be categorized into specific semantic groups. The first set consists of ACs that invoke the communicative frame of GENERALIZATION. In this frame, a speaker seeks to convey a broad and generalized statement on a topic, as illustrated in (11):

- (11) *Najogólniej rzecz ujmując*, o rozwoju różnych społeczeństw zdecydowało położenie geograficzne. (Polityka) ‘*Broadly speaking*, the geographical location has determined the development of various societies.’

The most prominent term in this semantic set is *ogólnie* ‘generally’, occupying the first position. It demonstrates an attraction to the pattern in 14.88% of cases but relies on the pattern in only 1.09% of instances. The following ACs accompany this adverb: *najogólniej* ‘most generally’ (ranked second), *generalnie* ‘generally’ (ranked sixth), *szerzej* ‘more broadly’ (ranked 13th), *z grubsza*¹³ ‘roughly’ (ranked 15th), and *globalnie* ‘globally’ (ranked 29th). Additionally, in Table 8, the other two ACs can be identified: *ogólniej* ‘more generally’ in rank 43 (with two occurrences) and *schematycznie* ‘schematically’ in rank 81 (with one occurrence). These ACs present information at a higher level of abstraction, focusing on overarching themes, broad concepts, or fundamental principles while omitting specific details.

3.2.2.2. ACs introducing an understatement

The second set encompasses ACs that invoke the UNDERSTATEMENT frame. In this communicative frame, a speaker intentionally expresses a statement in a manner that diminishes the importance, impact, or seriousness of a situation. This delib-

¹³ Note that *z grubsza* only partially expresses generalization. More precisely, it means that something has been done or said superficially, inaccurately, generally, or approximately, without going into detail. It is a term used when the general outline of a situation is most important.

erate approach is often employed for rhetorical effect or to temper the overall tone of the expression, as demonstrated in example (12):

- (12) *Najdelikatniej rzecz ujmując*, trzeba powiedzieć, że bylejakość legislacyjna poszczególnych rozwiązań idzie bardzo daleko. (Polityka) ‘To put it most delicately, it needs to be stated that the legislative inconsistency of specific solutions extends quite extensively.’

The lexeme *delikatnie* ‘delicately’, ranked third in significance, belongs to this semantic category. Following closely are *najdelikatniej* ‘most delicately’, *ogłędnie* ‘cautiously’, *najłagodniej* ‘most mildly’, *łagodnie* ‘mildly’, and *subtelnie* ‘subtly’, positioned at ranks 20, 26, 31, 42, and 83, respectively. These adverbs collectively imply a manner of expression or action that is characterized by moderation, subtlety, or caution. The implication is that the truth or situation may be more significant or extreme than is explicitly stated, creating a sense of an understated emphasis or irony. *Eufemistycznie* ‘euphemistically’, positioned at rank 27, serves a comparable function by mitigating the impact of statements related to potentially sensitive or unpleasant topics, with the intention of rendering the expression more palatable and less offensive.

3.2.2.3. ACs providing a brief summary

The lexical unit *najkrócej*, denoting ‘most briefly’, occupies the fourth position in the hierarchical enumeration, alongside words such as *krótko* ‘briefly’, *lapidarnie* ‘succinctly’, *w skrócie* ‘in short’, *lakonicznie* ‘laconically’, *skrótowno* ‘concisely’, and *syntheticznie* ‘synthetically’, which appear at ranks 16, 18, 23, 61, 82, and 84, respectively. *Najkrócej* accounts for 5.44% of all instances of the construction under investigation in the corpus. Its ostensibly frequent occurrence notwithstanding, the lexeme exhibits a low dependency on this syntactic pattern, with a reliance score of 3.90%. This indicates a propensity to occur in contexts beyond the immediate scope of the aforementioned pattern, accounting for 96.1% of its instances.

