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**Passive and passive-like constructions
in English and Polish**

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For my Family

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Abstract

This dissertation deals with a family of grammatical constructions which overlap with the meaning of the basic passive and which can be seen as resulting from alterations in grammatical voice. In particular the thesis describes and analyses several related types of construction including the passive, the impersonal, and the anticausative.

The main objective of this dissertation is a study of variation within the rich inventory of Polish passive-like constructions and a comparison with the corresponding constructions in English. It presents a detailed account of how the constructions vary within each language and between the languages.

The main result of this research is a clear demarcation of the relevant constructions which are related in form. In Polish, the participial form is used by both the passive and the impersonal, and the reflexive form is used by the impersonal and the anticausative. Thus, a single form class subsumes different morphologically derived constructions. Due to this fact, as well as to a serious descriptive bias in favour of the passive, all formal syntactic frameworks hitherto developed have misanalysed and misclassified the Polish *-no/-to* impersonal as an 'ill-behaved' impersonal passive. The present dissertation attempts to counter the prevailing bias and uses a detailed analysis of the morphosyntactic behaviour of the constructions in question as the basis for their demarcation. Furthermore, morphosyntactic criteria also separate valency-changing constructions from non-derived constructions which have only a conventional interpretation coinciding with the interpretation of the passive.

The distinctive properties of the morphologically derived constructions are attributed to operations in the argument structure which affect the meaning component of the predicate, the assignment of grammatical functions to the predicate's arguments, or the realisation of the arguments in surface syntax. These hypotheses are modelled using a formalism derived from LFG's Lexical Mapping Theory. The contrast between Polish and English, highlighted throughout the work, also illuminates certain peculiar properties of English constructions which have had a disproportionate influence on the analysis of the passive and valency-changing operations.

THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN ACTIVE and passive provides an example of a verbal category which seems designed to confuse our usual habits of thought: it appears necessary, and yet many languages do not have it; simple, and yet we have great difficulty in interpreting it; symmetrical, and yet it abounds in conflicting expressions. . . .

EMILE BENVENISTE 1950

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Chapter I

Passive and passive-like constructions in English and Polish: an introduction

This thesis offers a typology of passive and passive-like constructions based on a detailed study of these constructions in English and Polish. There are three ways in which constructions in a given language can be classified: according to form (morphotactic criteria), function (the communicative use of the constructions), and morphosyntactic properties. Although part of the present discussion will concern the form and the function of the constructions in question, I will argue that neither of these notions provide an appropriate basis for a construction inventory. Only a classification based on morphosyntax enables us to distinguish the constructions systematically and unambiguously by determining their substantive properties. Therefore, the proposed classification will be based on morphosyntactic properties following from the analysis of grammatical functions and the internal structure of the predicate.

The analysis of form is of most use in establishing initial classifications, as well as in understanding the history of the constructions. However, it does not provide a suitable basis for determining a construction inventory. As is widely accepted, due to some particular paths of evolution of the given language, certain constructions may overlap in form.

Therefore, there does not have to be direct correspondence between form and any individual property or any particular construction. In the case of passive-like constructions, which clearly overlap in both meaning and form, form-based classifications have proven to be particularly inadequate and have led to misdescriptions and misanalyses of constructions.

A prime example of such misanalysis is the conflation of the Polish *-no/-to* impersonal and the passive. Apart from overlapping in function, these constructions share the same verbal form (the *-n/-t* stem), and for this reason they have both been classified as passive even in theoretical frameworks, despite displaying different morphosyntactic properties and being subject to different restrictions. The misclassification of the *-no/-to* construction as passive has led to theoretical solutions which were forced to compromise some correct descriptive generalisations for which there is extensive evidence. Furthermore, it has rendered theories unable to offer a principled account of the variation within the passive construction.

Conversely, form-based classifications fail to recognise that the Polish *-no/-to* impersonal and the *się* reflexive impersonal are essentially the same morphosyntactic construction, despite using two different forms. Furthermore, the reflexive impersonal uses the same reflexive form as the anticausative, or as predicates with an anaphoric pronoun, but it is otherwise clearly different from both types of clauses, both with regard to morphosyntax and interpretation.

Construction inventories based on function are similarly misleading. Analyses based on function determine the communicative uses of various forms. However, due to a considerable overlap in the usage of forms, large clusters of constructions are found to have a similar use. The family of passive-like constructions, which all affect the agent of the predicated event in some way, is a case in point. Apart from the canonical passive and the impersonal, the functional category of the passive has included the anticausative, the middle construction, and even clauses using the 3PL marker for an unspecified or indefinite human agent. Such a broad category of the passive is part of a taxonomy which is too coarse-grained

to be a construction inventory. It disallows generalisations necessary to identify lexical or syntactic rules behind morphosyntactically distinct constructions. Therefore, though observations regarding usage offered by functional approaches may be useful for pedagogical purposes, they are not an appropriate basis for a construction inventory either.

The frameworks which have, so far, been able to say the most about the passive – Relational Grammar (RG) and Lexical-Functional Grammar (LFG) – have used neither form nor function as the basis for their analysis, but instead adopted a morphosyntactic approach to passivisation and made use of the syntactic notions of subject, object and oblique. Generalisations about grammatical functions can be captured either at clause level (with the functions defined in terms of clausal environment) or at the level of the predicate itself (i.e. the level of argument structure internal to the predicate). Regardless of the particular choice, the constraints on the passive can only be adequately represented when the classification of constructions is based on morphosyntactic properties. Using morphosyntactic criteria, both RG and LFG have proposed constraints on constructions which are now widely believed to be of universal validity.

If a construction has the form of the passive (such as the Polish *-no/-to* impersonal) or the function of the passive (such as the impersonals, or the 3PL indefinite), but does not obey the morphosyntactic rules of the passive, it is still not passive. As will be argued throughout this work, morphosyntactic properties enable us to distinguish the passive from other categories of constructions, leading to clear differentiation within the broad category of semantic passives. The main objective of this study is to determine the substantive properties of each of these constructions in abstract terms, independently of form, and model the system of argument-structure-changing operations which derive them in the lexicon. It will also be shown that a property-based approach does, in fact, preserve most generalisations regarding function.

In the remaining part of this introductory Chapter I will present an outline of the domain of passive-like constructions. As a preliminary step, I will distinguish between *derived*

constructions which arise due to argument-structure-changing operations in the lexicon and some *non-derived* constructions which have conventional interpretations overlapping with the derived passive-like ones. Both types of constructions have been discussed in the literature under the rubric of the passive due to their function, but only the former category requires an analysis invoking operations at the abstract level of argument structure of the predicate; for the latter category of constructions, it is sufficient to appeal to the notion of conventional usage and it is not necessary to posit any morphosyntactic or lexical derivations to account for them.

1.1 Overview of passive and related constructions in English and Polish

The set of phenomena classified as ‘passive’ in English is not as extensive as the corresponding set in Polish. In English this label has been used only with reference to constructions which contain the so-called passive participle or verbal forms morphologically identical with the passive participle (a more detailed discussion of this point will be undertaken in Chapters 2 and 6). The following sentence is a typical, and uncontroversial, example of the English passive construction:

- (1) *The window was broken by the boys from next door.*

I will argue in Chapters 2 and 6 that the periphrastic passive (using an auxiliary verb and a participle) is the only passive construction occurring in English, and the choice of auxiliary (usually *be*, sometimes *become* or *get*) is the only variation that there is within this construction.

The situation in Polish is considerably more complex because of the language’s rich verbal morphology. Not only is there a larger repertory of constructions than in English, but there is also more variation within constructions. Polish contains a periphrastic per-

sonal passive which is analogous to the English passive in (1) and shows similar auxiliary variation:

- (2) *Okno zostało wybite przez chłopaków od sąsiadów.*
 window became broken by boys from neighbours

but this passive can also be subjectless, as in the following example:

- (3) *Tutaj było już sprzątane.*
 here was.3SG.NEUT already clean.PART.SG.NEUT
 ‘Cleaning has already been done here.’

In addition, Polish has a number of reflexive constructions, which use a personal form of the verb and the reflexive morpheme *się*, many of which have been considered to be passive. Both sentences in (4), for example, have an unambiguous passive interpretation and are morphologically identical with the construction which is the standard (and the only available) passive strategy used with imperfective verbs in Russian¹:

- (4) a. *Pańska książka już się drukuje.*
 gentleman’s.FEM.NOM book(FEM).NOM already REFL prints
 ‘Your book, sir, is already being printed.’
- b. *Mój wnuczek chce wozić się sankami po chodniku.*
 my.MASC.NOM grandson(MASC).NOM wants
 perambulate[TRANSITIVE]/carry.INF REFL sledge.INSTR on pavement
 ‘My grandson wants to be drawn on his sledge on the pavement.’

Pursuing analogous forms and similar interpretations, various linguists have suggested that several other reflexive constructions in Polish can also be considered passive, or at least passive-like. Sentences (5-10) illustrate the range of the constructions to which the passive label has been applied. It is clear that sentences with non-human subjects, such as examples (4a) above and (5), (7) and (8) below, are analogous either to the morphologically unmarked English ‘middle’ construction or the morphologically unmarked intransitive variant (the

¹Passives of perfective verbs in Russian are participial, as in English.

‘inchoative’, or ‘anticausative’) of the English transitive causative construction. On the other hand, sentences with human subjects, such as (4b) and (6), can be seen as reminiscent of the Indo-European ‘middle voice’ (see, e.g. Klaiman 1991):

- (5) *Dom się budował łatwo.*
 house(MASC).NOM REFL built.3SG.MASC easily
 ‘The house built easily.’ (Siewierska 1988:269)
- (6) *Ona się czesze u Kowalskiego.*
 she.NOM REFL combs at Kowalski’s
 ‘She has her hair styled at Kowalski’s.’
- (7) *Pociąg zatrzymał się.*
 train(MASC).NOM stopped.3SG.MASC REFL
 ‘The train stopped.’ (Siewierska 1988:267)
- (8) *Słoik mi się zbił.*
 jar(MASC).NOM me.DAT REFL broke.3SG.MASC
 ‘The jar broke to me/in my hands.’

Apart from the issues of interpretation resulting from the nonexpression of the agent, all the above examples are similar to the passive in that the subject of these sentences bears the same semantic relation to the verb as the object in the corresponding transitive verb.

In the remaining two examples of passive-like reflexives in Polish, the case marking and status of the core nominals are different from those in the periphrastic passive. However, the interpretation of this reflexive construction seems to be even closer to the passive than that of the ‘anticausative’ or ‘middle’ constructions above:

- (9) *Dom/Stodołę się budowało łatwo.*
 house(MASC).ACC/barn(FEM).ACC REFL built.3SG.NEUT easily
 ‘The house/The barn was easy to build.’ (adapted from Siewierska 1988:269)
- (10) *Traktuje się go jako malarza autentycznej natury ludzkiej.*
 treats REFL him.ACC as painter authentic nature human
 ‘He is treated as a painter of the real people.’ (Siewierska 1988:262)

These last two sentences above do not have direct English counterparts and they seem to share some properties with yet another Polish passive-like construction usually referred to as the ‘*-no/-to* impersonal’:

(11) *Bito Piotra.*
beat.IMPERS Peter(MASC).ACC
‘Peter was beaten.’

(12) *Tutaj tańczono.*
here danced.IMPERS
‘There was dancing here./The dancing was done here.’

Due to the similarity of the *-no/-to* verb form to the passive participle, the *-no/-to* impersonal has often been assumed to be an impersonal variant of the canonical passive. One of the objectives of this work is to demonstrate that the *-no/-to* construction is distinct from the passive and to provide a framework for capturing both the unique and the shared characteristics of both constructions through an integrated account of the passive-like phenomena².

Finally, it has been noted in the literature that passive-like sentences with the *-no/-to* verb form are superficially similar to the so-called impersonal clauses using default personal, i.e. 3SG.(NEUT), form of the verb. The default agreement serves here the same purpose as most of the other morphosyntactic means illustrated above: it brings about the interpretation of an unspecified agent, which is where most of the passive-like clauses overlap with the interpretation of the agentless variant of the canonical passive. Examples of Polish constructions which use default agreement are the so-called ‘weather constructions’ and ‘adversity impersonals’, as in (13) and (14), respectively:

²Despite the widespread misconception regarding the *-no/-to* construction, there has been a long-established Polish descriptive linguistic tradition which has treated it as non-passive – for example, Szober 1923; Wierzbicka 1966; Siewierska 1988; Rozwadowska 1992. The few theoretical non-passive accounts of the construction include Neubauer 1979 and, more recently, Avgustinova et al. 1999, and Lavine 2001, 2003. See Chapter 4 for more references.

- (13) *Pada/Świta.*
rains/dawns
'It is raining/dawning.'
- (14) *Wyrzuciło łódkę na brzeg.*
threw-out.3SG.NEUT boat(FEM).ACC on shore
'The boat got thrown out to the shore.'

And one more example of coding, or implying, an unspecified agent is the conventional use of 3PL.(VIR)³ agreement in Polish, analogous to the use in English of the 3PL pronoun with unspecified reference:

- (15) *Wybudowali we wsi nową szkołę.*
built.3PL.VIR in village new.FEM.ACC school(FEM).ACC
'They have built a new school in the village.'

The analysis offered in the present work distinguishes each of the constructions exemplified above from the passive. Following an investigation of their morphosyntactic behaviour, I demonstrate the status of each of these constructions with respect to the phenomena of grammatical voice and valency-changing operations on the predicate. I argue that some of them, such as the ones exemplified in (4)-(12), arise as a result of various types of lexical changes in the predicate, while others, such as the ones in (13)-(15), are basic, non-derived constructions which have acquired specific conventional interpretations.

1.2 Grammatical-voice-altering constructions

The overview of passive-like constructions given above shows how big the passive-like family can be, even if restricted to only one language (Polish), when the passive is identified on the basis of either form or meaning or a combination of both of these factors. Theoretical

³I have adopted the term 'virile' (VIR) from the traditional Polish descriptive linguistic literature which distinguishes the following gender forms: masculine, feminine and neuter in the singular, and virile (masculine human) and non-virile (other than masculine human) in the plural.

disadvantages of such an approach to the analysis of the passive are numerous, the most serious one being the inability to offer a principled account of the variation within the construction.

The main objective of this study is, therefore, to distinguish the passive from other grammatical-voice-altering constructions, and to do so by capturing their unique morphosyntactic properties. After investigating the morphosyntax and the semantics of the constructions in question I have identified three principal categories of voice-altering constructions: the passive, the anticausative, and the impersonal. I aim to demonstrate that each of them results from a different operation which occurs at a different abstract level of the linguistic representation of the predicate. Consistent with the assumption made by lexicalist syntactic theories that alterations in grammatical voice are types of derivation which occur in the *lexicon*, I will call these operations *morpholexical*⁴.

What all three of the identified grammatical-voice-altering operations have in common is, roughly, that they all affect the first (most important) argument of the predicate – either through changing its default syntactic realisation or through altering the lexical semantics of the predicate, or both. Informally, we can say that all passive-like constructions exemplified above result from an operation affecting – downgrading, deleting, or suppressing – either the original subject, or the agent, of the predicate. In this respect they differ from other morpholexical operations such as, for instance, the locative alternation (e.g. the English *The farmer sprayed paint onto the barn* ~ *The farmer sprayed the barn with paint*) in which the affected argument(s) are other than subject or agent.

In brief, the three principal types of operation which yield passive-like constructions can be described in the following way. **Passivisation** renders the predicate syntactically intransitive by preventing the first, most important, argument from becoming the subject.

⁴I use the term ‘morpholexical’ to refer to all operations at the interface between semantics and syntax, equivalent to the ‘lexical operations’ (i.e. the operations within the lexicon) of LFG; any further distinctions between types of morpholexical operations – in the spirit of Ackerman 1992, or Sadler & Spencer 1998 – will be suggested and exemplified in the further Chapters of this work.

Anticausativisation renders the predicate lexically intransitive by deleting the first argument, linked to the agent (causer), from the transitivity matrix representing the predicate's lexical entry. Finally, **impersonalisation** suppresses the surface syntactic representation of the first argument of the predicate. The three operations can be thought of as applying at different abstract levels of representation of the predicate and, consequently, they are sensitive to different restricting factors present at those levels of representation.

1.2.1 The passive – preliminary observations

It is widely acknowledged, even in pretheoretical descriptive studies, that it is necessary to distinguish at least two different sets of abstract notions in order to capture generalisations about the changes in the predicate from the active to the passive. One set of notions regards the semantic composition of the predicate, while the other set regards the syntactic structure of the predicate.

The set of *semantic notions* includes labels for the generalised semantic roles of the participants of the action denoted by the verb: the so-called 'thematic roles' of agent, patient, theme, experiencer, beneficiary, instrument, etc. The set of *syntactic notions* includes labels for the syntactic functions allocated to the various participants of the action when they become components of a linguistic clause. Apart from the *core* syntactic functions of subject and object (direct and indirect), this set includes various *oblique* functions identifying other less prominent semantic participants of the action expressed by the predicate. The standard concept of thematic roles is that they are a way of capturing component parts of the meaning of the predicate, while syntactic functions determine the structures of possible sentences by defining the relationship of nominals bearing these functions to one another and to the verb.

The simplest, intuitive, formulation of the passive rule, which often underlies explanations of the passive found in grammar books for learners of English as a foreign language (e.g. Swan 1995:408; also Quirk et al. 1985:159-160), refers to the syntactic arguments in an

active clause and requires them to be relabelled and repositioned to make the passive – in a syntactic fashion which has been formalised in transformational rules. However, as Perlmutter (1983) argues, such analysis lacks generality and, arguably, explanatory force. It does not capture the fact that the two verb forms are two different, parallel, surface manifestations of lexically related predicates. Furthermore, it is incompatible with the underlying assumption that grammatical functions such as subject and object in English can be identified on the basis of their structural properties irrespective of whether they are found in an active or a passive clause.

Classical grammars, however, treat the passive as a lexical alternation. Following them, the earliest formal accounts to locate the derivation of the passive from the active in the lexicon (and treat it as an operation on constraints) assumed that the passive lexical form resulted from a remapping operation performed on the more basic active lexical form (Bresnan 1982a). The passive remapping rule required the underlying subject of the predicate to be mapped onto zero (i.e. to be deprived of the core grammatical function status) and the underlying object of the predicate to be mapped onto subject. However, although this rule captured aspects of the relation between active and passive entries, it was subsequently acknowledged to suffer from a number of deficiencies. In particular, two rules were, in fact, needed – one for passivisation yielding personal passives, and another for subjectless passives of intransitive verbs.

Furthermore, it has always been accepted by lexicalists that a successful theory of passivisation should not only identify which arguments' default (or, basic) relations with the verb are assumed by other arguments, but it should also be explicit as to how this rearrangement of the default configuration is achieved. In other words, what really has to be accounted for is what it means for one argument to assume the grammatical function basic to another. This is what gave rise to the notion of argument structure.

1.2.2 Argument structure

In order to capture the fact that the syntactic realisation of arguments of the predicate in the passive is different from that in the active without resorting to the re-assignment of the functions, it is necessary to posit that the passive operation affects the arguments before they are assigned their particular grammatical functions. It is, thus, necessary to explain how the default assignment of grammatical functions is achieved in the active before an operation such as passivisation, altering this default assignment, can be hypothesised.

These processes suggest the need for a multilevel representation of the predicate. The level of representation that underlies the alternative clause-level configurations of the predicate, such as those found in the active/passive alternation, has been referred to as the predicate's *argument structure*. It has been identified as a distinct level of representation at the interface between semantics and syntax. At this level, predicates have a uniform representation of their arguments which map onto possibly alternative overt expressions through the mediation of grammatical functions.

There are varying conceptions of what argument structure is exactly (see, for example, Bresnan 2001:304ff; Andrews & Manning 1999; or Avgustinova et al. 1999) and I will offer in Chapter 5 a more detailed discussion of the model adopted in this study. At this time, however, it will suffice to give an overview of those component parts of argument structure which are necessary to invoke in order to account for passive-like phenomena.

Following the earliest lexicalist accounts, I assume that the *semantic component* of argument structure represents the participants in events (states, processes, actions) designated by a single predicator. It is thus a type of representation of event structure (Bresnan 2001:304). I will refer to the participants using generalised thematic role labels characterising their conceptual roles. The most relevant roles for the description of passive-like constructions are agent, patient, theme, beneficiary and instrument. All the thematic roles are derived from semantic primitives and are construed as entailments of predicates. In the diagram below, (16), the thematic roles of the participants are represented as x, y, z, \dots

I also assume that the *syntactic component* of argument structure is distinct from the semantic one. Further, that the lexicon contains its own predicate matrices, or subcategorisation frames, with placeholder argument positions. These matrices are matched against predicates' meaning and, through role-to-argument mapping, arguments become syntactic realisations of the conceptual participants of the predicated events.

(16) **Argument structure**

1. Semantic level
 - Thematic roles: x, y, z, \dots
2. Syntactic level
 - Argument positions: $\text{arg}_1, \text{arg}_2, \text{arg}_3, \dots$
 - Syntactic pre-specification of argument positions (*see next section*)

1.2.3 Argument-to-function mappings

The sequencing of argument positions in itself already provides some information about the syntactic realisation of arguments and determines what grammatical functions each argument can be potentially mapped onto. As for the precise mechanism which enables this mapping, I adopt the one which has been proposed by LFG and referred to as 'syntactic pre-specification'.

I follow LFG in suggesting that syntactic pre-specification of argument positions is achieved through the assignment of atomic syntactic values to the argument positions of the particular predicate. The syntactic values which are assigned to the argument come from a set of two pairs of binary features (for example, [+/- objective]) which make up grammatical functions. The assignment of a particular value to an argument follows from the relative position of the argument slot on the list, as well as from the syntactically relevant semantic features of the argument actually mapped onto the slot.

By assigning features which are component parts of *grammatical functions*, syntactic pre-specification enables the mapping of arguments onto final grammatical functions. This mapping is achieved through matching the position and the assigned syntactic feature of each argument with the available phrase structure realisations of grammatical functions in the clause. Thus, through the mediation of grammatical functions, arguments become members of the final syntactic representation of the predicate at the level of phrase structure syntax.

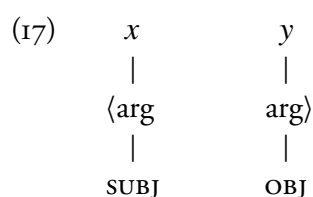
The sequencing of the items at each level of argument structure is an important factor in determining the final syntactic representation of the predicate. Within each set, the abstract notions are ordered according to hierarchies which are often assumed to be standard. Thus, in the list of thematic roles, for example, agent outranks patient or theme, while in the ordering of grammatical functions subject outranks object or oblique and therefore will be selected as the appropriate grammatical function for a higher argument position, while object or oblique will be selected for a lower position.

Furthermore, in each of the abstract sets representing the different tiers of argument structure, an important distinction seems to be that between the first, most prominent, item of the set, and the remaining items. The first items of the sets are the target of most operations described in terms of grammatical voice alterations.

The details of the model used in this work, including the rules of syntactic pre-specification and all mapping principles enabling the linking of items between the suggested levels of argument structure, are presented in Chapter 5. The model shares its multilevel representation with most current lexicalist models of argument structure, and it has been based on the particular model formulated by Lexical Mapping Theory (LMT) within the framework of Lexical-Functional Grammar (LFG).

1.2.4 The default mapping: active personal

In an unaltered, default case of mapping between the abstract levels of argument structure, the resulting syntactic construction is active and personal, and it is interpreted as having basic (non-derived) lexical semantics. The following diagram is an example representing the alignment of the tiers of argument structure, as well as the assignment of final grammatical functions, in the transitive predicate *break*, as in *The boys broke the window*:



In the diagram above, x and y represent the thematic roles of the participants of the event designated by the predicator *break*, which are taken here to be, respectively, an agent and a patient. The ordering of the two participants reflects the default ranking of their prominence.

The presence of two arguments (*arg*) occupying the first two positions in the valency frame indicates that the predicate is *lexically* transitive – that is, it takes two core arguments. The symbols of grammatical functions (SUBJ and OBJ) similarly represent two core functions, indicating that the predicate is also *syntactically* transitive. With both the subject and the object represented (in some morphologically appropriate way) in surface syntax, the predicate retains transitivity at surface structure level.

The valency list enclosed by the angular brackets contains all the hierarchically ordered arguments subcategorised for by the predicate, as instantiated in the actual clause *The boys broke the window*.

1.3 Unspecified-agent constructions

In discussions of the functions of the passive, it is frequently emphasised that '[t]he passive is often used, with the agent omitted, where the agent is unknown, non-specific or unimportant' (Palmer 1994:137), as in the English *He was killed in the war* or *They were persuaded to come*.

The importance of this function of the passive was already noted by Jespersen, who gave clear priority to agent-demoting functions in his hierarchy of the conditions for the use of the passive in English (1924:167-168):

- (18) a. 'The active subject is unknown or cannot easily be stated.'
- b. 'The active subject is self-evident from the context.'
- c. 'There may be a special reason (tact or delicacy of sentiment) for not mentioning the active subject.'
- d. 'Even if the active subject is indicated ("converted subject") the passive turn is preferred if one takes naturally a greater interest in the passive than in the active subject.'
- e. 'The passive turn may facilitate the connection of one sentence with another.'

Shibatani (1985:830) summarises these observations in terms of three major functions:

- (19) a. passives involve no mention of agent for contextual reasons;
- b. passives bring a topical non-agentive element into subject position; and
- c. passives create a syntactic pivot (cf. Dixon 1979), so that coreferential deletion (...) can apply.

and he goes on to argue that the primary function of the passive is that of agent defocusing, which is suggested by the top position of function (19a).

I propose that the function of defocusing or despecifying the agent is not the defining property of the passive. However, it can arise as a by-product of certain uses of the passive.

When this function is present, it is clear that the passive shares it with a number of other constructions, such as the unspecified-agent constructions (the so-called ‘indefinites’, or ‘generics’), the impersonals, and even the anticausatives.

If this function is taken as the defining one for passivisation, all of these constructions have to be regarded as passive and it is not possible to account for the variation within such a heterogeneous category of the passive in a systematic way. If, however, it is acknowledged that all of these constructions can have this function in some circumstances, one is not forced to choose between formal and functional approaches to grammatical voice phenomena. Instead, one can integrate the observations about the functions of constructions into a property-based formal system of operations which result in these constructions.

Instead of being a function defining the passive, defocusing or despecifying the agent can be taken as defining the broadly conceived category of *unspecified-agent constructions*. These are constructions whose purpose is to despecify the participant associated with the first syntactic argument of the predicate (regardless of whether it is agentive or not) by imposing on it the interpretation of either an unspecified or a generic agent or experiencer. I will exemplify these constructions below with those which have an unspecified *human* as their first participant, although in Chapter 4, Section 4.3.2, I will also include a detailed discussion of constructions with unspecified *non-human* agents.

Despecifying the agent/experiencer can be achieved in a variety of ways – it does not have to be achieved through the application of an argument-structure-changing operation resulting in the change of grammatical voice. The first two categories of unspecified-agent constructions described below do not result from an alteration of the argument structure of the predicate, and they do not bring about any changes in the transitivity of the predicate. Their argument structures are identical with those of personal active constructions, while their agent-despecifying function is achieved through assigning a conventional interpretation to the particular syntactic realisation of their subjects. Only the third category of unspecified-agent constructions listed below arises from the application of an argument-

structure-changing operation.

The first category of unspecified-agent constructions makes use of particular **lexical items** which can, by convention, be interpreted as referring to a generic or unspecified human agent. This category includes constructions in which the subject argument is expressed with a generic or indefinite nominal such as *people*, or a special pronominal subject which has arbitrary ('anyone'), indefinite ('someone') or generic ('people in general') reference, such as the English *one*, or the German *man*.

The second category of unspecified-agent constructions arises through a **conventional use of agreement**. In pronoun retaining languages such as English, this category includes constructions in which the subject argument is expressed with a 3PL pronoun, as in *They have built a new school in the village*. Crosslinguistically, the choice of 3PL (or, in Polish, 3PL.(VIR)) pronoun is presumably the most common; however, other pronouns may be used as well, as in, for instance, the informal use of 2SG personal pronoun in English for unspecified/generic agents as well as other participants: *When you are healthy, life seems manageable*; or *Apples are good for you*. In some so-called 'pro-drop' languages such as Polish, the unspecified or generic interpretation of the agent is obtained when the 3PL.(VIR) or 2SG pronoun is dropped from the overt syntax (because keeping the pronoun imposes a specific interpretation of the referent) and the verb is left to carry the agreement marker for 3PL.(VIR) or 2SG (as in (15) above).

In those cases when the passive is used to despecify the agent, its surface syntactic structure is not analogous to the canonical active with an unspecified or generic agent, as is the case with the unspecified-agent constructions exemplified above. Unspecified-agent constructions have an unaltered argument structure and valency, while the passive results from a change within argument structure which affects both the mapping of arguments onto syntax and the transitivity of the predicate.

The differences between unspecified-agent constructions and the passive construction used to despecify the agent can be summarised as follows. In unspecified-agent construc-

tions, the interpretation of an unspecified agent is associated with the *subject*. In personal passives – that is, those which have a syntactic subject – it is not their *subject* which is interpreted as an unspecified or generic agent. The passive subject corresponds to the *logical* (active) *object*. Despecifying the agent in the passive happens most often by omitting the agent phrase altogether from the overt syntactic structure.

Apart from conventional unspecified-agent constructions such as the above, and the passive which in some contexts can be interpreted as despecifying the agent, another crosslinguistically common type of construction can be argued to serve the same purpose. I will refer to these constructions as **grammaticalised unspecified-agent constructions**. These are constructions which share with the conventional unspecified-agent constructions two characteristics. Firstly, it is their understood logical *subject* that is interpreted as an unspecified agent. Secondly, like conventional unspecified-agent constructions, grammaticalised unspecified-agent constructions also preserve both the semantic and syntactic valency of the predicate. However, they share with the passive the fact that they have a morphosyntactically altered argument structure. Due to this alteration the predicate is unable to occur with any surface expression of its syntactic subject. In Polish, grammaticalised unspecified-agent constructions also, like the passive, happen to have a distinctly morphologically marked verb phrase.

One of the objectives of this study is to demonstrate that Polish constructions exemplified in (9-10) and (11-12) are instances of two different types of grammaticalised unspecified-agent constructions resulting from morpholexical operations: the reflexive impersonal and the *-no/-to* impersonal. Both constructions will be described briefly in Section 1.4.3 below, discussed in detail in Chapter 4, and accounted for formally in Chapter 5.

1.4 Typology of passive-like grammatical voice phenomena

In this section I will outline the three types of operation that can be performed on argument structure that result in three different types of construction, all of which belong to the

phenomenon of grammatical voice.

As was suggested in Section 1.2 above, it is useful to recognise two distinct abstract levels of organisation of argument structure. These mediate between the conceptual semantic representation of the event and the final phrase structure representation of the predicate (the diagram below is repeated here from (16)):

- (20)
1. Semantic level
 - Thematic roles: x, y, z, \dots
 2. Syntactic level
 - Argument positions: $\text{arg}_1, \text{arg}_2, \text{arg}_3, \dots$
 - Syntactic pre-specification of argument positions

A default, unaltered mapping of event participants via argument positions to syntactic functions results in a personal active construction. However, certain changes at various levels within argument structure can induce systematic alternative mappings, that is, alternative overt syntactic expressions of arguments through the mediation of grammatical functions.

I have identified three different types of operation on argument structure yielding three major categories of grammatical-voice-altering constructions: the passive, the anticausative, and the impersonal. In Chapters 2, 3 and 4, I will provide detailed descriptions of these constructions and demonstrate how the hypothesised operations allow us to account for the morphosyntactic behaviour and constraints on these constructions. In Chapter 5, I will present and discuss the details of the adopted formal model of argument structure and formalise the generalisations from the three previous Chapters.

In the meantime, the following sections outline briefly the three types of operation that can alter the default mappings and yield three different types of construction belonging to the phenomenon of grammatical voice: the passive (a syntactic detransitive), the anticausative (a lexical detransitive), and the impersonal (a valency preserver).

1.4.1 The passive: a syntactic detransitive

The most salient characteristics of canonical passive clauses such as:

(21) *The window was broken by the boys from next door.*

(22) *Okno zostało wybite przez chłopaków od sąsiadów.*
window became broken by boys from neighbours

are that their syntactic subjects correspond to objects of their active counterparts, while the active subjects have been downgraded to the status of obliques in the passive (the following two examples are the active counterparts of the passive sentences above):

(23) *The boys from next door broke the window.*

(24) *Chłopaki od sąsiadów wybili okno.*
boys from neighbours broke window

If, as assumed here, the active and passive lexical forms are related, we need to posit a passive rule or constraint which is responsible for achieving this non-default syntactic realisation of the arguments of the predicate.

The final result of the application of the passive rule to a predicate such as *break* can be represented as in (25):

| | | | |
|------|----------------|----------|----------|
| (25) | passive | <i>x</i> | <i>y</i> |
| | | | |
| | | ⟨arg | arg⟩ |
| | | | |
| | | (OBL) | SUBJ |

1.4.1.1 Demotion and promotion in the passive

The above diagram represents the fact that the arguments of the predicate have received a non-default assignment of grammatical functions. However, it does not account for the process which has produced this result. In order to account for the process – that is, in order to determine the primary operation at work in passivisation – it is possible to put

forward two alternative hypotheses. One possibility is that the highest argument (the first *arg*), which is normally mapped onto subject, becomes downgraded to a lower grammatical role, and the lower argument becomes promoted to a higher role (that of the subject) as a consequence of this role becoming available to be mapped onto. The other possibility is that the lower argument, which is normally mapped onto object, becomes promoted to subject, and the higher argument becomes ‘chômeurised’ (that is, downgraded to the status of an oblique) as a result of the promotion of the lower argument, since one simple predicate cannot have two syntactic subjects.

These two options – ‘demotion’ of the logical subject versus ‘promotion’ of the logical object – have been discussed extensively in theoretical, functional and descriptive literature. In this work, I argue and demonstrate that passivisation is a ‘demotional’ operation. In order to justify this position fully, I will need – among other things – to demonstrate in what way the passive construction differs from the morpholexical impersonal construction. This will be carried out in Chapter 4. For the time being, however, I will put forward only one, key argument for the ‘demotional’ analysis of the passive, an argument which has figured in linguistic debates on the passive since the 1970s (notably, Keenan 1975, and Comrie 1977).

Crosslinguistically, many languages which have the personal passive construction formed from transitive predicates, such as the passive shown in the examples (21) and (22) above, also have a morphologically analogous ‘impersonal’ variant of this construction formed from intransitive predicates. The following is an example from German, where the impersonal passive of the intransitive makes use of a 3SG personal passive verb form, i.e. a 3SG auxiliary and a passive participle. To maintain a verb-second declarative word order, German impersonal passives may occur with a 3SG.NEUT ‘dummy’ pronoun *es* ‘it’, which is a positional placeholder with neither thematic nor referential content (that is, a surface constituent not integrated into the argument structure):

- (26) a. *Wir tanzten gestern.*
we danced yesterday

- b. *Es wurde gestern getanzt.*
 it was.3SG yesterday danced
 ‘There was dancing yesterday.’
- c. *Gestern wurde getanzt.*
 yesterday was.3SG danced
 ‘Yesterday there was dancing.’ (Comrie 1977:51)

Polish also has the impersonal variety of the periphrastic passive in which the verb phrase is morphologically identical to the one in 3SG.NEUT personal passive:

- (27) *Tutaj było tańczone.*
 here was.3SG.NEUT dance.PART.SG.NEUT
 ‘There was dancing here./The dancing was done here.’

The promotional definition of the passive requires the presence of an object to be promoted to subject in order for the underlying subject argument to be downgraded to an oblique function (which can then be left unexpressed). Following Comrie’s (1977) original observation, I argue that the existence of passives of intransitive verbs shows that demotion of the underlying subject can occur without promotion, if there is no argument in the argument structure that can be promoted. I conclude, therefore, that the definitional property of the passive is demotion of the most prominent argument of the predicate to an optional oblique. Object promotion is opportunistic in this construction and occurs only if there is an underlying object (or other) argument which is eligible to become a derived passive subject.

1.4.1.2 Detransitivisation and the demoted agent

It is generally acknowledged that the passive preserves the coarse ‘truth-conditional’ meaning of the predicate. Therefore, apart from the alteration in the assignment of grammatical functions, no other changes need to be posited at any other abstract level of representation of argument structure. The only altered layer is that at which the final assignment of grammatical functions is determined.

The effect of the passive rule is syntactic detransitivisation of the predicate: the highest core argument becomes downgraded and rendered optional. This means that from the point of view of syntax the predicate loses a core argument, and it is conceivable that in some languages the demoted agent might not be allowed to reappear as a phrase structure constituent of the passive sentence. It is also possible that a language may not have an appropriate morphological strategy to re-introduce the demoted argument into surface syntax (such as the Polish *przez*-phrase which both re-introduces demoted agents and introduces independent non-argument cause adjuncts, or the English *by*-phrase which re-introduces demoted agents and introduces non-argument postmodifiers denoting authorship, as in *a book by Dickens*).

However, I argue that in the passive, the argument structure retains the original number of arguments subcategorised for by the predicate – that is, it retains the original number of lexical argument positions (*arg*). Although the agent argument demoted to oblique is frequently left unexpressed, it is, nevertheless, usually possible for it to appear in the phrase structure configuration of the clause. This indicates that the semantic tier is also intact: it preserves both the number and the original interpretation of the participants of the event denoted by the predicate.

1.4.1.3 The discourse function of the passive

Both Jespersen and Shibatani, quoted above in Section 1.3, included the following functions among their conditions for the use of the passive:

- (28) (Jespersen 1924:168; conditions 4 & 5)
- a. ‘Even if the active subject is indicated (“converted subject”) the passive turn is preferred if one takes naturally a greater interest in the passive than in the active subject.’
 - b. ‘The passive turn may facilitate the connection of one sentence with another.’

- (29) (Shibatani 1985:830; conditions 2 & 3)
- a. passives bring a topical non-agentive element into subject position;
 - b. passives create a syntactic pivot (cf. Dixon 1979), so that coreferential deletion (...) can apply.

Although neither scholar considers these functions of the passive to be primary, it is important to note that they both emphasise the role the passive plays in structuring discourse. Thanks to the alternative mapping of grammatical functions, the passive provides a means to take a different perspective on truth-functionally equivalent situations (Ackerman & Moore 2001:3) which is motivated by discourse considerations such as the choice of syntactic pivot and/or presentational focus. Among all the passive-like phenomena discussed here, the passive is the only construction which has this capability. As noted by Palmer (1994:174), it is not clear whether there are any languages that merely exchange the status of subject and object in a clause, for discourse or other purposes.⁵ ‘There are, of course, languages that merely change their position, but this is best treated as a matter of topicalization, not passivization’ (ibid.).

One final point to consider is, then, how to reconcile the function of creating a new syntactic pivot out of the underlying *object* with the fact that the passive, as defined here, targets the underlying *subject* and is not sensitive to the presence of an object argument in the argument structure. The fact that no language seems to contain a passive strategy

⁵Possible candidates might be the morphologically unmarked Bantu constructions, such as the Kinyarwanda one referred to by Kimenyi as ‘object-subject reversal’ (1980:141ff) and classified by Keenan (1985:255) as passive on the basis of the apparent subject-verb agreement. According to Haspelmath (1990:27), the Kinyarwanda construction does not qualify as a passive, because the postverbal agent cannot be omitted and the preposed patient exhibits almost no subject properties. The same observations indicate that it might be possible to treat these constructions as instances of topicalisation. In general, I take it that Palmer’s remarks hold only with reference to voice systems in which the relative ranking of arguments is manifested at the level of syntactic relations. They may not hold for other types of voice systems which are sensitive to a different level of grammatical organisation – such as, for example, the direct/inverse voice alternations of Algonquian and other languages which are sensitive to ontological structure (see Klaiman 1991).

that solely defines impersonal passives (Blevins 2003:480) seems to indicate that the second, promoted argument is somehow essential to this construction.

Unsurprisingly, the discourse function of the passive enabling the shift of the syntactic pivot onto a different argument seems to provide a plausible explanation. The passive may have arisen out of the need to shift the syntactic pivot onto an argument other than the highest one precisely in a situation where there is more than one argument present in the unaltered argument structure of the predicate. If the syntactic pivot is understood as ‘a relation that is co-referential with another relation and involved in syntactic rules for coordination, complementation, relativization, etc.’ (Palmer 1994:242, Glossary), it is clear that the impersonal passive construction is not appropriate for this particular discourse function, as it does not contain any relation (or, argument) that could serve as a syntactic pivot at all.

It is also unsurprising to find that the reduction of the syntactic status of the principal participant of the event may facilitate a shift of the presentational focus onto the ‘process’, since the verb becomes more salient too, particularly in passives of intransitives. This, in turn, is one of the main communicative functions of the morpholexical impersonal (i.e. the grammaticalised unspecified-agent construction). In the absence of the transitive, personal variant of the passive, an impersonal passive could be indistinguishable from the morpholexical impersonal and liable to reanalysis in this direction (i.e. intrinsically unstable). On the other hand, if there is a language which possesses a subjectless passive disallowing the promotion of a structural object, the construction is most likely not morphologically passive, but it is the morpholexical impersonal itself.

Impersonal constructions retaining structural objects, such as in the Polish examples (9), (10) and (11) in Section 1.1, are morpholexical impersonals which are not only morphosyntactically different from the Polish passive but are demonstrably the result of a different operation from the passive (see Section 1.4.3 below, and Chapter 4).

1.4.2 The anticausative: a lexical detransitive

The causative alternation has been much studied, and in this work I will generally follow the account proposed by Levin & Rappaport Hovav (1995:Chapter 3). Since the focus of the present work is on the passive construction and the morphosyntactic impersonal construction, my presentation of the anticausative will be more selective than that of the other two constructions. It is, however, important to recapitulate certain facts about the anticausative which support the model of argument structure proposed in this work. I also aim to show the position of the anticausative in the system of argument-structure-changing operations in relation to the passive and the impersonal.

The following is a canonical example of the anticausative construction in Polish:

- (30) *Szklanka się zbiła.*
glass(FEM).NOM REFL broke.3SG.FEM
'The glass broke.'

This construction is marked by the use of the reflexive morpheme (*się*) and in this respect it is similar to the analogous constructions in other Slavonic or Romance languages. It is usually argued that in these languages the intransitive (reflexive) verb form is derived from the inherently causative transitive verb:

- (31) *Piotr zbił szklanę.*
Peter(MASC).NOM broke.3SG.MASC glass(FEM).ACC
'Peter broke a/the glass.'

and that the reflexive marker is the morphological exponent indicating the nonexpression of the cause. Thus, the morphologically unmarked transitive causative verb is taken to be more basic than the intransitive anticausative verb (see, for example, Fisiak et al. 1978:90-92,143 for Polish; Junker 1988 for French; Chierchia 1989, cited in Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1995, for Italian; and Babby 1998:24-27, offering a different formal account but agreeing with the same direction of the derivation, for Russian).

In English, the causative and anticausative variants of the corresponding class of verbs

are morphologically identical:

- (32) a. *The jar broke. The door opened.*
b. *Peter broke the jar. Someone opened the door.*

even though, as in the Polish examples above, there is a clear difference both in the meaning and the syntactic behaviour between these two variants of verbs. Due to the lack of morphological marking, some linguists have assumed that in such intransitive-transitive pairs in English the intransitive variant is basic, while the transitive (causative) variant is derived by adding an agent/cause (or an argument corresponding to an agent/cause) to the lexical semantic structure of the intransitive predicate (e.g. Brousseau & Ritter 1991; Lakoff 1968, 1970; Williams 1981). This hypothesis is the reverse of the one usually posited for Polish and other languages, which was sketched in the previous paragraph, even though the phenomenon it attempts to capture seems to be the same.

In this work I assume that the former, detransitivisation analysis of the relevant verb pairs is correct for both Polish and English. This analysis is in line with most traditional descriptions of both languages (see e.g. Grzegorzczkowska et al. 1984, 1998:191, for Polish⁶, and Curme 1935:65-66; Huddleston 1984:191-194; Quirk et al. 1985:745, for English). Below I will recount three key arguments in support of this hypothesis, based roughly on the argumentation compiled by Levin & Rappaport Hovav (1995:84-89) in support of a causative analysis of alternating unaccusative verbs. I will leave a more detailed discussion of the morphosyntactic behaviour of the anticausative and of the classes of verbs undergoing causative alternation until Chapter 3. Likewise, I will postpone the discussion of unaccusativity until Chapter 2. In this introductory chapter, I will concentrate only on pairs of verbs which are typical members of the class participating in the causative alternation, as in the Polish and English examples above, and argue for treating the transitive variant of these verbs as basic.

⁶For more general accounts of the Slavonic (and Polish) reflexive morpheme *się* and its connection with intransitivity, see e.g. Jakobson 1957; Schenker 1988 and references therein; Schenker 1993.

1.4.2.1 Morphological marking

The first argument for treating the transitive variant of verbs such as *break* as basic was already mentioned at the beginning of this section and it is morphological in nature. As I already pointed out above, the Polish transitive member of the pair is morphologically unmarked, while the intransitive member is morphologically marked. Although a comparison of morphotactic complexity between related words may not always be a reliable indicator of the direction of a synchronically occurring derivation – that is, morphologically less complex forms need not be more basic – most Slavonic linguists seem to agree that the reflexive form in pairs of predicates such as the above does, in general, indicate the direction from basic to derived (see above for references).

It has been observed that formal basic-derived relationships frequently correlate with similar semantic relationships: ‘the formally derived (or marked) words are generally also semantically derived in that they have some additional meaning element that is lacking in the formally basic (or unmarked) word’ (Haspelmath 1993:87). This correlation has been identified as an instance of diagrammatic iconicity (e.g. Haiman 1980) and it appears that the typically found directions of formal basic-derived relationships do indeed correlate with semantic derivations as defined above (e.g. from singulars to plurals, from non-diminutives to diminutives, from basic positive forms of adjectives to comparative forms, etc. – examples from Haspelmath *ibid*:88.). However, some derivations, particularly in the area which has traditionally been referred to as derivational morphology, may fall outside this pattern. For example, subtractive derivations are found, or a relationship between two semantic classes may be realised by morphological derivations operating in both directions even within one language (e.g. *linguist* \Rightarrow *linguist-ics* versus *physics* \Rightarrow *physic-ist* in English).

The alternation between inchoative (intransitive/anticausative) and causative (transitive) verbs is one of the phenomena which do not seem to be illuminated by employing the notion of diagrammatic iconicity. According to the definition of semantic complexity given above, the *causative* variant of the alternation appears to be semantically de-

rived because it involves an additional, external causer participant, while the intransitive (anticausative/inchoative) variant seems to be semantically more basic. However, when verbs with corresponding lexical meanings are compared crosslinguistically, languages differ greatly in their ways of expressing the relationship between the two variants of these verbs (the results of one such survey will be presented briefly below). Crucially, while in some languages (e.g. Mongolian; see Haspelmath 1993:101) the direction of the hypothesised semantic derivation is matched by the direction of formal derivation, in other languages (e.g. Polish and other Slavonic, Romance) this direction seems to be reversed.

An explanation of this discrepancy, offered by Haspelmath, is that the kind of meaning that is relevant for diagrammatic iconicity is not objective meaning arrived at by *semantic* decomposition (as in e.g. Mel'čuk 1967), but *conceptual* meaning reflecting our understanding of the basic-derived relationships which hold in the real world (cf. Lakoff 1987). 'Objectively, the meaning "melt_{tr}" may be more complex than and derived from the meaning "melt_{intr}", but conceptually, the relation between the two meanings could be quite different' (Haspelmath 1993:89ff). Specifically, Givón proposes that '[c]ategories that are *cognitively* marked tend also to be *structurally* marked' (1991:106).

On the basis of the above principle, Haspelmath predicts the following correlation between the form and the meaning expressed through the inchoative/causative alternation. Events that are more *likely* to occur spontaneously (without a human agent) will be associated with a conceptual stereotype (or prototype) of a spontaneous event, and this will *tend* to be expressed in a structurally unmarked way. On the other hand, events that are more *likely* to occur through causation by a human agent will be associated with a stereotype of a caused event, and thus the caused event will *tend* to be expressed in a structurally unmarked way⁷. Furthermore, variation in the direction of formal derivation can generally

⁷This is essentially Haspelmath's formulation (1993:107), except for my substitution of his 'external agent' with the more specific 'human agent', which is closer to my own view (see Chapters 3 and 4). Haspelmath follows these statements with a remark that essentially the same conclusion is reached in Croft (1990): 'frequently experienced correlations of semantic (and pragmatic) features determine linguistic patterns' (p. 62);

be seen as the manifestation of indeterminacy of the conceptual-semantic relation. For example, the intra-linguistic variation in the derivation of English words of disciplines and scientists occurs because a discipline may be defined as the activity a scientist is engaged in, or a scientist may be defined as someone who practices a particular scientific discipline (see Haspelmath *ibid.*:90,107).

Crosslinguistic studies of the inchoative/causative verb alternation (in particular, Nedjalkov 1969 and Haspelmath 1993) appear to confirm the tendency predicted above of the correlation between markedness and conceptual meaning. For example, in his study of the uses of the verb *break* in sixty languages, Nedjalkov (1969) reports that the transitive causative form of this verb is morphologically unmarked in most of his sample (only 9 out of 60 languages have a marked transitive variant of this verb as opposed to the unmarked intransitive⁸, with 2 more languages having causative-instrumental marking of the transi-

‘What matters for the prototype is that frequently enough in ordinary experience, no obvious external agent is present’ (p. 61).

⁸Levin & Rappaport Hovav point out that ‘it is difficult to tell from Nedjalkov’s paper whether the morpheme used to form transitive *break* is the same one used to derive causatives in general in the languages concerned, although the data Nedjalkov cites in an appendix suggest that in the majority of these languages it is at least not the morpheme used to form the causative of *laugh*’ (1995:294, footnote 6). However, in his survey of 1993, inspired by Nedjalkov’s and essentially replicating his results, Haspelmath does state clearly that:

[O]ne of the five expression types [of inchoative/causative verb pairs], the causative alternation, is also used to express semantic relations other than the inchoative/causative relation. In many languages, causatives can be formed from a wide range of verbs, including transitive verbs. For example, in Turkish, there are noncausative/causative pairs like *işle-mek* ‘work’ / *işle-t-mek* ‘make work’, *yaz-mak* ‘write’ / *yaz-dır-mak* ‘make write’. Such pairs are never expressed as anticausatives or as non-derived alternations. Since they show no cross-linguistic variation, they are not taken into account here and are not considered to be inchoative/causative pairs. (1993:92)

Furthermore, it is not clear whether Nedjalkov and Haspelmath took into consideration the possible morphological marking distinguishing transitive from intransitive verbs in the surveyed languages, which would

tive variant of the verb). The intransitive form of *break* is morphologically marked in 22 languages, in further 19 languages it is identical to the unmarked transitive form, while in the remaining 8 languages both the intransitive and transitive forms are marked either by the use of different morphemes (5 languages) or ablaut (3 languages).

The findings about *break* are strikingly different from those about the uses of the verb *laugh* which does not participate in the causative alternation either in English or in Polish. Nedjalkov reports that in 54 of the 60 languages surveyed, the causative (transitive) form of *laugh* (meaning ‘cause someone to laugh’, or ‘make someone laugh’) is morphologically more complex than the noncausative intransitive form.

Since in English neither the inchoative nor the causative verb in pairs such as *break_{tr}* ~ *break_{intr}* is morphologically marked, the English inchoative/causative alternation is formally non-directed (Haspelmath 1993:91-92 calls such alternations ‘labile’, in contrast with equipollent non-directed alternations, in which both verbs are derived from the same stem by means of different affixes/auxiliaries, or suppletive non-directed alternations, in which different verb roots are used). Therefore, on the basis of morphological marking alone English could be analysed as deriving the transitive *break* from the intransitive *break* just as plausibly as deriving the intransitive from the transitive. The first of these derivations would be the reverse of what has been observed crosslinguistically, but it is clear that a crosslinguistic tendency may not be taken as the template for the grammatical analysis of any particular language, and so English could be analysed differently from Polish. The fact that the English inchoative/causative alternation is non-directed is already different from the most typically occurring correlation between form and meaning in the inchoative/causative alternation, and the discrepancy between English and the pattern observed in

be relevant for the study, although the following remark by Haspelmath suggests that they had considered all relevant types of marking: ‘Note that this classification [of formal types of inchoative/causative pairs] does not take into account the status of the deriving elements as inflectional, derivational, or syntactic. All I am interested in here are markedness relations, and these apply to inflection, derivation, and syntax alike’ (1993:92).

other languages could be explained by resorting to the notion of the indeterminacy of the conceptual-semantic relation.

However, I find Nedjalkov's and Haspelmath's results suggestive and helpful in piecing together a coherent picture of this type of morpholexical alternation. They are consistent with the proposal which I make in the present work for the purposes of the analysis of morpholexical operations in English and Polish, that while *laugh* is *conceptually* an intransitive verb in both languages, *break* is *conceptually* transitive and its syntactically intransitive use is in some way derived from the basic transitive one. They are also consistent with the traditional analysis of the morphological marking of the intransitive *break* in Polish as an indication of the nonexpression of the cause. Although English does not have any morphological exponent indicating the direction of the derivation, one can posit the derivation of the intransitive from the transitive *break* in English, which is consistent with the view presented above, based on two other observations regarding the interpretation and distribution of these two variants of verb. These two factors will be discussed in the following two sections.

1.4.2.2 The interpretation of the cause

The second argument for treating the transitive variant of verbs such as *break* as basic, an argument regarding the issue of interpretation of the anticausative, points to the level of representation at which the difference between the causative and anticausative should be captured. It also indicates how it might be possible to capture the difference between the anticausative and the passive (see further below and Chapter 3 for a more detailed discussion of this point).

It is clear that the causative/anticausative (or, causative/inchoative) variants of verbs differ in syntactic transitivity. They have also been argued to differ in semantic transitivity – the anticausative variant is generally considered to be semantically intransitive, that is, lacking the semantic role of an agent/cause (e.g. Roeper 1987). However, as I argued in the

previous sections, at some deeper semantic or conceptual level both verbs participating in this alternation, even the intransitive inchoative variant, involve or imply *two participants*: the cause(r) and the undergoer of the action.

The basic model of argument structure proposed in Section 1.2.2, which separates the representation of the conceptual participants from the representation of the arguments subcategorised for by the predicate, allows me to capture the above observations in the following way. Although anticausatives are conceptually transitive, they lack an argument associated with their agent/cause participant. This makes their agent participant inaccessible to syntax. Thus, instead of stating that anticausatives are agentless, I can say that the cluster of effects (such as control of agent-oriented adverbials and purpose clauses) which has been attributed to the presence or absence of the *semantic role* of an agent is not sensitive just to the presence of this conceptual or semantic participant, but it is sensitive to the presence of an *argument associated with the agent participant*. I will clarify this distinction with the help of examples below.

In an anticausative predicate the cause cannot usually be expressed as a syntactic argument (although this might depend on the morphosyntactic means available to the given language – see below and Chapter 3 for discussion). The concept of a ‘cause’ is nevertheless semantically present in the anticausative and can sanction adverbial modifiers which reflect its presence. In Polish the function of such an adverbial can be performed by an appositively used emphatic pronoun *sam/sama/samo/sama* (‘own-self.MASC/.FEM/.NEUT/.NONVIR’) referring to the undergoer subject. Both the Polish adverbial and its English counterpart have two interpretations: ‘without outside help’ and ‘alone’. Only the first interpretation is the one implying the cause and it is this interpretation which is found with the intransitive use of both Polish and English alternating verbs:

- (33) *Szklanka się zbiła sama.*
 glass(FEM).NOM REFL broke.3SG.FEM OWN-self.FEM
 ‘The glass broke by itself.’

- (34) *Drzwi się same otworzyły.*
 doors(NONVIR).NOM REFL OWN-selves.NONVIR opened.3PL.NONVIR
 ‘The door opened by itself.’

The specification of a cause may also be provided by the context outside the anti-causative clause itself. In sentences such as the following, the context specifies a cause(r) distinct from the undergoer:

- (35) *Piotr upuścił szklankę i się zbiła.*
 Peter(MASC).NOM dropped.3SG.MASC glass(FEM).ACC and REFL broke.3SG.FEM
 ‘Peter dropped the glass and it broke.’

When this specification is present, another, semantically contradictory specification of the cause with the use of the adverbial ‘by itself’ which identifies the undergoer as the self-cause(r), is not easily acceptable (or interpretable):

- (36) *?/#Piotr upuścił szklankę i się sama zbiła.*
 Peter(MASC).NOM dropped.3SG.MASC glass(FEM).ACC and REFL OWN-self.FEM
 broke.3SG.FEM
 ‘?/#Peter dropped the glass and it broke by itself.’

Moreover, if the coordinated causative sentence contains a verb denoting a clearly intentional action (such as ‘throw’ rather than ‘drop’), the human (sentient) causer in the anti-causative is implied even more clearly, both in Polish and in English:

- (37) a. *Piotr rzucił szklankę o stół*
 Peter(MASC).NOM threw.3SG.MASC glass(FEM).INSTR against table(MASC).ACC
i się zbiła.
 and REFL broke.3SG.FEM
 ‘Peter threw the glass against the table, and it [=the glass] broke.’
- b. *≠#Piotr rzucił szklankę o stół*
 Peter(MASC).NOM threw.3SG.MASC glass(FEM).INSTR against table(MASC).ACC
i się sama zbiła.
 and REFL OWN-self.FEM broke.3SG.FEM
 ≠‘#Peter threw the glass against the table, and it [=the glass] broke by itself.’

- c. =*Piotr rzucił szklanką o stół*
 Peter(MASC).NOM threw.3SG.MASC glass(FEM).INSTR against table(MASC).ACC
i ją zbił.
 and it.FEM.ACC broke.3SG.MASC
 =‘Peter threw the glass against the table and broke it.’

Furthermore, if the activity expressed in the anticausative does involve a human agent or causer, as in (35) or (37a) – in particular, an unintentional human causer, as in (35) – in Polish anticausatives the causer can usually be picked up by syntax and expressed overtly in an additional non-core argument which is a secondary object or ‘dative’:

- (38) *Piotrowi zbiła się szklanka.*
 Peter(MASC).DAT broke.3SG.FEM REFL glass(FEM).NOM
 ‘A/the glass broke to Peter/in Peter’s hands.’ (meaning: ‘Peter broke a/the glass unintentionally’)
- (39) *Wylała mi się zupa.*
 spilt.3SG.FEM me.DAT REFL soup(FEM).NOM
 ‘The soup has spilt to me.’ (meaning: ‘I have spilt the soup unintentionally’)
- (40) *Przesoliły mi się te ziemniaki.*
 oversalted.3PL.NONVIR me.DAT REFL these.NONVIR.NOM potatoes(NONVIR).NOM
 ‘These potatoes have oversalted to me.’ (meaning: ‘I have oversalted these potatoes unintentionally’)
- (41) *Ten kawałek rozpiłował mi się nierówno.*
 this.MASC.NOM piece(MASC).NOM sawed-through.3SG.MASC me.DAT REFL unevenly
 ‘This piece has sawn through to me unevenly.’ (meaning: ‘I have unintentionally sawn this piece through unevenly’)

The causer may not be reintroduced to the anticausative through a ‘by’-phrase (i.e. with *przez*), because the ‘by’-phrase reintroduces an agent which has been demoted *syntactically* (as in the passive). As I will argue below, the anticausative results from the deletion of the argument associated with the causer from the lexical representation of the predicate.

Because it has been deleted (and is no longer present in the argument structure), the first argument is not available to be assigned any syntactic function, including the function of an oblique.

The dative is an additional argument which is normally associated with a beneficiary. It occupies a non-core (non-obligatory) argument position which is, however, never associated with oblique grammatical functions. As is evident from examples (38)-(41), this additional argument can take upon itself the expression of the causer participant after this participant has been dissociated from its original first argument position (see also Section 2.2.3.1 for a discussion of beneficiaries in Polish, and Chapters 3 and 5 for a more detailed discussion of the hypothesis outlined here). The fact that the human agent or causer is not associated with its 'normal' core argument position accounts for its unavailability to control agent-oriented elements which require such control. However, its continuous presence as a conceptual/semantic participant in the abstract representation of the predicate accounts for the fact that it may resurface in the context of the anticausative clause, or in the overt syntax of the anticausative clause itself via a dative argument.

To sum up, in many contexts, the dative nominal in sentences like the above is unequivocally interpreted as the real causer (or agent) of the action, as opposed to the nominative argument which, though being a syntactic subject, is – at best – a 'pseudo-agent'. This means that the argument structure of the intransitive variant of the alternating verb must contain some representation of the cause participant distinct from the undergoer (patient/theme) participant.

In some cases, as in (33) (*The glass broke by itself*) and (34) (*The door opened by itself*), the cause and the undergoer participants have the same referent. In most cases, as in (30) and (32a) (*The glass/jar broke; The door opened*), the shared identity of the cause and the undergoer is implied but not specified. And finally, in cases such as (38)-(41) (i.e. in the Polish anticausatives with a dative agent/causer), the causer is clearly distinct from the undergoer and expressed overtly through a different syntactic argument. However, despite

these differences regarding the interpretation of the cause, the number of *core arguments* in all these cases of anticausatives remains constant: all these clauses have only *one* core argument linked to the undergoer and mapped onto the syntactic subject. The anticausative construction is lexically and syntactically intransitive.

If we could, for a moment, compare the abstract descriptions of the alternating predicates – the transitive causative *break* and the intransitive inchoative *break* – using as few theoretical assumptions as possible, we would come up with the following observations which hold for both Polish and English. *Break* can involve an agent (or cause) and an undergoer, or it can be presented as spontaneous. In the *presentation* of the event as spontaneous, the causation is attributed to the undergoer as if the event was self-caused by the undergoer. However, in both the causative and spontaneous uses of the verb, the cause(r) is semantically identifiable and, as a semantic *role*, can be distinguished from the undergoer *role* even if both roles have the same *referent* (i.e. the undergoer causes something to itself).

Thus, I argue that even in English the difference between the two variants of *break* lies only in their lexical and syntactic transitivity, but not in their conceptual/semantic transitivity, and that the transitive *break* in English should be treated as the basic variant of the verb, as in the corresponding pair of verbs in Polish. From the perspective which I have adopted here, *both* the intransitive and transitive *break* have two *participant roles*, i.e. it is not the case that in English the intransitive *break* (just as unmarked as the transitive) is the basic variant of the predicate, to which another argument introducing the cause(r) role can be added in a similar way to deriving morphologically marked causatives in numerous other languages. The difference between the causative and anticausative variants of *break* does not lie in the number of their semantic participants, but in the different syntactic availability as well as expression of the two semantic participants.

The transitive *break* patterns with other unmarked transitive agentive verbs such as, for example, *eat*: if the cause(r) is syntactically available (i.e. it is associated with a core argument), its normal, default, syntactic expression is that which gives it the grammatical

status of the subject. In the intransitive *break* this normal representation is altered: the role of the cause(r) is still semantically distinguishable, but it has no argument associated with it, and therefore the subject status is assigned to the undergoer.

Unlike in the passive, the change in the mapping of grammatical functions in the anticausative co-occurs with a change in the semantic interpretation of the arguments: in most typical instances of the usage of the intransitive *break*, the undergoer and the cause are understood to have the same referent. This is due to the fact that the anticausative results from a deeper lexical operation which removes the first argument (the one normally associated with the cause) from the predicate's argument structure. This leads to new syntactic mappings, though the new mappings are not just a result of a different mapping of the same arguments. Unlike in the passive, the number of arguments of the predicate is reduced by one in the anticausative. However, like in the passive, the original number of the semantic participants implied by the predicate remains the same.

1.4.2.3 Selectional restrictions

Finally, perhaps the strongest piece of evidence in favour of the detransitivisation analysis of alternating English verbs comes from examining their selectional restrictions. In general, imposing a constraint on a lexical entry resulting in a morpholexical alteration can be expected to restrict the use of the predicate to more specific syntactic or semantic contexts, including a more restricted set of arguments which it can select.

Levin & Rappaport Hovav suggest that 'the basic use of the verb will impose less stringent restrictions on its arguments, so that in those instances where there are different selectional restrictions on the transitive and intransitive uses, the use with the looser selectional restrictions, if there is one, will be basic' (1995:86). They demonstrate that, across different senses and uses of the alternating verbs, the transitive variant consistently allows a wider range of objects than the intransitive variant allows subjects. Even more specifically, the set of possible subjects for the intransitive use of a verb appears to be a subset of the set

of possible objects for the transitive use of the same verb. This can be illustrated with the following English examples (all from *ibid.*:85):

- (42) a. *Antonia broke the vase/the window/the bowl/the radio/the toaster.*
b. *The vase/The window/The bowl/The radio/The toaster broke.*
- (43) a. *#Antonia broke the cloth/the paper/the innocence.*
b. *#The cloth/The paper/The innocence broke.*
- (44) a. *He broke his promise/the contract/the world record.*
b. *#His promise/The contract/The world record broke.*

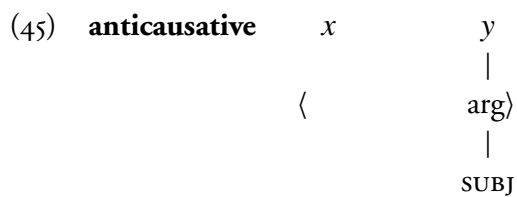
Since it is unquestionable that the subject of the intransitive use of the verb bears the same semantic relation to the verb as the object of the transitive use, the asymmetry in the selectional restrictions of the two variants of verb provides a strong guide to which variant is basic. I conclude that selectional restrictions in English inchoative/causative predicates provide strong support for treating the transitive variant of alternating verbs as basic.

1.4.2.4 Lexical detransitivisation

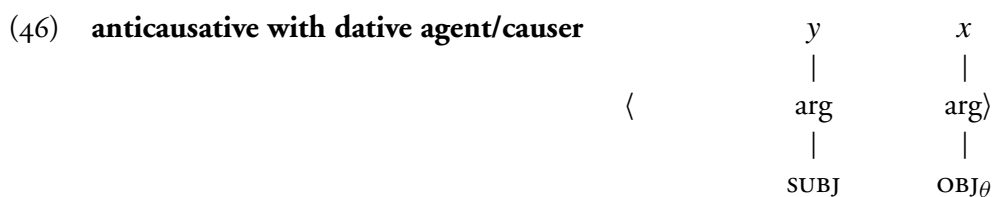
While discussing the issues of interpretation of the intransitive variant of alternating verbs, I suggested that the interpretation of the anticausative pointed to the level of representation at which the difference between the alternating predicates should be captured.

Specifically, I suggested that the anticausative did not result from an operation removing the conceptual participant corresponding to the cause (or agent) from the representation of the argument structure of the basic verb. Instead, I suggested that the anticausative resulted from an operation deleting the first argument from the argument structure of the transitive predicate.

I propose that the operation itself can be viewed as *lexical detransitivisation*, and the intransitive (anticausative) form of verbs such as *break* can be represented as in (45):



The above diagram represents the fact that, in contrast with the transitive predicate, the anticausative variant contains only one core argument, mapped onto subject. It nevertheless contains the same number of semantic roles as the transitive, representing the cause (or agent) and the undergoer (or patient). The cause participant is, therefore, implied in the anticausative, and it is available to be expressed overtly in some way. In Polish, the unlinked agent role may be optionally mapped onto the third argument position which is normally used to express default beneficiaries and which is referred to by LFG as a ‘secondary object’:



The formal mechanism for this alternative mapping will be offered in Chapter 5.

By resorting to the semantic level of participant roles as distinct from the lexical syntactic level of arguments subcategorised for by the predicate, the anticausative supports the model of argument structure hypothesised in this work. Specifically, I hold that in order to account for both the presence of an identifiable causer role in anticausatives, and at the same time for the absence of the argument which would normally be associated with this role, we need to distinguish in argument structure the level of semantic roles as separate from syntactic argument positions.

This view allows me to maintain the distinction which has been drawn in the literature between causatives which are considered to be ‘agentive’ and anticausatives/inchoatives which are considered to be ‘non-agentive’. My analysis supports the same split, but rephrases it in terms derived from a more refined notion of argument structure. Specifically, instead of saying that anticausatives show no agent effects due to the lack of an agent role, I propose

that in anticausatives the agent participant is inaccessible to elements requiring agent control due to the lack of the mediating argument. In other words, agent effects will not hold either if the agent participant is missing, or if it is not associated with a core argument⁹.

1.4.3 The impersonal: a valency preserver

The third type of construction which involves some change in the argument structure of the predicate is the impersonal, referred to earlier in Section 1.3 as the ‘grammaticalised unspecified-agent construction’. The following are canonical examples of the impersonal in Polish (repeated here from (11)-(12) in Section 1.1):

(47) *Bito* *Piotra*.
beat.IMPERS Peter(MASC).ACC
‘Peter was beaten.’

(48) *Tutaj tańczono*.
here danced.IMPERS
‘There was dancing here./The dancing was done here.’

This construction contains a seemingly participial form of the verb which invariably ends in *-no/-to*. It has been problematic to analyse because it displays a cluster of properties which make it unlike the canonical active, anticausative or passive, and yet, in some respects, like both the active and the passive. One of the key properties of this construction is that it can be applied to both intransitive and transitive predicates (as illustrated above), and in the latter case it retains the accusative object (as in (47)).

The *-no/-to* impersonal does not, under any circumstances, accept the surface expression of a subject:

⁹This is, in fact, part of a more general rule. Namely, agent effects will not hold whenever the semantic coherence of the agent participant is not preserved across the different components of the clause; see again examples (36) and (37b) as well as unaltered active clauses such as *#Piotr niechcący zatopił statek celowo* ‘Peter unintentionally sank the boat on purpose’, *#Piotr niechcący zatopił statek ażeby uzyskać odszkodowanie* ‘Peter unintentionally sank the boat in order to collect the insurance’.

- (49) **Kapral bito Piotra.*
 corporal(MASC).NOM beat.IMPERS Peter(MASC).ACC
 ‘(intended) The corporal beat Peter./Peter was beaten by the corporal.’
- (50) **Uczniowie tutaj tańczono.*
 pupils(VIR).NOM here danced.IMPERS
 ‘(intended) Pupils were dancing here./The dancing was done here by the pupils.’

nor, in Polish, does it accept the expression of the agent in an oblique phrase as in the passive:

- (51) **Bito Piotra przez kaprala.*
 beat.IMPERS Peter(MASC).ACC by corporal
 ‘(intended) Peter was beaten by a/the corporal.’
- (52) **Tutaj tańczono przez uczniów.*
 here danced.IMPERS by pupils
 ‘(intended) Pupils danced here./The dancing was done here by pupils.’

1.4.3.1 The subject and the agent of the *-no/-to* construction

A closer examination of this construction reveals, however, that despite being superficially subjectless, the *-no/-to* impersonal appears to have a syntactically active ‘covert’ subject which participates in syntactic control and raising as well as binding reflexive and reflexive possessive pronouns. The following are examples of the syntactic phenomena in question.

Sentences (53)-(55) illustrate the fact that the subject of infinitival complement clauses and ‘participial’ (temporal) adjunct clauses is unproblematically controlled by the non-overt subject of the *-no/-to* construction:

- (53) *Chciano wyjechać.*
 wanted.IMPERS leave.INF
 ‘There was eagerness to leave.’
- (54) *Wychodząc z budynku zauważono napisy na ścianach.*
 leave.PARTCONTEMP from building noticed.IMPERS inscriptions(NONVIR).ACC on walls

‘On leaving the building they noticed some/the inscriptions on the walls.’

- (55) *Zakończywszy posiłek rozpoczęto dyskusję.*
finish.PARTANTERIOR meal(MASC).ACC began.IMPERS discussion(FEM).ACC
‘Having finished the meal, they began the discussion.’

When the non-overt subject of an embedded impersonal clause is ‘raised’ to the subject position in the main clause, the raising verb (*zdawać się* ‘seem.INF’) turns up in the impersonal (*zdawano się* ‘seemed.IMPERS’), as in:

- (56) *Zdawano się tego nie dostrzegać.*
seemed.IMPERS REFL this.MASC.GEN NEG notice.INF
‘[Those people] seemed not to notice this.’

And, finally, the *-no/-to* construction allows the use of reflexive and reflexive possessive pronouns in cases where they are required to be bound by the subject, as in:

- (57) *Oglądano się siebie w lustrze.*
looked-at.IMPERS REFL/self.ACC in mirror
‘One looked at oneself in the mirror./They looked at themselves in the mirror.’

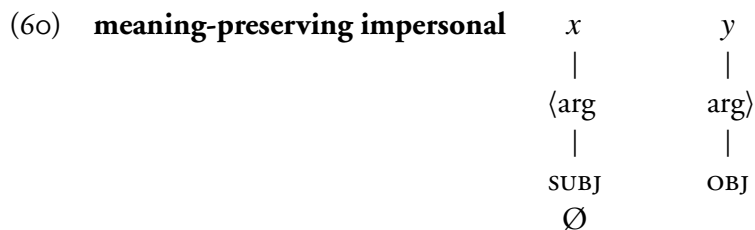
- (58) *Oglądano swoje zbiory.*
looked-at.IMPERS own[REFL].NONVIR.ACC collections(NONVIR).ACC
‘One looked at one’s collection./They looked at their collection.’

Furthermore, the *-no/-to* form licenses all sorts of agent-oriented adverbials (such as *celowo* ‘on purpose’, or other), and the *-no/-to* construction is invariably interpreted as involving a human agent. This requirement regarding interpretation is confirmed by sentences in which the original semantic implications of the verb are overridden by the obligatory interpretation of the situation or event as one involving human activity. The following sentence, for example, cannot be interpreted as relating to birds, but only to humans (example adapted from Siewierska 1988:263):

- (59) *Gniazda budowano wysoko.*
nests(NONVIR).ACC built.IMPERS high-up
‘One built nests high up.’

The *-no/-to* impersonal can, therefore, be characterised in the following way. It is a derived construction, with morphosyntactically distinct behaviour indicating a change which has occurred in the predicate's argument structure. This change happens to be accompanied by distinct morphological marking of the verb. Unlike the passive, however, it does not result in the alternative to the default mapping of grammatical functions; the construction obligatorily lacks the surface expression of the subject, but it retains the object in the way identical to personal sentences. Unlike the anticausative, it does not involve any change in the lexical semantics of the predicate – no argument is added or deleted. Its subjectlessness is very superficial – despite allowing no surface expression of subject or agent, the *-no/-to* impersonal has a syntactically active 'covert' subject which bears the unambiguously interpretable thematic role of an agent or experiencer. It can, therefore, be posited that the *-no/-to* impersonal preserves the valency of the predicate at all three levels of representation: semantic, lexical and syntactic; its only function is to suppress the surface realisation of the full-fledged, 'final' or logical, subject.

I suggest the following representation for the *-no/-to* impersonal:



The diagram represents the fact that in a meaning-preserving impersonal, such as the Polish *-no/-to* construction, both the semantic and syntactic levels of argument structure are essentially the same as in the unaltered (default) personal predicate. The only difference is the obligatory nonexpression in surface syntax of the subject argument linked to the agent role, indicated here by the symbol ∅. The second argument in this construction is optional.

1.4.3.2 The meaning-altering reflexive impersonal

The impersonal can, however, also be meaning-altering – that is, the operation may involve a change in the semantics of the predicate. Specifically, the original link between the subject argument and the agent role may be broken, resulting in the optional re-mapping of the released agent role onto a different argument of the predicate. This property of the impersonal is displayed by the other Polish impersonal construction, the one using a reflexive morpheme. The following are canonical examples of the reflexive impersonal in Polish (the first example is repeated from (9) in Section 1.1):

- (61) *Dom/Stodołę się budowało łatwo.*
house(MASC).ACC/barn(FEM).ACC REFL built.3SG.NEUT easily
'The house/The barn was easy (for one) to build.' (adapted from Siewierska 1988:269)

- (62) *Tańczyło się przyjemnie.*
danced.3SG.NEUT REFL pleasantly
'It was pleasant to dance./The dancing was pleasant.'

Like the *-no/-to* impersonal, the reflexive impersonal retains the logical object in the accusative case (as in example (61) above), implies a human agent or experiencer, and does not accept the surface expression of a subject in the form of a categorial argument marked for nominative case (this would create clear violation of subject-verb agreement):

- (63) **Ojciec łatwo się budowało dom/stodołę.*
father(MASC).NOM easily REFL built.3SG.NEUT house(MASC).ACC/barn(FEM).ACC
'(intended) Father built the house/the barn easily.'

- (64) **Przyjemnie się uczniowie tańczyło.*
pleasantly REFL pupils(VIR).NOM danced.3SG.NEUT
'(intended) Pupils danced with pleasure.'

The expression of an oblique passive agent is similarly unacceptable in this construction:

- (65) **Dom/Stodołę się budowało łatwo przez ojca.*
house(MASC).ACC/barn(FEM).ACC REFL built.3SG.NEUT easily by father
'(intended) The house/The barn was easy to build by the father.'

- (66) **Przyjemnie się tańczyło przez uczniów.*
 pleasantly REFL danced.3SG.NEUT by pupils
 ‘(intended) The dancing was pleasant by pupils.’

The suppressed covert subject of the reflexive impersonal can also participate in syntactic control and the binding of reflexive and reflexive possessive pronouns:

- (67) *Chciało się wyjechać.*
 wanted.3SG.NEUT REFL leave.INF
 ‘There was eagerness to leave.’

- (68) *Wsiadając do autobusu pokazuje się bilet.*
 get-on.PARTCONTEMP into bus shows REFL ticket(MASC).ACC
 ‘On getting on the bus one shows the ticket.’

- (69) *Zakończywszy posiłek tańczyło się do rana.*
 finish.PARTANTERIOR meal(MASC).ACC danced.3SG.NEUT REFL until morning
 ‘Having finished the meal, one danced until morning.’

- (70) *Maluje się całego siebie od stóp do głów.*
 paints REFL whole.MASC.ACC self.ACC from feet to heads
 ‘One covers oneself with paint from top to bottom.’

- (71) *Nie niszczyło się swoich dokumentów.*
 NEG destroyed.3SG.NEUT REFL OWN[REFL].NONVIR.GEN documents(NONVIR).GEN
 ‘One did not destroy one’s documents.’

However, as was mentioned above, unlike the *-no/-to* impersonal the reflexive impersonal has the capability to accommodate a surface expression of the agent. Specifically, the agent role may be mapped onto a dative argument analogous to the one which surfaces in the Polish anticausative (as in examples (38) and (39) from Section 1.4.2; see also next section for an outline of the difference between the agent re-mapped onto a dative and an oblique agent):

- (72) *Łatwo się ojcu budowało dom/stodołę.*
 easily REFL father(MASC).DAT built.3SG.NEUT house(MASC).ACC/barn(FEM).ACC
 ‘Father was building the house/the barn with ease.’

- (73) *Przyjemnie się uczniom tańczyło.*
 pleasantly REFL pupils(VIR).DAT danced.3SG.NEUT
 ‘Pupils danced with pleasure.’

This important difference between the two types of the impersonal suggests that the preservation of the semantic level of argument structure may not be a distinctive property of this construction. While both the syntactic structure of the derived impersonal clause, as well as the lexical semantics of the predicate represented by the valency frame, remain the same as in the original personal clause, the suppressed subject argument may release the agent role from its original linking and make it available to be picked up by syntax in a different way (the mechanism for this will be hypothesised in Chapters 4 and 6). When this happens, the impersonal may be argued to be meaning-altering, because it assigns a different semantic interpretation (or, a different role) to one of its original participants (see also next section). Its argument structure may be represented as in (74). Again, the second argument is not obligatory in this construction.

- (74) **meaning-altering impersonal**
- | | | |
|------|----------|------------------|
| | <i>y</i> | <i>x</i> |
| | | |
| ⟨arg | arg | arg⟩ |
| | | |
| SUBJ | OBJ | OBJ _θ |
| ∅ | | |

1.4.3.3 The remapping of the agent in the impersonal

As in the anticausative, the freeing up of the agent role in the reflexive impersonal seems to be only a by-product of the main operation, and the surface syntactic expression of the agent is optional in both constructions. While the main operation in the anticausative is deletion of the first (cause) argument from the valency frame of the predicate, the main operation in the impersonal is the suppression (indicated by the symbol ∅) of the ‘final’ syntactic subject of the predicate in order to prevent it from being realised in overt syntax.

However, it is interesting that both constructions allow the agent to reappear in surface

syntax in exactly the same way – mapped onto a dative argument. This is distinctly different from the way in which the suppressed agent is re-introduced into the phrase structure in the passive.

The Polish *przez*-phrase, which expresses the passive agent, overlaps with the corresponding English *by*-phrase only in its use in the passive construction. When denoting a human referent, the general use of the *przez*-phrase in active sentences of any type is to express an adjunct of cause (e.g. *Spóźniliśmy się przez niego* ‘We were late because of him’), and the passive agent seems to be compatible with this use. Adjuncts of cause in English are typically expressed in different prepositional phrases (*because of, on account of, for, out of, from* – see, e.g. Quirk et al. 1985:564). Moreover, the *by*-phrase introducing the passive agent in English can also be used as a non-argument postmodifier to denote authorship (*a novel by Dickens, a painting by Titian* – see *ibid.*:701). The Polish *przez*-phrase cannot be used in this context; instead, the corresponding phrase in Polish is made up of a noun and a nominal postmodifier in the genitive (*powieść Dickensa, obraz Tycjana*), making its interpretation ambiguous between authorship and possession.

The dative in Polish is the canonical grammatical function of a non-derived beneficiary. I will argue in Chapter 3 that it is a structural case and that Polish belongs to those languages which, unlike languages with applied (derived) benefactives, have a restricted object position in the argument structure available for non-derived mappings (canonically, the mapping of the beneficiary). I also hypothesise that, when the first participant role is freed up in the anticausative and the reflexive impersonal, it is this position which is used to express this participant optionally in these constructions.

This hypothesis is consistent with the interpretation of both the anticausative with an overt dative, and the reflexive impersonal with an overt dative. The participant mapped onto this position in these constructions is understood as the *real* causer of the event (regardless of whether originally more or less agentive), but it may at the same time be presented as an *unintentional* causer (which is in agreement with the interpretation of a

beneficiary/maleficiary canonically mapped onto the dative). Thus, the original causer mapped onto the dative does not cease to possess its original properties (e.g. sentience), but it is simply portrayed from a different semantic perspective. Further discussion of this phenomenon will be taken up in several other places throughout this work.

The causers of the anticausative and the reflexive impersonal cannot be expressed in a *przez*-phrase, because the *przez*-phrase is one of the means to express a *canonical* causer (including a demoted agent of the passive), whilst both the anticausative and the reflexive impersonal have undergone operations affecting their causer and rendering it ‘non-canonical’. Both the anticausative and the impersonal already imply a causer: our knowledge of the predicates in question tells us that there may have been (in the anticausative) or there has been (in the reflexive impersonal) a human causer behind the event. Because the *argument* corresponding to this causer is unavailable (deleted in the anticausative and suppressed in the reflexive impersonal), the causer cannot be mapped onto an oblique *przez*-phrase like a demoted agent. It could, arguably, be added to these constructions as an *adjunct* (non-argument) phrase. However, this would introduce a second causer participant to the clause (with the first one being implied by the construction). An overt expression of the implied causer in a dative argument is able to reconcile happily the interpretations of the real causer of the event and, at the same time, the beneficiary/maleficiary of the event.

In sum, the causers of the anticausative and the reflexive impersonal cannot be expressed in a *przez*-phrase in Polish, or a *by*-phrase in English, because these two constructions do not have the morphosyntactic resources in their argument structures to map the agent onto an oblique nominal such as the *przez/by*-phrase or the instrumental of the passive. I argue that in the passive the downgrading of the agent to an oblique occurs due to a change affecting the final syntactic specification of the first argument slot. The anticausative and the reflexive impersonal do not have this slot available for any more alterations.

Finally, I will also signpost now that a more detailed discussion of the use of the instrumental case in Polish to express the cause(r) will be taken up in Chapter 2.

1.5 Outline of the unified account of passive-like constructions

In the three sections above I hypothesised three types of operation that can be performed on the argument structure of the predicate: passivisation, anticausativisation and impersonalisation. All three of them result in constructions which have been considered passive or passive-like. I suggest that the reason for grouping them together has been the acknowledgement that all three operations affect, in some way, the first argument of the predicate – the argument which, in default conditions, is linked with the highest thematic role and assigned the grammatical function of subject. Although, due to the necessary stratification of argument structure into distinct levels of representation, it would be incorrect to call all of these operations ‘subject-affecting’, we may informally conceptualise all three of them as affecting the default subject of the predicate by preventing it from achieving its normal linking within argument structure or its normal surface realisation.

The reason why it is useful rather than distracting to look at all of these constructions together and compare them is that they help us identify the levels of representation that need to be posited in order to model the predicate. I have argued that, although all three operations affect the ‘would-be’ subject, they alter the argument structure of the predicate in very different ways, targeting the first argument of the predicate at three different levels of its abstract representation.

The passive operates at the syntactic level of argument positions and downgrades the first argument, normally mapped onto subject, to the lower grammatical function of an oblique. Passivisation is a meaning-preserving and function-changing operation, since the only change that occurs in the argument structure is an altered, non-default, mapping of the arguments onto surface syntactic functions. In a transitive predicate, it results in the following structure (diagram repeated from (25)):

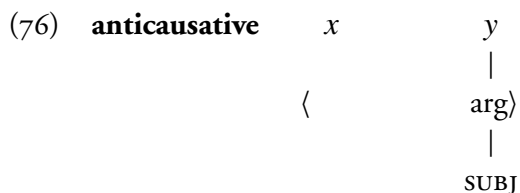
| | | |
|---------------------|-------|------|
| (75) passive | x | y |
| | | |
| | ⟨arg | arg⟩ |
| | | |
| | (OBL) | SUBJ |

Passivisation has been shown to be crosslinguistically restricted to a certain class of predicates referred to as unergative (Perlmutter 1978). On the other hand, a different meaning-preserving and function-changing operation, **locative inversion**, has been demonstrated (Bresnan & Kanerva 1989) to apply only to unaccusative predicates which are the complementary set to unergatives.

I will suggest in Chapter 2 (Section 2.2.4) and Chapter 5 that passivisation and locative inversion serve, essentially, the same purpose: they target the highest argument of the predicate, the ‘would-be’ surface subject, in order to downgrade it to a lower grammatical function. In passivisation, the highest argument is downgraded to an oblique, while in locative inversion the highest argument is downgraded to object. In both operations the second highest argument, if there is any, is ‘promoted’ to subject. The resulting alternative assignment of grammatical functions helps present the same situation from a different thematic perspective, and often provides a different syntactic pivot which may be required to connect the sentence with the surrounding discourse.