Each of these linguistic expressions serves the overarching function of transforming complex or lengthy content into a more accessible, easier-to-understand form, effectively capturing the most important points or essence of the preceding discourse. In this way, they evoke the SUMMARIZATION frame. In this frame, speakers convey concise messages to their audience, providing summaries or brief explanations of key points or ideas discussed earlier, as shown in the example below:

- (13) *Lapidarnie rzecz ujmując*, poszło głównie o pieniądze. (forum.historia.org.pl) ‘*Succinctly put*, it was mostly about money.’

3.2.2.4. ACs introducing a simple clarification

The fifth position in the ranking list is held by the lexeme *najprościej*, meaning ‘most simply’. This is accompanied by *prosto* ‘simply’ and *prościej* ‘more simply’ at ranks 35 and 79, respectively. These ACs can be defined relative to the SIMPLIFICATION frame. This communicative frame emphasizes the speaker’s goal of deconstructing or breaking down complex concepts into more easily digestible elements, thereby facilitating access to information and fostering lucidity and simplicity in communication, as shown in (14).

- (14) *Najprościej rzecz ujmując*, był to powrót do naturalnej prostoty. (Gazeta Pomorska) ‘*In simplest terms*, it was a return to natural simplicity.’

3.2.2.5. ACs introducing a restatement

The next lexeme in the ranking, after *najprościej* ‘most simply’ and *generalnie* ‘generally’, is *inaczej*, meaning ‘differently’, which ranks seventh. This lexeme evokes the communicative frame of REPHRASING. In this frame, the speaker or writer opts for alternative words, sentence structures, or expressions to express the same information or idea in a clearer, more concise, or stylistically varied way, as shown in example (15).

- (15) *Inaczej rzecz ujmując*: laser jest to urządzenie wytwarzające i wzmacniające skupioną wiązkę promieniowania elektromagnetycznego (światła), zwykle o dużym lub bardzo dużym natężeniu. (Trybuna Śląska) ‘*Put differently*: a laser is a device that generates and amplifies a focused beam of electromagnetic radiation (light), typically with high or very high intensity.’

The expression *inaczej rzecz ujmując* in (15) is used to improve clarity, avoid redundancy, highlight a specific point, or tailor the language to suit the context or audience.

3.2.2.6. ACs introducing an accurate statement

Another semantic category comprises ACs that evoke the communicative frame of ACCURACY. This frame signals that the speaker intends to convey information with high accuracy and precision, leaving little room for ambiguity or misinterpretation, as illustrated in (16).

- (16) *Dokładniej rzecz ujmując*, 25% akcji portalu kupi TP Internet, spółka zależna TP S.A. (Dziennik Internautów) ‘*More precisely*, TP Internet, a subsidiary of TP S.A., will acquire 25% of the shares of the portal.’

Ranked eighth, *dokładniej* ‘more accurately’ is the most significant lexeme of this category. It is followed by *ściślej* ‘more strictly’, *dokładnie* ‘accurately’, *ściśle* ‘strictly’,

precyzyjnie ‘precisely’, *precyzyjniej* ‘more precisely’, *konkretniej* ‘more specifically’, and *konkretnie* ‘specifically’, positioned in ranks 9, 11, 14, 33, 34, 41, and 59, respectively. These adverbs signify various degrees of precision and specificity, introducing statements that provide more detailed, precise, or specific descriptions of situations.

A nuance of accuracy is also conveyed by the adverb *encyklopedycznie* ‘encyclopedically’ in rank 39. However, the phrase *encyklopedycznie rzecz ujmując* ‘encyclopedically speaking’ does not inherently evoke the ACCURACY frame in the same way that terms like *dokładniej* or *ściślej* do. Instead, it emphasizes a comprehensive and encyclopedic approach to presenting information, as in (17). Thus, this phrase is more associated with the frame of THOROUGHNESS rather than specifically with the frame of ACCURACY. While accuracy is often connected with a thorough and detailed treatment of a subject, the primary focus of this phrase is on providing a broad and exhaustive overview rather than precision in a specific sense.