The anticausative also operates at the syntactic level of argument positions, but it is not concerned with the assignment of grammatical functions to arguments. It can be conceptualised as operating ‘deeper’ within argument structure, before the arguments are assigned their final grammatical functions. The anticausative deletes the first-slot argument from the predicate’s subcategorisation frame, rendering the predicate lexically detransitive. As a consequence and by-product of the main operation, the remaining arguments are indeed assigned different grammatical functions from the ones they would be assigned by default in the unaltered predicate frame. Specifically, the second argument (which now appears as the first in the argument structure) is mapped onto subject, which makes the construction somewhat similar to the passive. In a transitive predicate, the anticausative

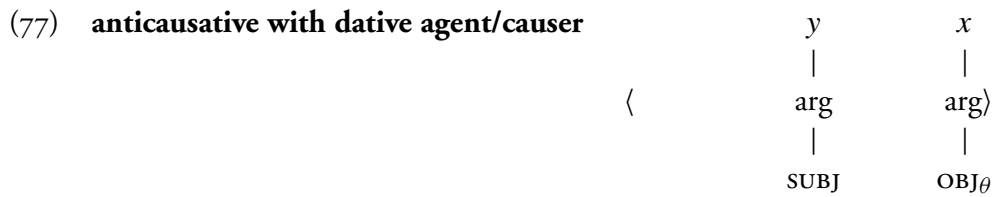
operation results in the following structure (diagram repeated from (45)):



However, while the passive alters only the surface representation of the predicate, the anticausative disrupts the predicate's argument structure in a much more serious way. By deleting an argument position and thereby ceding the privileged status of the first slot onto the (originally) second argument position, it changes the predicate's meaning. Specifically, the (original) second argument, mapped onto subject, may be interpreted as possessing agentive properties (sentience, volitionality) as if the characteristics of the abandoned agent role were transferred onto the second semantic participant turning it into a 'pseudo-agent'. In this way, the semantic level of representation is also affected, even if indirectly.

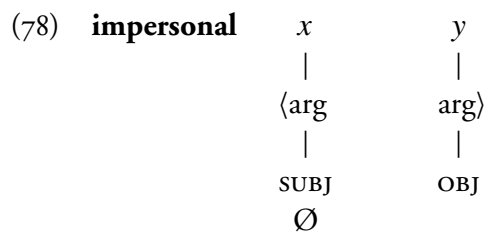
Semantics plays an important role in the interpretation of the anticausative. In Chapter 3 I will argue, for example, that the argument structure of the so-called 'middle' construction (as in: *This jumper washes easily, This dress buttons up while that one zips*) is that of the anticausative, but that the interpretation of the middle can only occur if the event or action requires the presence of a human agent (i.e. it is not possible to conceive of this particular event as occurring spontaneously). Furthermore, in both the canonical anticausative and the middle, the predication has to be semantically justified as well as informationally non-deficient for the construction to be interpretable and, thus, acceptable.

Although the main purpose of the anticausative operation is not a change at the semantic level, but rather a change in the lexical representation of the predicate, the anticausative may, as I have shown, involve a concomitant alteration at that level. Specifically, Polish anticausatives may optionally re-map the original principal participant of the event onto the third argument position in the argument structure (the position of the dative). This results in the following structure (diagram repeated from (46)):

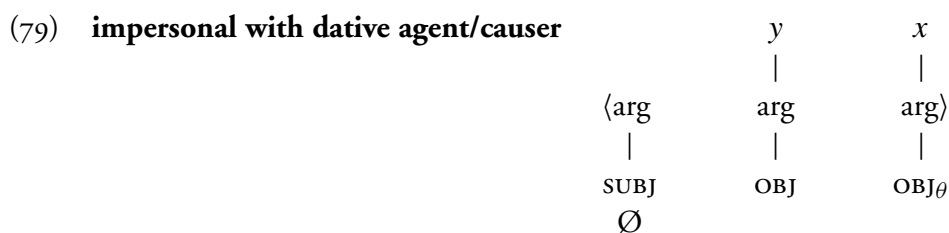


In Chapters 3 and 5 I will exemplify and offer a formal account of the processes involved in the anticausative, and throughout this work I will also make reference to other meaning-changing constructions (such as the dative shift, or the locative alternation) which result from the re-mapping of the original participants onto the available argument positions.

The nature of the last passive-like construction under consideration, **the impersonal**, is very different from both the passive and the anticausative. The canonical impersonal, such as the Polish *-no/-to* construction, is both meaning- and function-preserving, since it does not involve any alterations on either the lexical-syntactic or the semantic level of argument structure, nor does it alter the default assignment of grammatical functions to arguments. I also demonstrated above that the subjectlessness of impersonal constructions is very superficial: impersonals have syntactically active ‘covert’ subjects which are unambiguously interpreted as human agents or experiencers. In a transitive predicate, impersonalisation results in the following structure (diagram repeated from (60)):



However, in addition to the main process of suppressing the surface realisation of the logical subject, the impersonal may involve an additional, concomitant alteration in the semantic component of the predicate. It can, therefore, be meaning-altering (without, however, altering the lexical syntactic frame of the predicate). This process results in the following structure (diagram repeated from (74)):



Since the impersonal targets the ‘final’ subject of the predicate, the only syntactic restriction on its application is that the argument structure contains an argument which has been assigned the grammatical function of syntactic subject. This means that the impersonal can operate on both ‘active’, unaltered predicates, as well as on predicates which have undergone passivisation, as long as the argument structure contains a syntactic subject argument, and the referent of this final subject is a human participant.

The latter restriction, requiring the referent of the syntactic subject of the impersonal to be human, follows from the more general function of the impersonal, discussed above in Section 1.3. In that section I argued that the impersonal belongs to a class of constructions whose purpose is to despecify the principal participant (whether agentive or not) of the predicate by imposing on it the interpretation of either an unspecified or a generic human agent or experiencer. This does not have to be achieved through the application of an argument-structure-changing operation, but can, instead, be achieved through the use of particular agreement (e.g. 3^{PL}.^(VIR)) or a lexical item (e.g. *people*, *one*). Impersonal constructions serve the same function, but achieve the unspecified/generic agent interpretation through a morpholexical change evident in the morphological marking and in the altered morphosyntactic behaviour of the verb. The interpretation of the agent as an unspecified or generic human is a matter of convention in all unspecified-agent constructions. It appears that, crosslinguistically, this interpretation is conventionally associated with subjectless forms of personal verbs irrespective of the source of their subjectlessness (Blevins 2003:481).

In the following three Chapters of this work I will provide further evidence for the proposed analysis of the three types of construction and their position in the system of

argument-structure-changing operations. I will place special emphasis on giving the morphological impersonal the status of a distinct category of construction. This is due to the fact that this construction has been consistently misclassified and misanalysed in theoretical work, leading to theoretical solutions which were forced to compromise correct descriptive generalisations for which there is extensive evidence. Although in my detailed discussion I will exemplify only the range of constructions encountered in English and Polish, I hope that the proposed model of argument structure is capable of capturing the range of types into which various grammatical-voice-related constructions are organised crosslinguistically.

As has already been evident from the previous sections of this work, I will uphold the distinction made by some linguists (especially Sadler & Spencer 1998, and references therein to some earlier work) between meaning-changing and meaning-preserving operations within argument structure. Specifically, meaning-changing operations are taken to alter the semantic content of predicates, while meaning-preserving operations are understood to alter only the syntactic manifestation of a given semantic representation, particularly the way it is mapped onto grammatical relations (as in the passive). Constructions in which variable function assignment corresponds to a systematic alteration in the meaning of the predicate (such as in the locative alternation, for example) are also considered to be meaning-altering (Ackerman & Moore 2001).

However, I will also argue that meaning-changing operations can display further variation within this category. This is a straightforward consequence of the distinction between the semantic level of thematic roles and the lexical syntactic level of argument positions. Within meaning-changing operations, some may alter the lexical level of argument positions (by deleting or adding an argument to the original frame, as in the anticausative or the morphological causative), while others may only affect the level of thematic roles (by realigning them to map differently onto the available argument positions, as in the locative alternation). These different possibilities will be accounted for throughout the work and

formalised in Chapter 5.

Although the nature of valency frames is arguably syntactic, they are at the same time components of the lexico-semantic representation of the predicate and are determined in an important way by semantics. It is due to this twofold character of valency (subcategorisation) frames that the level of argument positions can be regarded as the very interface, or the touching point of the overlapping domains of semantics and syntax within the predicate.

Chapter 2

The passive

2.1 The form of the passive

The passive is an operation enabling the alternative to the default mapping of core grammatical functions onto the arguments of the predicate. The effects of the passive operation are the elimination of the initial, logical subject, and surface syntactic detransitivisation of the predicate. This is achieved by downgrading the highest core argument to the function of an oblique and rendering it optional. The downgrading of the highest argument creates an opportunity for the second highest argument, if there is any, to become promoted to the grammatical function of surface subject.

A change like this is, obviously, expected to be reflected in a change of the structure of the clause. We expect that a passive clause will be different in form from the default active. The most obvious change is the surface syntactic status of the participating nominals. In all passives crosslinguistically, the structural properties of grammatical functions, accompanied in many languages by the appropriate inflectional morphology, help us recognise that, in related clauses, the active subject corresponds to the non-obligatory passive oblique and the active direct object (if any) corresponds to the subject of the passive.

Identifying and ‘pairing up’ the arguments behind the particular grammatical functions

is, however, not sufficient to recognise the passive. On its own, this procedure would not enable us to determine the passive-active correspondence between two clauses. The following sentences: *A bear ate Peter* and *Peter ate*, in which the object of the former corresponds to the subject of the latter, are not an active-passive pair, but they are simply two different uses of the active verb form *ate*. It is therefore crucial that, apart from the correspondence of the arguments bearing the particular grammatical functions, the clauses in an active-passive pair express exactly the same relationship between the semantic participants of the action.

Although such a definition of the passive does not require that the verb changes its form at all, it is characteristic of the passive that the internal change in the argument structure of the predicate from the active to the passive has some morphological exponent within the verbal phrase itself. I suggest, however, that it is not passive verbal morphology that determines the interpretation of the clause as passive, but the structure of the whole clause. As will be demonstrated in Section 6.2, the morphology used by the passive may also be used by other constructions which overlap with the passive in their meaning, but which are not passive¹.

Perhaps the reason why the passive verb form does, crosslinguistically, tend to differ from the usually more basic active verb form is that in many (most?) languages this might be the only way to disambiguate the passive construction. If the passive was always recognisable by the presence of the two core semantic participants assigned non-default gram-

¹Haspelmath (1990:26-28) assumes an extreme position on the issue of the morphological exponent in the passive and argues that passive constructions without passive morphology do not exist. He argues that it might be possible to find passive constructions without special morphology in the verb phrase if the passive were a surface syntactic relation-changing phenomenon such as object raising, or a pragmatically-motivated phenomenon such as topic fronting or interrogative phrase fronting. In both cases the changing of grammatical relations would be achieved post-lexically in a movement-like fashion within the structure of the clause, by re-positioning and recombining the clausal elements. According to Haspelmath, the alleged cases that have been mentioned in the literature of constructions that appear to be passive without special verbal morphology should actually be analysed differently (i.e. not as passive).

grammatical functions, marking the construction on the verb would be superfluous. However, the essence of the passive is that it downgrades the agent participant to the grammatical function of an *oblique* – that is, to an argument which does not have to appear in the actual phrase structure representation of the clause. An agentless passive without passive verbal morphology might, therefore, be undistinguishable from the non-passive (active or other, e.g. anticausative) uses of the same verb and render the passive interpretation of the clause impossible².

On the other hand, the presence of a morphological exponent in the passive does not contradict or weaken the argument that the passive is determined by the structure of the clause, and that it is best understood as an operation applying to a lexical item, and not to a syntactic construction containing the item (cf. Blevins 2003:512). As has already been evident from the introductory Chapter, in the present work I adopt a lexical analysis of the passive which derives from studies (beginning with Bresnan 1972, 1982a) demonstrating that a purely syntactic approach to the passive is not correct. I follow lexicalist frameworks in arguing that the passive operation alters the argument structure of the predicate before the arguments are taken up by syntax and used in the appropriate phrasal configurations.

Since the essence of the passive is in its syntactic properties, I agree with Dryer's (1982) conclusion that passive morphology is an accidental fact about individual languages, rather than with Haspelmath's (1990) suggestion that passive morphology is required by any passive construction. However, I also acknowledge that, although it is not necessary that an internal change within the predicate must have a morphological exponent, the passive does, characteristically, involve a morphological marking which may have arisen as a dis-

²It would be interesting to find out whether this hypothesis is confirmed by crosslinguistic data – first of all, whether there really are languages that lack the morphosyntactic means to express downgraded passive agents, and whether languages with mostly agentless passives are indeed more likely to have passive verbal morphology than languages which have a successful strategy for the expression of the demoted agent in the passive. However, care should be taken to ascertain that the constructions in question are indeed passive, and not morpholexical impersonals which have fully interpretable but obligatorily unexpressed agents.

ambiguating feature of this construction.

There are three facts about the passive which are unsurprising in the light of what we have already established about this construction. First, since the passive overlaps in its function with several other types of constructions, it is not surprising to find that many languages do not have the passive at all. The communicative function of the passive in those languages is simply performed by other passive-like constructions, such as impersonal constructions, or by pragmatically-motivated phenomena such as topic-fronting.³ Lack of the passive has been reported for a number of languages by linguists such as Siewierska (1984:23,27) or Haspelmath (1990:28), and the latter study further suggests that it is in fact more likely for a language to lack a passive than to have one.

This last remark is particularly well-founded in view of the fact that Haspelmath's study is one of very few studies which recognise the distinction between the passive and the morphological impersonal (which he calls a 'desubjective') and expressly exclude the impersonal from the category of the passive. When looking at most other typological surveys and statistical comparisons of constructions it is important to realise that, up to the present moment, none of the theoretical syntactic frameworks and few of the typologically-oriented approaches have distinguished between the passive and the morphological impersonal constructions. Therefore, impersonal constructions in many languages have been frequently misanalysed and misclassified as passive (see Chapter 4 for a further discussion of this point with regard to the Polish impersonal). This is likely to be the reason behind the widespread, though incorrect, belief that the unmarked case is for a language to have a passive.

³In her typological study of grammatical voice systems, Klaiman (1991) describes in detail a discourse-level phenomenon, found in Mayan and Philippine languages, which she terms 'pragmatic voice'. It is realised through an alternation in the pragmatic salience of arguments that may but need not be accompanied by a change in grammatical relations. The alternations in pragmatic salience are taken to involve either ontological salience as determined by the well-known personal hierarchy or informational, discourse-based salience. Siewierska (1993:400), however, regards the distinction posited by Klaiman between derived voice (such as the passive) and informationally determined pragmatic voice, on the one hand, and pragmatic voice and pragmatic function marking, on the other, as unclear and therefore questionable.

The second fact about the passive follows from the definition of this construction as a derived one. Since it results from an alteration to existing, usable predicates, it is unsurprising to find that the passive tends to be in some way restricted in comparison with the unrestricted active construction which is taken to be basic. The restrictions are manifested in the lesser frequency of occurrence of the passive, its functional specialisation (Haspelmath *ibid.*:27), and a smaller range of applicability – specifically, the passive is limited to certain lexical classes of verbs. All the relevant restrictions on the English and Polish passives will be identified and discussed in further sections of this Chapter.

Finally, it is to be expected that, both crosslinguistically and intralinguistically, the passive can make use of different types of morphology. The study by Haspelmath (*ibid.*) illustrates the variety of verbal morphology associated with the passive construction. Among 80 languages of a genetically stratified random sample used by Haspelmath, 31 were found to have a passive, four of which had two passive morphemes and two had three passive morphemes. The following expression types of passive morphology were found in the sample: an additional stem affix (found in 25 languages), an auxiliary verb together with a participle (6 languages), a unique particle (1 language), an extra-inflectional affix (3 languages), differential subject person markers (2 languages), and an alternate stem affix (1 language).⁴

Crosslinguistically, by far the most common strategy of forming the passive seems to be adding a passive affix to the stem of the verb, inside aspect, tense, and person markers (Dryer 1982:55, Haspelmath *ibid.*:29). This seems to indicate that the change in the interpretation of the predicate due to passivisation is greater, or more relevant to the meaning of the verb itself, than the modification brought about by a change of aspect or tense. Passivisation affects the interpretation of the situation with regard to its participants, while aspect

⁴The number of expression types of passive morphology does not total up to 39 because one passive was not included by Haspelmath due to insufficient information about it. At least one further expression type not represented in the sample is sound replacement. A passive infix and a passive circumfix, which are not represented in the sample either, would be treated as subtypes of a stem affix. For a detailed discussion of all expression types of passive morphology see Haspelmath (1990).

only specifies the internal temporal structure of the situation, and tense simply enables the location of the situation in time. The most frequent occurrence of passivisation achieved by adding a stem affix confirms, then, that this type of change in the interpretation of the predicate is more internal to the predicate's structure than other, more external, marking indicating how and when the situation occurs. This is consistent with our treatment of the passive as valency-changing, hence derivational, as opposed to tense which is inflectional.

Despite verb affixation being the most common way of forming passives, neither Polish nor English uses this method to derive its passives. Instead, they are both typical of the Indo-European family of languages in using an auxiliary verb combined with a passive participle. Apart from Indo-European, the participial passive construction is also found in some Dravidian, Hamito-Semitic, Sino-Tibetan and South American Indian languages (Siewierska 1984:126), however its presence is most prominent in Indo-European and rare outside this language family. It is due to the prominence of this type of morphological expression of the passive in Indo-European that the participial passive has been assumed by western linguistics to be the defining form of the passive construction. An auxiliary and participle have, thus, become the most common morphological expression associated with passivisation, an expression which has played an important role in all syntactic theories.

The participial passive construction, also referred to as 'periphrastic' or 'analytic' passive, was exemplified earlier in Section 1.1 by the following sentences from English and Polish:

(80) *The window was broken by the boys from next door.*

(81) *Okno zostało wybite przez chłopaków od sąsiadów.*
 window became broken by boys from neighbours

The construction is made up of an auxiliary verb (a form of *be*, *become*, or *get* in English, and *być/bywać* 'be_{IMPERF/ITERATIVE}', or *zostać/zostawać* 'become_{PERF/ITERATIVE}' in Polish) and a form of the verb referred to as 'passive participle'. Although the participial verb forms used in the sentences above are indeed passive in meaning (or, orientation), I will argue in Chapter 6 that they do not derive this meaning from being part of the passive

construction. Instead, they are patient-oriented *resultative participles* which can function as adjectives and which are also used in the passive construction as main verbs (with an accompanying auxiliary verb).

More specifically, the term ‘participle’ used with reference to this form means that the form is neutral between being an adjective and a verb. The participles used in the passive construction are a subset of a larger category of verb-derived resultative participles which display a semantic orientation towards the affected participant. Like other adjectives, the resultative ones can be used either attributively or predicatively (with the copula ‘be’). However, resultative participles derived from unergative verbs can have an additional predicative function: they can be used as main verbs in verb compounds of the passive construction.

Due to this dual predicative function, the deverbal resultative elements occurring in the passive have been analysed as either adjectives (for example, by most movement-dependent syntactic accounts of the periphrastic passive; see also Section 6.3.9 for further discussion) or as main verbs in verb compounds (in traditional descriptions of English, e.g. Curme 1935:217ff; also, more recently, in Ackerman & Webelhuth 1998)⁵. The present analysis follows the latter tradition in treating the analytic passive verb as a ‘compound’ comprising an auxiliary and a main verb (the participle).

In sum, in the present work a participle will be considered a deverbal form which is category-neutral between an adjective and a verb. In the passive construction, the participle is a syntactically detransitivised main verb.

⁵According to Blevins, ‘[t]he distributional criteria applied by post-Bloomfieldians such as Wells 1947 likewise define an extended notion of “verb” that encompasses auxiliary-verb and verb-particle combinations. This analysis survives in fact into the earliest transformational studies. Chomsky 1957 expands the category *Verb* as *Aux* + *V*, and then describes an analysis of *V* into *V_I* + *Prt* as “the most natural way of analyzing these [verb-particle] constructions” (page 39). It is only with the subsequent decision to exclude discontinuous constituents *tout court* that the status of such complex predicates became in any way problematic for generative accounts’ (2001:356).

2.2 Syntactic issues

This section will deal with a variety of syntactic issues which have been observed in relation to the passive construction, all of which will be shown to be predicted by the definition of the passive given above. When the passive operation is captured at the syntactic level of argument structure, all of its distinctive properties are correctly derived from the single rule or constraint, with no need to compromise the rule by a list of exceptions.

All of the cases of failure of passivisation can plausibly be regarded as unaccusative predicates. This hypothesis will be outlined in Section 2.2.1 below, and its formalisation will be offered in the theoretical Chapter 5. Section 2.2.2 will recall and illustrate the formation of impersonal passives of intransitives. In Section 2.2.3 I will discuss the possibility of promoting beneficiary and other non-core semantic participants to subjects in the passive in both English and Polish. Promotion of oblique arguments to subjects in unaccusative predicates, resulting in the so-called locative inversion, will be discussed in Section 2.2.4 and I will point out the complementarity of the operations of passivisation and locative inversion. Finally, in Sections 2.2.5 and 2.2.6, I will offer a discussion of some surface syntactic issues related to the passive, such as the eligibility of objective prepositional phrases, clauses, and raised objects to become passive subjects in both English and Polish.

2.2.1 Unergativity versus unaccusativity

The first studies to analyse the constraints on the passive in purely syntactic terms were initiated in the 1970s in the Relational Grammar (RG) framework. The Unaccusative Hypothesis, first expressed in the framework of RG (Perlmutter 1978, and numerous follow-ups, e.g. Rosen 1984), distinguishes between *unergative* verbs which passivise and *unaccusative* verbs which do not passivise by identifying differences in their argument structures.

In the spirit of the original RG suggestion, I assume that unergative predicates are those which single out the ‘deep’, or ‘initial’ subject argument in their argument structures, while unaccusative predicates fail to do so and instead just list their arguments, possibly as

complements. This syntactic difference accounts for the difference in their availability for passivisation and also correlates, on a language-by-language basis, with some other syntactically determined behaviour such as auxiliary selection for intransitives (see the references above, also Wechsler 1995a).

Perlmutter (1978) and Perlmutter & Postal (1984:98-99) (abridged in Siewierska 1984:200) give the following description of predicates which are found crosslinguistically not to occur in the passive:

- (82)
- a. predicates describing: sizes, shapes, colours, smells, weights;
 - b. one-participant predicates whose subject is semantically a patient: 'burn', 'fall', 'die', 'drop', 'trip', 'bend', 'dry', 'shake', 'gush', etc., including inchoatives like 'melt', 'evaporate', 'reduce', 'grow', etc.;
 - c. predicates of existing and happening: 'occur', 'place', 'end up', 'vanish', 'happen', etc.;
 - d. one-participant predicates expressing non-voluntary emission of stimuli that impinge on the senses (light, noise, smell): 'shine', 'sparkle', 'glisten', 'glow', 'smell', etc.;
 - e. one-participant aspectual predicates: 'begin', 'start', 'continue', 'end', etc.;
 - f. duratives: 'last', 'remain', 'stay', etc.

This suggests that unaccusatives may also be viewed as a syntactic class with some semantic properties in common. However, although attempts have been made to distinguish passivising from non-passivising predicates on the basis of their semantics, it has, in fact, proven impossible to state a semantic criterion that would be a clear common denominator for either of them. I take it, therefore, that the fundamental distinguishing characteristic of unaccusatives in many languages is indeed that they cannot undergo regular passivisation.

Since a passive rule demotes, or downgrades, the 'initial' subject, it simply fails to apply to the argument structures of predicates which do not have the 'initial' subject argument.

All lexicalist frameworks have the means to indicate whether the first argument in the argument structure of a given predicate is a ‘deep’ subject or a non-subject argument. In HPSG, for example, an unaccusative predicate lists all its arguments as dependants, but has an empty subject list. In LFG, the syntactic pre-specification of arguments makes it possible to differentiate between the first argument of unergative predicates and the first argument of unaccusative predicates by assigning to them different atomic values and thereby providing them with different possibilities of mapping onto grammatical functions. In this way, both unaccusatives and unergatives may end up with a surface syntactic subject, but only unergatives, which pre-specify their first argument for this function, have a ‘deep’, or ‘initial’ subject which can be targeted by the passive rule. (The details of this proposal will be presented in Chapter 5).

The following are Polish and German examples of intransitive predicates which undergo passivisation, contrasted with those which do not:

- (83) a. *Tutaj było tańczone.*
 here was.3SG.NEUT dance.PART.SG.NEUT
 ‘There was dancing here./The dancing was done here.’ (repeated from (27))
- b. *Dzisiaj było już sprzątane –przez sprzątaczkę.*
 today was.3SG.NEUT already clean.PART.SG.NEUT by cleaners
 ‘The cleaning has already been done today – by cleaners.’
- (84) **W kuchni było zostawane (przez ludzi).*
 in kitchen was.3SG.NEUT remain.PART.SG.NEUT (by people)
 ‘There has been remaining in the kitchen (by people).’
- (85) a. *Gestern wurde getanzt.*
 yesterday was.3SG danced
 ‘Yesterday there was dancing.’ (repeated from (26c); Comrie 1977:51)
- b. *In der Küche wurde (von vielen Leuten) geraucht.*
 in the kitchen was.3SG (by many people) smoked
 ‘There was smoking (by many people) in the kitchen.’ (Blevins 2003:477)

- (86) **In der Küche wurde (von vielen Leuten) geblieben.*
 in the kitchen was.3SG (by many people) remained
 ‘There was remaining (by many people) in the kitchen.’ (Blevins 2003:478)

The ill-formed examples (84) and (86) above attempt to model an intransitive unaccusative verb on an intransitive unergative one. It is worth noting that treating the single argument of the unaccusative as an undergoer or patient and modelling the predicate on a transitive unergative would similarly yield an unacceptable passive:

- (87) **Ludzie byli zostawani (w kuchni).*
 people(VIR).NOM were.3PL.VIR remain.PART.PL.VIR (in kitchen)
 ‘People were remained (in the kitchen).’

The difference between unergative and unaccusative passives of intransitives is impossible to illustrate with English examples, because the passive of the intransitive is impersonal (i.e. lacking a ‘final’ subject) and English disallows impersonal constructions in general⁶. Thus, in English no intransitive predicates can undergo passivisation, regardless of whether they are unergative or unaccusative.

Transitive predicates, however, do show the unergative/unaccusative distinction in both Polish and English. The following are examples of ill-formed passives of transitive unaccusative predicates (from the class including *trwać* ‘last’, *ważyc* ‘weigh’, and *kosztować* ‘cost’):

- (88) a. **80 kilogramów było wazone (przez Piotra).*
 80.NOM kilograms(NONVIR).GEN was.3SG.NEUT weigh.PART.SG.NEUT (by Peter)
 ‘80 kilograms were weighed (by Peter).’ (=‘Peter weighed 80 kilograms’)
- b. **Cała środa była trwana (przez ...)*
 whole.FEM.NOM Wednesday(FEM).NOM was.3SG.FEM last.PART.SG.FEM (by ...)

⁶A discussion of the use of *it* and other pleonastic elements as placeholders in surface subject position in English is deliberately omitted from this study as the phenomenon requires a systematic examination in its own right.

konferencje.
conference)

'The whole of Wednesday was lasted (by the conference).'

- (89) a. *80 kilograms were weighed (by Peter). (= Peter weighed 80 kilograms)
b. *The whole of Wednesday was lasted (by the conference).

Siewierska (1984:189) confirms that the same facts obtain crosslinguistically for all measure verbs (e.g. *cost*, *last*, *number*, *weigh* as in the example above, *sleep* as in *This room sleeps four*, *hold* as in *The jar holds oil*, or *The auditorium holds 5000 people*), verbs of equality and comparison (e.g. *equal*, *mean*, *resemble*), verbs of suiting (e.g. *suit*, *become*, *fit*) and verbs of possession (e.g. *have*, *belong*, *lack*). The following are English examples illustrating some more unacceptable passives formed with these verbs:

- (90) a. *A nice house is had by them.
b. *You are not fitted by these shoes.
c. *You are suited by this pale blue.
d. *Prince William is resembled by Peter.
e. *Confidence is lacked by her.
f. */?Oil is held by the jar.

Since passivisation is essentially syntactic in nature (as it manipulates the syntactic properties of arguments), it is not surprising to find that it is sensitive to argument structure and, in effect, insensitive to semantics – that is, insensitive to the particular thematic roles borne by the arguments of the predicate. Therefore, following Perlmutter's (1978) original suggestion that there is an unergative/unaccusative distinction in intransitive verbs, I conclude that verbs which crosslinguistically do not passivise can be regarded as syntactically unaccusative, that is, lacking a 'deep' subject argument.

2.2.2 Impersonal passives

The impersonal variant of the periphrastic passive results from the application of the passive rule to an intransitive predicate regardless of whether the predicate originally subcategorised for one argument only, or whether it happened to be an intransitive use of a potentially transitive predicate (see Chapter 5 for a discussion of transitivity and valency frames).

Below are some more examples of Polish impersonal passives:

- (91) *Wchodzisz i czujesz, że było palone.*
 come-in.2SG and feel/smell.2SG that was.3SG.NEUT smoke.PART.SG.NEUT
 ‘You come in and you can smell that there has been smoking [here].’
- (92) *Czy na tej ulicy już było sypane?*
 INTERROG on this street already was.3SG.NEUT throw/spread.PART.SG.NEUT
 ‘Has there already been spreading [of grit] on this street?’
- (93) *Nie widać, żeby tutaj było sprzątane przez kogokolwiek.*
 NEG see.[NON-PERSONAL] COMPL.[3SG] here be.-Ł-PART.SG.NEUT
 tidy-up.PART.SG.NEUT by anyone
 ‘It doesn’t look as if this place was cleaned by anyone.’
- (94) *Będzie ci wybaczone, jeśli przeprosisz.*
 be.FUT.3SG you.2SG.DAT forgive.PART.SG.NEUT if apologise.FUT.2SG
 ‘[It] will be forgiven you if you apologise.’

I suggested earlier that the personal passive of the transitive can be represented in the following way (repeated from (25) in Section 1.4.1 in Chapter 1):

- (95) **passive of the transitive**
- | | |
|----------|----------|
| <i>x</i> | <i>y</i> |
| | |
| ⟨arg | arg⟩ |
| | |
| (OBL) | SUBJ |

When the passive operates on an intransitive predicate, the result can be diagrammed as follows:

(96) **passive of the intransitive** *x*
 |
 ⟨arg⟩
 |
 (OBL)

If the predicate does not subcategorise for any other arguments apart from the one being demoted, there is no possibility of promoting any other argument to the status of syntactic subject. On the other hand, the mere presence of another argument does not guarantee its promotion either. In Polish, only ‘initial’ objects, expressing patients/themes, can be promoted to subject. Although the same general rule applies in English passives, I will show in Section 2.2.4 that, in the appropriate syntactic circumstances, the demotion of the first argument may result in an oblique location argument being mapped onto syntactic subject. I will also argue in Section 2.2.3 that English beneficiaries mapped onto passive subjects occupy the second, direct object position in the argument structure.

The overt expression of the demoted agent in impersonal passives in Polish is not as easily acceptable as in personal passives. This may be due to the fact that passivisation of intransitive predicates yields clauses which structurally resemble and functionally pattern with unspecified-agent constructions⁷. If a predicate has only one argument, the agent, it can either be specified and appear in a personal clause, or be unspecified through a variety of means. Some of the means of despecifying the agent do not make the clause subjectless: these are the use of lexical items with unspecified/generic reference, or the use of conventionally interpreted verbal agreement. If, however, the agent is despecified through impersonalisation or passivisation, the clause will lack a surface subject. Reintroducing the demoted agent into an impersonal passive would contradict the intention to despecify it in the first place. Although it is syntactically legitimate in Polish, it seems to be justified only if the agentive phrase is an afterthought or addition to the main utterance (as in (83b)

⁷Blevins (2003:489) remarks that ‘[s]ubjectless passives often have an implicitly human interpretation, which suggests that this interpretation is associated with subjectless forms of personal verbs, irrespective of the syntactic source of that subjectlessness’.

above).

Reintroducing the agent into surface syntax as an oblique evidently does not pose the same kind of problem in personal passives. This may be because the prime motivation behind personal passives may be the need to locate the syntactic pivot on the initial object of the predicate, and not the need to despecify the agent of the predicate. Impersonal passives do not have the capacity to provide a different syntactic pivot for the clause. Therefore, unless the agent of an intransitive predicate needs to be unspecified, it will simply be kept as the subject of the personal active sentence rather than demoted from this position only to be reintroduced to surface syntax as an oblique constituent.

The final note of this section concerns verbal agreement displayed by Polish impersonal passives. Polish verbs normally agree with the syntactic subjects of their clauses. Due to the lack of a syntactic subject, impersonal passives show ‘default’ impersonal agreement – that is, the verbs appear in 3SG neuter form. The same agreement, also caused by the lack of a surface subject, is used in the Polish reflexive impersonal which does not have its own dedicated verbal morphology (the personal verb form is simply accompanied by the derivational morpheme *się*). Apart from these situations, 3SG.NEUT agreement is also used in Polish with non-agreeing subjects such as certain quantifier phrases, clausal subjects, certain indeclinable subjects, acronyms and foreign place names. Finally, it is also used in syntactically personal sentences whose subject is a dropped indefinite pronoun with non-human reference (*coś* ‘something’) which requires this verbal agreement – for example, in the so-called ‘weather constructions’ or ‘adversity impersonals’. All these phenomena will be illustrated and discussed in the further parts of this work.

2.2.3 Non-canonical passive subjects

The fact that passivisation targets and demotes the initial subject preventing it from being mapped onto the surface subject enables a different argument to assume the function of the surface subject. Most naturally, this function is assumed by the second argument, the

initial object, if there is one in the argument structure of the predicate.

As was already said in the previous section, Polish disallows the promotion of any arguments other than the underlying object to subject. English is a little more flexible in this respect: although it also allows only one, the second highest, argument to be mapped onto subject after passivisation, this argument does not have to be the original underlying object (i.e. the patient/theme participant), but it may be a beneficiary. This is made possible by allowing the beneficiary to be mapped optionally onto the second argument position (that of the direct object), which, in turn, enables it to become a passive subject.

Furthermore, English seems to be even more flexible from the semantic point of view. While Polish allows only patient/theme arguments to become passive subjects, English makes this possible not only for patients/themes and beneficiaries, but – apparently – also for other oblique participants normally mapped onto oblique (non-objective) arguments. The resulting constructions have been referred to as ‘prepositional passives’. Following the now standard LFG analysis, I will argue that the passive subject in this construction is also, initially, a direct object. This is made possible by incorporating the preposition into the verb and thus, in effect, turning the oblique participant into the direct object of the complex verb (Bresnan 1982a).

In the sections below I will describe these phenomena in more detail and hypothesise the mechanisms which produce them. The aim of the discussion below is to give a pre-theoretical outline of the analysis which will be formalised in Chapter 5.

2.2.3.1 Beneficiary objects as subjects

I will begin the discussion of beneficiary passive subjects by illustrating the phenomenon of the ‘dative’ in active sentences in Polish and English. I use the term ‘dative’ to refer to an argument of the predicate which is linked to a beneficiary/maleficiary (but not patient) participant and which seems to be more closely related to the verb and integrated into the argument structure than other oblique participants. In many well known languages,

such as most Slavonic languages (that is, Bielorussian, Czech, Kashubian, Polish, Russian, Serbo-Croatian, Slovak, Slovene, Ukrainian, Upper Sorbian – but not Bulgarian or Macedonian; Primus 1998:450), canonical case marking distinguishing this argument from the canonical patient/theme (marked with the accusative case) is dative. In languages which have a canonical dative, it differs from obliques in that it cannot be multiplied and has its own, uniquely designated position in the argument structure⁸.

In Polish, which belongs to the group of languages which use the canonical dative marking for the beneficiary, it is not possible to either promote this argument to subject (and give it nominative case marking) or change its status to object (and give it accusative case marking) through any argument-structure or syntactic alteration in the predicate. Although the dative argument is frequently interpreted as a recipient, the recipient or goal – if different from the beneficiary – can be expressed independently in an oblique argument introduced by a preposition:

- (97) *Moja siostra upiekła mi sernik dla*
 my.FEM.NOM sister(FEM).NOM baked.3SG.FEM me.DAT cheesecake(MASC).ACC for
gości.
 guests
 ‘My sister has baked me a cheesecake for my guests.’

- (98) *Piotr dał kotce rybę dla jej*
 Peter(MASC).NOM gave.3SG.MASC she-cat(FEM).DAT fish(FEM).ACC for her
małych.
 small-ones
 ‘Peter gave the cat a fish for her young.’

In typical ditransitive predicates in Polish, when the recipient and the beneficiary have the

⁸It has to be remembered, however, that the ‘dative’ as defined here – i.e. as the ‘third structural case’ – is a typologically restricted pattern. Many languages with rich case systems lack datives. In those languages, all other cases apart from the first two structural ones (those of the subject and the object) are treated as semantic cases. Thus, the term ‘dative’ could also be used as a cover term for a grammatical relation identified in some languages by a structural position, and in other languages by semantic case. See also further remarks on this issue in this section.

same referent, it is more common to use dative case to mark it rather than introduce it in a prepositional phrase. However, either way is usually possible, although the two strategies may give rise to slightly different interpretations of the clause.

Finally, almost any Polish clause without a dative can be expanded to include a beneficiary referring to ‘self’, canonically marked for dative, regardless of the number and type of other dependants of the predicate, and without altering the syntactic or semantic mappings in the predicate’s argument structure:

(99) *Piotr czytał/przeczytał (sobie) gazetę.*
 Peter(MASC).NOM read_{IMPERF/PERF}.3SG.MASC (self[REFL].DAT) newspaper(FEM).ACC
 ‘Peter was reading/has read (for himself) a/the newspaper.’

(100) *Koty siedziały (sobie) na tarasie.*
 cats(NONVIR).NOM sat.3PL.NONVIR (self[REFL].DAT) on terrace
 ‘The cats were sitting (for themselves) on the terrace.’

(101) *Tak się (sobie) zastanawiam.*
 so REFL (self[REFL].DAT) wonder.ISG
 ‘I’m just wondering (to myself).’

(102) *W kuchni (sobie) palono.*
 in kitchen (self[REFL].DAT) smoked.IMPERS
 ‘[They] smoked (for themselves) in the kitchen.’

The only considerations regarding the acceptability of such a dative seem to be those of style, semantic plausibility, and – in some cases – morphotactics (in particular, some speakers may question the acceptability of the reflexive dative with reflexive verbs, as in (101), possibly due to the otherwise effective principle of haplology preventing the occurrence of multiple instances of the reflexive marker in Polish⁹).

⁹It is known that in simple clauses a single verb in Polish cannot appear with more than one reflexive marker *się*, irrespectively of their functions. The issue of the haplology – i.e. omission without a consequence for the well-formedness of the clause – of the reflexive marker in Polish is discussed extensively in Kupść (2000).

Modern English does not mark its beneficiaries for dative. Instead, an English beneficiary is expressed either adpositionally (headed by a preposition), like an oblique or an adjunct, or in a syntactic argument which is not headed by a preposition, which occupies the surface position of the direct object and behaves like a direct object with respect to passivisation. The latter possibility of expressing a beneficiary, occurring mainly in Germanic languages, is referred to as ‘dative alternation’ or ‘dative shift’¹⁰:

- (103) a. *Peter gave a book to John.*
b. *Peter gave John a book.*
- (104) a. *Both parents cooked supper for the children.*
b. *Both parents cooked the children supper.* (Bresnan 2001:315-316)

Not all English verbs which have a beneficiary-like oblique participant allow it to be moved to object position. Among verbs which do not allow dative shift are: *administer, contribute, donate, extend, refund, restore, sacrifice, transfer, announce, convey, declare, demonstrate, explain, mention, repeat* (Davidse 1998:150, cited after Levin 1993), for example:

- (105) a. *He administered the vaccine to a child.* (Davidse 1998:149, ex. 8)
b. **/(?)He administered a child the vaccine.*

However, just like predicates with ordinary direct objects (sentences (a-c) below), all these verbs can move their objects to the right by heavy NP shift, as in sentence (d) below:

- (106) a. *Fred met on Sunday someone he hadn't seen since he was in college.* (Hudson 1992:259, ex. 26a)

¹⁰According to Primus (1998:440ff), dative shift is found in English, Dutch, Swedish, Norwegian, and Frisian (all of which have lost the morphological distinction between dative and accusative), and variants of this alternation are found in Icelandic and German. As for the languages outside Europe, as reported for example in Blansitt (1973), some of them (such as Bantu languages) are probably better analysed as having applied benefactives rather than dative shift as described above. A discussion of this issue, however, is beyond the scope of this work.

- b. *Both parents cooked for the children the nicest supper that included all their favourite dishes.*
- c. *Fred gave (to) Ann on Sunday some lovely flowers that he'd bought in the market the day before.* (adapted from Hudson *ibid.*, ex. 27b)
- d. *The idea would be to administer to patients the growth-controlling proteins.* (Davidse 1998:149, ex. 9)

I propose that the reason why dative shift does not apply to the set of English verbs listed above is that the beneficiary-like participant in those predicates is a recipient, goal, or direction, but not a beneficiary. At the same time, I do not propose that the difference in the syntactic behaviour of these arguments can be established on the basis of semantic distinctions between them. The different semantic labels which I use are only the means to capture the fact that there are two categories of participants classified differently by syntax. Although in English all non-patient and non-theme participants are mapped by default onto oblique arguments, only one type of these participants (thus identified as the beneficiary) is allowed to 'shift' to become a surface syntactic object in the alternating construction.

The passivisability of the shifted beneficiary in English can be illustrated with the following sentences:

- (107) a. *Peter gave John a book.*
 b. *John was given a book (by Peter).*
- (108) a. *Both parents cooked the children supper.*
 b. *The children were cooked supper (by both parents).* (Bresnan 2001:316)

In the dative shift construction, when the direct object position is occupied by the beneficiary, the patient/theme argument can no longer be passivised easily (or at all):

- (109) a. *Peter gave John a book.*

- b. ?*A book was given John (by Peter)*.
- (110) a. *Both parents cooked the children supper*.
- b. **Supper was cooked the children (by both parents)*. (Bresnan 2001:316)

However, unlike the shifted beneficiary whose only objective characteristic is its passivisability, the patient/theme argument retains a couple of other characteristics of a primary object, such as the availability for extraction or the unavailability to be substituted in idioms (see Hudson 1992 for a detailed account of the differences between the two objective arguments in the dative shift construction).

The status of the two objective arguments in the dative shift construction has been long debated in both descriptive and theoretical frameworks and the current accounts are still conflicting, as is the use of the traditional terms ‘direct’ and ‘indirect’ object for either of the two arguments (which usually depends on the framework). The analysis of the dative shift proposed here, following the intuitions first formulated in the RG framework, converges with the current LFG analysis in the key suggestions that the shifted beneficiary is a syntactic object at surface structure and the shifted patient/theme is a secondary object.

Furthermore, I suggest that Polish and other languages with non-derived (i.e. non-applied) beneficiary arguments marked for dative case should be regarded as having a structural dative alongside a structural nominative and accusative. Specifically, I propose that in the argument structure of Polish predicates there is a third, default, non-derived argument position – one with the syntactic pre-specification which LFG reserves for ‘secondary objects’. It is the canonical position of a dative, a non-core argument which is at the same time non-oblique, and which is not able to passivise:

| | | | |
|---|----------|----------|------------------|
| (III) transitive predicate with default dative | <i>x</i> | <i>y</i> | <i>b</i> |
| | | | |
| | ⟨arg | arg | arg⟩ |
| | | | |
| | SUBJ | OBJ | OBJ _θ |

Apart from the canonical uses, the position may be used for derived mappings, for example the mapping of the de-linked agent in the anticausative and the reflexive impersonal (as was illustrated in Chapter 1).

The suggested classification of the dative position as non-core in the sense of subcategorisation comes from the fact that it is never required by syntax in default, non-altered clauses, even in *semantically* ditransitive predicates. In Polish, it is never syntactically obligatory (even though it is syntactically non-oblique), and in the corresponding non-shifted clauses in English the position is actually unusable because English does not have a means to mark it (while the beneficiary expressed in an oblique is syntactically non-obligatory either). Thus, the beneficiary participant can be left syntactically unexpressed both in Polish and in English, even in semantically ditransitive predicates in which it is conceptually inalienable from the action.

As I already said above, in contrast with Polish, the third argument position in English predicates is unused in any default, unaltered mappings, because English does not have a means to mark a dative and to identify it unless the position becomes identifiable as a result of a 'shift' among the participants. The fact that the dative position is unused in English in predicates with unaltered mappings is evident from the lack of syntactically intransitive English clauses comprising only subjects and datives, but no direct objects (for the possible exception regarding the verb *give*, see the discussion further below). Thus, a sentence such as *Both parents cooked the children*, where the verb *cook* is used intransitively, but the nominal *the children* is meant to be understood as a beneficiary, does not receive the required interpretation unless the beneficiary is expressed in an oblique: *Both parents cooked for the children*.

Further support for the statement that the dative position is unused in English predicates with unaltered mappings comes from the behaviour of semantically ditransitive predicates in English – that is, those predicates in which the beneficiary is conceptually inalienable from the action. Verbs such as *sell*, *owe*, or even *give*, are unproblematic as 'transitives

only', i.e. with two core arguments of the subject and the object but without a syntactic expression of the beneficiary: *He sold three cars*; *He now owes too much to be able to pay back*; *He gave 60 pounds in total*. As in the example above, if the direct object were to retain its status and properties of a structural object (including its ability to passivise), a beneficiary could only be added to these sentences as an oblique. It is not possible to add it as the third, non-oblique, argument marked for dative, because dative marking is not available in English (it is unavailable even in pronouns which have retained accusative marking and use it in structural accusative positions; cf. **He sold three cars John*; **He gave the book me/him*).

I suggest that 'dative shift' is a morpholexical operation on argument structure which alters the mappings of the semantic participants of the predicate onto argument positions (it is, thus, meaning-altering). The result of this alteration are a non-canonical object (the beneficiary mapped onto the second argument position) and a non-canonical dative (the patient/theme mapped onto the third, non-oblique, argument position):

| | | | |
|---|----------|-----------------|------------------|
| (112) transitive predicate with shifted dative | <i>x</i> | <i>b</i> | <i>y</i> |
| | | | |
| | ⟨arg | arg | arg⟩ |
| | | | |
| | SUBJ | OBJ | OBJ _θ |

In a dative-shifted predicate, the shifted beneficiary can, predictably, become a passive subject. However, due to the particular syntactic pre-specification of the third argument position, the shifted patient/theme is not allowed to passivise. Thus, the proposed analysis accounts for the general passivisability patterns of the non-dative-shifted and dative-shifted predicates in English (though see below for a brief discussion of some exceptional cases such as (109b)). All the phenomena discussed in this section will be modelled in Chapter 5 using a formalism derived from LMT.

The passivisation cases in English which do not conform to the pattern described above shed some more light on the strategies used by English to recover its dative. According to the analysis above, the patient/theme argument (*y*) in a dative shift construction represented in (112) should not be allowed by syntax to become a passive subject. Although

this is normally the case (as in (110b)), it has been noted by several linguists that some English speakers find it acceptable to have a passive sentence with a canonical passive subject (patient/theme) and a prepositionless (i.e. non-oblique) beneficiary in the immediately postverbal position, as in (109b). The following examples, drawn from various sources which quoted them as acceptable or quite acceptable, have been compiled by Hudson (1992:257):

- (113) a. ?*Those sweets were given the children by Anne.* (Hudson 1992:257)
 b. ?*A book was given John.* (Jaeggli 1986:596)
 c. ?*A gold watch was given Jones by the railway when he retired.* (Anderson 1988:300)
 d. ?*No information is given the model about word classes.* (Arbib & Hill 1988:63)
 e. ?*The fault was forgiven him by me.* (Nesfield 1916:46)
 f. ?*Two pounds were allowed him by us.* (ibid.)

Hudson (ibid.) and Dryer (1986:833) recognise that a large number of English speakers, perhaps a majority, find sentences like the above unacceptable. Some speakers, however, accept them quite happily. It is interesting to note that most examples – as well as the most acceptable examples – use the verb *give*; with other verbs the suggested passivisation pattern seems more problematic. Finally, as reported by Hudson, the two examples using verbs other than *give* come from ‘a very traditional grammar’ (published in 1916).

Speculatively – as this matter needs further investigation¹¹ – I suggest that it might be possible to analyse the examples above in the same way as Polish clauses with a structural dative. Although English normally maps beneficiaries onto an oblique argument position, the third (objective) argument position is available for this language and it is used in the dative shift construction. It is reasonable to hypothesise that dative shift is only possible in languages which, like English, have lost the morphological distinction between dative

¹¹Specifically, a close examination of the patterns of ditransitive complementation in English would have to be undertaken. See. e.g. Quirk et al. 1985:1209ff and Levin 1993:45ff for preliminary classifications.

and accusative, but which have retained the syntactic slot for the dative in their argument structure.

Once the morphological distinction between dative and accusative was lost (and triggered syntactic changes, for example to the passive), it is difficult to see how the category distinction between accusative and dative structural cases could be maintained – that is, continued to be learnt by the language-learner. However, just as it is possible for a special form to persist in fixed expressions in a language, it is also possible for an old structure to persist as a fossil of the old morphosyntax. An example of the former phenomenon in English is the practice of referring to some inanimate things as *he* or *she* long after the loss of systematic grammatical gender (Allen 1995:215).

I suggest that it is possible that a fossilised structural dative has persisted in English with a highly restricted number of predicates. The examples above taken from the 1916 grammar suggest that some speakers at the time may have used a structural dative with a particular class of predicates: those verbs which in Old English were strictly intransitive and allowed only a dative beneficiary (as is still the case with Polish verbs such as *pozwolić* ‘allow’ or *dziękować* ‘thank’). The more modern examples, on the other hand, all contain the verb *give*, the most commonly used ditransitive verb. The varying grammaticality judgements regarding the sentences above indicate that various speakers may have constructed slightly different grammars with respect to the third argument position in English – the majority use it only for the non-canonical dative, i.e. the shifted patient/theme participant (*y*), but some speakers may still use it as a fossilised structural dative position for the expression of the beneficiary (*b*).

Although Polish does not have dative shift, it uses other strategies to achieve the same communicative and discourse functions. The primary strategy is the use of a much more flexible word order than the one in English. Although in context-independent clauses Polish has a slight preference to place the dative argument before the accusative one, this order can be easily reversed in order to comply with pragmatic linearisation rules (background-

focus order) or the principle of increasing weight (Primus 1998:450). Similarly, the dative argument can be placed pre-verbally for topicalisation or focus purposes, whether in a non-derived active clause, a derived passive (personal and impersonal) clause¹², or a morphologically impersonal clause. However, if the dative participant were to become the syntactic pivot of the clause, a different predicate would have to be selected to achieve the required function and meaning¹³.

It has been proposed (Levin 1993, and extensive references therein) that, apart from dative shift, a number of other alternations involving two different ways of mapping the semantic arguments of the predicate onto the syntactic argument positions available for that predicate can be identified in English and other languages. An example of such an alternation is locative alternation, as in: *Peter sprayed paint on the wall* versus *Peter sprayed the wall with paint*. (See also Chapter 5, Section 5.2.6 on meaning-altering operations.) These alternations are available for 'transitive verbs taking more than one internal argument and arise because these verbs allow more than one way of expressing these arguments' (ibid.:45). In Levin's terminology, they involve only the 'arguments within the VP', and therefore they do not involve a change in the transitivity of the predicate. From the point of view of passivisation, predicates which have undergone a morphosemantic alteration of

¹²This strategy is the same as the one used in Old English. It is frequently argued that the syncretism between nominative and dative nominal case in English led to the loss of impersonal constructions such as the impersonal passive. In both Old English and modern Polish passive sentences corresponding to: 'the knight was forgiven' or 'the knight was given a gift', 'the knight' is clearly dative and the verb forms are impersonal. Once dative case marking had disappeared from the nominal paradigm of English, 'the knight' was liable to reanalysis as the nominative subject. This, in turn, led to the introduction of a new type of passive. For an extensive discussion of grammatical relations from Old to Early Modern English, see Allen (1995).

¹³As I already said earlier, besides languages with dative shift, like English, and languages with a structural dative, like Polish, many languages lack restricted objects altogether. Many European languages (Romance languages, Bulgarian and Macedonian, Modern Greek, Maltese, Welsh and Irish; see e.g. Primus 1998:441) express their beneficiaries/recipients only through a prepositional phrase.

this sort are just as eligible to be passivised as the non-altered predicates. Their direct object can become the passive subject just as in non-altered predicates, regardless of the type of the semantic participant mapped onto it.

2.2.3.2 Objects of complex verbs as subjects

All the instances of passives discussed so far showed that only a direct object can become a passive subject in Polish and in English. In the case of English beneficiary subjects, the beneficiary participant needs to acquire the status of the direct object – that is, be ‘shifted’ onto the position of the direct object – to be able to passivise.

However, it is also known that in English, under some conditions, semantic participants other than patients/themes or beneficiaries can become passive subjects. The following sentences illustrate this phenomenon with location, instrument and recipient participants:

- (114) a. *This hat has been sat on.*
b. *The bed has been slept in.*
c. *The woods were hunted in.*
d. *This knife hasn't been cut with yet.*
e. *The children were cooked for.*

The recipient participant in sentence (e) is semantically indistinguishable from a beneficiary. However, I follow my earlier proposal to distinguish between these two types of participants based on the morphosyntactic behaviour of the arguments with which they are associated. Thus, in example (108) cited in the previous section the nominal phrase *the children* was mapped like a beneficiary (that is, had undergone a ‘shift’ which made it possible to use the dative position in English), while the same phrase in sentence (e) above is mapped like a recipient – that is, in the active sentence it was simply mapped onto an oblique argument (*Both parents cooked for the children*).

An important restriction on the formation of ‘prepositional passives’ such as the above is that they can only be derived from intransitive predicates:

- (115) a. **The woods were hunted the wildboar in.*
 b. **This knife hasn't been cut anything with yet.*
 c. **The children were cooked supper for.*

The fact that the sentences above are unacceptable cannot be attributed simply to a constraint against separating the verb and the particle or a constraint against stranding the particle. Rather, in these attempted passives the function of the subject has been assigned to an illegitimate argument. In the argument structures of these predicates, there is an underlying object participant and an oblique semantic participant. After passivisation, the underlying object should be assigned the function of the syntactic subject¹⁴.

The explanation of the acceptability of sentences in (114) is, in fact, analogous to the explanation given in the more familiar case of passives of the so-called 'prepositional' or 'phrasal' verbs. Palmer (1987:215ff, 1994:124) observes that the English passives exemplified by:

- (116) a. *The daughter looked after the old man.*
 b. *The old man was looked after by the daughter.*

are unsurprising. Although in the active *the old man* seems to be part of a prepositional phrase, *look after* is treated as a single verb with *the old man* as its object. Passives of phrasal verbs and idioms (such as *do away with*, *get rid of*, *put up with*) are, therefore, canonical results of passivisation because their subjects are the underlying objects of the phrasal predicates.

Bresnan (1982a:50-59; originally proposed in 1972) extends this traditional view of

¹⁴As I will show in the next section (Section 2.2.4), English does, in fact, allow one other possibility of mapping of an underlying object and an underlying locative after passivisation. If another morpholexical operation (referred to as 'locative inversion') intervenes, the underlying object may be forced to map onto syntactic object, leaving the subject function available to be assigned to the locative argument. In this case, however, it is the *locative argument* as a whole, and not just the nominal phrase expressing the location as an entity, which becomes the syntactic subject (through topicalisation).

phrasal verbs and idioms to passives such as the ones in (114), arguing that passive subjects in these sentences are underlying objects of *complex lexical verbs* made up of the verb and the particle (or particles). Prepositional objects which are not lexically related to the verb in this way cannot be passivised, because they are not direct objects of the verb, but elements of prepositional adjuncts or complements (cf. **A river is lived over by the miller; *The operation was died after* ~ *The patient died after the operation; *No reason was left for* ~ *They left for no reason; etc.*).

Bresnan (1982a:54) argues, furthermore, that while incorporation of the preposition into the verb is necessary for prepositional passives, it is optional for actives. In other words, unless an attempt is made to passivise an object of a complex verb (or perform some other operation sensitive to preposition incorporation, e.g. create a resultative adjective), it is unnecessary to stipulate whether in an active intransitive predicate the nominal phrase preceded by a preposition is a direct object of a complex verb, or (together with the preposition) an oblique argument or an adjunct of the basic verb. Bresnan (1994:82-83) discusses a number of syntactic tests that have been suggested in the literature in an attempt to distinguish locative arguments from locative adjuncts, and it is clear that the same locative phrase may take on a different function in different predicates, and that the same verb and preposition may form a complex verb when followed by some locative phrases but not others.

This last point can be illustrated with following pairs of examples from Quirk et al. (1985:163):

- (117) a. *The engineers went very carefully into the problem.*
b. *The engineers went very carefully into the tunnel.*
- (118) a. *They eventually arrived at the expected result.*
b. *They eventually arrived at the splendid stadium.*

All sentences above contain a locative phrase. However, despite using the same verb and

the same preposition, the passivisation of the locative in the (b) sentences is much more difficult than in the (a) sentences:

- (119) a. *The problem was very carefully gone into by the engineers.*
b. *?/*The tunnel was very carefully gone into by the engineers.*
- (120) a. *The expected result was eventually arrived at.*
b. *?/*The splendid stadium was eventually arrived at.*

At first Quirk et al. suggest that, in general, the acceptable passive subjects are abstract, while the unacceptable ones are concrete. However, they later reformulate this generalisation attributing the degree of ‘abstraction’ to the idiomaticity of the verb-particle combination: ‘[i]t is only in the abstract, figurative use that *go into*, *arrive at*, *look into*, and many other expressions accept the passive.’ Thus, when they finally conclude that the distinction between prepositional verbs and nonidiomatic combinations of verb and preposition is ultimately determined by ‘a scale of “cohesion” between verb and preposition’ (1985:163), they are practically in agreement with Bresnan’s hypothesis postulating ‘preposition incorporation’ into the verb.

All the examples discussed so far show that the degree to which it is possible to interpret the preposition as a semantic extension of the verb does indeed influence the passivisability of the nominal phrase headed by the preposition. The fact that some prepositional passives receive variable grammaticality judgements only shows that semantic differences of this sort are sometimes difficult to discern, or that subtle alterations in emphasis or adverbial modification may change the perception of the semantic cohesion between the elements in question. It may also be possible to hypothesise that the variability in the acceptance of prepositional passives follows directly from the syntactic distinction between oblique arguments and non-argument adjuncts, since it is this mapping of the location participant which ultimately determines whether it is eligible to become a subject in a prepositional passive, and not any particular identifiable semantic characteristic of this participant or the verb.

Consider the following sentences for an illustration of the above hypothesis:

- (121) a. *He has gone to China.*
b. *China, where he has gone, ...*
c. *?/*China, to which he has gone, ...*
d. *?/*China has been gone to (by him).*
- (122) a. *He slept in the afternoon.*
b. *The afternoon when he slept ...*
c. **The afternoon in which he slept ...*
d. **The afternoon was slept in (by him).*

From these examples we may conclude that prepositional phrases, whether expressing a location, time, or manner/instrument, are considered to be mapped onto adjuncts if they can be relativised with *where*, *when*, or *how*. As adjuncts, they are not able to become passive subjects. However, when locative phrases are mapped onto oblique arguments, they are able to passivise. Quirk et al.'s examples cited in (117)-(120) show that the two options for the mapping of a locative entity in English will arise whenever the entity is expressed in a nominal phrase and its semantic characterisation matches both an oblique argument and an adjunct (that is, it answers to both *on/in what?* and *where?* interrogatives, or to *with what?* and *how?* interrogatives, for example).

As for Polish, passivisation of intransitive predicates with an additional oblique argument or adjunct, corresponding in meaning to the English examples in (114), would result in the following:

- (123) a. *Widać, że na tej kanapie było*
be-seen.[NON-PERSONAL] that on this.FEM.LOC sofa(FEM).LOC was.3SG.NEUT
siedziane.
sit.PART.SG.NEUT
'One can see that there has been sitting on this sofa.'

- b. *W tym łóżku było spane.*
 in this.NEUT.LOC bed(NEUT).LOC was.3SG.NEUT sleep.PART.SG.NEUT
 ‘There has been sleeping in this bed.’
- c. *W tych lasach było polowane.*
 in these.NONVIR.LOC woods(NONVIR).LOC was.3SG.NEUT hunt.PART.SG.NEUT
 ‘There has been hunting in these woods.’
- d. *Tym nożem jeszcze nie było krojone.*
 this.MASC.INSTR knife(MASC).INSTR yet NEG was.3SG.NEUT cut.PART.SG.NEUT
 ‘There has been no cutting yet with this knife.’
- e. *Dla dzieci było już gotowane.*
 for children(NONVIR).GEN was.3SG.NEUT already cook.PART.SG.NEUT
 ‘Cooking has already been done for children.’

Moving the whole prepositional (or instrumentally casemarked, as in (123d)) phrase to the initial position in the sentence is not a problem, but this process does not entail the re-interpretation of the phrase as the subject (even a topicalised one). Polish syntax allows subjectless sentences – and all the examples in (123) are simply impersonal passives of intransitives with preposed oblique phrases.

Finally, despite the impossibility of turning arguments of prepositional phrases into passive subjects, Polish – like English – permits the formation of resultative adjectives whose function is to characterise entities identified as semantic patients by results of some action which affected them. Therefore, Polish does have noun-modifying resultative adjectives such as: *wysiedziana tapicerka* ‘a/the sat-out upholstery’ meaning ‘a/the upholstery which has been worn out by sitting on it’, or *skrojony nóż* ‘a/the cut-up knife’ meaning ‘a/the knife which has been worn out by cutting with it’. The formation of resultative adjectives and their relation to the passive construction will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

2.2.4 Locative inversion

The phenomenon of locative inversion relates two issues which were discussed in the previous sections: non-canonical passive subjects and the unaccusativity/unergativity distinc-

tion. Although at first glance this alternation does not bear direct relation to the passive, I will argue below that it can be seen as an operation analogous to the passive, but applying to a different (complementary) class of predicates: the unaccusatives.

Locative inversion, discussed in Levin (1993:92-94, and numerous references therein), described at length particularly in Bresnan & Kanerva (1989) and Bresnan (1994), and referred to more recently in Ackerman & Moore (2001), can be exemplified by the following pair of sentences in English:

- (124) a. *Those visitors came to the village.*
 b. *To the village came those visitors.*

Just as theme/patient arguments universally alternate between syntactic subject and object, Bresnan & Kanerva (1989:25) report that ‘[t]here is crosslinguistic evidence that locative arguments alternate between oblique and subject; particularly in existential sentences, locatives often appear with the basic word order and other properties of subjects (Clark 1978; Kuno 1971).’

Bresnan (1994) argues convincingly that, despite lacking the nominal morphology (and hence the agreement features) of subjects, inverted locatives in English have the properties of syntactic subjects as grammatical relations: they undergo subject raising, obey the constraints on subject extraction and parallel extractions from coordinate constituents, and prevent tag questions from agreeing with the postposed argument (the theme). Based on this evidence, I take it that in sentence (124b) above the nominal denoting the ‘village’ is a syntactic subject, while the nominal denoting the ‘visitors’ is a syntactic object.

The final mappings of arguments after locative inversion in a predicate such as *come* can be represented as in (125):

| | | |
|---------------------------------|----------|----------|
| (125) locative inversion | <i>x</i> | <i>z</i> |
| | | |
| | (arg | arg) |
| | | |
| | OBJ | SUBJ |

As in the case of passivisation (see Chapter 1, Section 1.4.1), the above diagram represents only the final result of the application of locative inversion to a predicate. However, similarly to the debate which was carried out a decade or two ago about the passive – namely, whether the primary operation of the passive is the ‘advancement’ of the initial object to subject, or the ‘demotion’ of the subject – it is possible to put forward two, empirically verifiable, hypotheses regarding the primary operation which is at work in locative inversion. A more detailed discussion and the assessment of these hypotheses will be given in Chapter 5, where all the discussed operations on argument structure will be formalised. In this section I will only outline the preferred solution and argue that it shows unsurprising parallels with passivisation¹⁵.

The solution which I argue is preferred views locative inversion not as triggered by ‘promotion’ of a lower argument to subject, but – similar to the passive – as ‘demotion’ of the highest argument to a lower grammatical function. Although, as will be argued below, the first argument participating in locative inversion is not an ‘underlying subject’, it is nevertheless mapped onto the subject in the active, and so locative inversion could be seen as ‘demotion of subject to object’.

This analysis of locative inversion seems to be corroborated by empirical evidence. Namely, the demotional hypothesis predicts that locative inversion may be found with predicates which subcategorise for only one argument, since – as in the passive – demotion of an argument involves a concomitant promotion of another (lower) argument only if there is something to be promoted. This prediction seems to be confirmed by possible pairs of sentences such as:

- (126) a. *And then, those visitors came.*
b. *And then – came those visitors.*

where the result of the inversion can be diagrammed as follows:

¹⁵The ensuing short discussion is taken mostly from my earlier (2001) paper.

(127) **(locative) inversion** x
 |
 ⟨arg⟩
 |
 OBJ

Furthermore, the demotional analysis of both passivisation and locative inversion reveals that, when the two constructions are considered together, they emerge as complementary processes which are part of a larger system of operations occurring in the argument structure of predicates.

Specifically, it has been observed that there are crosslinguistic restrictions on the applicability of both passivisation and locative inversion which are based on the distinction between unergative and unaccusative predicates. As was already shown in Section 2.2.1, passivisation applies only to unergative predicates – that is, those predicates whose most prominent argument is their underlying, or initial, subject. On the other hand, locative inversion has been demonstrated to apply only to unaccusative predicates (L. Levin 1985; Bresnan & Kanerva 1989; Bresnan 1994). In this way, the two operations apply to two complementary classes of predicates.

Essentially, both operations seem to serve the same purpose: they both target the highest argument of the predicate in order to downgrade it to a lower grammatical function. The resulting alternative mappings of grammatical functions provide a means to take a different perspective on truth-functionally equivalent situations (Ackerman & Moore 2001:3) which is motivated by discourse considerations such as the choice of syntactic pivot and presentational focus. The difference between passivisation and locative inversion lies in the scope of their operation, since they apply, respectively, to two complementary classes of predicates: unergatives and unaccusatives. Analysing both passivisation and locative inversion as demoting rather than promoting operations allows us, therefore, to see them as part of a system, which seems to be confirmed by the restrictions of their applicability.

Since, on this account, the promotion of an argument is only opportunistic in both of these operations, another advantage of this analysis is that it uniformly accounts for their

applicability to both transitive (two-place) and intransitive (one-place) predicates. As has already been discussed with respect to passivisation (in Section 1.4.1.3), the fact that there seem to be no languages which contain a passive strategy that solely defines impersonal passives indicates that the promoted object is somehow essential to this operation. Likewise, it is possible that there may be no language in which the only variant of ‘locative inversion’ is the one which does not contain a locative nominal (as in (126b), diagrammed in (127) above)¹⁶. Just as in passivisation, the occurrence of locative inversion with a promoted locative argument could be explained by resorting to the discourse function of this construction: it must have arisen out of the need to shift the presentational focus onto an argument other than the highest one, in a situation where there was more than one argument present in the unaltered argument structure of the predicate.

Bresnan (1994) argues that locative inversion indeed has a special discourse function of presentational focus. Furthermore, she argues that only nominals can occupy positions of subjects and objects in surface structure. English locative arguments, which receive ‘semantic’ indirect case from the verb, are prepositional phrases and as such they cannot occupy the subject position in English surface structure even if they are allowed to be mapped onto the grammatical subject function in the predicate’s argument structure. Nevertheless, the function of presentational focus permits them to be topicalised and ‘by means of topicalization they can be interpreted indirectly as filling the subject argument position at the level of the abstract functional organization of the sentence’ (Bresnan *ibid.*:107)¹⁷. The fact that

¹⁶Both in the case of the impersonal passive and the ‘intransitive’ variant of locative inversion, we would most likely be unable to recognise them as these morphosyntactic constructions unless the ‘transitive’ variants of these constructions, with promoted arguments, were available.

¹⁷Bresnan (1994:106) demonstrates that although locative prepositional phrases do not appear in subject or object positions in English, they can be interpreted as filling those argument positions indirectly in two ways. One is extraposition (with the use of the placeholder pronoun *it*, as in *It makes me happy in San Jose, I like it in San Jose, I expect it to please me in San Jose*), and the other is topicalisation (as in locative inversion: *On this wall I expect _ will be hung a picture of Leonard Pabbs, In San Jose _ lived a woman* – in the same way as sentential *that* complements are topicalised, e.g. *That he might be wrong he didn’t think of _*).

English inverted locatives remain non-nominal explains why they do not show agreement features of syntactic subjects and why they do not behave like syntactic subjects at the level of categorial expression (that is, for example, they do not undergo subject-auxiliary inversion). In phrase structure terms, they are not in subject position (or Spec of IP) but they are adjoined to the clause (or IP) as topics (ibid.:108-109).

One other possibility of promoting a locative argument to subject arises due to the interplay of locative inversion and passivisation. It will be recalled that, by downgrading the first argument to the function of an oblique, passivisation renders the predicate syntactically intransitive. The second argument in the argument structure is not normally agentive and it is not normally mapped onto a syntactic subject by default – that is, in a basic, non-derived predicate. In other words – still pre-theoretically – the second argument is not an underlying subject. In this respect, it is like the first argument of unaccusative predicates. From the point of view of syntax, when the first argument is downgraded by passivisation, a transitive predicate becomes intransitive and at the same time unaccusative. As such, it is able to undergo locative inversion. Thus, if a passivised predicate subcategorises for a locative argument, the locative oblique is allowed to become the syntactic subject (examples from Bresnan ibid.:78):

- (128) a. *Among the guests of honor was seated my mother.*
 b. *In this rainforest can be found the reclusive lyrebird.*
 c. *On the table has been placed a tarte Tatin.*

This phenomenon can be diagrammed as follows:

| | | | | |
|-------|--|-------|-----|------|
| (129) | locative inversion in a passive predicate | x | y | z |
| | | | | |
| | | ⟨arg | arg | arg⟩ |
| | | | | |
| | | (OBL) | OBJ | SUBJ |

However, in order to satisfy the requirement that there is no higher argument present in the argument structure that would take priority over the locative in mapping onto the

subject, the demoted agent of the passive may not be expressed at all in the actual inverted clause (examples from Bresnan *ibid.*:78-79):

- (I30) a. *?/*Among the guests of honor was seated my mother by my friend Rose.*
 b. *?/*In this rainforest can be found the reclusive lyrebird by a lucky hiker.*
 c. *?/*On the table has been placed a tarte Tatin by Susan.*

In Polish, unsurprisingly, preposing an entire preposition-headed locative in sentences with intransitive unaccusative (basic or derived) predicates is possible:

- (I31) a. *Do wioski przyszli niespodziewani goście.*
 to village(FEM).GEN came.3PL.VIR unexpected.VIR.NOM visitors(VIR).NOM
 ‘To the village came unexpected visitors.’
- b. *W akwariu pływała ryba.*
 in fishtank(NEUT).LOC swam.3SG.FEM fish(FEM).NOM
 ‘In the fishtank was swimming a fish.’
- c. *Na kanapie leżał Piotr.*
 on sofa(FEM).LOC lay.3SG.MASC Peter(MASC).NOM
 ‘On the sofa was lying Peter.’
- d. *A na ścianie została (przez moją babcię) powieszona ta właśnie rycina.*
 and on wall(FEM).LOC became.3SG.FEM (by my grandmother)
 hang.PART.SG.FEM this.FEM.NOM just drawing(FEM).NOM
 ‘And on this wall was hung (by my grandmother) this very drawing.’
- e. *Przy małym stoliku zostały (przez Marysię) posadzone dzieci.*
 at small.MASC.LOC little-table(MASC).LOC became.3PL.NONVIR (by
 Mary) seat.PART.PL.NONVIR children(NONVIR).NOM
 ‘At the small table were seated (by Mary) the children.’

but, apart from the changed word order, as a result of which the only core argument follows the verb, nothing else indicates that the predicate has undergone a remapping of any sort. The only core nominal has its default (non-derived) nominative case marking, the verb

agrees with the postverbal nominal, and it is possible to express overtly the demoted passive agent. There are also no syntactic effects, like the ones in English, which would suggest that the preposed locative is the subject. The discourse function of placing the presentational focus on the locative is achieved only by the changed word order. It seems, thus, that in Polish the choice of a particular surface alignment of arguments is given much less opportunity to influence the final syntactic classification of arguments than in English.

2.2.5 Non-nominal passive subjects

The previous section concluded the account of the possible non-default mappings in the argument structure of Polish and English predicates which may occur in consequence of the demotion of the first argument of the predicate to a lower grammatical function. I showed that apart from the mapping of the subject function onto the underlying object argument, in the absence of an underlying object English (but not Polish) is able to promote an oblique argument to subject in unaccusative predicates.

Moreover, thanks to dative shift, English is able to promote beneficiaries to subjects. When a dative-shifted predicate is passivised, the argument promoted to subject function is still the direct object – however, due to a ‘shift’ among the participants of the predicate, this argument is now associated with a beneficiary participant, not a patient/theme.

In contrast with the above, the phenomena discussed in this and the following section are canonical with respect to *both* grammatical function mappings and semantic (role-to-argument) mappings in the predicate. However, they are non-canonical with respect to the categorial status of the participating arguments: they are non-nominal arguments which can function as passive subjects. Since this phenomenon is an issue of surface syntax rather than argument structure, it will only be mentioned briefly to complete the discussion of passive subjects.

2.2.5.1 Prepositional phrases as subjects

Locative participants are generally expressed as prepositional phrases in English and I showed in the previous two sections that they may be mapped optionally onto subjects in locative inversion. However, since prepositional phrases cannot generally appear in subject or object positions, the promoted prepositional phrase in locative inversion in English is interpreted as filling the subject argument position indirectly by topicalisation.

There is a small range of non-canonical sentences, however, where prepositional phrases do occupy the positions of subjects or objects in both English and Polish. Examples of prepositional phrases in subject positions (and functioning as both syntactic and phrase structure subjects) include:

- (132) a. BETWEEN SIX AND SEVEN/ON TUESDAY/IN MARCH/DURING THE VACATION *will be fnelsuits melis what we decided.* (Quirk et al. 1985:658)
- b. UNDER THE CHAIR *is a nice place for the cat to sleep.* (Stowell 1981:268, ex. 27a)
- c. ACROSS THE ROAD *was swarming with bees.* (Jaworska 1986:355, ex. 1b)
- (133) a. PO OBIEDZIE *pasowało wszystkim.*
after dinner(MASC).LOC suited.3SG.NEUT all.VIR.DAT
'After dinner suited everybody.' (Jaworska *ibid.*:358, ex. 11a)
- b. OD WTORKU DO SOBOTY *minęło bardzo szybko.*
from Tuesday(MASC).GEN to Saturday(FEM).GEN passed.3SG.NEUT very quickly
'From Tuesday to Saturday passed very quickly.' (Jaworska *ibid.*:358, ex. 11b)

And the following are English and Polish examples of prepositional phrases in object positions:

- (134) a. *He had spent* FROM ELEVEN TO ONE *at his church.* (Jespersen 1927:5ff, cited in Jaworska 1986)
- b. *The campaigners planned* UNTIL CHRISTMAS *in detail.* (Jaworska *ibid.*:356, ex. 3a)

- c. *The new tenants are reclaiming* BEHIND THE GARAGE. (Jaworska *ibid.*:356, ex. 3b)
- d. *They considered* AFTER THE HOLIDAYS *to be too late for a family gathering.* (Jaworska *ibid.*:359, ex. 16b)

- (135) a. *Zespół zmarnował OD MAJA DO*
 team(MASC).NOM wasted.3SG.MASC from May(MASC).GEN to
WRZEŚNIA na eksperyment.
 September(MASC).GEN on experiment
 ‘The team wasted from May to September on the experiment.’ (Jaworska *ibid.*:358, ex. 13a)
- b. *Matka zajęła PRZY OKNIE dla dziecka.*
 mother(FEM).NOM reserved.3SG.FEM by window(NEUT).LOC for child
 ‘The mother reserved by the window for the child.’ (Jaworska *ibid.*:358, ex. 13b)

Bresnan (1994:110) suggests that prepositional phrases like those above, which behave like nominal phrases, are best analysed as place and time nominal phrases whose missing nominal heads are contextually interpreted as instances of ellipsis:

- (136) a. [NP (A PLACE) [PP *under the bed*]]
 b. [NP (A TIME) [PP *between six and seven*]]

This explains why, as she argues (and illustrates with examples), prepositional phrases as subjects and objects ‘are best in contexts in which the semantics require or the context presupposes a place or time argument’ (*ibid.*). Jaworska’s examples (*ibid.*:359, ex. 19) showing the increasing ease of interpretation of the sentence with the increased precision of ‘reference’ of the prepositional phrase corroborate Bresnan’s argument:

- (137) a. UNTIL CHRISTMAS *was planned in detail.*
 b. BEFORE CHRISTMAS *was planned in detail.*
 c. JUST BEFORE CHRISTMAS *was planned in detail.*

Jaworska (*ibid.*:359; below are her examples 21, 20, and 22) also shows that the presence of the preposition must be justified either by the lack of a nominal phrase with the same

meaning as the prepositional phrase:

- (138) a. **We planned ON FRIDAY in detail.*
b. *We planned FRIDAY in detail.*
- (139) a. *He crawled out from UNDER THE TABLE.*
b. **He crawled out from (THE) UNDERTABLE.*
c. ≠(a) *He crawled out from THE TABLE.*

or by matters of style or pragmatics, as in sentence (c) below, where the prepositions printed in bold type carry contrastive stress:

- (140) a. ?*IN POLAND was safe.*
b. *POLAND was safe.*
c. **IN** *POLAND was safe but* **OUTSIDE** *POLAND was most dangerous.*

Furthermore, she points out that, in addition to temporal and locative prepositional phrases in nominal positions, we also find in such positions prepositional phrases expressing manner (ibid.:360, her example 23):

- (141) a. *IN CAPITAL LETTERS will have the best effect.*
b. *BY AIR seems to be quite cheap.*
c. *They considered ON FOOT to be too slow.*

All these examples seem to indicate that the nominal categorial status of syntactic subjects and objects is a characteristic but not definitional property of the arguments fulfilling these functions. The acceptance of a prepositional phrase in a typical nominal phrase position is ultimately determined by semantic and pragmatic considerations.

Unsurprisingly, prepositional phrases which have been licensed to map onto syntactic objects are allowed to be promoted to subjects in passivisation in both English and Polish (sentence (a) below is repeated from (137):

- (142) a. UNTIL CHRISTMAS *was planned in detail.* (Jaworska *ibid.*:356, ex. 3a)
 b. BEHIND THE GARAGE *is being reclaimed by the new tenants.* (Jaworska *ibid.*:356, ex. 3b)
- (143) a. OD MAJA DO WRZEŚNIA *zostało*
 from May(MASC).GEN to September(MASC).GEN became.3SG.NEUT
zmarnowane na eksperyment.
 waste.PART.SG.NEUT on experiment
 ‘From May to September was wasted on the experiment.’ (Jaworska *ibid.*:358, ex. 14a)
- b. PRZY OKNIE *było zajęte dla dziecka.*
 by window(NEUT).LOC was.3SG.NEUT reserved.3SG.NEUT for child
 ‘By the window was reserved for the child.’ (Jaworska *ibid.*:358, ex. 14b)

Since prepositional phrases are non-agreeing categorial elements (their nominal heads carrying structural casemarking are omitted), passive verbs which have them as subjects use default 3SG.NEUT agreement.

2.2.5.2 Clausal subjects

Another type of non-nominal element which can function as a syntactic object is a clause. Quirk et al. (1985:163-164) remark that in English passivisation is to a greater or lesser degree restricted in use with clausal objects, and they give the following examples of questionable or ill-formed passives¹⁸:

- (144) Finite clause as object
- a. *John thought (that) she was attractive.*
- b. *?/*That she was attractive was thought (by John).*

¹⁸LFG proposes that the canonical structural realisation of subject and object functions is nominal (Bresnan 1994:104; Bresnan 2001:20) and that non-nominal complements bear the syntactic function COMP, not OBJ. Without going into the analysis of possible function-category mismatches in clauses, I will keep the traditional labels of ‘object’ and ‘subject’ in my discussion of clausal elements such as these.

(145) Non-finite infinitival clause as object

- a. *John hoped to meet her.*
- b. **To meet her was hoped (by John).*

(146) Non-finite gerundive clause as object

- a. *John enjoyed seeing her.*
- b. *?/*Seeing her was enjoyed (by John).*

Prescriptive grammars of English likewise state that infinitives or *that*-clauses cannot normally become the subjects of passive sentences (e.g. Swan 1995:411).

Some of the difficulties with the acceptability of passives with clausal subjects are, however, more likely due to pragmatic and discourse factors – in particular, the information packaging in the clause and the surface ordering of elements with respect to their weight – rather than syntactic constraints. Consider the following passive sentences with acceptable clausal subjects corresponding to the first and third category above:

- (147) a. *That Schwarzenegger would win the election was derided by the incumbent.*
b. *Watching the wedding procession was enjoyed by all in the congregation.*

Infinitival passive subjects, with their agents coreferential with the agent of the matrix passive clause, are indeed less readily acceptable in English. However, consider the following:

- (148) a. *?To be able to go home was anticipated by everyone concerned.*
b. *?To take the bird back was promised by the boy in the presence of all his classmates.*
c. *?To request a list of examples was intended not only by the prosecution but also by the judge.*

Pragmatic and discourse factors are also responsible for the more common occurrence in the passive of extraposed clausal subjects, particularly when the subjects are sentential *that* complements:

- (149)
- a. *It was thought that she was attractive.* (Quirk et al. 1985:164)
 - b. *It was felt that he was the right man for the job.* (Swan 1995:411)
 - c. *It is said that his company is in trouble.* (ibid.)
 - d. *It was noted that the computer clock did not appear to be correct.*
 - e. *It was suggested that the staff should also fill the paper trays in the photocopiers.*
 - f. *It was mentioned that some students seemed to expect fines.*
 - g. *It was pointed out that there was a humidity alarm button at the Issue Desk.*
 - h. *It is anticipated that an appointment will be made with effect from 1 October 2002.*
 - i. *It is expected that the successful applicant's stipend will be within the first nine steps of the range for a CTO.*
 - j. *It is intended that templates for the new University stationery will also be included with this product.*
 - k. *It is hoped that people will not be intimidated by the work load involved which they feel may conflict with their studies.*
 - l. *It is hoped that Visitors will take the opportunity to exchange ideas informally with senior members of the University.*

Extraposition is not possible with gerundive passive subjects and, according to Quirk et al., it is only sometimes acceptable with infinitival passive subjects. Interestingly, though, Quirk et al. remark that '[e]ven then, the acceptability of this construction may be criticized on grounds of style' (ibid.:164). However, consider the following (the first two examples are from Quirk et al.):

- (150)
- a. *?It was hoped to meet her.*
 - b. *It was desired to have the report delivered here.*
 - c. *It is intended to interview shortlisted candidates during week commencing 17 December 2001.*

- d. *Although it is intended to appoint one person, the successful candidate will be appointed to two concurrent half-time posts.*
- e. *It is hoped to provide this font for other platforms in the near future.*
- f. *After this it is hoped to deal with words with a clear physical point of reference.*
- g. *It is planned to invest \$30 million in an urban development on a site that is earthquake prone.*
- h. *Based on what is known now, it has been decided to no longer run more field tests.*
- i. *When it has been decided to take this project forward, a user will be invited to be involved.*
- j. *It is needed to draw on the strengths and contributions of all parts of society through broad-based partnerships.*
- k. *For most cancer types it has been tried to determine 'the' prognostic factor.*
- l. *Either it has never existed or it has been forgotten to document its removal.*
- m. *Nearly all ophthalmologists consider there to be eligible children not certified simply because it has been forgotten to be done.*

In all the examples above, the subject of the infinitive seems to be discourse-controlled by the demoted agent of the matrix clause (cf. *It is intended [by them] to interview the short-listed candidates in December, It has been decided [by them] to no longer run field tests, etc.*). This type of control is similar to the one which can be posited for beneficiary participants in sentences such as *It was nice [for him] to talk to you, or It is important [for one] to book in advance.*

In the following English example (genuine, non-constructed):

- (151) *It was not sure how the new software would affect the system next year but staff will be informed.*

the control of the infinitive is more difficult to identify and therefore the sentence is more likely to be considered questionable by some speakers. However – despite being superfi-

cially similar to an impersonal – it is most likely another instance of extraposition (cf. *How this would happen was not sure*, meaning: *How this would happen was not certain*), analogous to *What they managed to do for their children was truly amazing* ~ *It was truly amazing what they managed to do for their children*.

A comparison of the examples above with their Polish equivalents reveals that Polish is even stricter with regard to its clausal subjects than English. All three types of clauses listed at the beginning of this section (a finite clause introduced by a complementiser, a non-finite infinitival clause, and a non-finite gerundive clause) are found in Polish in the object position, though the classes of verbs which accept them do not necessarily correspond to the English verbs. Here are Polish examples of the three types of complements:

- (152) a. *Piotr* *myślał/wymyślił*, *że Kasia*
 Peter(MASC).NOM thought/thought-up.3SG.MASC that Katie(FEM).NOM
go *kocha*.
 him.ACC loves
 ‘Peter thought/thought up that Katie loved him.’
- b. *Piotr* *planował* *wyjechać*.
 Peter(MASC).NOM planned.3SG.MASC leave.INF
 ‘Peter planned to leave.’
- c. *Piotr* *rozważa przyjście* *tutaj*.
 Peter(MASC).NOM considers coming(NEUT).GEN here
 ‘Peter considers coming here.’

Below, in (153), are attempted passive variants of the sentences immediately above. Only the last sentence from the set above produces a fully acceptable passive by assigning to the gerundive object the status of the subject (see (153c)). The clausal ‘that’-subject in sentence (a) below is acceptable in informal – particularly spoken – language (cf. Dziwirek 1990:154 ex. 17b), but it is likely to be rejected by some speakers on grounds of style (see below for further explanation). Finally, at first glance, the infinitive as subject in (b) seems totally unacceptable (though see below for discussion):

- (153) a. *?Że Kasia go kocha było/zostało*
 that Katie(FEM).NOM him.ACC loves was/became.3SG.NEUT
wymyślone przez Piotra.
 think-up.PART.SG.NEUT by Peter
 ‘That Katie loved him was made up by Peter.’
- b. **Wyjechać było/zostało planowane/zaplanowane przez Piotra.*
 leave.INF was/became.3SG.NEUT plan.PART.SG.NEUT by Peter
 ‘To leave was planned by Peter.’
- c. *Przyjście tutaj jest przez Piotra rozważane.*
 coming(NEUT).NOM here is by Peter consider.PART.SG.NEUT
 ‘Coming here is considered by Peter.’