- (17) *Encyklopedycznie rzecz ujmując*, jest to produkt procesu fermentacji zachodzącej w soku lub moszczu winogronowym pod wpływem drożdży. (Vinum sacrum et profanum) ‘*Encyclopedically speaking*, this is a product of the fermentation process occurring in the juice or must of grapes under the influence of yeast.’

3.2.2.7. ACs introducing domain-specific statements

The list of ranked ACs also encompasses adverbs such as *statystycznie* ‘statistically’ at rank 10, *historycznie* ‘historically’ at rank 12, *logicznie*¹⁴ ‘logically’ at rank 19, *genetycznie* ‘genetically’ at rank 28, *geograficznie* ‘geographically’ at rank 40, *biologicznie* ‘biologically’ at rank 49, *botanicznie* ‘more generally’ at rank 50, *chemicznie* ‘chemically’ at rank 52, *ekologicznie* ‘ekologically’ at rank 54, and many others. These adverbs invoke the DOMAIN-SPECIFIC STATEMENT frame, wherein a speaker communicates information to an addressee by articulating statements that are tailored to a specific field of reference, topic, subject field, or area of interest, as shown in (18).

- (18) *Statystycznie rzecz ujmując*, co trzecie łódzkie małżeństwo rozpada się w gruzy. (Express Ilustrowany) ‘*Statistically speaking*, every third marriage in Łódź falls apart.’

The expression *statystycznie rzecz ujmując* in (18) serves as a topic restrictor, delineating the domain in which the proposition conveyed by the remainder of the sentence is asserted to be valid.

¹⁴ Note that *logicznie* may not only point to a perspective rooted in logic (as a discipline) but also to a “common-sense” perspective. Thus, it is related to inference and reasoning (Żabowska 2022: 236).

3.2.2.8. ACs introducing the characteristic manner of expression

The penultimate category of ACs in Table 7 includes adverbs whose meanings can be interpreted against the STYLE frame. In this frame, a speaker indicates the style, manner, tone, or approach in which information is presented, communicated, or expressed, as exemplified in (19). This involves the use of stylistic elements, figures of speech, rhetorical devices, and other expressive choices to convey a specific style or tone, thereby shaping the overall mood or atmosphere of communication. Style frames encompass aspects such as formality, informality, the level of detail, and the inclusion of elements such as humor or seriousness. In the hierarchy of the ACs belonging to this category, *formalnie* ‘formally’ holds the seventeenth rank and stands out as the most prominent representative. It is accompanied by *obrazowo* ‘figuratively’, *eufemistycznie* ‘euphemistically’, *kolokwialnie* ‘colloquially’, *poważnie* ‘seriously’, *żartobliwie* ‘jokingly’, and several others listed in Table 8. These adverbs are distributed across ranks 13 to 37. These stylistic devices serve a spectrum of vital functions in discourse: *formalnie* suggests a professional, dignified, and structured tone; *obrazowo* creates vivid imagery and conveys meaning in a more imaginative way; *eufemistycznie* maintains politeness and softens the impact of the message; *kolokwialnie* introduces a casual, relaxed, and conversational tone; *poważnie* sets the tone for a more formal or serious discourse; and *żartobliwie* introduces humor or wit.

- (19) *Formalnie rzecz ujmując*, parametry są przekazywane do metod przez wartość. (Java. Programowanie obiektowe) ‘*Formally speaking*, parameters are passed to methods by value.’

3.2.2.9. Other ACs

Finally, among the most significant adverbs in this construction are *teoretycznie* ‘theoretically’, *lepiej* ‘better’, *obiektywnie* ‘objectively’, *realnie* ‘realistically’, and *chronologicznie* ‘chronologically’, ranked 22, 24, 25, 36, and 38, respectively. The meanings of these ACs can be attributed to distinct communicative frames. *Teoretycznie* evokes the THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE frame. In this frame, when discussing a topic, a speaker implies a focus on abstract ideas, concepts, and theoretical principles rather than concrete, practical uses, as in (20). *Lepiej* can be understood against the ENHANCED EXPRESSION frame. This communicative frame suggests a better or more accurate way of expressing a concept. It indicates that the following statement is an improved or more precise formulation, as in (21).