Gerundive elements, as in sentence (c) above, are unproblematic subjects in Polish. Being deverbal nominals, they are always marked for case, which means that they carry the agreement features necessary to trigger subject-verb agreement and thus make canonical passive subjects. Although their semantics implies participants of the events which they denote, unlike verbs they do not require subject control. They are themselves subjects of the matrix clause and their implied agent is understood as being coreferential with the agent of the passive predicate.

The unacceptability of sentence (b) seems to be due to pragmatic and/or discourse factors. Shifting the infinitival subject to the position of ‘new’ information at the end of the clause results in an acceptable example:

- (154) *Było planowane wyjechać.*
 was.3SG.NEUT plan.PART.SG.NEUT leave.INF
 ‘It has been planned to leave./There has been planning to leave.’

As in English, the infinitive in Polish does not need a syntactic controller, cf. the following Polish and English sentences with discourse-controlled infinitives: *Miło z tobą rozmawiać* ‘(It’s) nice to talk to you’ (cf. also the acceptable, even though less natural, English *To talk to you is nice*), *It’s important to book in advance*, etc.¹⁹

¹⁹These and other Polish non-passive sentences with uncontrolled infinitival subjects, such as *Warto było wyjechać* ‘It was be-worth.[NON-PERSONAL] to leave’ meaning ‘It was worth leaving’, or *Wyjechać było można*

If the infinitival complement in the active clause corresponding to (154) is an object, the passive clause in (154) cannot be an impersonal passive, because the infinitive would then have to be an ‘unpromoted object’. Instead, the 3SG.NEUT marking on the verbal compound indicates that the passive verb phrase carries the ‘default’ inflection selected for the non-agreeing infinitival subject. Thus, (154) is not a (subjectless) impersonal passive, but a ‘non-agreeing personal’ passive.

In view of the fact that Polish, like most other Indo-European languages including English, does have a working strategy to deal with non-agreeing subjects – the ‘default’ 3SG.(NEUT) verbal morphology – the slight problem with the acceptability of (153a) is perhaps surprising. In contrast with this, passive sentences with finite clausal subjects in Polish are fully acceptable if the clausal constituent contains an additional nominal element such as the pronoun *to* ‘this’ or the noun *fakt* ‘a/the fact’ which turns the clausal element into a canonical nominal subject:

- (155) a. *To, że Kasia go kocha, było/zostało*
 this that Katie(FEM).NOM him.ACC loves was/became.3SG.NEUT
wymyślone przez Piotra.
 think-up.PART.SG.NEUT by Peter
 ‘That Katie loved him was made up by Peter.’
- b. *Fakt, że Kasia go kocha, był/został*
 fact(MASC).NOM that Katie(FEM).NOM him.ACC loves was/became.3SG.MASC
wymyślony przez Piotra.
 think-up.PART.SG.MASC by Peter
 ‘The fact that Katie loved him was made up by Peter.’

This improvement can be applied on the condition that the inclusion of such a nominal element is acceptable in the active variant of the sentence, where the finite clause is the object²⁰:

‘To leave was be-possible.[NON-PERSONAL]’ meaning ‘To leave was possible’, will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4, Section 4.5.

²⁰If a verb does not readily accept a nominal object at all (e.g. *?myśleć coś* ‘think something’, as opposed to the preferred *myśleć że* ‘think that’ followed by a finite clausal complement), the inclusion of a nominal

- (156) *Piotr* *wymyślił* *to/fakt,* *że Kasia*
 Peter(MASC).NOM thought-up.3SG.MASC this/fact(MASC).ACC that Katie(FEM).NOM
go *kocha.*
 him.ACC loves
 ‘Peter thought up the fact that Katie loved him.’

Apart from sentences with infinitival subjects, as in (154), the ‘default’ verbal morphology in Polish is used in two other categories of sentences. First, it is used in sentences whose subjects do have some nominal properties but are nevertheless not appropriate agreement controllers. Such subjects are certain numeral phrases or acronyms, certain indeclinable subjects and certain foreign place names (see Dziwirek 1994). The other category of sentences which use ‘default’ non-agreeing morphology are clauses which lack surface syntactic subjects altogether. These are impersonal (subjectless) passives and reflexive impersonals, as well as inherently impersonal predicates which do not have a subject at any level of representation (see Chapter 4, Section 4.4). The fact that, apart from sentences with deficient nominal subjects, Polish uses the ‘default’ morphology in dedicated subjectless constructions, may have led to the development of a tendency in modern Polish to disprefer non-agreeing clausal subjects with verbal properties, as in (153b)²¹.

English clausal subjects in the passive, like locative prepositional phrases in locative inversion, do not seem to pose a problem for the English non-agreement marker (the ‘default’ 3SG morphology) and therefore they may, in principle, become passive subjects. As I showed earlier, some of them may be mapped onto the passive subject directly (these are gerundive clauses and infinitival clauses), and some may be mapped onto the passive subject indirectly via topicalisation (finite clauses), via extraposition and replacement with *it* (infinitival clauses), or a combination of both strategies (finite clauses).

element in the passive is, naturally, not acceptable either.

²¹Another interesting fact, discussed in more detail in Chapter 4, Section 4.3, is that some traditionally lexically impersonal verbs such ‘weather verbs’ have shifted over into the category of personal predicates in Polish.

2.2.6 Subjects of infinitives as passive subjects

The final issue that I would like to mention in the syntactic section of this Chapter concerns the interplay of passivisation and infinitival control. Specifically, I will have a brief look at certain classes of verbs which have infinitival complements, and compare English and Polish with regard to their ability to turn the subjects of those infinitives into passive subjects of the main clause.

The first class of verbs in English which are relevant to this discussion includes some common verbs referring to thoughts, feelings and opinions:

(157) *believe, consider, feel, find, know, prove, regard, suppose, think and understand*

These verbs may occur with a subject and a finite clausal complement:

- (158) a. *Peter believed that Katie worked hard.*
b. *Peter thought that Katie was attractive.*
c. *Peter proved that Katie was wrong.*

and they may also occur with a subject, a postverbal noun phrase and an infinitival complement:

- (159) a. *Peter believed Katie to work hard.*
b. *Peter thought her to be attractive.*
c. *Peter proved her to be wrong.*

The second type of clause is open to two analyses. One possibility is to treat the nominal/pronominal following the main verb as a subordinate subject (i.e. not part of the main clause), whilst the other possibility is to treat it as a syntactic object of the main clause followed by an infinitival predicative complement. Following the lexicalist tradition (see e.g. Falk 2001:Chapter 5, for an overview), I take it that the material following the verbs in (159) comprises two separate complements: a nominal/pronominal object of the matrix clause and an infinitival predicate complement. The object of the matrix clause also functions as the subject of the infinitive.

The structure exemplified by sentences in (159) is also found in a larger class of English verbs that cannot occur in the environment exemplified in (158) (i.e. *that* clausal complements with these verbs are unacceptable):

(160) (Swan 1995:284)

advise, allow, ask, (can't) bear, beg, cause, command, compel, encourage, expect, forbid, force, get, hate, help, instruct, intend, invite, leave, like, love, mean, need, oblige, order, permit, persuade, prefer, recommend, remind, request, teach, tell, tempt, trouble, want, warn, wish

- (161) a. *Peter wanted Katie to go.*
b. *They don't allow people to smoke.*
c. *Peter asked me to pay for the meal.*

In general, when found in the construction such as the above, verbs in (157) and (160) are referred to as subject-to-object raising predicates, though some of the verbs in the second group can also function as the so-called control verbs (or, 'equi' verbs – from the transformational term 'Equivalent NP Deletion') in sentences such as *Peter wanted to go*, or *Peter expected to find it*.

Despite this other use of some subject-to-object raising verbs, there seems to be consensus among lexicalist frameworks that in all instances of the construction which I refer to as subject-to-object raising, the nominal following the main verb is its syntactic object and at the same time the subject of an additional infinitival complement to the main verb. Therefore, for the purposes of the present discussion, I will treat all instances of this phenomenon as examples of the same construction regardless of other possible uses of their main verb²².

²²Furthermore, apart from referring to the traditional division into 'raising verbs' and 'control verbs', LFG suggests that predicates use two different ways to control subjects of their infinitival complements. One way is *anaphoric control*, as in most predicates with 'control verbs', or in predicates with non-finite clausal subjects. Here, the main predicate has a COMP argument that has an unexpressed pronominal subject represented only

Since the subject of the infinitive is also the object of the matrix clause, many of the verbs listed in (157) and (160) can be used in the passive, with the objects becoming passive subjects:

- (162) a. *She was thought (by Peter) to be attractive.*
 b. *Katie was believed to work hard.*
 c. *We were advised to come early.*
 d. *Peter was expected to come early.*

Although Polish has infinitival complements (as was illustrated in the previous section), Polish infinitives in general have a slightly different, and apparently more limited, distribution than the English ones²³. The discussion below will illustrate the difference.

The class of Polish verbs which correspond in meaning to the subject-to-object raising English verbs in (157) includes *wierzyć* ‘believe’, *ufać* ‘trust’, *podejrzewać* ‘suspect’, *udowodnić* ‘prove’, and some uses of the verbs *zrozumieć* ‘understand’, *odebrać* ‘receive’ (meaning: ‘understand’, ‘gather’), and *pokazać* ‘show, demonstrate’. However, they do not take infinitival complements, though they may take finite clausal complements:

- (163) a. *Piotr wierzył, że Kasia pracowała.*
 Peter(MASC).NOM believed.3SG.MASC that Katie(FEM).NOM worked.3SG.FEM
 ‘Peter believed that Katie worked.’
 b. *Piotr udowodnił, że Kasia kłamała.*
 Peter(MASC).NOM proved.3SG.MASC that Katie(FEM).NOM lied.3SG.FEM

at functional structure; the pronominal subject is controlled by a core argument of the main verb. The other type of control is *functional control*, as in raising-to-subject or raising-to-object constructions. Here, instead of two elements being coreferential at functional structure, a single element is shared (which is achieved formally through feature sharing) by two clauses: the matrix clause and its predicative complement xCOMP. The distinction between these two types of control is, again, not going to affect the discussion undertaken in this section.

²³As in English, they do also occur, with the complementiser *żeby*, in purpose clauses: *Piotr przyszedł, żeby nam pomóc* ‘Peter came (in order) to help us’, and in some adjective complement sentences: *Piotr był zbyt zajęty, żeby nam pomóc* ‘Peter was too busy to help us’.

‘Peter proved that Katie lied.’

In some sentences formed with these verbs, the main predicate may have an additional dative argument coreferential with the subject of the subordinate finite clause (in which case that subject is omitted):

- (164) a. *Piotr wierzył Kasi, że pracowała.*
Peter(MASC).NOM believed.3SG.MASC Katie(FEM).DAT that worked.3SG.FEM
‘Peter believed Katie to work.’
- b. *Piotr udowodnił Kasi, że kłamała.*
Peter(MASC).NOM proved.3SG.MASC Katie(FEM).DAT that lied.3SG.FEM
‘Peter proved Katie to lie.’

Although the referent of the omitted subject in such sentences is always ambiguous between being coreferential with the dative or coreferential with a different argument outside the clausal complement (as in: ‘Peter proved to Katie that she [=Lucy] lied’), in neutral context it tends to be understood as coreferential with the dative. However, in sentences using other verbs which may also occur with a dative and a sentential complement (as in (a) below), the preferred context-neutral interpretation of the dative may be that it is *not* coreferential with the subject of the sentential complement (as in (b) below):

- (165) a. *Piotr powiedział, że Kasia pracowała.*
Peter(MASC).NOM said.3SG.MASC that Katie(FEM).NOM worked.3SG.FEM
‘Peter said that Katie worked.’
- b. *Piotr powiedział Kasi, że pracowała.*
Peter(MASC).NOM said.3SG.MASC Katie(FEM).DAT that worked.3SG.FEM
‘Peter told Katie_i that she_{j/(i)} worked.’

Since datives are not direct objects, none of the ones in the sentences above qualify to become passive subjects.

There is a small class of verbs in Polish which occur with a dative argument and an infinitival complement, and in which the referent of the dative is coreferential with the subject of the infinitive (i.e. they are typical ‘control verbs’). This class includes *kazać*

‘order, command’, *pomóc* ‘help’, *poradzić* ‘advise’ and *polecić* ‘recommend’, all of which are predicates involving typical ‘beneficiaries’. For these verbs, the variant of complementation with a finite clause is not available. Unsurprisingly, however, datives in these predicates do not passivise either.

As far as I could establish, there is only one verb in Polish (though possibly a member of a very small class) which takes an accusative argument followed by an infinitival complement: *(na)uczyć* ‘teach’, as in:

- (166) *Piotr nauczył Kasię śpiewać.*
 Peter(MASC).NOM taught.3SG.MASC Katie(FEM).ACC sing-INF
 ‘Peter taught Katie to sing.’

This idiosyncratic verb can optionally passivise in the way analogous to the corresponding English verbs:

- (167) *Kasia była/została nauczona dygać przez*
 Katie(FEM).NOM was/became.3SG.FEM teach.PART.SG.FEM curtsey-INF by
guwernantkę.
 governess
 ‘Katie was taught to curtsey by the governess.’

However, some speakers may question the grammaticality of the result in (167). The sentence has the feel of a resultative – it uses the perfective form of the verb ‘teach’, while the imperfective form seems to be much less acceptable:

- (168) a. *?/*Kasia była uczona dygać przez*
 Katie(FEM).NOM was.3SG.FEM teach.PART.SG.FEM curtsey-INF by
guwernantkę.
 governess
 ‘Katie was taught to curtsey by the governess.’
- b. *?/*Kasia była uczona śpiewać przez Piotra.*
 Katie(FEM).NOM was.3SG.FEM teach.PART.SG.FEM sing-INF by Peter
 ‘Katie was taught to sing by Peter.’

The accusative argument (‘Katie’) can, however, become the passive subject without a prob-

lem if the infinitive is replaced with a deverbal nominal (gerundive or not), as in (169) (example (a) below uses the imperfective form of the verb, while example (b) – perfective):

- (169) a. *Kasia* *była* *uczona* *dygania*
 Katie(FEM).NOM was.3SG.FEM teach_{IMPERF.PART.SG.FEM} curtseying(NEUT).GEN
przez guwernantkę.
 by governess
 ‘Katie was taught curtseying by the governess.’
- b. *Kasia* *była/została* *nauczona*
 Katie(FEM).NOM was/became.3SG.FEM teach_{PERF.PART.SG.FEM}
dygania *przez guwernantkę.*
 curtseying(NEUT).GEN by governess
 ‘Katie was/has been taught to curtsey by the governess.’
- c. *Kasia* *była* *uczona*
 Katie(FEM).NOM was.3SG.FEM teach_{IMPERF.PART.SG.FEM}
śpiewu/pływania.
 singing/swimming(NEUT).GEN
 ‘Katie was taught to sing/to swim.’

Most of the predicates which occur in the English construction of the ‘accusative with infinitive’ type (i.e. a matrix clause object and a predicative complement) are rendered differently in Polish. Polish has a complementising construction which has no counterpart in English: the complementiser *żeby* (made up of the complementiser *że* and the conditional marker *(a)by* and marked for number and person) is followed by an untensed clause constructed with the *-ł* participle which, in this use, is only marked for number and gender (but is unmarked for tense or person). Here are examples of Polish sentences corresponding to the English construction in (161):

- (170) a. *Piotr* *chciał,* *żeby* *Kasia*
 Peter(MASC).NOM wanted.3SG.MASC COMPL.[3SG] Katie(FEM).NOM
przyszła.
 come.-ł-PART.SG.FEM
 ‘Peter wanted Katie to come.’

- b. *Piotr chciał, żebym przyszła.*
 Peter(MASC).NOM wanted.3SG.MASC COMPL.ISG come.-Ł-PART.SG.FEM
 ‘Peter wanted me(FEM) to come.’

The *żeby* complement clause is very common in Polish and it can co-occur with both dative and accusative arguments in the matrix clause (as in (171) and (172), respectively). By default, both the dative and the accusative arguments in the matrix clause are interpreted as coreferential with the subject of the complement clause (in the way analogous to example (165b) above):

- (171) a. *Piotr powiedział Kasi, żeby przyszła.*
 Peter(MASC).NOM told.3SG.MASC Katie(FEM).DAT COMPL.[3SG]
 come.-Ł-PART.SG.FEM
 ‘Peter told Katie to come.’
- b. *Piotr zaproponował koledze, żeby przeczytał gazetę.*
 Peter(MASC).NOM suggested.3SG.MASC colleague(MASC).DAT COMPL.[3SG]
 read.-Ł-PART.SG.MASC newspaper(FEM).ACC
 ‘Peter suggested [to] his colleague [that he could] read the newspaper.’
- (172) a. *Piotr poprosił Kasię, żeby przyszła.*
 Peter(MASC).NOM asked.3SG.MASC Katie(FEM).ACC COMPL.[3SG]
 come.-Ł-PART.SG.FEM
 ‘Peter asked Katie to come.’
- b. *Piotr namówił kolegę, żeby przeczytał gazetę.*
 Peter(MASC).NOM persuaded.3SG.MASC colleague(MASC).ACC COMPL.[3SG]
 read.-Ł-PART.SG.MASC newspaper(FEM).ACC
 ‘Peter persuaded his colleague [that he should] read the newspaper.’

The accusative (but not the dative) objects of the matrix clause take part in passivisation as normal. The following sentences are the passive counterparts of (172):

- (173) a. *Kasia została poproszona przez Piotra żeby*
 Katie(FEM).NOM became.3SG.FEM ask.PART.SG.FEM by Peter COMPL.[3SG]
przyszła.
 come.-Ł-PART.SG.FEM
 ‘Katie was asked by Peter to come.’
- b. *Kolega został namówiony przez Piotra*
 colleague(MASC).NOM became.3SG.MASC persuade.PART.SG.MASC by Peter
żeby przeczytał gazetę.
 COMPL.[3SG] read.-Ł-PART.SG.MASC newspaper(FEM).ACC
 ‘The colleague was persuaded by Peter to read the newspaper.’

However, the *żeby* complement clauses in passive sentences might sometimes be replaced with corresponding deverbal nominals (usually gerundive) to improve their style:

- (174) a. *Kasia została poproszona przez Piotra o*
 Katie(FEM).NOM became.3SG.FEM ask.PART.SG.FEM by Peter for
przyjście.
 coming(NEUT).ACC
 ‘Katie was asked by Peter to come.’
- b. *Kolega został namówiony przez Piotra do*
 colleague(MASC).NOM became.3SG.MASC persuade.PART.SG.MASC by Peter to
przeczytania gazety.
 reading(NEUT).GEN newspaper(FEM).GEN
 ‘The colleague was persuaded by Peter to read the newspaper.’

or they might, possibly, be replaced with corresponding purpose clauses using the same (though uninflected) complementiser and the infinitive:

- (175) a. (?)*Kasia została poproszona żeby przyjść.*
 Katie(FEM).NOM became.3SG.FEM ask.PART.SG.FEM COMPL come.INF
 ‘Katie was asked to come.’
- b. (?)*Kolega został namówiony żeby*
 colleague(MASC).NOM became.3SG.MASC persuade.PART.SG.MASC COMPL
przeczytać gazetę.
 read.INF newspaper(FEM).ACC
 ‘The colleague was persuaded to read the newspaper.’

But the most natural (and possibly the most context-neutral) result of removing the expression of the agent from the clause is achieved by impersonalising the sentence in question, as in, for example:

- (176) a. *Poproszono Kasię żeby przyszła.*
 asked.IMPERS Katie(FEM).ACC COMPL.[3SG] come.-Ł-PART.SG.FEM
 ‘Katie was asked to come./[They] asked Katie to come.’
- b. *Namówiono kolegę żeby przeczytał gazetę.*
 persuaded.IMPERS colleague(MASC).ACC COMPL.[3SG] read.-Ł-PART.SG.MASC
 newspaper(FEM).ACC
 ‘The colleague was persuaded to read the newspaper./[They] persuaded the colleague to read the newspaper.’

2.3 Semantic issues

In this part of the present Chapter I will deal with a variety of semantic issues which have a bearing on the passive. The first issue which will be discussed at length throughout Section 2.3.1 is an account of the alternative assignment of an instrument role to either the instrument oblique or the underlying subject. Sections 2.3.2 and 2.3.3 will disprove the widespread assumption that coreference of subject and object is a block to passivisation; Section 2.3.3 will also contain a discussion of the behaviour of symmetrical predicates and cognate objects in passivisation. Section 2.3.4 will deal with the issue of the preservation of meaning in the passive. And, finally, Section 2.3.5 will relate to the commonly made distinction between actional and statal passives and the relationship between the passive and stativity. This final section will provide a link to the subsequent discussion of the passive participle (in Section 6.3) in the context of the diachronic development of the periphrastic passive from the resultative construction and subject-complement clauses.

2.3.1 Agent versus instrument

It is generally acknowledged that apart from passives such as *The window was broken by the boys from next door* which correspond to the active *The boys from next door broke the window*, there are passives which have two possible active counterparts. Quirk et al. (1985:167-168) give the following example of a passive sentence in English, (a), which can be seen as corresponding to (b) or (c), depending on the interpretation of the *by*-phrase:

- (177) a. *Coal has been replaced by oil.*
b. *Oil has replaced coal.*
c. *People have replaced coal by/with oil.*

In sentence (b), the *by*-phrase of the passive has been interpreted as an agent phrase corresponding to the active subject, but in sentence (c) the *by*-phrase has been given an instrumental interpretation (*by = with*). Quirk et al. note that similarly ambiguous are expressions such as *be confronted by/with* and *be impressed by/with*. However, the phenomenon of an argument alternating between subject (as in (b)) and an instrument oblique (as in (c)) of the same verb is, in fact, part of a much wider pattern which has frequently featured in the discussions of the passive (see below in the further part of this section).

The main problem posed by this phenomenon for the analysis of the passive is establishing whether the alternating argument is an underlying instrument or an underlying agent. In the English sentence (a) above *oil* is expressed in a prepositional phrase in an agent-like manner. However, it can also appear in a phrase headed by the preposition *with* typical of instruments:

- (178) *Coal has been replaced with oil (by most people).*

In Polish passives, arguments are similarly known to appear with the two types of marking (agentive and instrumental) almost interchangeably in a number of predicates (e.g. Saloni 1974).

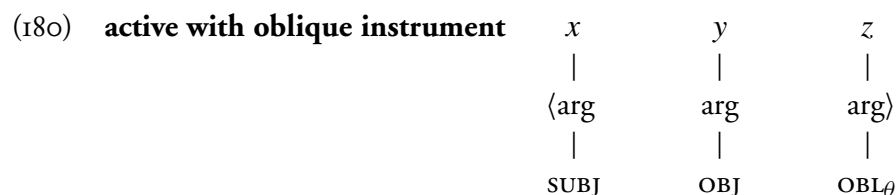
Reporting on the ways of expressing the underlying subject in the periphrastic passive in Slavonic languages, Siewierska (1988:251ff) states that it may be expressed either in the instrumental case (e.g. Russian, Czech, Ukrainian, Serbo-Croatian) or in a prepositional phrase (e.g. Polish, Macedonian, Bulgarian). Although Polish uses both types of marking in the passive, there is evidence to suggest that in most passive sentences the constituent in the instrumental case should not be regarded as the underlying subject. Instead, it is a semantic instrument which fulfills the same instrumental role in the corresponding active in which the subject is a human agent (or an animate agent, or an entity somehow associated with humans such as an institution or a machine) – as in the analogous English example in (178).

However, as Siewierska points out, there are some cases which do not conform to this generalisation. These are passive sentences such as the ones in (179) in which the postverbal arguments can occur either with instrumental marking (as shown below) or prepositional marking, but a prepositional phrase constituent corresponding to a potential underlying subject (other than the postverbal argument) cannot co-occur with the instrumental one (examples (a) and (b) have been adapted from Siewierska 1988:253):

- (179) a. *Straty* *zostały* *spowodowane*
 losses(NONVIR).NOM became.3PL.NONVIR cause.PART.PL.NONVIR
długotrwałą *suszą.*
 long-term.FEM.INSTR drought(FEM).INSTR
 ‘The losses have been caused by a long drought.’
- b. *Twórczość* *została* *przecięta* *śmiercią.*
 creative-output(FEM).NOM became.3SG.FEM cut.PART.SG.FEM death(FEM).INSTR
 ‘[His/her] creative output was curtailed by death.’
- c. *Trawy* *były* *wysuszone* *słońcem.*
 grasses(NONVIR).NOM were.3PL.NONVIR dry.PART.PL.NONVIR sun(NEUT).INSTR
 ‘The grasses were dried by the sun.’
- d. *Noga* *była* *wyraźnie obtarta* *butem.*
 leg(FEM).NOM was.3SG.FEM clearly rub-sore.PART.SG.FEM shoe(MASC).INSTR
 ‘The leg had clearly been rubbed-sore by the shoe.’

2.3.1.1 The default mapping of semantic instruments

I suggest that the argument structure of a default active clause in which the subject is a human agent who uses an instrument (or other intermediary entity) to affect a patient/theme, can be represented as follows:



This diagram corresponds to a variety of sentences, examples of which are:

- (181) a. *People have replaced coal with oil.*
 b. *Peter broke the slab with a pick-axe.*

The phenomenon of an instrument participant becoming the syntactic subject, as in:

- (182) a. *Oil has replaced coal.*
 b. *The pick-axe broke the slab.*

is certainly not the default option for either English or Polish. It results in a changed semantic interpretation of the predicate with respect to the basic interpretation of the default active. Specifically, the interpretation of sentences such as (182), with the instrument as the subject, does not seem to involve the original human agent. Therefore, the instrument-subject alternation has to be understood as an essentially semantic process and be posited to occur at either the semantic level of thematic roles (where the original agent role could be removed or altered), or the lexical level of argument positions (where the first argument associated with the agent role could be removed from the representation of the predicate). I will argue that it can occur at either level, with slightly different results.

In brief, I suggest that there are two ways in which an instrument participant can become the syntactic subject of an active clause. One involves an identification of the causer and the instrument at the semantic level of argument structure (the level of thematic

roles), and the other results from the optional mapping of the subject function onto the instrumental oblique (a non-causer oblique participant), made possible after the deletion of the first argument (associated with the original causer) from the argument structure of the predicate. These two possibilities will be outlined below with a view to providing an explanation of the variable mapping of the instrumental participant in the passive.

2.3.1.2 Only intermediary instruments can be subjects

Since semantic processes are regulated by semantic criteria, it is unsurprising to find that the eligibility of a predicate to ‘promote’ its instrument to subject depends on semantic factors. Specifically, it has been observed (Levin 1993:80 and extensive references therein) that only certain types of instrument are accepted as syntactic subjects. Consider the following Polish examples and their English equivalents:

- (183) a. *Piotr rozłupał płytę kilofem.*
 Peter(MASC).NOM split.3SG.MASC slab(FEM).ACC pick-axe(MASC).INSTR
 ‘Peter split the slab with a pick-axe.’
- b. *Kilof rozłupał płytę.*
 pick-axe(MASC).NOM split.3SG.MASC slab(FEM).ACC
 ‘The pick-axe split the slab.’
- (184) a. *Piotr zjadł ciastko łyżką.*
 Peter(MASC).NOM ate.3SG.MASC cake(NEUT).ACC spoon(FEM).INSTR
 ‘Peter ate the cake with a spoon.’
- b. **Łyżka zjadła ciastko.*
 spoon(FEM).NOM ate.3SG.FEM cake(NEUT).ACC
 ‘*The spoon ate the cake.’²⁴

²⁴Although both the Polish and the English sentences in (184b) are syntactically well-formed, their interpretation does not correspond to the sentences in (184a) in the same way (183b) corresponds to (183a). For this reason (184b) has been marked as starred, which is meant to indicate that this alternation does not produce the intended correct result with this particular predicate.

If, in a given situation, the instrument participant is conceptualised as an ‘intermediary instrument’, it is able to become the subject, as in (183). If the instrument participant is only an ‘enabling/facilitating instrument’, it cannot become the subject of the corresponding sentence without the original agent, as in (184). Whether an instrument may turn up as subject depends both on the verb and the choice of instrument.

2.3.1.3 Intermediary instruments which cannot be causers

The second semantic factor, which determines the actual mapping of the instrument participant onto the particular argument position, is whether the entity behind the instrument participant can be conceptualised as the causer of the event. I will first discuss the instruments which cannot be conceptualised as causers/agents.

It can be argued that, unless the *pick-axe* of (183b) is personified, it cannot by itself cause the breaking of the slab. Even though it can turn up as the syntactic subject of the predicate, it is not normally conceptualised as having any agentive properties unless it is exceptionally treated as sentient. This seems to be confirmed by examples of sentences unsuccessfully attempting to express instruments such as a *pick-axe* or a *dagger* as demoted passive agents²⁵:

(185) a. #/**Płyta* *została* *rozłupana* *przez kilof.*
 slab(FEM).NOM became.3SG.FEM split.PART.SG.FEM by pick-axe
 ‘The slab was split by a/the pick-axe.’

b. #/**Cezar* *został* *przeszyty* *przez sztylet.*
 Caesar(MASC).NOM became.3SG.MASC pierce.PART.SG.MASC by dagger
 ‘Caesar was pierced by a/the dagger.’

When the instrument participants are expressed as default instrumental obliques, the sentences are unproblematic:

²⁵This contrast, which is evident in Polish, is arguably absent in English. This is probably due to looser semantic restrictions on subjects in English, resulting simply in an ‘active with non-human causer’ mapping, such as the one discussed further below in Section 2.3.1.8.

- (186) a. *Płyta została rozłupana kilofem.*
 slab(FEM).NOM became.3SG.FEM split.PART.SG.FEM pick-axe(MASC).INSTR
 ‘The slab was split with a/the pick-axe.’
- b. *Cezar został przesyty sztyłem.*
 Caesar(MASC).NOM became.3SG.MASC pierce.PART.SG.MASC dagger(MASC).INSTR
 ‘Caesar was pierced with a/the dagger.’

For comparison, consider the following active sentence in which the strictly intransitive (as well as unaccusative) verb *peknąć* (‘crack’) indicates what happened to the ‘slab’:

- (187) *Płyta pękła (*kilofem).*
 slab(FEM).NOM cracked.3SG.FEM pick-axe(MASC).INSTR
 ‘The slab cracked (*with a/the pick-axe).’

Since this predicate, unlike the passivised predicates above, does not involve or imply an agent who could use the instrument, the expression of the instrument is unacceptable.

I suggest that intermediary instruments such as the above, which may not be conceptualised as agents, but which may become active subjects, do not have to be re-mapped onto the first argument position (the one of the underlying subject) to be assigned the function of the subject. Instead, they can achieve the final mapping onto the subject function due to their syntactic pre-specification as non-objective. The following diagram represents the final mappings in an active predicate with a subject instrument, as in (183b). A more detailed account of this process, including the preservation of the underlying object as a syntactic object, will be given in Chapter 5 (in particular, Section 5.2.4.4):

- (188) **active with subject instrument**
- | | | |
|-----|-----|------|
| x | y | z |
| | | |
| ⟨ | arg | arg⟩ |
| | | |
| | OBJ | SUBJ |

The above representation captures the fact that, as in the anticausative, the original agent argument is not present in the syntactic expression of the predicate (unless, as in the anticausative, it is recovered by the dative in Polish). On the other hand, if the intermediary

instrument of this type is not a subject, it can only be mapped onto a non-core oblique, as in the default (180). There is no way in which it could be mapped onto an oblique agentive phrase after passivisation.

2.3.1.4 Intermediary instruments which can be causers

The other category of intermediary instruments are those which, due to the nature of their referents, can be conceptualised as causers of the events denoted by the predicate. The typical examples of such instruments are the so-called ‘locatum arguments’ (Levin 1993:81; the term taken from Clark & Clark 1979), as in:

- (189) a. *Robotnicy pokryli powierzchnię drogi*
 workers(VIR).NOM covered.3PL.VIR surface(FEM).ACC road(FEM).GEN
asfaltem.
 tarmac(MASC).INSTR
 ‘The workers covered the surface of the road with tarmac.’
- b. *Piotr wypełnił jamę wodą.*
 Peter(MASC).NOM filled.3SG.MASC pit(FEM).ACC water(FEM).INSTR
 ‘Peter filled the pit with water.’
- c. *Dowódca obsadził wzgórze*
 commandant(MASC).NOM manned.3SG.MASC hill(NEUT).ACC
żołnierzami.
 soldiers(VIR).INSTR
 ‘The commanding officer manned the hill with soldiers.’

The locatum arguments are entities whose location is described by the verb and which, just as the intermediary instruments discussed above, can appear either in an oblique instrumental phrase or as a syntactic subject. Although Levin (ibid.; following Levin & Rapaport 1988) suggest that locatum arguments should be distinguished from instruments, for the purposes of the current discussion I will treat them as a special case of instrument. Other entities which are not strictly speaking instruments, but which fall in the same category for the purposes of the instrument-subject alternation, are exemplified by the following sentences:

- (190) a. *Laborant rozpuścił sól w wodzie.*
 technician(MASC).NOM dissolved.3SG.MASC salt(FEM).ACC in water(FEM).LOC
 ‘The laboratory technician dissolved the salt in water.’
- b. *Piotr wysuszył pościel na słońcu.*
 Peter(MASC).NOM dried.3SG.MASC bedding(FEM).ACC on sun(NEUT).LOC
 ‘Peter dried the bed-sheets in the sun.’
- c. *Ludzie zastąpili węgiel olejem*
 people(VIR).NOM replaced.3PL.VIR coal(MASC).ACC oil(MASC).INSTR
napędowym.
 propelling.MASC.INSTR
 ‘People have replaced coal with crude oil.’

All of the sentences in (189) and (190) undergo the oblique-subject alternation. Sentences such as the ones below, with locatum-type arguments as subjects, have sometimes been referred to as **demi-active** (e.g. Babby 1994):

- (191) a. *Asfalt pokrył powierzchnię drogi.*
 tarmac(MASC).NOM covered.3SG.MASC surface(FEM).ACC road(FEM).GEN
 ‘Tarmac covered the surface of the road.’
- b. *Woda wypełniła jamę.*
 water.FEM.NOM filled.3SG.FEM pit(FEM).ACC
 ‘Water filled the pit.’
- c. *Żołnierze obsadzili wzgórze.*
 soldiers(VIR).NOM manned.3PL.VIR hill(NEUT).ACC
 ‘The soldiers manned the hill.’
- d. *Woda rozpuściła sól.*
 water(FEM).NOM dissolved.3SG.FEM salt(FEM).ACC
 ‘Water dissolved the salt.’
- e. *Słońce wysuszyło pościel.*
 sun(NEUT).NOM dried.3SG.NEUT bedding(FEM).ACC
 ‘The sun dried the bed-sheets.’
- f. *Olej napędowy zastąpił węgiel.*
 oil(MASC).NOM propelling.MASC.NOM replaced.3SG.MASC coal(MASC).ACC

‘Crude oil has replaced coal.’

All of the sentences in (189) and (190) can passivise retaining the semantic instrument as an oblique instrument and the human agent as an optional prepositional phrase:

- (192) a. *Powierzchnia drogi została pokryta (przez robotników) asfaltem.*
surface(FEM).NOM road(FEM).GEN became.3SG.FEM cover.PART.SG.FEM (by workers) tarmac(MASC).INSTR
‘The surface of the road was covered (by the workers) with tarmac.’
- b. *Jama została wypełniona (przez Piotra) wodą.*
pit(FEM).NOM became.3SG.FEM fill.PART.SG.FEM (by Peter) water(FEM).INSTR
‘The pit was filled (by Peter) with water.’
- c. *Wzgórze zostało obsadzone żołnierzami (przez dowódcę).*
hill(NEUT).NOM became.3SG.NEUT man.PART.SG.NEUT soldiers(VIR).INSTR (by commandant)
‘The hill was manned with soldiers (by the commanding officer).’
- d. *Sól została rozpuszczona w wodzie (przez laboranta).*
salt(FEM).NOM became.3SG.FEM dissolve.PART.SG.FEM in water(FEM).LOC (by technician)
‘The salt was dissolved in water (by the laboratory technician).’
- e. *Pościel została wysuszona (przez Piotra) w słońcu.*
bedding(FEM).NOM became.3SG.FEM dry.PART.SG.FEM (by Peter) in sun(NEUT).LOC
‘The bed-sheets were dried (by Peter) in the sun.’
- f. *Węgiel został zastąpiony (przez ludzi) olejem napędowym.*
coal(MASC).NOM became.3SG.MASC replaced.3SG.MASC (by people) oil(MASC).INSTR propelling.MASC.INSTR
‘Coal has been replaced (by people) with crude oil.’

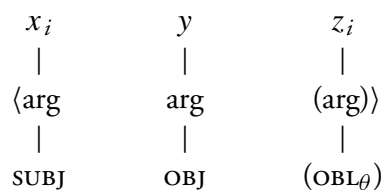
However, if the context is appropriate, they can also passivise replacing the human agent with the semantic instrument as a demoted agent. Unsurprisingly, they do not allow another expression of the demoted human agent to occur alongside the semantic instrument portrayed as an agent. Such passive sentences can be seen as derived directly from the oblique-subject ones in (191):

- (193) a. *Powierzchnia drogi została całkowicie pokryta przez asfalt.*
 surface(FEM).NOM road(FEM).GEN became.3SG.FEM completely cover.PART.SG.FEM by tarmac
 ‘The surface of the road was completely covered by tarmac.’
- b. *Jama została wypełniona przez wodę.*
 pit(FEM).NOM became.3SG.FEM fill.PART.SG.FEM by water
 ‘The pit was filled by water.’
- c. *Wzgórze zostało obsadzone przez żołnierzy.*
 hill(NEUT).NOM became.3SG.NEUT man.PART.SG.NEUT by soldiers
 ‘The hill was manned by (the) soldiers.’
- d. *Sól została rozpuszczona przez wodę.*
 salt(FEM).NOM became.3SG.FEM dissolve.PART.SG.FEM by water
 ‘The salt was dissolved by (the) water.’
- e. *Pościel została wysuszona przez słońce.*
 bedding(FEM).NOM became.3SG.FEM dry.PART.SG.FEM by sun
 ‘The bed-sheets were dried by the sun.’
- f. *Węgiel został zastąpiony przez olej napędowy.*
 coal(MASC).NOM became.3SG.MASC replaced.3SG.MASC by oil propelling
 ‘Coal has been replaced by crude oil.’

When the instrumental participant in these sentences is expressed as an oblique instrument, the representation of the argument structure of the predicates in question is that of the default active with an oblique instrument, as in (180). However, when the instrumental participant is optionally interpreted as the active or passive causer of the event denoted by the verb, as in (191) and (193) respectively, the thematic roles of the agent and the instru-

ment can be considered to be coreferential, as in the following diagram:

(194) **active with instrument causer (= ‘demi-active’)**



2.3.1.5 Causers using themselves as instruments: a generalisation

The oblique instrument position in a demi-active clause – that is, an active clause with a non-human instrument causer – typically remains unfilled, but if it is stylistically possible to fill it with a syntactic argument, this argument can only be a resumptive reflexive pronoun shadowing the subject:

- (195) a. *Gorący* *asfalt* *pokrył* *sobą*
hot.MASC.NOM tarmac(MASC).NOM covered.3SG.MASC **self.INSTR**
powierzchnię *drogi*.
surface(FEM).ACC road(FEM).GEN
‘The hot tarmac covered the surface of the road with itself.’
- b. *Woda* *wypełniła* *sobą* *jameę*.
water(FEM).NOM filled.3SG.FEM **self.INSTR** pit(FEM).ACC
‘The water filled the pit with itself.’
- c. *Żołnierze* *obsadzili* *sobą* *gęsto* *całe*
soldiers(VIR).NOM manned.3PL.VIR **self.INSTR** densely whole.NEUT.ACC
wzgórze.
hill(NEUT).ACC
‘The soldiers stationed themselves densely over the whole hill.’
- d. *Woda* *rozpuściła* *w sobie* *sól*.
water(FEM).NOM dissolved.3SG.FEM **in self.LOC** salt(FEM).ACC
‘Water dissolved the salt in itself.’

The suggested analysis of sentences with *non-human* instrument causers parallels the one which can be posited for *human* agents who, in some actions, can use themselves as

intermediary instruments. Consider the following example. In sentence (196) there are three distinct entities behind the semantic roles of the agent, patient and instrument:

- (196) *Piotr* *zastonił* *słońce* *parawanem.*
 Peter(MASC).NOM blocked.3SG.MASC sun(NEUT).ACC screen(MASC).INSTR
 ‘Peter blocked the sun with a screen.’

and the sentence can be represented as a default active with an oblique instrument, repeated here from (180):

- (197) **active with oblique instrument** *x* *y* *z*
 | | |
 <arg arg arg>
 | | |
 SUBJ OBJ OBL_θ

However, if *Peter* uses himself to accomplish the action, the underlying subject and the semantic instrument will have the same referent:

- (198) *Piotr* *zastonił* ***sobą*** *słońce.*
 Peter(MASC).NOM blocked.3SG.MASC **self**.INSTR sun(NEUT).ACC
 ‘Peter blocked the sun with himself.’

- (199) **active with instrument causer** *x_i* *y* *z_i*
 | | |
 <arg arg arg>
 | | |
 SUBJ OBJ OBL_θ

Without an overt syntactic argument expressing the instrument, the following sentence is ambiguous with regard to whether the action is accomplished with the human causer as an instrument, or with a distinct entity as an instrument used by the human causer:

- (200) *Piotr* *zastonił* *słońce.*
 Peter(MASC).NOM blocked.3SG.MASC sun(NEUT).ACC
 ‘Peter blocked the sun.’

| | | | |
|---|-------|-----|-------------|
| (201) active with a possible instrument causer | x_i | y | $(z_{i/j})$ |
| | | | |
| | ⟨arg | arg | ⟩ |
| | | | |
| | SUBJ | OBJ | |

Without a context, the slightly preferred interpretation of this predicate is the one identifying the instrument with the human causer, by analogy with the interpretation of sentences with non-human instrument causers, such as the ones in (191) which could be expanded with resumptive reflexives as in (195).

2.3.1.6 Causers not using themselves as instruments

The difference between predicates with *human* instrument causers, such as (200), and predicates with *non-human* instrument causers (i.e. the demi-actives), such as (191), is that, in general, only the former can optionally occur with *independent* semantic instruments (see Section 2.3.1.7 for causers manipulating their dependants). This seems to be a more general characteristic of all types of non-human causers, including various natural forces, as they are conceptualised in languages such as Polish or English. To use the notation which I have adopted here, only predicates with human causers can have the representation: $x_i z_j$.

Although I showed in the previous section that it was possible for non-human causers to use resumptive reflexive pronouns to express intermediary instruments referring to themselves, only in some cases would this be permitted under the considerations of style. Moreover, since non-human causers are not allowed to occur with independent instruments, resumptive reflexive pronouns seem superfluous in demi-actives – they do not seem to have an obvious semantic function.

Most non-human causers may not be allowed to co-occur with any overt expression of a semantic instrument at all unless they are personified:

- (202) a. *Słońce wysuszyło pościel (?/#sobą/#powietrzem).*
 sun(NEUT).NOM dried.3SG.NEUT bedding(FEM).ACC self.INSTR/air(NEUT).INSTR
 ‘The sun dried the bed-sheets (#with itself/#with air).’