The next adverb, *obiektywnie*, reflects the OBJECTIVITY frame, in which a speaker introduces an objective viewpoint or perspective. This implies that the following statement is presented without personal bias and is based on facts or a neutral standpoint, as in (22). *Realnie*, in turn, can be defined relative to the PRACTICAL PERSPECTIVE frame, in which a speaker aims to capture the essence of approaching

a subject matter with a focus on practicality and reality. This frame emphasizes a practical, down-to-earth, and realistic understanding of the subject matter, as opposed to a theoretical or idealized viewpoint, as in (23). The last adverb, *chronologicznie*, is associated with the TEMPORAL PERSPECTIVE frame. In this frame, a speaker implies that the forthcoming discussion or statement will be presented chronologically, with events or concepts arranged in temporal order, as in (24).

- (20) *Teoretycznie rzecz ujmując*, geoekologia mogłaby być traktowana jako kierunek badawczy w ramach ekologii człowieka. (Geoekologia turystyki i wypoczynku) ‘*In theoretical terms*, geoecology could be considered as a research direction within the scope of human ecology.’
- (21) Nie możemy traktować jako mordercy kogoś, kto zdecydował się skrócić czyjeś cierpienie, albo *lepiej rzecz ujmując*: nie uratował czyjegoś życia, [...] (Ozon nr 23) ‘We cannot regard as a murderer someone who has chosen to alleviate someone’s suffering, or *better put*: someone who did not save someone’s life, [...]’
- (22) *Obiektywnie rzecz ujmując*: osiągnął cel – przyciągnął widzów i przyniósł pieniądze. (Gazeta Krakowska) ‘*Objectively speaking*: he achieved the goal – he attracted viewers and brought in money.’
- (23) Ale *realnie rzecz ujmując*: naszym celem powinno być zakwalifikowanie się do fazy play-off (Życie Podkarpackie) ‘But *realistically speaking*: our goal should be to qualify for the playoff phase.’
- (24) A skoro mówimy już o postaciach związanych z Małą Wsią, to *chronologicznie rzecz ujmując*, trzeba najpierw wspomnieć o Janie Leonie Koziętulskim, [...] (Znane i nieznane: rezydencje, ludzie, wydarzenia) ‘And since we’re already talking about characters associated with Mała Wieś, *chronologically speaking*, we must first mention Jan Leon Koziętulski, [...]’

4. Discussion and conclusions

This article has aimed to examine the unique features of the AC *rzecz ujmując*-construction. Thus far, this adverbial participial construction has not been analyzed in detail using frame semantics, communicative frames, usage-based construction grammar, and quantitative corpus-based linguistics. Unlike previous studies (Stępień 2014; Żabowska 2020), which focused mainly on the most common examples of its use, this empirical study provided new insights into the construction itself and its preference for specific categories of adverbial complements. As a result, this study contributes to a better understanding of the AC *rzecz ujmując*-construction in various linguistic areas.

Firstly, it significantly advances our understanding of the status of the AC *rzecz ujmując*-pattern, providing a reliable justification for its recurring association with specific types of adverbs and adverbial phrases. This pattern meets the criteria specified by Goldberg (2006) and Hilpert (2019) for identifying a linguistic pattern as a construction. It exhibits sufficient frequency, deviates from canonical participle forms, displays idiosyncrasy, has partially non-compositional meaning, and reveals a collocational preference for distinct categories of adverbs and adverbial expressions. The recurrent combination of the identified ACs with the noun *rzecz* and the quasi-participle *ujmując* may be attributed to the meaning of the construction and its discursive functions. However, the repetitive use of these ACs in the pattern has the potential to reinforce and influence its semantic and discourse-functional features, ultimately contributing to its entrenchment as a separate symbolic unit – specifically, a pairing of form and meaning/function. In other words, the frequent use of different types of ACs in this construction, together with the high token frequency of prototypical constructs, seems to contribute to the establishment of the AC *rzecz ujmując*-schema, thereby confirming the constructional status of this pattern.

Secondly, the study demonstrated the high productivity of this constructional pattern. This schema allows language users to create novel expressions freely and process new, complex constructions with minimal cognitive effort. The productivity of the construction is evidenced by its high frequency of occurrence, the presence of low-frequency instances, and the emergence of various variant forms described in detail in section 3.1.4. Corpus data indicate that the AC *rzecz ujmując*-construction includes 93 types, a significant portion of which (47 types) appear fewer than twice in the construction. In addition, this construction manifests itself in various variant forms, showing considerable diversity not only in terms of the words that can occupy the AC slot, but also in terms of the grammatical units that instantiate it. According to corpus data, unlike the AC *ujmując*-variant, the AC *rzecz ujmując*-construction excludes certain adverbs, such as *holistycznie* ‘holistically’, *szeroko* ‘broadly’, *kompromisowo* ‘compromisingly’, *trafnie* ‘accurately’, and *lekko* ‘lightly’. In addition, it imposes stricter restrictions on acceptable adverbial complements compared to the *ujmując rzecz* AC-variant, not allowing many combinations with prepositional phrases (e.g., *w uproszczeniu*, *w sposób*, *po żeglarsku*, *na oko*, *z przymrużeniem oka*, and *od drugiej strony*). It is worth noting that the AC *rzecz ujmując*-construction also differs from the AC *mówiąc*-construction (e.g., *ogólnie mówiąc* ‘generally speaking’) (see Wiliński 2024b). As the corpus data show, it does not occur with nouns (e.g., *nawiasem* ‘parenthesis’ in the instrumental case or *prawdę* ‘truth’ in the accusative case) and certain prepositional phrases (e.g., *między nami* ‘between us’ or *na marginesie* ‘as an aside’).¹⁵ Therefore, in general, this construction is not used

¹⁵ However, note that online searches indicate that writers or speakers sometimes use combinations such as *nawiasem ujmując* or *prawdę rzecz ujmując*, which is in agreement with a usage-based approach to construction grammar.

to introduce sincere statements (as in *prawdę, szczerze, or uczciwie mówiąc* ‘truthfully, honestly, or frankly speaking’) and digressions (as in *na marginesie mówiąc* ‘by the way’, *między nami mówiąc* ‘between us’, and *nawiasem mówiąc* ‘as an aside’).

Thirdly, this study sheds new light on both the function and meaning of the construction, as well as the semantics of adverbs and adverbial phrases that appear within the AC slot of this particular pattern. It provides a more elaborate classification of adverbial expressions based on communicative frames and their specific functions in discourse. As for its meaning, the AC *rzecz ujmując*-construction is motivated by the metaphor EXPRESSING SOMETHING IN LANGUAGE IS LIKE GRABBING SOMETHING, where the target domain of EXPRESSING is construed in terms of the source domain of GRABBING. In addition, the construction evokes the semantic frame of EXPRESSING, wherein a speaker expresses an opinion, communicates a message, or conveys mental content in a specific manner. This may include elements such as the intended message, the topic under discussion, the relationships between entities, the manner of expression, and any associated attitudes or perspectives.

This construction also serves various functions in discourse. In a broader context, it acts as a pragmatic indicator or discourse-structuring element, allowing speakers to comment on the manner or style of message delivery and thus express their perspectives, attitudes, positions, intentions, or views regarding the proposition. Furthermore, its functions in discourse vary depending on the adverbs or adverbial phrases associated with the construction. Thus, the AC *rzecz ujmując*-construction is often used in discourse to introduce generalizations, understatements, brief summaries, simpler explanations, repetitions, precise statements, statements about a specific field, and particular styles or modes of expression.¹⁶ In addition, it is sometimes used to present a theoretical or practical point of view, enrich the manner of expression, introduce an objective perspective, and provide a temporal context. Interestingly, unlike the AC *mówiąc*-construction, this construction is commonly used to refer to a specific field or domain (as in *statystycznie, historycznie, or geograficznie rzecz ujmując* ‘statistically, historically, or geographically it expressing/putting’).