- b. *Olej napędowy zastąpił (#sobą)*
oil(MASC).NOM propelling.MASC.NOM replaced.3SG.MASC self.INSTR
węgiel.
coal(MASC).ACC
‘Crude oil has replaced coal (#with itself).’
- c. *Długotrwała susza spowodowała (#sobą)*
long-term.FEM.NOM drought(FEM).NOM caused.3SG.FEM self.INSTR
straty.
losses(NONVIR).ACC
‘The long drought caused (#with itself) losses.’
- d. *Śmierć przecięła (#sobą/#wypadkiem)*
death(FEM).NOM cut.3SG.FEM self.INSTR/accident(MASC).INSTR
twórczość.
creative-output(FEM).ACC
‘Death curtailed [his/her] creative output (#with itself/#with an accident).’

In sentences such as the following (adapted from Wierzbicka 1966:192), the non-human causers only apparently co-occur with independent semantic instruments:

- (203) a. *Mgła zasnuła las (sinym tumanem).*
fog(FEM).NOM enveiled.3SG.FEM forest(MASC).ACC grey.MASC.INSTR
cloud(MASC).INSTR
‘Fog covered the forest (with a grey cloud).’
- b. *Deszcz bił w twarz (strumieniami).*
rain(MASC).NOM beat.3SG.MASC into face(FEM).ACC streams(NONVIR).INSTR
‘The (torrents of) rain beat one in the face.’

Despite the fact that the instrumental arguments in these sentences are not resumptive reflexive pronouns, their referents are, in fact, identified with the referents of the subjects.

This can be confirmed by sentences such as the following, corresponding to the ones in

(203):

- (204) a. *Ten siny tuman to mgła.*
this.MASC.NOM grey.MASC.NOM cloud(MASC).NOM this-is fog(FEM).NOM
‘This grey cloud – it is fog.’

- b. *Te strumienie to deszcz.*
 these.NONVIR.NOM streams(NONVIR).NOM this-is rain(MASC).NOM
 ‘These torrents – it is rain.’

Where there is no such identity established between the causer and the instrument at the referential level, it is not possible to construct confirmatory identity sentences such as the ones above. The following sentence (although syntactically well-formed) cannot be seen as corresponding to (196), because the causer and the instrument are two independent entities:

- (205) *#Ten parawan to Piotr.*
 this.MASC.NOM screen(MASC).NOM this-is Peter(MASC).NOM
 ‘#This screen – it is Peter.’

2.3.1.7 Causers manipulating their dependants

The only situation in which a non-human causer is allowed to co-occur with a semantic instrument is when the causer (often a natural phenomenon) is seen as an energy source manipulating its contents in an agentive manner (Słón 2000:266-267):

- (206) a. *Huragan zasypał drogę śniegiem.*
 storm(MASC).NOM covered.3SG.MASC road(FEM).ACC snow(MASC).INSTR
 ‘The storm covered the road with snow.’
- b. *Rzeka zalala pola wodą.*
 river(FEM).NOM flooded.3SG.FEM fields(NONVIR).ACC water(FEM).INSTR
 ‘The river filled the fields with water.’
- c. *Wulkan zasypał miasto popiołem.*
 volcano(MASC).NOM buried.3SG.MASC town(NEUT).ACC ash(MASC).INSTR
 ‘The volcano buried the town in ash.’

These sentences have the same representation of argument structure as the default active ones with human agents and oblique intermediary instruments, that is (180). Therefore, in passivisation these non-human causers can only be expressed as demoted agents:

- (207) a. *Droga została zasypana (śniegiem) przez*
road(FEM).NOM became.3SG.FEM cover.PART.SG.FEM snow(MASC).INSTR by
*huragan/*huraganem.*
storm/storm(MASC).INSTR
‘The road was covered (with snow) by the storm/*with the storm.’
- b. *Pola zostały zalane*
fields(NONVIR).NOM became.3PL.NONVIR flood.PART.SG.NONVIR
*(wodą) przez rzekę/*rzeką.*
water(FEM).INSTR by river/river(FEM).INSTR
‘The fields were flooded (with water) by the river/*with the river.’
- c. *Miasto zostało zasypane (popiołem) przez*
town(NEUT).NOM became.3SG.NEUT bury.PART.SG.NEUT ash(MASC).INSTR by
*wulkan/*wulkanem.*
volcano/volcano(MASC).INSTR
‘The town was buried (in ash) by the volcano/*with the volcano.’

Containers which are not normally construed as being able to manipulate their contents may only be expressed as locations modifying the instrumental nominals. The implied agent in such passives can only be human. Note that the Polish sentences below use the same verbs and instrumental nominals as the ones immediately above (examples from Słoń 2000:266-267):

- (208) a. *Obrus został zalany*
tablecloth(MASC).NOM became.3SG.MASC drench.PART.SG.MASC
*wodą ze szklanki/*przez szklankę.*
water(FEM).INSTR from glass/by glass
‘The tablecloth has been drenched with the water from the glass/*by the glass.’
- b. *Stolik został zasypany*
coffee-table(MASC).NOM became.3SG.MASC cover.PART.SG.MASC
*popiołem z popielniczki/*przez popielniczkę.*
ash(MASC).INSTR from ashtray/by ashtray
‘The coffee table has been covered with the ash from the ashtray/*by the ash-tray.’

Other situations in which causers may be seen as manipulating their dependants are illustrated by the following examples involving ‘locatum arguments’ referring to humans. Sentence (a) below is repeated from (189):

- (209) a. *Dowódca* *obsadził* *wzgórze*
 commandant(MASC).NOM manned.3SG.MASC hill(NEUT).ACC
żołnierzami.
 soldiers(VIR).INSTR
 ‘The commanding officer manned the hill with soldiers.’
- b. *Władze* *wypełniły* *plac*
 authorities(NONVIR).NOM filled.3PL.NONVIR square(MASC).ACC
 tłumem.
 crowd(MASC).INSTR
 ‘The authorities filled the square with a crowd.’
- c. *Koncert* *finałowy* *zawsze wypełnia teatr*
 concert(MASC).NOM final.MASC.NOM always fills theatre(MASC).ACC
 publicznością.
 audience(FEM).INSTR
 ‘The final concert always fills the theatre up with audience.’

Unsurprisingly, the agentless passives or resultatives of these sentences which retain the instrumental marking of the human locatum arguments imply an external entity controlling the activity of the undifferentiated mass (sentence (a) below is the agentless variant of (192)):

- (210) a. *Wzgórze* *zostało/było* *obsadzone* *żołnierzami.*
 hill(NEUT).NOM became/was.3SG.NEUT man.PART.SG.NEUT soldiers(VIR).INSTR
 ‘The hill has been/was manned with soldiers.’
- b. *Plac* *został/był* *wypełniony*
 square(MASC).NOM became/was.3SG.MASC fill.PART.SG.MASC
 tłumem.
 crowd(MASC).INSTR
 ‘The square has been/was filled with a crowd of people.’
- c. *Ten* *teatr* *jest zawsze wypełniany/wypełniony*
 this.MASC.NOM theatre(MASC).NOM is always fill_{ITERATIVE}/fill.PART.SG.MASC

publicznością.
audience(FEM).INSTR

‘This theatre has always been/is always filled up with audience.’

The possibility of construing the locatum arguments as causers enables them not only to be subjects (sentence (d) below is repeated from (191c)):

- (211) a. *Śnieg zasypał drogę.*
snow(MASC).NOM covered.3SG.MASC road(FEM).ACC
‘Snow has covered the road.’
- b. *Woda zalała pola.*
water(FEM).NOM flooded.3SG.FEM fields(NONVIR).ACC
‘Water has poured over the fields.’
- c. *Popiół zasypał miasto.*
ash(MASC).NOM buried.3SG.MASC town(NEUT).ACC
‘The ash buried the town.’
- d. *Żołnierze obsadzili wzgórze.*
soldiers(VIR).NOM manned.3PL.VIR hill(NEUT).ACC
‘The soldiers manned the hill.’
- e. *Tłum wypełnił plac.*
crowd(MASC).NOM filled.3SG.MASC square(MASC).ACC
‘The crowd filled up the square.’
- f. *Publiczność wypełniła teatr.*
audience(FEM).NOM filled.3SG.FEM theatre(MASC).ACC
‘The audience has filled up the theatre.’

but also demoted agents (sentence (d) below is repeated from (193c)):

- (212) a. *Droga została zasypana przez śnieg.*
road(FEM).NOM became.3SG.FEM cover.PART.SG.FEM by snow
‘The road was covered by (the) snow.’
- b. *Pola zostały zalane przez wodę.*
fields(NONVIR).NOM became.3PL.NONVIR flood.PART.SG.NONVIR by water
‘The fields were flooded by the water.’

- c. *Miasto* *zostało* *zasypane* *przez popiół.*
town(NEUT).NOM became.3SG.NEUT bury.PART.SG.NEUT by ash
‘The town was buried by the ash.’
- d. *Wzgórze* *zostało* *obsadzone* *przez żołnierzy.*
hill(NEUT).NOM became.3SG.NEUT man.PART.SG.NEUT by soldiers
‘The hill was manned by the soldiers.’
- e. *Plac* *został* *wypełniony* *przez tłum.*
square(MASC).NOM became.3SG.MASC fill.PART.SG.MASC by crowd
‘The square was filled by the crowd.’
- f. *Teatr* *został* *wypełniony* *przez publiczność.*
theatre(MASC).NOM became.3SG.MASC fill.PART.SG.MASC by audience
‘The theatre has been filled up by the audience.’

The agentive coding of the locatum arguments – both as an active subject and as a passive oblique – does not imply any other external causer. In sentences involving human locatum arguments, the agentive coding generally implies that the activity has been carried out by a group of volitional and controlling individuals. Even in sentence (212d), the exclusion of the external agent from the immediate scope of predication endows the intermediary locatum participant with a certain degree of volitionality and control over the situation (Słōń 2000:268).

2.3.1.8 The degree of identification of causer and instrument

To sum up, non-human causers do not seem to be able to use independent intermediary instruments to accomplish their actions. I have shown that occasionally they can be seen as using either themselves or their contents (dependants) as instruments. Despite that, some non-human causers do not seem to be able to co-occur with any instruments at all.

The representation which I have suggested for all non-human causers so far has been the following (repeated from (194)):

| | | | |
|---|-------|-----|-------|
| (213) active with an implied instrument causer | x_i | y | z_i |
| | | | |
| | ⟨arg | arg | ⟩ |
| | | | |
| | SUBJ | OBJ | |

The fact that the representation above contains two coreferential, but distinct semantic roles allowed me to account for the ‘promotion’ of instruments to subjects and, at the same time, for the use of resumptive reflexive pronouns shadowing some non-human causer subjects. Furthermore, since after the ‘promotion’ (that is, coindexation) the referent of the instrument-causer can map onto either of the two distinct semantic roles, it can always be expressed as either the demoted agent or the instrument when the predicate is passivised.

This last characteristic – that is, the ability to map onto either an agentive prepositional phrase or an instrumental phrase in the passive – has also been observed with non-human causers which could not have been ‘promoted’ from instrument, that is, those non-human causers which cannot, in normal circumstances, plausibly be postulated to be manipulated by yet another external human causer. Here are some examples of active sentences with non-human causers for which it does not seem to be possible to conceive of either a plausible semantic instrument or a plausible external agent:

- (214) a. *Długotrwała susza spowodowała straty.*
 long-term.FEM.NOM drought(FEM).NOM caused.3SG.FEM losses(NONVIR).ACC
 ‘The long drought has caused losses.’
- b. *Śmierć przecięła jego twórczość.*
 death(FEM).NOM cut.3SG.FEM his.ACC creative-output(FEM).ACC
 ‘Death curtailed his creative output.’
- c. *Wiatr powalił stare drzewo.*
 wind(MASC).NOM knocked-over.3SG.MASC old.NEUT.ACC tree(NEUT).ACC
 ‘The wind has knocked over the old tree.’
- d. *Wiatr porwał latawiec.*
 wind(MASC).NOM blew-away.3SG.MASC kite(MASC).ACC
 ‘The wind has blown the kite away.’

- e. *But obtarł nogę.*
 shoe(MASC).NOM rubbed-sore.3SG.MASC leg(FEM).ACC
 ‘The shoe has rubbed-sore the leg.’

Most of the examples above use natural forces as subjects. Other entities which can appear in this position (and are similarly unlikely to co-occur with semantic instruments and external human agents) are non-human *animate* entities, both physical and abstract (i.e. real or metaphorical ‘animates’):

- (215) a. *Mrówki oblazły ser.*
 ants(NONVIR).NOM crawled-over.3PL.NONVIR cheese(MASC).ACC
 ‘Ants have crawled over the cheese.’
- b. *Mysli samobójcze opętały Piotra.*
 thoughts(NONVIR).NOM suicidal.NONVIR.NOM possessed.3PL.NONVIR
 Peter(MASC).ACC
 ‘The suicidal thoughts have possessed Peter.’

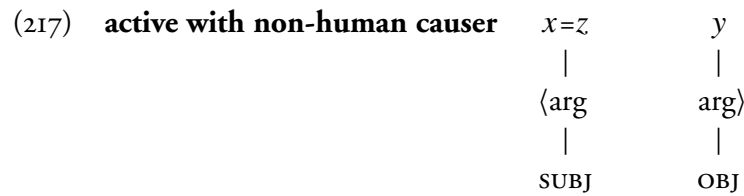
Although it does not seem to be reasonable to posit that the sentences in (214) and (215) have resulted from instrument-subject alternation, in the passive their demoted causer can be expressed either in a prepositional phrase (like a canonical demoted agent), or as an instrumental oblique. This applies to all of the sentences above, even though only two will be illustrated in (216). The difference between the prepositional phrase and the instrumental marking is usually a matter of stylistic choice. Some speakers may argue that the instrumental marking is the preferred one particularly in context-free situations, but the choice also seems to depend on the particular combination of verb and causer:

- (216) a. *To stare drzewo zostało powalone wiatrem/przez wiatr.*
 this.NEUT.NOM old.NEUT.NOM tree(NEUT).NOM became.3SG.NEUT
 knock-over.PART.SG.NEUT wind(MASC).INSTR/by wind
 ‘This old tree has been knocked over with the wind/by the wind.’
- b. *Ten kawałek sera jest cały.*
 this.MASC.NOM piece(MASC).NOM cheese(MASC).GEN is whole.MASC.NOM

obleziony *mrówkami/przez* *mrówki.*
 crawl-over.PART.SG.MASC ants(NONVIR).INSTR/by ants

‘This piece of cheese is completely crawled over with ants/by ants.’

In view of the above, the alternative possibility of representing the argument-structure mappings in predicates which can be conceptualised as having non-derived non-human causers might be the following, with $x=z$ indicating that the two roles are borne inherently by one referent:



This representation correctly predicts two related facts. One is that some predicates with non-human causers are not likely to be construed as users of intermediary instruments, because they themselves are both the causers and the means with which the patient is affected.

The other fact captured by diagram (217) is the variable syntactic expression of the causer/instrument participant in the passive. In the passive, when the first argument of the predicate becomes downgraded to the status of an oblique (OBL_{θ}), the non-human causer/instrument is (correctly) allowed to be expressed either as a demoted agent (in a prepositional phrase), or an instrument. Both a demoted agent and an oblique instrument are oblique syntactic functions, so they both correspond to the altered syntactic classification determined by passivisation. They are simply two different oblique expressions which are used to represent two different types of semantic participants: (demoted) agents (OBL_{agent}) and instruments (OBL_{instr}).

Finally, I suggest that the representation in (217), with both the causer and the instrument roles mapped onto the same argument position, could be considered the default one for predicates with causer-instruments in the absence of the specification of an external agent (even if one could be postulated). The representation in (213), with coreferential

causer and instrument, represents only those predicates which are actually construed in this way in the given linguistic or extralinguistic context. The formal details of the proposal regarding the mappings available to causer-instrument participants will be presented in Chapter 5.

2.3.2 Coreference of underlying subject and object

At first glance, coreference of agent and patient appears to be a constraint preventing successful passivisation of otherwise regularly passivisable predicates. The coreference of the agent and the patient (usually human) in the active, as in:

- (218) a. *Piotr widział siebie/się w lustrze.*
 Peter(MASC).NOM saw.3SG.MASC self.ACC/REFL in mirror
 ‘Peter saw himself in the mirror.’
- b. *Piotr zabił siebie/się.*
 Peter(MASC).NOM killed.3SG.MASC self.ACC/REFL
 ‘Peter killed himself.’

can be represented in the following way:

- (219)
- | | |
|-------|-------|
| x_i | y_i |
| | |
| ⟨arg | arg⟩ |
| | |
| SUBJ | OBJ |

The sentences above are not allowed to have their expected passive counterparts, either in Polish or in English:

- (220) a. **Sam/Się był widziany w lustrze (przez Piotra_i).*
 own-self.MASC.NOM/REFL was.3SG.MASC see.PART.SG.MASC in mirror (by Peter)
 ‘*Himself was seen in the mirror (by Peter).’
- b. **Sam/Się został zabity (przez Piotra_i).*
 own-self.MASC.NOM/REFL became.3SG.MASC kill.PART.SG.MASC (by Peter)

*Himself was killed (by Peter).'

However, the reason for the ill-formedness of the passive examples does not seem to derive from the semantics or from argument structure restrictions. Instead, it seems to result from the properties of the syntactic arguments used in the object position, i.e. reflexive pronouns. Reflexive (and reciprocal) pronouns must be clause-bound, and so they are not normally expected to occupy the subject position in any sentence, whether active or passive.

In fact, passive sentences with coreferential (demoted) agents and patients are not syntactically ill-formed if it is the agent which is expressed in a reflexive pronoun. Although the actual occurrence of such sentences is restricted by the plausibility of the context, the following are some examples constructed to illustrate the point:

- (221) a. *Piotr był pewny, że był widziany w lustrze tylko przez siebie.*
Peter(MASC).NOM was.3SG.MASC sure that was.3SG.MASC see.PART.SG.MASC in mirror only by self
'Peter was sure that he was seen in the mirror only by himself.'
- b. *I tak, Piotr został zabity nie przez smoka, ale przez siebie.*
and so Peter(MASC).NOM became.3SG.MASC kill.PART.SG.MASC NEG by dragon but by self
'In this way, Peter was killed not by the dragon, but by himself.'
- c. *On jest wychwalany tylko przez... siebie.*
he.NOM is praise.PART.SG.MASC only by self
'He is praised only by... himself.'
- d. *Zostałam zaskoczona przez samą siebie.*
became.ISG.FEM surprise.PART.SG.FEM by own-self self
'I was [really] surprised by myself.'

Furthermore, the use of contrastive stress on the reflexive pronoun further increases the felicity of sentences such as the above.

In sum, contrary to the superficial indications, passivisation is not, in fact, blocked when the agent and the patient are coreferential. Ill-formedness of passive sentences with

coreferential agents and patients results from surface syntactic restrictions on the position of reflexive elements in a clause, and not from argument structure considerations.

2.3.3 Lexical constraints

In this section I will investigate whether there are any lexically identified classes of predicates or argument types whose properties do affect passivisation. Three types of phenomena will be outlined in this section: the symmetry of predicates, possessive nominals as objects, and cognate objects.

2.3.3.1 Symmetrical predicates

Generally, predicates are considered symmetrical if they denote actions involving two participants who are both at the same time agents (or experiencers) and patients (or other oblique participants) of these actions, e.g. ‘meet’, ‘kiss’, ‘be similar’ etc. These verbs can usually also be construed as asymmetrical transitive:

- (222) a. *Peter met Katie in 1998.*
b. *He kissed her.*
c. *He married her.*
d. *He talked to her.*
e. *This wine is similar to the one we drank last night.*

However, in their symmetrical use they behave differently from typically asymmetrical transitive verbs used with plural subjects and reciprocal pronouns as objects. Specifically, in English, verbs or adjectives which are considered lexically symmetrical do not require the reciprocal pronoun:

- (223) a. *They met in 1998. ~ Peter and Katie met in 1998.*
b. *They kissed (each other). ~ Peter and Katie kissed (each other).*
c. *They married two years ago. ~ Peter and Katie married two years ago.*

- d. *They talked (to each other/one another).* ~ *Peter and Katie talked.*
 e. *Their interests are very similar.* ~ *Peter and Katie's interests are very similar.*

(note also that this behaviour is irrespective of whether the subject phrase is coordinated or just plural).

In Polish, symmetrical predicates with symmetrical agents and patients are obligatorily accompanied by the reflexive particle *się*:

- (224) a. *Piotr i Kasia pocałowali się.*
 Peter(MASC).NOM and Katie(FEM).NOM kissed.3PL.VIR REFL
 'Peter and Katie kissed.'
- b. *Kasia i Lucyna poznały się dwa lata temu.*
 Katie(FEM).NOM and Lucy(FEM).NOM got-to-know.3PL.NONVIR REFL two years ago
 'Katie and Lucy met two years ago.'
- c. *Chłopcy się biją.*
 boys(VIR).NOM REFL beat.3PL
 'The boys are fighting/beating each other.'
- d. *Oni się lubią.*
 they(VIR).NOM REFL like.3PL
 'They like each other.'

Without going into the details of the analysis of noun phrase coordination, where it is present²⁶, sentences such as the above can be postulated to have the following argument structure representation, with both the agent and the patient roles mapped onto the same argument (though not inherently borne by one referent):

²⁶A detailed review of the work on noun phrase coordination which has been undertaken within LFG can be found in Dalrymple 2001 (in particular, pp. 382-387).

(225) x, y
 |
 ⟨arg ⟩
 |
 SUBJ

I suggest that, unless the two semantic participants are separated and mapped onto two separate arguments, as they would be in the default transitive mapping, the predicate cannot promote its underlying object argument to subject in passivisation because there has been no mapping onto the second argument position and there is no underlying object which could be promoted.

The fact that some of these verbs have asymmetrical transitive variants which do passivise (*She was kissed by him; She was met by him at the airport*) means that the inability of the symmetrical variants of these verbs to passivise should not be attributed to unaccusativity. For comparison, consider the following English verbs involving two participants which may participate in a reciprocated event. According to the criterion mentioned earlier, these verbs cannot be regarded as *lexically* symmetrical because they cannot appear without the reciprocal pronoun when they are meant to be interpreted symmetrically:

- (226) a. *They love *(each other). ~ Peter and Katie love *(each other).*
 b. *They resemble *(each other). ~ Peter and John resemble *(each other).*

In their asymmetrical transitive variants, however, *love* is unergative and, therefore, can passivise (*She was loved by him*), while *resemble* is unaccusative and cannot passivise (**John was resembled by Peter*) (see also Section 2.2.1).

Just like the reflexive plural pronoun *themselves*, which may occupy the position of a syntactic object as in (a) below (or the position of a demoted passive subject, see the previous section), the English reciprocal phrases *each other*, or *one another*, can also function as syntactic objects, as in (c):

- (227) a. *They could hardly recognise themselves.*
 b. *They could hardly see the road under their feet.*

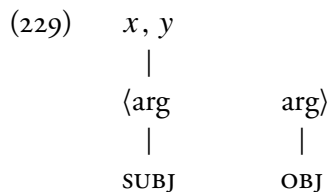
c. *They could hardly see each other in the fog.*

Despite this, English reciprocal phrases cannot become syntactic subjects in the passive (example (b) adapted from Quirk 1985:164):

(228) a. *The road could hardly be seen (by them) in the fog.*

b. **Each other could hardly be seen (by them) in the fog.*

Since there is no reason to assume that the reciprocal phrases should be subject to binding principles like reflexive pronouns, it may be reasonable to look for an explanation of this restriction on passivisation in argument structure mappings. As a temporary measure (subject to further investigation), I suggest that a possible representation of the argument structure of predicates using reciprocal phrases as in (227c) could be the following, with the plural agent and the reciprocal phrase fulfilling the patient role mapped onto the same argument:



Promotion of the second argument to subject in passivisation would be precluded by the fact that the argument lacks its semantic component – i.e. it is no longer linked to a semantic participant of the event.

The examples, cited in various sources (Poutsma 1926:108; Siewierska 1984:206; Quirk et al. 1985:164, note [a]), of acceptable English passives with the reciprocal phrase split into two parts, as in:

(230) a. *Each was betrayed by the other.*

b. *Each could hardly be seen by the other.*

c. *Each was hated by the other.*

are, in fact, instances of the default passive of the transitive use of the predicates in question. The auxiliary verb has singular, not plural, agreement and each of the examples above can be expanded, as in:

(231) *Each child was hated by the other.*

Therefore, this passive has not been derived from *The children hated each other*, with the representation as in (229), but from the following active:

(232) *Each child hated the other [child].*

The sentence above involves an assumption that the position of the quantifier (*each*) is not determined at argument structure (at the syntax-semantics interface which is discussed here), but at the level of representation dealing with semantic (meaning) composition and predicate logic (see, for example, Dalrymple 2001:226ff).

2.3.3.2 Possessive nominals as underlying objects

In Section 2.3.2 I argued that the ill-formedness of passive sentences with reflexive pronouns in surface subject position followed from the fact that the reflexive elements could not be properly bound. The same explanation can be given to account for the ill-formedness of passive clauses with reflexive possessive pronouns in subject position, coreferential with demoted agents, as in the (b) sentences below:

(233) a. *Mary_i lost her_i briefcase.*
b. **Her_i briefcase was lost by Mary_i.*

(234) a. *Lucy_i broke her_i leg.*
b. **Her_i leg was broken by Lucy_i.*

If, instead, we expressed the demoted agents with reflexive pronouns (now properly clause-bound), the sentences in question would cease to be syntactically deviant. They would now be restricted only by discourse considerations and informational felicity.

Siewierska (1984:206) reports after Huddleston (1971:94) that passives with possessive nominal phrases in subject position coreferential with the passive agent are acceptable in English if the agent is stressed (the examples below are from Siewierska *ibid.*, with her emphasis):

- (235) a. *Mary's briefcase was lost by **her**.*
 b. *John's sister was saved by **him**.*

However, they also seem to be acceptable if there is contrastive stress on any other major meaning component of the clause, for example on one of the verbs or the head of the nominal phrase in subject position, or if the presence of some additional information justifies the choice of this particular syntactic structure for the clause:

- (236) a. *Mary's briefcase was lost by her in quite extraordinary circumstances.*
 b. *John's sister was saved by him in the last possible moment.*

Apart from using contrastive stress, Polish is able to manipulate word order more easily than English to bring about a change in the interpretation of the 'given' versus 'new' information in the clause. Sentences such as the following (syntactically corresponding to the above), with the new information coming last in the sentence, seem completely natural:

- (237) a. *Marysi aktówka została zgubiona przez nią.*
 Mary(FEM).GEN briefcase(FEM).NOM became.3SG.FEM lose.PART.SG.FEM by her
 'Mary's briefcase was lost by **her**.'
- b. *Marysi aktówka została przez nią zgubiona.*
 Mary(FEM).GEN briefcase(FEM).NOM became.3SG.FEM by her lose.PART.SG.FEM
 'Mary's briefcase was **lost** by her.'
- c. *Janka siostra została uratowana przez*
 John(MASC).GEN sister(FEM).NOM became.3SG.FEM save.PART.SG.FEM by

niego.

him

‘John’s sister was saved by **him**.’

- d. *Janka* *siostra* *została* *przez niego*
John(MASC).GEN sister(FEM).NOM became.3SG.FEM by him
uratowana.
save.PART.SG.FEM

‘John’s sister was **saved** by him.’

Furthermore, as in English, including some additional information in the sentences also increases their felicity:

- (238) a. *Marysi* *aktówka* *została* *przez nią*
Mary(FEM).GEN briefcase(FEM).NOM became.3SG.FEM by her
zgubiona *w niezwykłych okolicznościach.*
lose.PART.SG.FEM in extraordinary circumstances
‘Mary’s briefcase was lost by her in extraordinary circumstances.’
- b. *Janka* *siostra* *została* *przez niego*
John(MASC).GEN sister(FEM).NOM became.3SG.FEM by him
uratowana *w ostatniej chwili.*
save.PART.SG.FEM in last moment
‘John’s sister was saved by him in the last moment.’

As was illustrated in sentence (234a) at the beginning of this section, in English parts of the body are also qualified by possessive pronouns, but – unlike the possessed nominal phrases in (235) – they are generally regarded as unable to appear in subject position in the passive (e.g. Siewierska 1984:206-207). I suggest, however, that again there are no syntactic restrictions inherent in clauses with possessed body parts which would disallow the formation of passives with the possessed body parts as subjects. The only restrictions on such sentences are posed by discourse, and they regard informational structure.

In the appropriate context all of the following sentences would probably be considered acceptable. Their felicity here has been enhanced by contrastive stress and/or providing some contrastive or other explanatory context:

- (239) a. *Peter_i's face was washed {by him_i, not by the nurse} / {by him_i and him_i alone}.*
 b. *Peter_i's bruised face was washed by him_{i|j} with great care.*
 c. *Lucy_i's leg was broken by her_i tripping over her suitcase, not by Katie tripping her_i up.*
 d. *The woman's poor head was shaken by her so vigorously it looked as it might fall off. There was no doubt she was saying 'no'.*

In Polish parts of the body do not have to be qualified by a possessive pronoun. In the absence of lexical or contextual clues indicating a different possessor of the body part, it is understood (by default) to belong to the agent/experiencer of the activity:

- (240) a. *Piotr umył twarz.*
 Peter(MASC).NOM washed.3SG.MASC face(FEM).ACC
 'Peter washed his face.'
 b. *Lucyna złamała nogę.*
 Lucy(FEM).NOM broke.3SG.FEM leg(FEM).ACC
 'Lucy broke her leg.'

In the appropriate context, the arguments expressing body parts in the Polish sentences above may become passive subjects, just like their English counterparts:

- (241) a. *Twarz została umyta przez Piotra dokładnie i z wielkim namaszczeniem.*
 face(FEM).NOM became.3SG.FEM wash.PART.SG.FEM by Peter scrupulously and with great care
 'Peter's face was washed by him scrupulously and with great care.'
 b. *Ta nieszczęsna noga została złamana przez Lucynę w niezwykłych okolicznościach.*
 this.FEM.NOM unfortunate.FEM.NOM leg(FEM).NOM became.3SG.FEM break.PART.SG.FEM by her in extraordinary circumstances
 'Lucy's unfortunate leg was broken by her in quite extraordinary circumstances.'

Note that the well-formed passive sentences above do not include the Polish equivalent of (239d). The reason for this is that in the Polish equivalent of *The woman shook her head*

the *head* is treated as a semantic instrument and mapped onto an instrumental oblique. This renders it unable to become a passive subject.

To sum up, possessive nominals as underlying objects do not constitute a category of unpassivisable arguments. The syntactic restriction disallowing possessive pronouns to be passive subjects is not an argument structure restriction, but it follows from a surface syntactic requirement for anaphoric elements to be bound. On the other hand, the infelicity of some passives with possessive nominals as subjects coreferential with the demoted agents is due to pragmatic restrictions regarding informational balance.

It might be worth emphasising that this conclusion is in opposition to most standard accounts of this aspect of the passive. In her conclusion to the discussion of coreference in the passive, Siewierska (1984:207) states that '[i]t is not (...) simply the presence of a possessive pronoun which 'disallows' the passive, but rather coreference in general.' She supports her statement with other sources, including Stein (1979:106), who similarly claims that 'the passive is excluded whenever the activity performed by the subject does not go beyond the sphere of the subject itself.' Quirk et al. (1985:164) similarly state that '[c]oreference between a subject and a noun phrase object blocks the passive correspondence. This constraint occurs with (a) reflexive pronouns, (b) reciprocal pronouns, and (c) possessive pronouns when coreferential to the subject.' I hope I have demonstrated convincingly in Section 2.3.2 and the present section that it is inaccurate to attribute all of these phenomena to restrictions on passivisation.

2.3.3.3 Cognate objects

There is as yet no satisfactory theoretical account of the phenomenon of cognate objects. The present section is not a contribution towards a theory of cognate objects – its purpose is to present only a brief investigation into the phenomenon in order to outline its area of overlap with the passive.

Cognate objects refer directly to the event denoted by the verb (the following examples

are from Quirk et al. 1985:750):

- (242) a. *Chris will sing a song for us.*
b. *They fought a clean fight.*
c. *He died a miserable death.*
d. *She lived a good life.*
e. *He breathed his last breath.*

The noun is semantically, and often lexically, related to the verb. Itself, it does not appear to make a contribution to the meaning of the sentence – instead, it repeats, wholly or partially, the meaning of the verb.

Levin (1993:95-96) identifies several classes of verbs which take lexically cognate objects in English. These are, roughly: some verbs of nonverbal expression (e.g. *smile, sneeze, sob, yawn*); the *waltz* verbs; verbs or manner of speaking (e.g. *chant, grunt, hiss, lisp, mumble, sing, whisper*); and a small group of ‘other’ verbs consisting of *die, dream, fight, live, sleep, and think*. As claimed by Levin, some of these verbs only permit a cognate object. Some verbs will take as object anything that is a hyponym of the cognate object, but, in general, most verbs that take cognate objects do not take a wide range of objects.

Verbs such as *sing* or *fight* can take both lexically cognate objects and objects which are semantically, but not lexically related to them:

- (243) a. *Lucy sang a song.*
b. *Lucy sang a ballad/an aria/a hymn/the anthem.*
- (244) a. *They fought a clean fight.*
b. *They had to fight this battle.*

They pattern with a larger class of verbs which can take a ‘generic’ object lexically related to the verb, or a more informationally specified object unrelated lexically to the verb but falling within its semantic range either literally or metaphorically:

- (245) a. *Lucy drank the drink hastily.*
 b. *The princess drank the winelike water/the poison/her tears.*
 c. *Enjoy the Holy Spirit, come and drink God's presence!*
- (246) a. *The fishermen caught a good catch and returned home happy.*
 b. *Matchmaker, make me a match, find me a find, catch me a catch...*
 c. *Peter caught a lot of fish/the ball/the pickpocket/sight of Lucy in the crowd.*
 d. *Peter caught a cold/the last train home/the pickpocket on film/an idea for a new song/Lucy cheating.*

The lexically cognate objects in Polish may not correspond to the English ones. Furthermore, as was already evident in some of the English examples above, some lexically cognate objects may acquire a 'specified' meaning which overrides the 'generic' one. Consider the following Polish examples:

- (247) a. *Nie pij tego picia, zobacz, jest brudne.*
 NEG drink.IMPERAT.2SG this.NEUT.GEN drink(NEUT).GEN look is dirty
 'Don't drink this drink, look, it is dirty.'
- b. *Musisz zjeść to jedzenie.*
 must.2SG eat.INF this.NEUT.ACC food(NEUT).ACC
 'You must eat this food.'
- c. *Muszę najpierw zrobić tę robotę.*
 must.ISG firstly do.INF this.FEM.ACC task(FEM).ACC
 'I must do this job first.'
- d. *Piotr pisał pismo przez dwie godziny.*
 Peter(MASC).NOM wrote.3SG.MASC written-matter(NEUT).ACC for two
 hours
 'Peter was writing the thing [formal writing/application?] for two hours.'
- e. *Śniłam sen o wolności.*
 dreamt.ISG.FEM dream(MASC).ACC about freedom
 'I dreamt a/the dream about freedom.'

It is also important to note that most verbs which take a lexically cognate object but have no possibility of substituting it with another semantically related noun expressing a similar physical entity can be interpreted metaphorically and appear with abstract entities as their objects. This phenomenon has been labelled by Levin (1993:99-101) as the ‘reaction object construction’ and found by her to occur in English with: verbs of nonverbal expression (e.g. *beam, chuckle, cry, grimace, smile*); the *wink* verbs; and verbs of manner of speaking (as listed three paragraphs above). Here are some examples of verbs occurring in both the cognate object construction and the reaction object construction:

- (248) a. *Lucy smiled.*
 b. *Lucy smiled a charming smile.*
 c. *Lucy smiled her thanks.*
- (249) a. *She hissed.*
 b. *She hissed a hiss that pricked Peter’s blood and sent it cold down his spine.*
 c. *She hissed her threat with a ferocity that sent chills up the other girls.*

It has already been mentioned that lexically cognate objects occurring with typically intransitive verbs do not themselves appear to make a contribution to the meaning of the sentence. For this reason, they are generally found infelicitous, as in the following examples:

- (250) a. *Lucy smiled.* ~ #*Lucy smiled a smile.*
 b. *She hissed.* ~ #*She hissed a hiss.*
 c. *He died.* ~ #*He died a death.*

In order to be felicitous, cognate objects in sentences such as the above need to be modified. If the object is modified by an adjective, the modifier usually functions in the same way as a corresponding adverbial or adjunct and thus makes a contribution to the meaning of the clause:

- (251) a. *Lucy smiled a charming smile.* ~ *Lucy smiled charmingly.*

- b. *They fought a clean fight.* ~ *They fought cleanly.*
- c. *He died a miserable death.* ~ *He died in a miserable way.*

Dixon notes that ‘English grammar has much more restricted possibilities for adverbial modification of verbs than for adjectival modification of nouns – hence the usefulness of cognate NPs’, cf. #*He died awfully*, #*He sneezed tremendously* (1991:118).

Although semantically but not lexically cognate objects do not present problems for passivisation, it is generally believed that lexically cognate objects cannot become passive subjects (Siewierska 1984:207-208; Quirk et al. 1985:750; Dixon 1991:118; this is also implied, though not stated directly, in Levin 1993:95-96). Quirk et al. account for this restriction by pointing to the semantic relation holding between the cognate object and the verb and stating that ‘[t]he object can therefore not be considered a participant’ (ibid.).

Contrary to what is implied by Quirk et al.’s conclusion, I have argued throughout this Chapter that the ability of the passive to promote arguments to subject depends on syntactic, not semantic, criteria. If a cognate object is mapped onto the second core argument position in the argument structure, and if the predicate is not syntactically unaccusative, the predicate should be able to passivise and promote its cognate object to subject. That this is indeed syntactically feasible is confirmed by the following sentences (from Fellbaum 1992:643; sentence (a), also cited in Dixon 1991:119, is attributed by him to Jespersen 1909-49:part iii, p. 301):

- (252) a. *His whole life seemed to be lived in the past.*
- b. *‘This revealing dream is dreamt by many of my patients,’ said the psychiatrist.*
- c. *Such awful thoughts can only be thought by a sick mind.*

In fact, some of the passive sentences with cognate objects which are cited as ill-formed, are not syntactically deviant, but merely awkward with regard to style and/or discourse considerations (in particular, the distribution of the given and the new information in the clause):

- (253) a. *#A kind smile was smiled by her.*
 b. *#A hearty sneeze was sneezed by the patient.*

Consider the following improved versions of the above:

- (254) a. *Peter never forgot the most enigmatic smile that had ever been smiled by Katie.*
 b. *That hearty sneeze so carelessly sneezed by your insubordinate little brat will cost us 300 pounds worth of replacement sterile solution.*

Furthermore, cognate objects with clausal modification seem to be even less problematic to passivise:

- (255) *The threatening hiss that prickled Peter's blood and sent it cold down his spine was hissed by his most trusted friend.*

I suggest that the following sentence, from Dixon (1991:118):

- (256) **The most awful death was died by her.*

is unacceptable because the predicate is unaccusative. Interestingly, in Polish, *death* in *She died an awful death* would be expressed not as an object, but as an oblique instrument. As in English, the Polish sentence may not be passivised.

Although the above discussion does not fully answer the question of why some superficially similar noun phrases are easier to passivise than others, it was aimed to show that the answer should not be sought among the syntactic restrictions on passivisation. Instead, the differences in the passivisability of cognate objects are most likely linked with semantic plausibility and/or discourse-related issues of informational felicity.

2.3.4 Preservation of meaning

Although active-passive pairs of sentences are generally taken to express the same propositional content, it has been observed that in some circumstances corresponding active and passive sentences differ with respect to this area of meaning (Huddleston 1984:437,448;

Quirk et al. 1985:165-166). This phenomenon does not involve any additional changes in argument structure mappings, but it is mentioned here to complete the account of the meaning of the passive.

The following contexts have been identified as affecting the propositional equivalence of active-passive pairs: the presence of quantifiers with both the underlying subject and underlying object; a quantifier co-occurring with verbal negation; a generic subject and object; modal auxiliaries; and the perfect tense. Each of these contexts will be illustrated briefly below.

2.3.4.1 Difference in the scope of quantifiers

The following example (adapted from Quirk et al. 1985:165) illustrates the difference in the interpretation of the propositional meaning of active-passive pairs with quantified nominals in core argument positions:

- (257) a. *Każdy uczeń przeczytał przynajmniej jedną książkę.*
 every.MASC.NOM pupil(MASC).NOM read.3SG.MASC at-least one.FEM.ACC
 book(FEM).ACC
 ‘Every pupil has read at least one book.’
- b. *Przynajmniej jedna książka została przeczytana przez każdego ucznia.*
 at-least one.FEM.NOM book(FEM).NOM became.3SG.FEM
 read.PART.SG.FEM by every pupil
 ‘At least one book has been read by every pupil.’

The most likely reading of sentence (a) is ‘Each pupil has read at least one book or other’, while the most likely reading of (b) is ‘There is one particular book which has been read by every pupil’.

2.3.4.2 Difference in the scope of negatives

A similar phenomenon occurs in active-passive pairs containing a quantified nominal phrase and verbal negation:

- (258) a. *Wielu studentów nie podpisało petycji.*
many.VIR.NOM students(VIR).NOM NEG signed.3SG.NEUT petition(FEM).GEN
'Many students have not signed the petition.'
- b. *Petycja nie została podpisana przez wielu studentów.*
petition(FEM).NOM NEG became.3SG.FEM sign.PART.SG.FEM by many
students
'The petition has not been signed by many students.'

In the absence of special intonation, sentences (a) and (b) are not equivalent in their truth conditions. For example, if a hundred out of four hundred students signed the petition, utterance (a) would be considered true, but utterance (b) could be considered false (that is, if the petition was signed by a hundred students, then it is not true that it was not signed by many). Huddleston attributes this difference to the fact that *many* precedes the negative in the active but follows it in the passive:

[T]he relative order of a negative and a quantified NP may be one factor in determining whether the quantification falls within the scope of negation (...). Since this order may be different in corresponding actives and passives, they may differ with respect to the scope of negation (...). In such cases the active and passive members of the pair differ in their propositional meaning, not just thematically. (1984:448)

Thus, both (257) and (258) illustrate that the change, brought about by passivisation, in the syntactic and/or configurational relations between the participants of the event denoted by the verb may affect the scope of quantification and negation occurring in the clause and thereby render the active-passive pair of sentences propositionally nonequivalent.

2.3.4.3 Change of meaning with generic subjects and objects

A change in meaning between the corresponding active and passive clauses has also been observed when the referents of both core arguments of the predicate are generic. The following example has been adapted from Quirk et al. (1985:166):

- (259) a. *Bobry budują tamy.*
beavers(NONVIR).NOM build.3PL.NONVIR dams(NONVIR).ACC
'Beavers build dams.'
- b. *Tamy są budowane przez bobry.*
dams(NONVIR).NOM are.3PL build.PART.PL.NONVIR by beavers
'Dams are built by beavers.'

Other English examples include (example (b) is from Quirk et al. *ibid.*):

- (260) a. *Bees produce wax. ≠ Wax is produced by bees.*
- b. *Excessive drinking causes high blood pressure. ≠ High blood pressure is caused by excessive drinking.*

Quirk et al. explain that the difference in the meaning between the active and passive sentences above 'arises from the fact that in subject position, a generic phrase tends to be interpreted universally, while in object or [demoted] agent position, this universal meaning disappears' (*ibid.*). Thus, the generic nominals in subject position of both active and passive sentences are normally interpreted as if they were quantified by *all*, although they are not interpreted in this way when they occupy other syntactic positions in the clause.

Quirk et al. also point out that the difference in the meaning between the two sentences is only a difference of *preferred* interpretation. Although, as illustrated in (259), this phenomenon can also be observed in Polish, it is more likely to occur in English due to the fact that Polish does not overtly mark its nominal phrases for definiteness. Therefore, it seems to be easier to coerce Polish nominals into the required reading (the one which preserves the truth conditions between the active and passive clause), while the interpretation of English nominals is largely influenced by the presence or absence of overt definite

marking.

2.3.4.4 A change of modal meaning

Quirk et al. (1985:165-166) also give several examples illustrating a change in the modal meaning resulting from the passivisation of clauses containing modal auxiliaries, often in a combination with negation or quantification (all of the following sentences are adapted from Quirk et al.):

- (261) a. *Piotr nie może tego zrobić.*
Peter(MASC).NOM NEG can.3SG this.MASC.GEN do.INF
'Peter cannot do it.'
- b. *To nie może być zrobione przez Piotra.*
this.MASC.NOM NEG can.3SG be.INF do.PART.SG.NEUT by Peter
'It cannot be done by Peter.'
- c. *To nie może być zrobione.*
this.MASC.NOM NEG can.3SG be.INF do.PART.SG.NEUT
'It cannot be done.'

In the active English and Polish (a), *can* is normally interpreted as expressing ability. However, in the passive English (b) and (c) it is interpreted as expressing a possibility. Quirk et al. suggest that '[e]ven when it might be argued that *can* retains the same meaning of ability in both active and passive, a shift of meaning is detectable':

- (262) a. *Peter can't be taught.* (= 'It is impossible to teach him' or 'He is unable to learn')
b. *≠She can't teach Peter.* (= 'She is unable to teach Peter')

It is interesting to note, however, that in the Polish passive sentence (261b) with a specified agent, the strongly preferred interpretation is that of permission, while (261c) may be interpreted as expressing ability (the slightly preferred option), permission, or (only on special interpretation) possibility.

Examples with other modal auxiliaries changing the meaning from the active to the passive in English include (all adapted from Quirk et al. *ibid.*:166):

- (263) a. *You must reprimand every one of them.* (=‘It is your duty to do so’)
 b. *≠Every one of them must be reprimanded.* (=‘Every one of them is to blame’)
- (264) a. *Why wouldn’t Miranda ride the grey mare?* (=‘Why did Miranda refuse?’)
 b. *≠Why wouldn’t the grey mare be ridden by Miranda?* (=‘Why did the mare refuse?’)

2.3.4.5 Change in the meaning of the perfect tense

Finally, a change of meaning accompanying a change from the active to the passive has also been observed in sentences using the perfect tense in English. Quirk et al. (ibid.:166) give the following example:

- (265) a. *Winston Churchill has twice visited Harvard.*
 b. *≠Harvard has twice been visited by Winston Churchill.*

The type of present perfect tense illustrated above can be characterised as referring to a situation which happened before the time of utterance, from the temporal reference point coinciding with the time of utterance. Informally, it is interpreted as referring to a period of time leading up to the present. This interpretation of the perfect affects the interpretation of the subject of a sentence which uses present perfect tense.

Quirk et al. note that it has been claimed that the active sentence (265a) can only be appropriately used in the lifetime of Churchill. In contrast, the passive sentence (265b) can appropriately be said now, after Churchill’s death, since Harvard University is still in existence.

This difference in meaning between active and passive sentences does not occur in Polish. Unlike English, Polish has no grammatical means to express the separation of the time of the event from the time of the point of reference from which the event is viewed – which is the essence of the category of the perfect. In the realisation of the ‘perfect’ meanings, the verb forms used in Polish are the same as the ones used for ‘simple’ tenses,

with aspect, context and lexical devices helping to convey the extension of the time frame from the event to the point of reference²⁷.

2.3.5 Action versus state

The final apparently semantic issue which needs to be mentioned in a discussion of the passive is that a distinction is sometimes drawn between the so-called ‘actional’ or ‘dynamic’ passives and ‘statal’ or ‘stative’ passives (e.g. Huddleston 1984:322; Quirk et al. 1985:168; Siewierska 1988:247-251; in a similar spirit Palmer 1994:138-140,174 distinguishes between ‘true’ passives and ‘stative’ passives). Huddleston illustrates the two kinds of passive construction in English with the following examples (respectively):

- (266) a. *The vase was broken by Tim.*
b. *The vase was already broken.*

and argues that actional passives say that a certain event took place, while statal passives attribute to their subject the property of being in the state resulting from a certain event. Specifically, in sentence (a) above the actional passive says that the breaking of the vase took place, while in sentence (b) the statal passive attributes to the vase the property of ‘being in the state resulting from the event wherein it was broken in the actional sense’ (ibid:323).

Furthermore, if we remove the *by*-phrase (to which Huddleston refers as ‘the complement’) from sentence (a) and the modifier from sentence (b), we are left with *The vase was broken*, which can belong to either category. The same ambiguity is found in *They were married*, which can mean ‘The marriage ceremony took place’ (actional) or ‘They were husband and wife’ (statal); in *The gate was closed*, which can mean ‘The closing of the gate took place’ (actional) or ‘The gate was in a closed state, i.e. the opposite of open’ (statal); and so on (all examples from ibid.:323).

²⁷I presented a detailed description and a theoretical account of the semantics of the category of the perfect in Kibort (1997).

It is important to note that the proposed distinction between actional/dynamic and statal/stative passives does not correspond to the distinction which is sometimes made between stative and dynamic verbs (e.g. Richards et al. 1992:352) or stative and dynamic meanings of verbs (e.g. Quirk et al. 1985:177-178). Roughly, stative verbs are usually taken to refer to a state (i.e. an unchanging, unbroken/noncount condition), for example *believe, have, belong, contain, cost, differ, know, own*, and they may not usually be used in the progressive tenses or in the imperative. Dynamic verbs, on the other hand, such as *learn, read* or *wear*, usually refer to interruptable/count events, often imply agentivity, and may be used in the progressive tenses and in the imperative. (The dynamic/stative distinction between verbs or verb meanings is not clear-cut, however, and there are some verbs whose meanings cannot be adequately described in terms of this dichotomy.)

Instead, the distinction between actional/dynamic and statal/stative passives seems to correspond more closely to another distinction which has been proposed to occur within the passive, between 'verbal' passives and 'adjectival' passives (see, e.g. Bresnan 1978, 1982a, 2001; Grimshaw 1990; Levin 1993; Quirk et al. 1985). Adjectival passives (corresponding to statal/stative passives) are those in which passive participles show adjectival properties and are argued to be better analysed as adjectives. On the other hand, in verbal passives (corresponding to actional/dynamic passives) passive participles are considered heads of the verbal phrase – that is, they are main verbs.

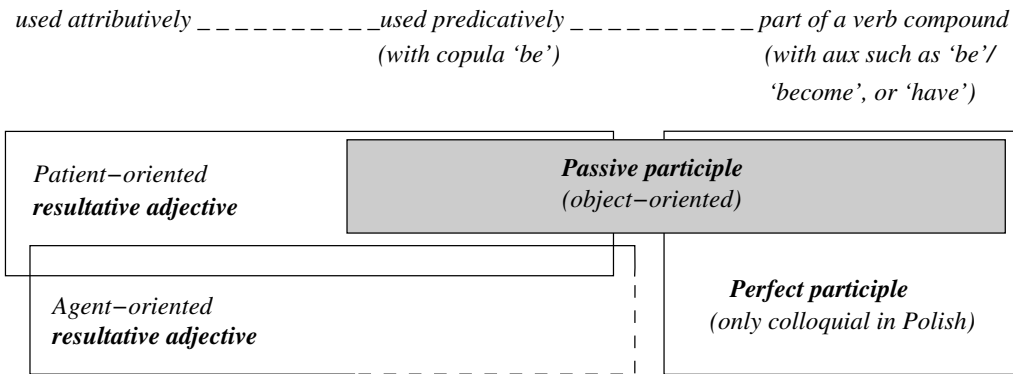
The corollary of such an analysis of the participles is that the verb *be* in adjectival or statal passives is considered a main verb, head of the verbal phrase, with the participle functioning as (head of) the predicative complement. Being a complement to the main predicator, the participle can occur with other copular verbs than *be*, as in *The vase appeared/looked/seemed broken* (analogous to *The vase was/appeared/looked/seemed very valuable*) (examples from Huddleston 1984:323). On the other hand, in verbal or actional passives the verb *be* is an auxiliary, and it may alternate with other acceptable passive auxiliaries such as *become* or *get*.

As I already mentioned at the end of Section 2.1 on the form of the passive, I believe that the proposed distinction within the passive construction between verbal and adjectival passives is, in fact, an unnecessary extension to the observation that the same participial form can be used by two constructions: the morpholexical passive and the subject-complement construction. I argue that the verb phrase in the passive should indeed be analysed as a ‘verb compound’ comprising an auxiliary and a main verb (the participle). Subject-complement constructions, on the other hand, are made up of a copular verb and a predicative (adjectival, nominal or adverbial) complement of the subject. (Subject-complement constructions will be discussed in more detail in Section 6.3.9).

However, it is not the morphological form of the verbs or the surface structure of the clause that determine whether the clause is a passive construction or a non-passive subject-complement construction. Because of the use of the participial form by both constructions, and because of the overlap of the morphotactic expression between the passive and the subject-complement construction it is often impossible, as well as unnecessary, to attempt to identify the passive on the basis of the form of the verb or surface syntax. The same participial form used by both constructions is best regarded not as a passive participle, but as a verb-derived resultative participle which has a status neutral between an adjective and a verb. Therefore, instead of a distinction within the category of the passive, the distinction that should be drawn is that between the passive (a syntactically restricted morpholexical construction), which uses the resultative participle as the main verb, and the resultative (a different, semantically restricted morpholexical construction), which uses the resultative participle as an adjective.

The notion of the ‘resultative’, which is central to this proposal, will be discussed in detail in the final Chapter, Section 6.3. In the meantime, the following diagram illustrates the overlap in the use of the resultative participle as an adjective and as a verb in English and Polish:

(267) Resultative participle and the passive construction



Thus, the distinction discussed earlier in this section between actional/dynamic and statal/stative passives turns out to be, in fact, primarily an issue of the distribution of a form (the participle). However – though there is no direct relation between passives and states – due to the overlap of the morphotactic expression between the passive and the subject-complement construction the two constructions may and do overlap in one of their semantic functions: that is, when they express stativity.

Frajzyngier (1978:153) argues that in a language which has both of these constructions, the ‘be’-passive and the subject-complement construction can both indicate the category of the ‘stative’. However, while subject-complement sentences are inherently stative, the passive construction can have (at least) two types of meaning: stative and non-stative. In some languages this distinction is marked morphologically, i.e. there are (at least) two different passive forms. In this case the stative passive and the subject-complement construction share the ‘stative’ interpretation, while the other passive form is designated to express the ‘non-stative’. If a language has only one passive form, this form will be ambiguous with respect to the stative/non-stative distinction and it is likely that another form may be brought in to disambiguate the construction. The present-day English ‘be’-passives are ambiguous in just this respect and Frajzyngier argues after Visser (1973:2089) that, in Modern English,

‘get’ is becoming the most important auxiliary to indicate the non-stative passive.

The ambiguity of English sentences with the verb ‘be’ and a resultative participle was already illustrated above with Huddleston’s examples in the paragraph following the unambiguous sentences in (266). The same phenomenon can be observed in Polish sentences with the verb ‘be’ and a resultative participle, especially those which – like their English counterparts – lack the agent phrase and any other adverbial modifiers which would force the non-stative interpretation of the verbal phrase, as in the (a) sentences below. For comparison, the (b) sentences contain an agent phrase and an appropriate adverbial modifier which force a non-stative, unambiguously passive interpretation:

- (268) a. *Sklep był otwarty.*
shop was open[ed]
‘The shop was open.’
- b. *O drugiej godzinie sklep był otwarty przez policję.*
at two hour shop was opened by police
‘At two o’clock the shop was opened by the police.’
- (269) a. *Sufit był pomalowany.*
ceiling was painted
‘The ceiling was painted.’
- b. *Sufit był pomalowany w zeszłym roku przez fachowca.*
ceiling was painted in past year by professional
‘The ceiling was painted last year by a professional decorator.’

With participles made from imperfective verbs (e.g. *otwierany* ‘opened’) the Polish ‘be’-passive is, generally, unambiguously non-stative except for a few participles, such as *murowany* ‘made of brick/stone’, *haftowany* ‘embroidered’, *gotowany* ‘boiled’, *duszony* ‘stewed’, or *malowany* ‘painted’, which, apart from being used as main verbs in the passive may also be used in a purely adjectival sense due to lexicalisation (Brajerski 1972).

Adopting a grammaticalisation perspective, Haspelmath (1990:38) argues that the elements like ‘be’ and ‘become’ in Indo-European periphrastic passives were indeed initially

main verbs and formed subject-complement copular constructions. As they entered into the passive construction which gradually grammaticalised, they became grammatical verbs (i.e. auxiliaries).²⁸ In Chapter 6 (Section 6.3) I will discuss the similarity of the participial passive construction and the subject-complement construction containing a resultative adjective formed from an unergative verb.

2.4 Pragmatic issues

In this Chapter, I have occasionally referred to pragmatics and attributed the unacceptability of some passive sentences to their infelicity or the lack of informational balance rather than to their syntactic ill-formedness. As I argued earlier, the only morpholexical restriction on passivisation in English and Polish is that it does not apply to unaccusative predicates. Restrictions regarding the promotion of other eligible arguments to subject in passivisation do not need to be stated in terms of morpholexical constraints, since they result from the interaction of the morphological devices that are available in a given language and the surface syntactic requirements of that language.

However, it has been observed (Grimshaw 1990; Grimshaw & Vikner 1993) that there is a subclass of unacceptable passives whose ungrammaticality cannot be accounted for with the above explanations:

- (270) a. *#This house was built/designed/constructed.*
b. *#Tomatoes are grown.*
c. *#‘Pride and Prejudice’ was written.*
d. *#This wall painting was painted.*

My marking of the above examples indicates that I consider them infelicitous, but not

²⁸Furthermore, diachronic studies show that auxiliaries may subsequently become affixed to the verb stem and lose their verbal status, thus turning into purely grammatical affixes, as can be demonstrated to have happened in the passive constructions of numerous (non-Indo-European) languages (Haspelmath 1990:38).

syntactically deviant. However, in the literature such examples have usually been considered ill-formed, and therefore starred²⁹, and an explanation of their unacceptability has been sought in the syntax and semantics of the predicates and/or constructions. Grimshaw & Vikner have attempted to account for such unacceptable sentences in terms of a mismatch between event structure and argument structure of certain aspectual classes of verbs. Since their proposal is related in some way to argument structure, I will mention it briefly below and then argue that the phenomenon illustrated by the above examples is, in fact, not conditioned by morphosyntax, but only by pragmatic considerations.

Although a passive agent is an oblique and therefore a non-obligatory expression, passive sentences such as the ones in (270) seem to require either the oblique *by*-phrase or a different expression, such as an adjunct of time, place, manner or purpose, to achieve felicity. The following examples of well-formed (i.e. corrected) passives are from Grimshaw (1990:132-133):

- (271) a. *This house was built/designed by a French architect.*
b. *This house was built in spite of many local protests.*
c. *This house was built yesterday.*
d. *This house was built in ten days.*
e. *This house was built in a bad part of town.*
f. *This house was built only with great difficulty.*

Grimshaw & Vikner (1993) observe that this phenomenon is found with a subclass of English accomplishment verbs which includes verbs of creation, e.g. *draw (a picture)*, *dig (a hole)*, *erect*, *manufacture*, etc., and change-of-state verbs, e.g. *cook (a turkey)*, *paint (a house)*, *freeze (a meal)*, *develop (a film)*, etc., though not verbs of destruction, e.g. *destroy*, *kill*, *shoot*, *ruin*, or *break* (cf. *The burglar was arrested/shot by the police* and *The burglar was arrested/shot*). Adopting Pustejovsky's (1991) system of representing the internal semantics

²⁹This applies to *all* examples in this section which I cite from other sources.

of predicates, they argue that the semantic structure of the verbs which take obligatory adjuncts in the passive includes two sub-events: a process and a resulting state, and that both of these sub-events need to be identified (i.e. bound in the lexical conceptual structure) by a separate constituent. In the active, the two sub-events are identified by the subject and object noun phrases, respectively. However, in the passive, when only one argument (the passive subject) needs to be present to satisfy the argument structure, there is a mismatch between the level of argument structure and the semantic level of event structure. To resolve the mismatch, an obligatory adjunct needs to be present.

As argued extensively by Szymańska & Śpiewak (2000), Grimshaw & Vikner's account suffers from numerous shortcomings and, what is more important, it unnecessarily invokes a very complex formal mechanism to deal with a highly restricted set of data. Apart from accomplishment passives, the presence of obligatory adverbial phrases has also been reported for the so-called 'middles' (e.g. Fagan 1992; Ackema & Schoorlemmer 1994, 1995; see also Chapter 3, Section 3.4), 'adversity impersonals' (as in the Polish example (14) in Section 1.1; see also Chapter 4), and for various unspecified-agent constructions including the Polish *-no/-to* impersonal, the reflexive impersonal, and the type of unspecified-agent clause using the conventional 3PL.VIR agreement (Wolińska 1978; Śpiewak 2000). Szymańska & Śpiewak examine the obligatory adverbial modification in all these constructions and conclude that it is inadequate to motivate it by invoking any auxiliary mechanism supporting subcategorisation (such as an extension of either argument structure or event structure). The fact that certain adverbial phrases appear to be obligatory in certain constructions does not follow from their syntax but it is, instead, 'independently motivated by functional informational factors' (2000:322).

Consider the following examples of accomplishment passives in Polish and their English equivalents:

- (272) a. *Ten przykład został skonstruowany.*
 this.MASC.NOM example(MASC).NOM became.3SG.MASC construct.PART.SG.MASC
 'This example has been constructed.' (Szymańska & Śpiewak 2000:323, ex.4a)

- b. *Wiedziałeś o tym? Nanoprzewody są uprawiane.*
 knew.2SG.MASC about this.NEUT.LOC nanowires(NONVIR).NOM are.3PL
 grow.PART.PL.NONVIR
 ‘Did you know? Nanowires are grown.’
- c. *To jedno zdanie było/zostało napisane.*
 this.NEUT.NOM one.NEUT.NOM sentence(NEUT).NOM was/became.3SG.NEUT
 written.PART.SG.NEUT
 ‘This one sentence was/has been written.’
- d. *Ten piękny wzór był/został namalowany.*
 this.MASC.NOM beautiful.MASC.NOM pattern(MASC).NOM was/became.3SG.MASC
 painted.PART.SG.MASC
 ‘This beautiful pattern was/has been painted.’

The verbs which have been used in the examples above are the same as the ones in (270), but the subject noun phrases, which carry the focus in both sets of sentences, are different: their referents are a-typical, non-cognate, or abstract entities, or sometimes just more elaborate phrases, not prototypically associated with expressions involving the verbs in question. All of these sentences seem to be acceptable without any oblique or adverbial phrases.

Furthermore, as Szymańska & Śpiewak demonstrate, obligatory adverbial modifiers can be replaced by other linguistic devices. The acceptable English examples below involve negation, the presence of contrastive context, marked intonation (corrective stress on the verb), or simply shift of focus from the subject noun phrase onto the passive verb, respectively (sentences (a-c) have been adapted from *ibid.*:324-325):

- (273) a. *This story was not written.*
 b. *Tomatoes are grown, but courgettes grow in the wild.*
 c. *Nectarines **are** grown.*
 d. *The house was built. The family could move.*

Hence, I follow Szymańska & Śpiewak in concluding that the acceptability of accomplishment verbs in the passive does not invariably depend on the presence of an adverbial phrase. Furthermore, the role of an obligatory adverbial modifier can be taken over by other linguistic means which do not form a natural class in any straightforward sense.

It is clear that the infelicitous sentences in (270) require some ‘enrichment’ in order to be acceptable. However, their felicity does not so much depend on the presence or absence of a specific sort of constituent, as on a certain state of ‘informational balance’. If an eventuality is highly predictable or typical in the context of a given noun phrase, the predication without some enrichment is uninformative and thus infelicitous. Informationally felicitous use of accomplishment passives may, therefore, require supporting the predication to make it non-trivial (ibid.:327,330-331). Szymańska & Śpiewak elaborate on these general observations by discussing specific examples:

Intuitively speaking, to assert merely that a house is constructed or that nectarines are grown is trivial and as such not worth saying given the shared pragmatic knowledge of the interlocutors. This last point is manifested conspicuously by [*Ten przykład został skonstruowany* ‘This example has been constructed’], which is acceptable without any additional constituents. In [this sentence] the combination of the verb and the subject NP is less commonplace than in [*Ten wieżowiec został skonstruowany* ‘This highrise has been constructed’]: it is not in the nature of examples (as opposed to buildings) that they are constructed. In general, we could identify [the] source of the deficit that induces the use of OAM [Obligatory Adverbial Modification] or its counterparts in the semantic relation between the referent of the subject NP and the nature of the eventuality described by the verb. (ibid.:330-331)

That it is indeed the semantic relation between the referent of the passive subject and the nature of the eventuality denoted by the verb that is responsible for the felicity of a passive clause is further supported by the following evidence. Although an oblique agent

phrase is often adequate to make up for the informational deficit, not all oblique phrases make infelicitous passives acceptable. Consider the following examples of English passives (sentences (274b-c) are from Siewierska 1984:191, ex. 16; sentences (275b-c) are from Wierzbicka 1980:61; and example (276) is from Siewierska 1984:191, ex. 18):

- (274) a. *#The army was deserted.*
b. *#The army was deserted by Private Smith.*
c. *The army was deserted by its commander-in-chief.*
- (275) a. *#Convertibles are owned.*
b. *#A convertible is owned by John.*
c. *Convertibles are owned only by affluent young people.*
- (276) a. *#War is wanted by America.*
b. *War is wanted by no-one.*
c. *#Help is needed by John.*
d. *Help is needed by the elderly.*
e. *#George is expected by Bill to win the election.*
f. *?George is expected by everyone I know to win the election.*
g. *George is expected by many experts to win the election.*

It has been suggested that one of the factors responsible for the felicity of passives such as the ones above is whether the referent of the passive subject is conceived of as truly affected by the action of the verb (Bolinger 1977). In the following example the oblique phrase has not been replaced by a different one, but the infelicitous sentence (b) has been made felicitous (c) thanks to an additional expression specifying the way in which the referent of the passive subject has been affected:

- (277) a. *John left the room.*
b. *#The room was left by John.*

- c. *The room was left by John in a state of disarray.*
- d. cf. *John left his wife.*
- e. *Katie was left by her husband.*

Siewierska (ibid.:191) further notes the relevance of size, power or status of the referent of the oblique phrase in affecting the referent of the passive subject (as in (274), for example). She suggests that many speakers consider the English sentences in (276) to be more felicitous with plural, generic or quantified oblique modifiers than with single definite ones.

Similar pragmatic considerations have been suggested to be responsible for the infelicity of some prepositional passives such as (Siewierska 1984:191, ex. 17; see also Section 2.2.3.2 on objects of complex verbs as passive subjects):

- (278) a. *#The stairs were run up by Jane.*
- b. cf. *The stairs have been run up so much that the carpet is threadbare.*

In general, felicitous prepositional passives, like all other passives, have to predicate something non-trivial about the referent of their subject. In some cases, the new information may be contained in the oblique agentive phrase (sentences (b) and (c) are from Siewierska ibid.:192, ex. 20b; and ibid.:196, ex. 32d, respectively):

- (279) a. *This bed has been slept in by Oliver Cromwell.*
- b. *This wall was most probably leant against by ancient Romans.*
- c. *The house has just been gone out of by the whole family.*

However, prepositional passives are frequently statements whose purpose is simply to predicate the involvement of the referent of the subject in the activity as a non-core participant. As in all other passives, these statements are felicitous as long as the predication is informationally new or non-trivial (examples from Siewierska ibid.:192, ex. 19a, 20a, 21a-b, 22b; and ibid.:196, ex. 32a-c, respectively):

- (280) a. *The grass has been trodden on.*

- b. *This room was lived and worked in a thousand years ago.*
- c. *I can assure you that the North Sea has been swum in before.*
- d. *It may look unsafe, but it has been sat on before.*
- e. *The valley has been marched through in two hours.*
- f. *The swimming pool has never been swum in before.*
- g. *The bowl has definitely been eaten out of.*
- h. *That chair must have been frequently sat on.*

Siewierska (1984:193) points out (after Bolinger 1977 and other sources) that the interpretability, and thus felicity, of prepositional passives may be facilitated by the context, individual experiences of the speaker/hearer, analogy, predictability of the verb and preposition, and noun combination and repetition. In the following examples from Bolinger:

- (281) a. *He has been told lies about.*
- b. *?He has been written lies about.*
- c. *#He has been published lies about.*
- (282) a. *I don't like to be brought charges against.*
- b. *?I don't like to be lodged charges against.*
- c. *#I don't like to be filed charges against.*

there is a clear decrease in the acceptability from the (a) sentences through to (c). However, the difference cannot be attributed either to the varying degree of affectedness of the referent of the subject, or to the varying degree of informational balance. Instead, according to Bolinger, the difference in acceptability is due to the high frequency of the expressions in (a) clauses in contrast with (b) and (c). Siewierska explains:

Lies are more often *told* than *published*. The phrase *to bring charges against* is highly lexicalized, while *to file charges against* is not. It thus appears that the

passive with the above type of verbs depends on the speaker/hearer's ability to assign an interpretation to the clause. (1984:193)

Finally, Grimshaw (1990:124) suggests that there is a distinct class of English passives, referred to by her as 'adjectival passives', which require obligatory *by*-phrases (in her original examples the oblique phrases are starred outside brackets):

- (283) a. *This event was followed/preceded #(by another).*
b. *The mountain was capped #(by snow).*
c. *The volcano was rimmed #(by craters).*
d. *The house was surrounded #(by mature trees).*

Her basis for considering these sentences as exemplifying a distinct construction is that their *by*-phrases cannot be replaced by adverbials of time, place, manner, etc. 'Rather, they alternate only with other prepositional phrases, those introduced by *with* in particular. All in all, they behave simply like arguments' (ibid.).

As with all the other passives discussed earlier in this section, the ones using the verbs above could also be demonstrated to be acceptable in different contexts, for example:

- (284) *The house was surrounded. They knew they would not be able to escape safely.*

Again, the difference in the felicity can be attributed to an informational deficit in the sentences in (283) which does not occur in (284).

Additionally, an interesting comparison can be made between these passives and active ditransitives which seem to require the presence of the direct object to produce a well-formed clause. Specifically, the infelicitous passives above could be considered ill-formed on the basis of the fact that their predicates seem to be obligatorily transitive in the active:

- (285) a. **/#The procession followed.*
b. cf. *The procession followed the hearse.*
c. **/#The Government has capped.*

- d. cf. *The Government has capped pay increases at 3 per cent a year.*
- e. **/#The oil slick has rimmed.*
- f. cf. *The oil slick has rimmed a stretch of Atlantic coastline some 250 miles long.*
- g. **/#The artist has rimmed.*
- h. cf. *The artist has rimmed the base of the vase with gold.*
- i. **/#The protesters surrounded.*
- j. cf. *The protesters surrounded the building.*

The same phenomenon can be observed in typically ditransitive verbs which seem to be obligatorily transitive:

- (286) a. **/#Peter gave.*
- b. **/#Peter gave to John.*
- c. **/#Peter showed.*
- d. **/#Peter showed to John.*

Although this requirement of transitivity seems to be a syntactic one, it might actually be possible to see it as deriving from pragmatics as well. All of the sentences above which are marked as starred/infelicitous are simply uninformative. Although superficially they do not appear trivial in the same sense as the sentences in (270), they similarly seem to lack some information in a neutral context.

Even though the most typical context for the occurrence of ditransitives is that which requires the expression of the second core argument, it is not impossible to coerce even these verbs into behaving intransitively in the appropriate context:

- (287) a. *Peter gave freely.*
- b. *If you only give, and your partner only takes, your relationship is not well balanced and may make you feel bitter and resentful.*
- c. *I'll show you!*

- d. *Some teachers show and others tell. I prefer to be shown – then I understand and remember much better.*

just as it is possible to coerce other typically transitive verbs (*take, tell, follow, etc.*) into behaving intransitively:

- (288) a. *On the generosity scale, you are a Scrooge – you take, and make no compromises to please others.*
b. *Some teachers show and others tell.*
c. *If one truly comes to God and surrenders at His holy feet, then everything else follows.*

The issues of transitivity, including the modelling of syntactic subcategorisation and semantic argument selection, will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

Chapter 3

The anticausative

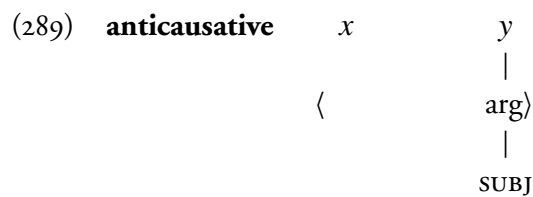
In this Chapter I will present a general picture of the construction which I have identified as the anticausative, and then offer a more detailed discussion of some selected lexical, syntactic and pragmatic issues relating to this construction. My overall aim is to highlight the similarities and differences between the anticausative and the passive and show where the two constructions are placed in the system of voice-altering operations on argument structure. In the introductory Chapter 1 (Sections 1.4.2 and 1.5) I offered an outline of the analysis of the anticausative and argued that it detransitivised the predicate in a distinctly different way to the passive.

The passive operates at the syntactic level of argument positions and downgrades the first argument, normally mapped onto subject, to a lower grammatical function of an oblique. In this way, it renders the predicate *syntactically intransitive* and enables another argument (usually the second highest, the underlying object) to assume the status of the grammatical subject.

The anticausative also operates at the level of argument positions, but rather than influence the way the arguments are assigned grammatical functions, it targets the argument positions themselves. Specifically, I suggest that the anticausative deletes the first-slot argument from the predicate's valency frame. As a consequence of the deletion of the first

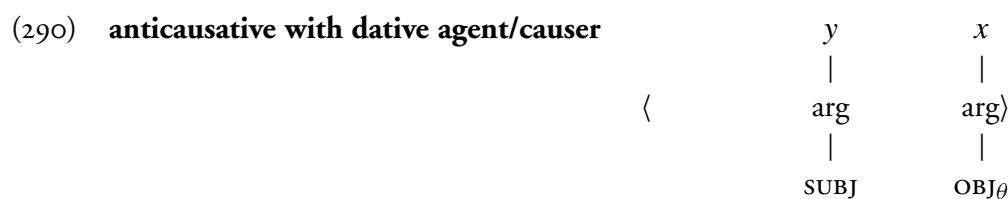
argument, the second argument is mapped onto subject. In this way, the anticausative does not just result in a difference to the normal syntactic mapping of the participants to grammatical functions, but its primary consequence is a change to the lexical representation of the predicate. It renders the predicate not just syntactically, but also *lexically intransitive*.

As suggested in Chapter 1, the operation can be diagrammed in the following way:



The above diagram captures the following observations about anticausative clauses. First, in contrast with the transitive predicate, the anticausative variant contains only one core argument, the underlying object, mapped onto the subject function. Second, despite having only one core argument, the anticausative contains the same number of thematic roles as the transitive – that is, the cause (or agent) and the undergoer (or patient).

In Chapter 1 (Section 1.4.2.2) I argued that the cause participant was indeed implied semantically in the anticausative. In Polish, the unlinked cause(r) role may also be syntactically expressed – it may be optionally mapped onto the third argument position (that of the ‘dative’):



The distinction between syntactic detransitivisation (achieved through a non-default mapping of the core arguments to grammatical functions) and lexical detransitivisation (achieved through the deletion of the first core argument) is crucial in capturing the difference between the passive and the anticausative. Attempts to capture the difference between the two constructions without resorting to the internal syntactic structure of the predicate such as the hypothesised argument structure have not, so far, been successful.

Haspelmath (1990:35) remarks that '[o]ften grammars fail to mention the anticausative use because in traditional grammar it is not recognized as a separate entity', and there is not even a widely accepted term for this phenomenon¹. In her very detailed description of the passive, Siewierska (1984:77-79; also 1988:267-269) points to the difficulties, still to be solved, in accounting for the distinction between the anticausative and the passive:

The structural similarities between passives and anticausatives have important consequences for any potential universal definition of the passive. Observe that if the passive is conceived of in purely structural terms or in terms of the semantic role of the surface subject, anticausatives (...) will have to be regarded as passive. Only an approach to the passive which explicates the obligatory overt or covert presence of an entity (distinct from the overt subject) which has brought about the situation expressed in the clause can hope to differentiate the two constructions. (1988:269)

If the distinction were captured only with reference to grammatical functions (and their different-to-default assignment), the anticausative sentences such as *The door closed* or *The stone moved* could be regarded as passive under both the promotional and demotional definitions of passivisation (Siewierska 1984:77). Although in English the verbal morphology of passive clauses is distinct from that of anticausatives, this is purely a result of the evolutionary path of this particular language and has no connection with the grammatical rules underlying the two constructions synchronically (cf. Russian, in which the anticausative

¹Siewierska (1988:283, footnote 16) lists the following labels under which anticausatives have also been discussed: 'inchoative', 'notional passive', 'ergative', and, in languages in which the reflexive morpheme is used, also 'pseudo-reflexive', 'quasi-reflexive' and 'illogical reflexive'. Haspelmath (1987:8-10) additionally mentions the following terms: 'middle', 'mediopassive', 'pseudopassive', 'derived intransitive', 'spontaneous', 'decausative', and provides detailed references of where the terms have been used. Palmer (1994:143) mentions the anticausative use of transitive verbs in a section listing problematic reflexive passives and refers to it as the 'neuter'. The terms 'neuter' and 'objective decausative' have also been used by Geniušienė (1987) and Klaiman (1991:66-67).

and the passive may have the same morphological exponent; see also Section 1.4.2 on the morphological marking of the anticausative, and Section 6.2 on the grammaticalisation of passive morphology). Furthermore, since there are apparently languages in which passives do not accept overt agent phrases, the lack of an overt agent cannot be regarded as the distinguishing property of anticausative and passive constructions either (ibid.:78).

Siewierska concludes that ‘if the implied agent of the passive clause is the only feature which distinguishes passives from anticausatives, any definition of personal passives has to include a statement about the agentive character of this construction’ (ibid.:79). Indeed, the lack of agentive components in the meaning of the anticausative, as opposed to the overt or implied presence of an agent in the passive, is generally considered to be characteristic of canonical anticausatives. However, Polish examples of anticausatives with human causers expressed in the dative argument, repeated below from Section 1.4.2.2, show that even the notion of an implied external agent versus no external agent (or, possibly, an inherent reflexive agent?) does not distinguish passives from anticausatives:

- (291) *Piotrowi zbita się szklanka.*
 Peter(MASC).DAT broke.3SG.FEM REFL glass(FEM).NOM
 ‘A/the glass broke to Peter/in Peter’s hands.’ (meaning: ‘Peter broke a/the glass unintentionally’)
- (292) *Wylała mi się zupa.*
 spilt.3SG.FEM me.DAT REFL soup(FEM).NOM
 ‘The soup has spilt to me.’ (meaning: ‘I have spilt the soup unintentionally’)
- (293) *Przesoliły mi się te ziemniaki.*
 oversalted.3PL.NONVIR me.DAT REFL these.NONVIR.NOM potatoes(NONVIR).NOM
 ‘These potatoes have oversalted to me.’ (meaning: ‘I have oversalted these potatoes unintentionally’)
- (294) *Ten kawałek rozpiłował mi się nierówno.*
 this.MASC.NOM piece(MASC).NOM sawed-through.3SG.MASC me.DAT REFL unevenly
 ‘This piece has sawn through to me unevenly.’ (meaning: ‘I have unintentionally sawn this piece through unevenly’)

Taking account of all these observations, I reiterate the main hypothesis offered in this work, namely, that while the passive is a *syntactic detransitiviser* demoting the agent argument of the predicate to an oblique but leaving the valency frame and the semantic structure of the predicate intact, the anticausative is a *lexical detransitiviser* deleting the first argument from the valency frame. While the passive affects only the syntactic expression of the arguments of the predicate, the anticausative affects the lexical composition of the predicate and, in consequence, also the syntactic expression of its arguments, as well as the predicate's meaning.

In both constructions, the semantic role of the first participant remains present in the argument structure, but the main points of difference between the two constructions are the accessibility and the interpretation of this role. In the passive, the role of the first participant (x) maintains its original linking with an argument position. In the anticausative, it becomes unlinked and 'tries' to find expression through some other argument, creating a tension between the interpretation equating it with the underlying object participant ($x_i y_i$ – as in the reflexive which, however, has *two* arguments associated with these roles, not one) and the interpretation equating it with an additional beneficiary participant ($x_j b_j$).

In the sections below I will expand this basic description of the anticausative and show how the analysis offered in this work accounts for the behaviour of this construction with regard to syntax, semantics and pragmatics. Although the anticausative overlaps with at least two other categories or types of phenomena whose descriptions involve the argument structure of the predicate – causativity and reflexivity – I will not undertake a discussion of these phenomena in this work. The discussion below will be restricted only to those aspects of the anticausative which are directly related to the passive or illuminate the discussion of the passive which will remain the main focus of this study. Likewise, I will not discuss the morphology associated with the anticausative, or the diachronic development of this construction in English and Polish.

3.1 The coding of the agent/cause

Neither English nor Polish allows an agentive ‘by’-phrase to be used in the anticausative – that is, in the intransitive use of verbs such as ‘break’ or ‘sink’:

- (295) a. **The ship sank by Bill.* (Roeper 1987:268, ex. 2a)
b. **The window broke by Pat.* (Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1995:109, ex. 65a)
c. **Słoik się zbił przez Piotra.*
jar(MASC).NOM REFL broke.3SG.MASC by Peter
‘The jar broke by Peter.’ (meaning: ‘Peter broke the jar’)

It is important to note that the Polish sentence in (295c) is grammatically correct and semantically plausible if understood as: ‘The jar broke *because of* Peter’ – that is, for example, because Peter had put it in an unsafe place where it could easily be broken by someone else or by some other external cause (e.g. a draught). Under this interpretation, the *przez*-phrase of (295c) would be a cause *adjunct*. Under the ‘demoted agent’ interpretation, however, where the *przez*-phrase expresses a core *argument* demoted to an oblique, the sentence is both ill-formed and uninterpretable.

The fact that an agentive ‘by’-phrase is disallowed in both English and Polish sentences with the intransitive ‘break’ or ‘sink’ is unsurprising when looked at from the perspective adopted in this work. Whether analysed as a basic intransitive, or a derived intransitive verb, the verb’s argument structure does not contain an argument which could map onto a passive oblique – there is no argument position which could be re-classified as a passive oblique and realised as a prepositional phrase which normally expresses a passive agent. The licensing of a ‘by’-phrase is essentially a syntactic phenomenon, and the sentences in (295) are syntactically ill-formed, i.e. ungrammatical².

²As is clear from the analysis offered here, I treat the passive oblique agent as an argument, not adjunct, and therefore I do not need to allow the ‘by’-phrase to be linked to a thematic ‘position’ without the mediation of an argument position. See Chapter 5 (Section 5.2.4.1) for a discussion of formal issues behind this analysis of the passive agent. The English preposition *by* may also introduce a postmodifier denoting authorship, but

As I already showed in the introductory section to the anticausative in Chapter 1 (Section 1.4.2.2), the lack of an external agent *argument* does not entail the lack of a semantic component indicating the cause of the event. Adverbials such as ‘itself/by itself’, which can occur in anticausatives and which attribute the causation to the subject of the anticausative, are consistent with the interpretation of the anticausative as expressing a situation which appears to be brought about spontaneously. However, these adverbials do not express an additional argument of the predicate, and it is only a morphological coincidence that the adverbial *itself* in English may be introduced by the preposition *by* which is also used to re-introduce demoted passive agents (cf. the English *I wrote it by myself* which only emphasises that the referent of the subject is the cause(r) of the event, but does not introduce another argument into the predicate’s argument structure or the phrase structure configuration).

Anticausatives have frequently been argued to be incompatible with *any* notion of agentivity (e.g. Siewierska 1984:77-79, as in the quotations in the previous section; Haspelmath 1993; also the references below). Sentences such as the following have been treated as ill-formed and as proving that the anticausative is unable to control purpose clauses or adverbials:

- (296) a. #*The boat sank to collect the insurance.* (Roeper 1987:268, ex. 3a)
 b. #*The window broke to rescue the child.* (Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1995:109, ex. 65b)
 c. #*Słoik się zbił celowo.*
 jar(MASC).NOM REFL broke.3SG.MASC on-purpose
 ‘The jar broke on purpose.’

I argue that the control of purpose clauses and volitional adverbials is a substantially different phenomenon from the inability to license an agentive ‘by’-phrase which was illustrated in (295) above. In both English and Polish, sentences with the intransitive ‘break’ or ‘sink’ which contain purpose clauses or adverbials are *not* ungrammatical, but implausi-

this type of ‘by’-phrase I do not treat as an argument which participates in argument structure mappings.

ble in most semantic contexts. They are not syntactically deviant, but are uninterpretable unless the referent of the subject argument is personified or, more precisely, understood as sentient³.

The fact that there are semantic contexts in which purpose clauses and volitional adverbials in anticausatives are acceptable – that is, that they do not need to be licensed by an original (external) sentient agent – seems to point to the conclusion that what licenses them is not just the presence of a specific semantic participant at the semantic level of representation of the predicate. They seem to require the presence of an *argument* which is *associated with a semantic participant* whose referent is, or can be construed as, an agent. Control of purpose and other adverbial (e.g. temporal) clauses seems, therefore, to be a phenomenon sensitive to the presence of syntactic mappings within argument structure which are responsible for the semantic coherence of the agent (see end of Section 1.4.2.4).

Purpose and other adverbial clauses are sanctioned at the level of argument positions, and interpreted according to the semantics of the role which is associated with the controlling argument position. It can be argued that what sanctions them is the ‘logical subject’, understood as the first argument present in the argument structure which is accompanied by its original semantic role. This is confirmed by felicitous passive sentences such as *The boat was sunk on purpose*, in which the implied agent (the logical subject) is understood as sentient. In contrast with the logical subject, an ‘agent’ is identified solely at the semantic level and – as is clear from the interpretation of anticausatives – its characteristics can be transferred onto a semantic participant which is not normally sentient or volitional.

³This *semantic* constraint applies to predicates which require sentient agents regardless of the construction in which they appear. All of the following sentences are well-formed, but they are felicitous *only* if the referents of their subjects are understood as sentient. Active: *The owner sank the boat on purpose* (*owner* is understood as sentient); *The wind has knocked over the old tree on purpose* (felicitous if *wind* is personified); *The boat sank on purpose* (felicitous if *boat* is personified). Passive: *The boat was sunk on purpose* (the implied agent is understood as sentient).