Finally, the current research expands our knowledge of the distribution of the AC *rzecz ujmując*-construction in various linguistic registers. A preliminary analysis of its occurrence in six genres in the NKJP showed that this construction is most commonly used in journalism. It also appears quite frequently in quasi-spoken and scientific-didactic texts, and is noticeable in literature. On the other hand, its fre-

¹⁶ Some of these functions are congruent with the set of textual relations and the types of actions performed by the speaker (e.g., generalization, specification or clarification, aspect, inference, simplification, reformulation, appropriateness and adequacy, clarity, euphemization, stating something explicitly, formulation), as identified by Żabowska (2022: 235–237).

quency is lower in online sources, and it is almost non-existent in conversational contexts. A more in-depth frequency analysis revealed different patterns of use of adverbs such as *ogólnie* 'generally', *najogólniej* 'most generally', *generalnie* 'generally', *dokładniej* 'more accurately', *ścisłej* 'more strictly', or *statystycznie* 'statistically'. These terms occur much more frequently in journalistic and scientific-didactic texts than in literature and online sources. By contrast, expressions containing *delikatnie* 'delicately', *najkrócej* 'in the shortest possible way' or *najprościej* 'in the simplest possible way' are more common in literary works and quasi-spoken discourse than in online sources and scientific and educational discourse. Furthermore, combinations with *ogólnie* 'generally', *delikatnie* 'delicately', or *najkrócej* 'most briefly' appear more frequently in online sources than in conversational contexts. Interestingly, all of these configurations are more prevalent in journalism than in other language registers.

In conclusion, when evaluating the study's results, we must acknowledge several limitations. Firstly, the study was based solely on corpus data extracted from the NKJP. Secondly, due to space limitations, it was not possible to evaluate quantitative evidence for all adverbial phrases co-occurring with the noun *rzecz* and the participle *ujmując*. Third, it was not feasible to conduct a comparative analysis of distribution patterns between this construction and closely related constructions, such as the AC *mówiąc*-construction. Therefore, future studies could focus on such comparisons to identify subtle differences in usage distributions. In addition, it would be worthwhile to investigate the occurrence of similar constructions in other languages (e.g., *to put it AC* in English), with a particular emphasis on revealing subtle differences in their use in various forms of written and spoken registers.

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KONSTRUKCIJA PRILOŽNA DOPUNA-RZECZ UJMUJĄC U POLJSKOME JEZIKU: KORPUSNO ISTRAŽIVANJE

U ovome se radu primjenjuje teorija semantičkih okvira, pojam komunikacijskoga okvira, uporabno utemeljena teorija konstrukcijske gramatike te kvantitativna korpusna metodologija kako bi se istražila obilježja konstrukcija u poljskome jeziku koje sadržavaju priložne dopune, imenicu *rzecz* 'stvar' i kvaziparticip *ujmując* 'izražavajući/stavljajući'. Autor analizira primjere te konstrukcije pronađene u Nacionalnome korpusu poljskoga jezika (NKJP) kako bi se razumjela njezina strukturna, semantička, distribucijska i diskursna obilježja. Uz to, istraživanje identificira priložne dopune koje su snažno i slabo povezane s tom konstrukcijom te one koje su o njoj više ili manje ovisne. Istraživanje pokazuje da se ta konstrukcija često kombinira s različitim kategorijama priložnih dopuna, od kojih svaka odgovara posebnim semantičkim i komunikacijskim okvirima. Nadalje, uočeno je da je ta konstrukcija motivirana specifičnom konceptualnom metaforom, pojavljuje se u različitim jezičnim registrima, poprima različite oblike te preuzima različite funkcije u diskursu.

Ključne riječi: konstrukcija s kvaziparticipom, priložne dopune, konstrukcijska gramatika, semantika okvira, NKJP, korpusno istraživanje

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