Arguing for a causative analysis of certain, externally caused, intransitive verbs in English (including *break*) which participate in the causative alternation, Levin & Rappaport Hovav (1995) suggest that the intransitive variant of these verbs results from the binding of the external cause which takes place in the mapping from the lexical semantic representation to argument structure. They argue that while the semantic and syntactic structure of the basic, transitive, variant of the verb *break* can be represented as in (ibid.:108):

| | | |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (297) Lexical semantic representation | [[<i>x</i> DO-SOMETHING] CAUSE | [<i>y</i> BECOME <i>BROKEN</i>]] |
| Linking rules | ↓ | ↓ |
| Argument structure | <i>x</i> | ⟨ <i>y</i> ⟩ |

the semantic and syntactic structure of the intransitive form of *break* can be represented as in (ibid.):

| | | |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (298) Lexical semantic representation | [[<i>x</i> DO-SOMETHING] CAUSE | [<i>y</i> BECOME <i>BROKEN</i>]] |
| | ↓ | |
| Lexical binding | ∅ | |
| Linking rules | | ↓ |
| Argument structure | | ⟨ <i>y</i> ⟩ |

According to Levin & Rappaport Hovav, the binding of a position in the lexical semantic representation prevents the projection of that position into argument structure in a similar way as binding, or suppression, of a position in argument structure prevents that position from being projected onto the syntax. For Levin & Rappaport Hovav, the fact that in English sentences with the intransitive variant of the verb *break* the external cause cannot license a *by*-phrase or (arguably) control a purpose clause constitutes evidence supporting the hypothesis that the operation of binding the external cause must take place at a level before argument structure.

The model of the anticausative offered by Levin & Rappaport Hovav corresponds to the one suggested in this work in all the essential aspects. Crucially, in the present work

the anticausative is conceptualised as operating ‘deeper’ within argument structure and altering the lexical-syntactic structure of the predicate (specifically, the number of arguments subcategorised for by the predicate), but not the number of semantic roles associated with the predicate.

Although the level of semantic roles is not altered directly in the anticausative, it is nevertheless affected by the deletion of a core argument from the verb’s subcategorisation frame. Since the event is still understood as requiring a cause(r), the second (remaining) argument, mapped onto subject, may acquire some agentive properties as if some of the characteristics of the abandoned agent role were transferred onto the second semantic participant turning it into a ‘pseudo-agent’ (though see (296) above). Thus, the anticausative predicate is taken to have a different meaning from the basic predicate – a phenomenon which is not observed with the passive.

There does not seem to be any reason why the original agent should be banned from reappearing in the surface representation of the anticausative in some way. However, there do not seem to be many morphosyntactic possibilities available in argument structure to achieve this end. The agent role may not be mapped onto a syntactic argument through the first argument position, because that would make it a (causative) subject. It also has to be distinct from the oblique demoted agent of the passive.

As was shown earlier, Polish has a strategy of reintroducing the orphaned agent to syntax through the additional argument position of the dative. Unlike the demoted passive agent, the dative agent is not an oblique. Although the position is non-obligatory (it is normally linked to an optional beneficiary), the dative could arguably qualify to be a subcategorised argument, or at least a required semantic participant in some predicates (this is usually assumed for ditransitives, for example).

In line with what I have already suggested about the dative, in LFG the argument found in the third argument position is syntactically classified as a ‘secondary object’. I will argue in Chapter 5 that the syntactic pre-specification of this argument should be

regarded as unique in argument structure, at least for languages such as English or Polish. This is confirmed by the fact that the dative cannot be multiplied in these languages in the way obliques can. However, the fact that it is semantically unrestricted means that, like oblique positions, it can be associated with any semantic role. Finally, although the dative is an *additional* non-oblique argument, its appearance in the argument structure of Polish predicates does not require the use of an applicative mechanism – that is, the dative argument in Polish does not have to be morphologically derived, because the dative argument position is available in Polish predicates by default.

A diagram showing the result of the re-alignment of the agent role with the dative argument position in Polish was given above in (290). Further formalisation details will be given in Chapter 5. Moreover, in Section 3.3.2.1 and in Chapter 4 I will show that the strategy of retrieving the original agent and expressing it through the dative is also used in Polish constructions with non-human instruments as subjects and in the Polish reflexive impersonal. The ‘middle’ construction, in which the dative agent is also used in Polish, will not be treated here as a separate morphological construction, but it will be argued below to be morphologically anticausative.

3.2 Lexico-semantic issues

The anticausative operation targets and deletes the argument associated with the first thematic role of the predicate, the role of the agent or cause. In this way, it substantially alters the meaning of the predicate. For this reason, it might qualify to be recognised as a *morphosemantic* operation in the sense of Sadler & Spencer (1998), since it deletes (or at least alters) some component of meaning from the argument structure of the predicate. It might also be seen as the inverse of the lexical rule which has been suggested for many languages with morphological causatives. The change in the lexico-semantic component of argument structure, resulting from lexical detransitivisation, constitutes the main difference between the anticausative and the passive.

Semantics plays an important role in the interpretation of the anticausative and the acceptability of the resulting clauses. Since the main focus of this work is not the anticausative, but the passive and the distinction between the passive and the impersonal, I have not been able to undertake investigation into the semantics of the anticausative with as much detail as it requires. The following is an overview of the lexico-semantic issues relating to the anticausative which are relevant to the basic description of the system of voice-altering constructions offered in this work, and an outline of the generalisations regarding the anticausative that I have been able to make with some certainty. I have indicated where there are outstanding issues.

If the anticausative is understood as an operation removing the first-slot argument from the argument structure of the predicate, it is naturally restricted to predicates (basic or derived) which have the first argument slot in their argument structure frames (see Chapter 5 for a discussion of the available valency frames). Apart from this fundamental lexical requirement, however, in those studies which recognise the anticausative, the operation has also been found to be restricted to certain semantic types of verbs (e.g. Haspelmath 1987, 1993; Levin 1993:26-30; Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1995:Chapter 3). For example, it is generally acknowledged that among the verbs which participate in the anticausative alternation are verbs of change of state or change of position (with some exceptions).

A similar semantic restriction is usually proposed for the middle construction (e.g. Fagan 1992; Levin 1993:25-26; Ackema & Schoorlemmer 1994), such as *This jumper washes easily*. The middle, like the anticausative, lacks a syntactic expression of the original agent. However, its interpretation implies an agent, appears to be incompatible with specific time reference, and also appears to require adverbial or modal elements.

I propose that if the anticausative is seen as a morpholexical category defined as above, both 'core' anticausatives such as *The glass broke* and middles such as *This jumper washes easily* can be found to have the same anticausative argument structure.

The *core anticausative* has a characteristic semantic interpretation of an event occur-

ring spontaneously. Therefore, it may only be formed from predicates denoting situations which can be conceived of as spontaneous. The *core middle*, on the other hand, involves any verb of change of state regardless of the spontaneity restriction, but it has to have a generic interpretation in some sense (see below for details). The existence of non-core anticausatives formed from predicates expressing unambiguously *non-spontaneous* events, which are also *non-generic* statements, bridges the gap between the two core constructions as identified above. Although few examples of these can be found in English, non-core anticausatives are completely unproblematic in Polish (as will be shown below). For this reason, I will treat both the core anticausative and the middle as resulting from the same morpholexical operation of lexical detransitivisation. To achieve its generic interpretation, the middle has to undergo a set of additional operations over its semantic LCS (lexical conceptual structure) representation (Spencer 2000).

As I said earlier (at the end of the introduction to this Chapter), the orphaned agent role is not directly accessible to the syntax but it is always implied by the predicate and it ‘tries’ to find expression through some other argument, either the underlying object or the underlying beneficiary. If the *patient* of the event is human (or animate), the removal of the first argument of the predicate leaves two human roles wanting to be interpreted as coindexed ($x_i y_i$). In this case, it appears that the roles are bound to be interpreted as associated with one referent which performs a reflexive action (in which $x=y$). This, in turn, entails that the two conflated roles, mapped onto the subject, are interpreted as the first argument of the predicate. In other words, spontaneity, or self-causation, of an event involving one human referent, seems to be always interpreted as reflexive, not anticausative.

All these issues will be discussed in some more detail in the sections below. I will also hypothesise whether it might be possible to have an anticausative of the intransitive, and whether ‘object promotion’ to subject (so far assumed to occur in all anticausatives) is indispensable after lexical detransitivisation.

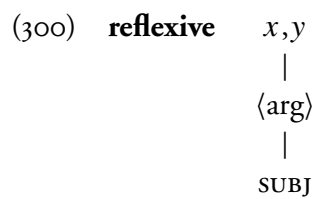
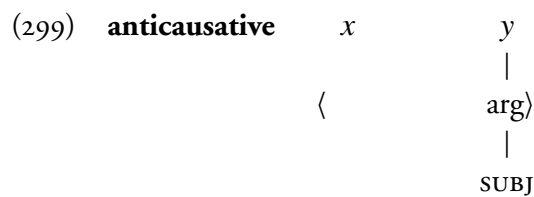
3.2.1 The overlap of the anticausative and the reflexive

I have suggested that a morpholexical approach to the anticausative allows us to see it as a broader category, with the resulting interpretation of the particular clause depending on the semantics of both the verb and the participants of the event it denotes. This is, for example, the case with clauses which border between the anticausative and the reflexive.

When the first argument is deleted from the argument structure of the predicate, the syntax regards the second argument (if there is one) as the first one appearing in the argument structure frame and maps it onto subject. On the other hand, if both the first and the second roles are associated with human referents, the clause is bound to be interpreted as reflexive, i.e. $x_i y_i$ rather than $x_j b_j$, with the tension between the two possible interpretations of the agent resolving unambiguously as $x=y$. This difference in the degree of the identification of roles seems to capture well the difference between the anticausative and the structural reflexive (for comparison, consider Geniušienė's (1987) representations of diatheses provided at the end of this section). It now remains to be shown under what conditions these two structures may occur.

Intuitively, the factor which appears to determine the interpretation of the anticausative is whether the event could be conceptualised as occurring or having occurred spontaneously, that is, without external intervention. In two-place predicates, the 'spontaneous occurrence' interpretation depends both on the type of activity coded by the verb and on the semantic properties of the participant which is to be mapped onto subject after the removal of the first argument.

Thus, if, after the removal of the first argument, the remaining argument is associated with a participant which may be interpreted as a 'self-causer', the resulting construction will be interpreted as **anticausative** – as long as we *allow* a possibility of there being an external cause(r), or as **reflexive** – as soon as we *exclude* the possibility of there being an external agent, but instead associate both roles (of the causer and the patient/theme) with the same referent. This distinction can be captured in the following schematic way:



(Compare diagram (300) above with the hypothesised representation in (225), Section 2.3.3.1, of symmetrical predicates with two distinct agent and patient roles associated with two different referents; both types of predicates use the reflexive marker in Polish).

Examples of clauses containing predicates which could be classified as anticausative and reflexive, respectively, are ‘The jar broke’ and ‘Peter washed’. With some classes of verbs (such as ‘break’ or ‘wash’), neither Polish nor English distinguishes between these two types of predicates morphologically: English uses the unmarked form of the verb in both constructions, while Polish marks both with the reflexive marker *się*. However, in the reflexive construction, both Polish and English make it possible to specify that the single argument has two distinct semantic roles, that of the agent and that of the patient/theme, cf. *Piotr umył siebie (i dzieci)* ‘Peter washed himself (and the children)’, where the patient is expressed in the personal reflexive pronoun mapped onto object.

The fact that the anticausative and the reflexive overlap in their underlying structure to such a great extent means that, unless they are clearly disambiguated by syntactic or other context, their surface expression may not make it possible to determine which structure is being used. Although speakers may use some default, or preferred, lexico-semantic representations of verbs, many verbs can be coerced into behaving like members of a different lexico-semantic class which is atypical for them.

For example, in a clause such as ‘The jar broke’, in the absence of any reference to an external causer/agent, agentivity is attributed to the non-human participant and the

event is interpreted as ‘self-caused’, or at least spontaneous. For example, it is conceivable that, in an atypical situation, the breaking of the jar may be caused by the internal tension of the material from which the jar is made. Even then, though, the ‘jar’ would have to be personified to be able to have agentive properties (cf. the unlikely acceptability of the personal reflexive pronoun in the object position of: *#!/*Słoik zbił siebie* ‘The jar broke itself.ACC’).

Thus, even though the tension in the interpretation of the agent could be resolved as $x_i y_i$ (rather than $x_i y_j (b_i)$), it would still not be $x=y$ (one referent inherently combining two roles). The verb ‘break’ in both English and Polish is typically associated with at least an external cause, if not an external human agent (see also Section 1.4.2 in which I argued for treating the transitive variant of ‘break’ in both English and Polish as basic), which favours the anticausative interpretation of the intransitive ‘break’ over the structurally reflexive interpretation.

Even when the subject of the intransitive ‘break’ is human, as in ‘He broke under pressure’, the interpretation of such a clause is still closer to that of the anticausative than the reflexive. That is, in both English and Polish there is likely to have been an external cause(r) of this event, and the subject of the anticausative is at best a ‘pseudo-agent’, but not the actual agent causing the event. The presence of the external agent may be revealed through the syntactic or extra-syntactic context (e.g. the dative agent in Polish, or a coordinated clause specifying an external agent, as in ‘He threw the jar against the wall and it broke’, or ‘They pressed him for the truth and he broke’).

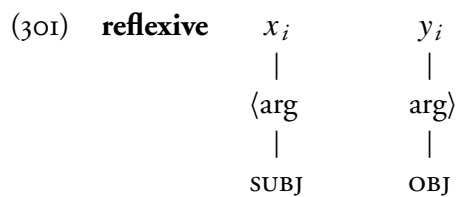
On the other hand, in other two-place predicates involving two human participants, the reflexive interpretation may be favoured over the anticausative one when the verb is intransitivised. This seems to be the case with many predicates whose two participants are typically both human. For example, *Piotr kocha się* ‘Peter loves REFL/himself’ or *Piotr zabił się* ‘Peter killed REFL/himself’, do not imply that there is an external agent or causer of these events (such as e.g. ‘Katie loves Peter’, or ‘Someone killed Peter’). Instead, the sentences

are interpreted as reflexive (cf. the availability of the use of the personal reflexive pronoun: *Piotr kocha siebie ponad wszystko* ‘Peter loves himself above all-else’, *Piotr zabił siebie, nie Jacka* ‘Peter killed himself not Jack’).

Moreover, Polish predicates which denote typically reciprocated actions (e.g. ‘love’, ‘kiss’, ‘beat’), may have a yet different interpretation when they are intransitivised with the reflexive marker *się*. Their interpretation is ambiguous between reflexive and ‘deobjective’ in which the clause is taken to have an unspecified object. The latter interpretation is, in fact, preferred in any neutral context, so *Kasia całuje się* ‘Katie kisses REFL/herself’ tends to be understood as: ‘Kasia is kissing [someone]’; and *Piotr bije się* ‘Peter beats REFL/himself’ as: ‘Peter beats [others]’.

To sum up the discussion so far, the argument structures of the anticausative and the reflexive are very similar, and in the absence of a reference to the causer/agent, some predicates may be interpreted as either anticausative or reflexive. On the other hand, it is not necessary to posit that all reflexive predicates result from anticausativisation – that is, the deletion of the first argument from the argument structure of the predicate. When, due to the semantics of the predicate and its participants, the agent and the patient roles are associated with the same argument and the argument is to be assigned the function of the subject, all that the syntax needs to recognise is that the argument comes first in the argument structure (which is the case in both the non-derived causative and the derived anticausative).

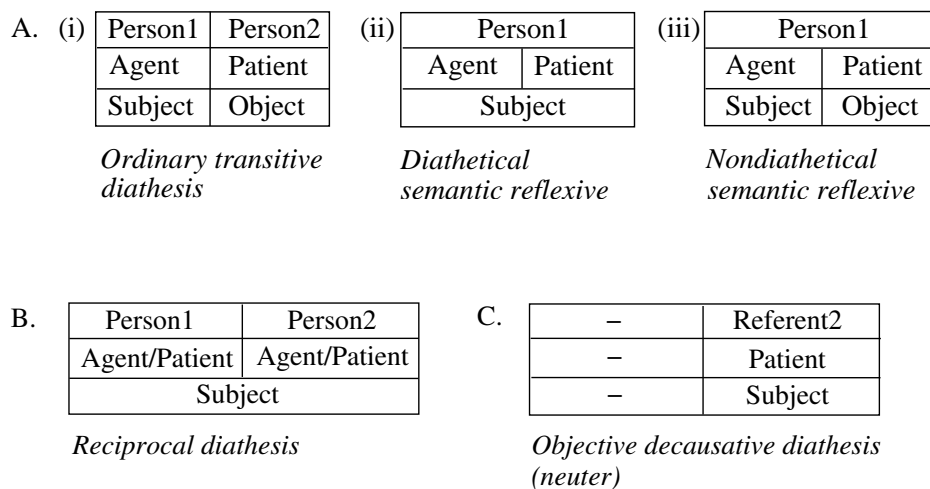
Predicates in which the referent of these two roles is human are more likely to have a non-anticausative structure. In other words, when the subject of a semantically transitive but syntactically intransitive event is human, it tends to be interpreted as a first-slot argument. Hence the possibility of separating the two roles and mapping the patient one onto a separate, object argument, as in *Piotr zabił siebie (nie Jacka)* ‘Peter killed himself (not Jack)’, which may be diagrammed as:



With the use of the personal pronoun in object position, it is clear that ‘Peter’ is both the agent and the patient of the event. (Note that the diagram above has been repeated from (219) in Section 2.3.2 which discussed the coreference of the agent and the patient in the active and the passive.)

For comparison, consider the following representations of the relevant diatheses based on Geniušienė (1987), offered by Klaiman (1991:66, Figure 2.4):

(302)



Geniušienė’s representation of the reflexive in A(ii) corresponds to my diagram (300), while the reflexive in A(iii) corresponds to my diagram (301). Geniušienė’s anticausative diathesis (C) appears to represent a different analysis of this construction from the one offered here in diagram (299), but, in fact, the differences in the representations only reflect a different conception of the internal mappings within the predicate. Geniušienė’s representation

illustrates a standard view that the expression of the original cause is unavailable either via the first syntactic argument (or, rather, the first core grammatical function) or via the first, most prominent, thematic role (hence the lack of agent effects in anticausatives). From this perspective it is correct to conclude that, if there is nothing to express, the position of the first referent aligned with the empty functional and semantic positions must also be empty.

The analysis offered here preserves the correct observation of the standard view that the expression of the original cause is completely blocked from being accessed either via the first syntactic argument or via the first, most prominent, thematic role. The lack of agent effects, as described earlier in this Chapter, is attributed precisely to the fact that there is no argument in the argument structure with which the original cause(r) could be associated. From my perspective, however, the lack of expression does not mean that the verb has changed at the conceptual level. I have shown in numerous examples that, at the conceptual level, the first referent is always implied by the anticausative (even when an inanimate patient is understood as a self-causer) and it can frequently resurface either in the context surrounding the anticausative, or in the anticausative clause itself – though, as observed correctly above, *not* via the core position of the underlying subject, *nor* via an expression of a demoted agent.

The more refined notion of argument structure has allowed me to retain in the anticausative the first conceptual participant of the predicate, identified by its original thematic role. Although it is not able to be expressed or resurface in overt syntax in the standard way, I argue that it is able to ‘move away’ from its original alignment with an argument position and reappear in the expression of the anticausative outside the two core argument positions. Geniušienė’s representations include only two (core) argument positions and assume (as do most theoretical accounts of argument structure) a fixed order of thematic roles. I argue that allowing the semantic participants to re-align with the available argument positions makes it possible to model accurately a variety of morphosemantic phenomena including the anticausative (see Chapter 5 for a more detailed discussion of all the theoretical issues

involved in this hypothesis).

3.2.2 'Non-core' anticausatives

The discussion in the previous section involved events which could, due to the semantics of the verbs and their participants, be conceptualised as either spontaneous or 'self-caused'. In fact, it is a characteristic feature of the anticausative (though not the middle) that it is most commonly formed from predicates which denote events which are *likely* to occur spontaneously, that is, without the intervention of an external agent. Haspelmath goes as far as suggesting a strong semantic condition on the formation of the anticausative which refers to the spontaneity of occurrence: he states that the only verbs which can appear in the anticausative are those which do not contain 'agent-oriented meaning components or other highly specific meaning components that make the spontaneous occurrence of the event extremely unlikely' (1993:94).

Accounts of the anticausative such as Haspelmath's obviously exclude the middle construction from the category of the anticausative. However, putting aside the fact, acknowledged by Haspelmath (*ibid.*), that the anticausative is not limited to a class of verbs with a particular semantic coherence, it appears that some verbs do not fall clearly in either the anticausative or the middle category. In all the examples below, the events which are referred to require an agent, yet the clauses are not generic (as would be required for the middle) but specific:

- (303) a. *The book has sold because of its sexy cover.* (adapted from Siewierska 1984:170)
b. *The dinner/The meat is cooking. The cake is baking. The kettle/Water is boiling. The bath is running.*
c. *My son's writing is improving.*
d. *A new type of camera is developing.* (Quirk et al. 1985:746)

Haspelmath (1993:95-96) notes the existence of sentences such as (303b) and hypothesises that it might be due to the fact that individual verb meanings may differ across

languages, or that the semantic characterisation of the anticausative that he proposes (as in the quotation above) is not universal but differs slightly for different languages. I suggest that none of the sentences in (303) present a problem if, as suggested here, we treat all the core and non-core lexical detransitives (including the middle construction) as having anticausative argument structure. In this way, all of these constructions are seen as belonging to the same *morpholexical* category which has been labelled here as ‘anticausative’.

Moreover, verbs such as the ones in (303b), which apparently occur commonly in the anticausative in various languages (Nedjalkov 1990 and Haspelmath 1993 illustrate their discussion specifically with ‘boil’/‘cook’), can be understood as requiring an agent to initiate the activity, after which it continues, or goes on to completion, ‘spontaneously’ without a direct involvement of the agent. The following pairs of sentences in English (from Quirk et al. 1985:744) are a good illustration of this implication:

- (304) a. *The water is boiling vigorously.*
 b. \neq *Someone is boiling the water vigorously.*
- (305) a. *The water has been boiling for five minutes.*
 b. \neq *Someone has been boiling the water for five minutes.*

All of the English sentences in (303) have their direct counterparts in Polish. Furthermore, it seems that Polish allows non-core anticausatives with many more typically agentive verbs referring to specific situations than English. A couple of examples in Polish, in which the agent is not only required conceptually but may also be expressed overtly in the dative argument, were cited in the introduction to this Chapter and are repeated here from (293) and (294):

- (306) *Przesoliły mi się te ziemniaki.*
 oversalted.3PL.NONVIR me.DAT REFL these.NONVIR.NOM potatoes(NONVIR).NOM
 ‘These potatoes have oversalted to me.’ (meaning: ‘I have oversalted these potatoes unintentionally’)

- (307) *Ten kawałek rozpiłował mi się nierówno.*
this.MASC.NOM piece(MASC).NOM sawed-through.3SG.MASC me.DAT REFL unevenly
'This piece has been sawn through to me unevenly.' (meaning: 'I have unintentionally
sawn this piece through unevenly')

Consider also the following English example corresponding to the Polish (307):

- (308) *Unfortunately, this piece of wood hasn't cut very well, but it will have to suffice.*

3.2.3 The middle

The 'core' middles are all used as generics (specifically, they ascribe a permanent stative property to their subjects; Spencer 2000:288; see also Fagan 1992:Chapter 5; Ackema & Schoorlemmer 1994) as well as necessarily imply an agent. It appears that in English most of the typically agentive verbs (with a few exceptions mentioned in the previous section on non-core anticausatives) may only be lexically detransitivised if they are to be used in the middle construction.

Assuming that this is the case, we may propose the following generalisation for English. If, after the removal of the first argument from a two-place argument structure, the remaining argument is associated with a participant which may *not* be interpreted as a 'self-causer', the resulting construction will be interpreted as **middle**, as in:

- (309) a. *This meat cuts easily.*
b. *Her books read well.*
c. *This desktop polishes up badly.*
d. *This door just pulls.*
e. *This toy assembles in seconds.*
f. *The toy winds up at the back.*
g. *These DVD players now sell for under a hundred pounds.*
h. *The cat's claws retract.*

i. *An even number divides by two.*

I suggest that the middle construction is morphologically anticausative (that is, it is a lexical detransitive) – but, specifically, it is an anticausative in which the unexpressed agent may not be associated with the same referent as the patient. (If it could be associated with the same referent as the patient, the construction would simply cease to be interpreted as a middle, but it would belong to the broader category of anticausatives.) Although the agent is unexpressed, it is always implied. The requirement for the agent and patient to have distinct referents precludes the predicate from being used reflexively.

This definition of the middle, based on a semantic distinction within argument structure, is in agreement with generalisations that are usually made about the middle (see, in particular, Levin 1993:25-26 and references therein). It is usually pointed out that the understood agent is one of the main properties that distinguish the middle from the anticausative. Levin explains that ‘the intransitive variant of the causative/inchoative alternation, the inchoative construction, need not have an understood agent’ (ibid.:26). In the present work, the possibility that the patient may seemingly acquire agentive properties in the anticausative (inchoative) is accounted for by coindexing the roles of the agent and the patient.

Furthermore, despite treating the middle construction as a separate alternation, Levin acknowledges that ‘there has been some debate in the literature about whether there really is a middle alternation that is distinct from the causative/inchoative alternation or whether there is only a single alternation’ (ibid.). This too is in agreement with the present proposal in which I suggest that the anticausative and the middle have the same morphological structure. The middle can be identified as a distinct type of construction only at the level of semantic LCS representations, as argued for example by Ackema & Schoorlemmer (1994) and Spencer (2000).

In brief, Spencer suggests that the ‘core’ English middle ‘results from a set of operations over semantic (LCS) representations. The logical subject is bound by a generic quantifier

and is specified as human, giving rise to the so-called ‘arbitrary’ interpretation. In addition, the lexical predicate is modified by a ‘capacity’ predicate. Thus, a middle such as *This shirt washes easily* is interpreted as “One (in general) can easily wash this shirt” (2000:279).

As pointed out by Levin, ‘[v]erbs that display the causative/inchoative alternation are found in the middle construction, but there are a number of verbs found in the middle construction that do not display the causative/inchoative alternation’ (1993:26). This is also in full agreement with the analysis offered in this work. An example of the former category of verbs is *break*, which may also occur in middles, as in *Crystal breaks at the slightest touch* (example from Levin (ibid.)).

3.2.4 Other anticausatives – a preliminary investigation

The discussion above regarded two-place predicates and, as far as I am aware, it has not been suggested that there can be anticausatives of intransitive predicates. The causative/inchoative alternation is usually defined with reference to ‘verbs with transitive and intransitive uses, where the transitive use of a verb V can be paraphrased as roughly “cause to V-intransitive”’ (Levin 1993:26-27), and Haspelmath states directly that ‘only transitive verbs of a certain type allow anticausative derivations’ (1990:37).

However, if the morpholexical operation leading to the anticausative is taken to target the first argument slot and delete the first argument from the argument structure, it is not unreasonable to hypothesise that it could apply to one-place predicates as well. Since English does not allow subjectless sentences, a productive rule consisting in the removal of the only argument eligible to be the surface subject would be unviable in this language. But Polish does not have this syntactic restriction and, therefore, in the first section below I will try to establish whether it would be possible to lexically detransitivise any intransitive (i.e. one-place) predicates in Polish.

Furthermore, in the second section below I will investigate briefly whether the promotion of the underlying object to subject in anticausatives formed from transitive verbs is

required after lexical detransitivisation, or whether there can be anticausatives of transitives without ‘object promotion’. Since a mapping like this would again produce a subjectless clause, it is expected to be disallowed in English. I will, therefore, look again at Polish to establish whether this type of construction can be identified with any certainty.

3.2.4.1 Anticausatives of intransitives

Several different lexico-semantic classes of intransitive predicates can be identified in Polish. I will look here at four of them.

The first category are strict intransitives (i.e. they do not take an object under any circumstances) which are strictly non-reflexive and which include verbs such as *stać* ‘stand’, *leżeć* ‘lie’, *wiszieć* ‘hang’, *iść* ‘go’, *chodzić* ‘go_{ITERATIVE}, walk’, *siedzieć* ‘sit’, *usiąść* ‘sit down’, *spać* ‘sleep’, *zaspać* ‘oversleep’, *zasnąć* ‘fall asleep’, *umrzeć* ‘die’, *pęknąć* ‘split; crack’, *tyć* ‘gain weight’, *działać* ‘act/work’⁴. Some of the verbs in the list apply to animate participants only. However, some others may be commonly used with both animates and inanimates (e.g. all of the predicates indicating the positioning of the subject), and some may be used with a slightly different meaning with the two participants (e.g. *chodzić* ‘go_{ITERATIVE}/walk’ and *działać* ‘act/work’ with reference to machines both mean ‘work/be in order’).

The second category of Polish intransitives do not accept a direct object, but have an obligatory reflexive marker, e.g. *uśmiechać się*/*uśmiechnąć się* ‘smile_{IMPERF/PERF}’, *wahać się* ‘hesitate’, *wstydzić się* ‘be ashamed’.

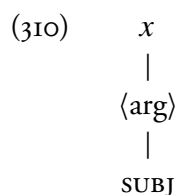
The third category are not obligatorily intransitive in Polish – they need a reflexive marker when they are used reflexively, e.g. *ruszyć się* ‘move’, *obrócić się* ‘turn’, *pochylić się* ‘bend’, *wychylić się* ‘lean out’ – but they can also be used as transitive causatives, e.g. *ruszyć kogoś/coś* ‘move someone/something’, *obrócić kogoś/coś* ‘turn/rotate someone/something’, etc. In their reflexive use they have been referred to as ‘endoreflexives’ (Haspelmath 1987:27). They denote actions which one (a sentient agent or experiencer) does ‘with oneself’, or with

⁴Strictly intransitive verbs of emission, which can be reflexivised, will be discussed in Section 3.2.5.2.

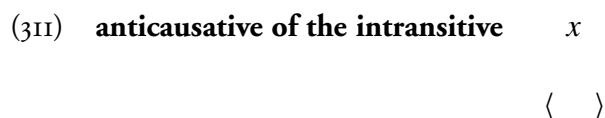
one's own body, where the action does not get outside but remains completely within the actor. They differ from other reflexives in that their reflexive versus non-reflexive uses affect the interpretation of the action: bending oneself is a somewhat different kind of action from bending someone or something else. The intransitive verbs from this class can be seen as derived from the transitive ones through anticausativisation.

Finally, the fourth category comprises many intransitive predicates in Polish which are used non-reflexively when they denote transitive actions with understood patients/themes as omitted objects, e.g. *pisać* 'write', *jeść* 'eat', etc. (as in English).

If the non-derived argument structure of intransitive verbs is the following:



the deletion of the first and only argument from the valency frame would result in the following derived structure:



The structure in (311) is subjectless. Many languages including Polish are able to express subjectless predicates by making personal verbs use 'default' impersonal agreement such as 3SG.NEUT. I have already shown that Polish uses this agreement for one of its morphologically impersonal constructions which suppress the surface expression of the subject, and which can be diagrammed as in:

- (312) **impersonal of the intransitive**
- $$\begin{array}{c}
 x \\
 | \\
 \langle \text{arg} \rangle \\
 | \\
 \text{SUBJ} \\
 \emptyset
 \end{array}$$

Due to the particular historical development of voice-altering constructions in Polish, the impersonal construction which uses 3SG.NEUT agreement also uses the same reflexive marking on the verb as the anticausative (i.e. the reflexive morpheme *się*).

Thus, since Polish syntax does not rule out subjectless sentences, anticausative morphology can indeed be used with intransitive verbs such as the ones listed at the beginning of this section. However, the clauses receive an anticausative (spontaneous occurrence) interpretation rather than the morpholexical impersonal (unspecified-agent) one only when the agent/experiencer role is retrieved by the syntax and mapped onto the dative argument. The following diagram represents an intransitive predicate which has undergone anticausativisation and in which the dissociated agent/experiencer role has been mapped onto the dative argument position (cf. the transitive version of the anticausative with dative agent in (290), in the introduction to the current Chapter):

- (313) **anticausative of the intransitive with dative agent**
- $$\begin{array}{c}
 x \\
 | \\
 \langle \text{arg} \rangle \\
 | \\
 \text{OBJ}\theta
 \end{array}$$

The following sentences are an illustration of this phenomenon, with 3SG.NEUT verbal morphology indicating that the clauses have no syntactic subject. The first three sentences have been formed from non-reflexive intransitives:

- (314) a. *Usiadło mi się na samym brzegu ławki, to i zleciałam.*
 sat-down.3SG.NEUT me.DAT REFL on very edge bench(FEM).GEN so and
 fell-off.ISG.FEM

‘It sat down to me on the very edge on the bench, and so I fell off.’ (meaning: ‘I somehow managed to sit down on the very edge...’)

- b. *Dziś mu się zasnęło.*
 today me.DAT REFL overslept.3SG.NEUT
 ‘Today it has overslept to him.’ (meaning: ‘Today he somehow overslept’)
- c. *Ale się Piotrowi utyło.*
 how REFL Peter(MASC).DAT gained-weight.3SG.NEUT
 ‘How it has gained weight to Peter.’ (meaning: ‘Look how Peter has gained weight’)

The following sentence exemplifies an anticausative/impersonal formed from an obligatorily reflexive intransitive:

- (315) *Głupio mi się uśmiechnęło na tym zdjęciu.*
 silly me.DAT REFL smiled.3SG.NEUT on this photograph
 ‘It had smiled in a silly way to me in this picture.’ (meaning: ‘I had somehow made a silly smile in this picture’)

Since the basic verb ‘smile’ in Polish is reflexive, it is, in fact, impossible to identify the structure of this clause on the basis of the morphological marking alone. The reason why the clause has only one reflexive marker, not two (the additional one marking anticausativisation) is that in simple clauses a single verb in Polish cannot appear with several *się*, irrespectively of their function. The issue of the haplology – i.e. omission without a consequence for the well-formedness of the clause – of the reflexive marker in Polish is discussed extensively in Kupść (2000).

Finally, it appears that other intransitive verbs in Polish – those which do have transitive counterparts – can also fairly comfortably form anticausatives analogous to the above:

- (316) a. *Niechcący mi się ruszyło –przepraszam, będziesz miała rozmazane zdjęcie.*
 unintentionally me.DAT REFL moved.3SG.NEUT apologise.ISG will-be.2SG
 have.-Ł-PART.SG.FEM blurred photograph

‘It has moved to me unintentionally – I’m sorry you will have a blurred picture.’
(meaning: ‘I moved unintentionally..’)

b. *Ze wszystkimi rozmawiało mi się równie przyjemnie.*
with everyone talked.3SG.NEUT me.DAT REFL equally pleasantly
‘It talked itself to me with everyone equally pleasantly.’ (meaning: ‘Talking to everyone was equally pleasant to me’)

c. *Niezręcznie się uczniom pisało w obecności rodziców.*
uncomfortably REFL pupils(VIR).DAT wrote.3SG.NEUT in presence
parents(VIR).GEN
‘It wrote itself to the pupils uncomfortably in the presence of their parents.’
(meaning: ‘Writing in front of parents was uncomfortable for the pupils’)

Without the dative agent/experiencer, intransitive anticausative clauses run the risk of being either infelicitous or misinterpreted. Specifically, anticausative clauses formed from intransitive verbs denoting actions which are typically personal and typically involve a human agent/experiencer may be pragmatically uninformative or uninterpretable if they are devoid of both their only core argument and any semantic expression reflecting the involvement of any participant in the action.

On the other hand, such clauses might be interpreted as *morpholexically* impersonal, since they use the same reflexive marker, in combination with the default impersonal marking of the verb (3SG.NEUT), as the Polish reflexive impersonal. Specifically, intransitive anticausative clauses without a dative agent may be interpreted as having an unexpressed (suppressed) syntactic subject, linked to a semantic participant understood as an ‘unspecified human’, as in the representation of an intransitive impersonalised predicate in (312) above (analogous to the transitive one in (60) in Chapter 1, Section 1.4.3.1).

I propose that Polish impersonal clauses formed from intransitive predicates are ambiguous between the anticausative and the morpholexical impersonal (unspecified-agent) interpretation. The disambiguating factor in favour of the anticausative interpretation may be any syntactic, semantic or extra-linguistic element which encourages the reading of the

clause as ‘spontaneous occurrence’ or ‘unintentional/accidental/involuntary action’ as opposed to the reading equivalent to ‘one has (wilfully) done so’.

When impersonal clauses formed from strictly intransitive verbs have a dative argument with a human referent, this clearly disambiguates them in favour of the anticausative. In sentences such as the ones in (314) and (315), the dative argument can only be interpreted as the human causer of the event; it is impossible to understand it as an additional beneficiary participant. Therefore, I take it that its referent is the original causer de-linked from its (now deleted) first argument position and re-mapped onto the dative argument slot, as in (313).

However, in some impersonal clauses formed from transitive verbs which are used intransitively, the dative argument is open to both interpretations – that of the agent/experiencer (as in anticausatives of intransitives) or that of an additional beneficiary. Unsurprisingly, these two interpretations of the dative argument correlate with the alternative interpretations of the clauses as either anticausative (i.e. apparently ‘spontaneous’, ‘involuntary’, with the focus on the effect of the action on the actor) or morpholexical impersonal (i.e. with the unspecified agent/experiencer corresponding to *one* in English). This issue will be discussed in more detail and illustrated in the following section.

I want to conclude this section with a couple more remarks about the participant which is mapped onto the dative argument in these constructions. I have been referring to it as ‘agent/experiencer’ just to indicate that it can bear either of the roles, and that this semantic distinction does not influence its ability to re-map onto the dative argument. What I have intended to indicate each time I used this label in this context is that the semantic participant which re-maps onto the dative argument is the very one which would be associated with the logical subject in the non-derived predicate. Moreover, although it is the same conceptual participant, its semantic role in the event may be interpreted slightly differently in the non-derived predicate in comparison with the lexically altered predicate.

When the first participant (whether agent or experiencer) becomes re-mapped onto

the dative argument, its semantic interpretation does merge with that of a beneficiary. Dziwirek (1994) cites an interesting description of the semantic characteristics of the re-mapped agent/experiencer offered by Ružička (1960) (who refers to a cognate construction in Slovak):

[T]here are the sentences of the type *ide sa mi dobre*. We have here with the reflexive form *ide sa* the evaluation of the action *dobre* and the specification of the logical subject *mi*. The whole meaning of such a construction is this: from the standpoint of a given logical subject (expressed by the dative *mi*) the action (*ide sa*) is qualified (*dobre*) and at the same time it is emphasized that the logical subject of the action does not cause the quality of the action. The latter (the quality) results from circumstances independent of him. (Ružička 1960, cited in Dziwirek 1994:61-62)

This interpretation is, once again, in agreement with my analysis of the anticausative presented here.

3.2.4.2 Anticausatives of transitives without object promotion

I showed in the previous section that the removal of the only argument of an intransitive predicate may produce a legitimate anticausative in Polish with the default impersonal (3SG.NEUT) marking on the verb.

I have also argued throughout this work that the operation of the anticausative targets the *first* argument position in the argument structure, in order to delete it. I showed in the previous section that, from the lexical point of view, it did not matter whether the first argument position was at the same time the only one in the argument structure. I hypothesised that if a language had syntactic and morphological means to express a structure such as (311), it might be able to produce a legitimate surface representation of an anticausative of the *intransitive*, as is the case in Polish.

On the other hand, all the anticausatives of *transitives*, in both Polish and English, which have been discussed and illustrated so far have had their underlying objects (that is, the arguments in the second position) ‘promoted’ to the status of grammatical subjects of the clause. This phenomenon seems to be very common crosslinguistically, to the point that it has been used to define the anticausative itself (see the sections above; also Chapter 5, Section 5.2, for a theoretical account of this phenomenon). However, a question may be asked whether ‘object promotion’ is indeed a defining property of the anticausative operation, or whether it is only one of the possible mappings which may happen as a consequence of the elimination of the first argument from the argument structure. In other words, the question is whether it is possible to have an anticausative of the transitive with no object promotion, but with the underlying object retaining its object status in surface syntax.

It appears that Polish may support such a construction. The following sentences, formed from transitive predicates which have not promoted their objects, have a clear ‘anticausative’ interpretation (that is, an interpretation of the event as happening ‘spontaneously’) and allow their de-linked agent/experiencer role to be mapped onto the dative argument just like the other anticausatives discussed above (that is, anticausatives of transitives with objects promoted to subjects, and anticausatives of intransitives):

- (317) a. *Przyjemnie mi się czytało tę książkę.*
 pleasantly me.DAT REFL read.3SG.NEUT this.FEM.ACC book(FEM).ACC
 ‘It read this book to me pleasantly.’ (meaning: ‘Reading this book was very pleasant for me’)
- b. *Tę zupę wylało mi się niechcący.*
 this.FEM.ACC soup(FEM).ACC spilt.3SG.NEUT me.DAT REFL unintentionally
 ‘This soup it has spilt to me unintentionally.’ (meaning: ‘I have spilt this soup unintentionally’)
- c. *Przesoliło mi się tę marchewkę.*
 oversalted.3SG.NEUT me.DAT REFL this.FEM.ACC carrot(FEM).ACC
 ‘This carrot it has oversalted to me.’ (meaning: ‘I have oversalted this carrot’)

unintentionally')

- d. *Tę płytkę rozpiłowało się Piotrowi nierówno.*
this.FEM.ACC tile(FEM).ACC sawed-through.3SG.NEUT REFL Peter(MASC).DAT
unevenly
'This tile it has sawn through to Peter unevenly.' (meaning: 'Peter unintentionally sawed this tile through unevenly')

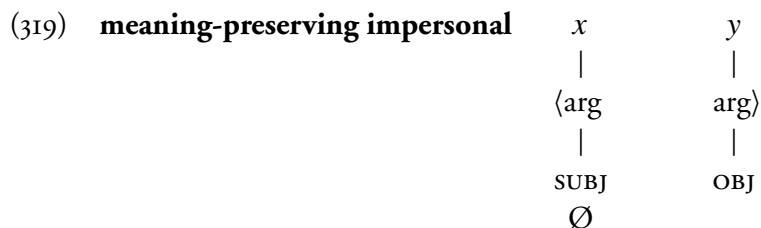
The sentences above have no surface subject and the verb carries the default impersonal marking, just like in the morpholexical reflexive impersonal. However, their interpretation is rather different from the interpretation of morpholexical impersonal sentences, even those which use the same verbs as in (317), as is evident from the English translations:

- (318) a. *Czytało się różne książki.*
read.3SG.NEUT REFL various.NONVIR.ACC books(NONVIR).ACC
'One read various books.'
- b. *Resztę zupy się wylało.*
rest(FEM).ACC soup(FEM).GEN REFL spilt.3SG.NEUT
'One would discard the rest of the soup.'
- c. *Nigdy nie przesalało się marchewki.*
never NEG oversalted.3SG.NEUT REFL carrot(FEM).GEN
'One would never put too much salt on the carrot.'
- d. *Te płytki rozpiłowywało się nierówno.*
these.NONVIR.ACC tiles(NONVIR).ACC sawed-through.3SG.NEUT REFL unevenly
'One would [intentionally] saw these tiles through unevenly.'

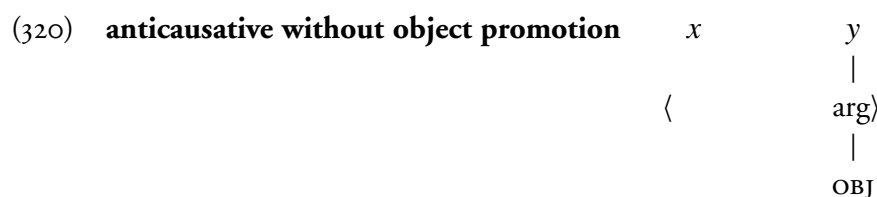
Apart from the very clear difference in the interpretation, I have, however, been unable (within the time confines of the current project) to find reliable syntactic criteria to identify and distinguish between sentences exemplifying the two types of construction⁵. If the two sets of sentences above are indeed examples of (non-canonical) anticausatives and reflexive

⁵One of the syntactic differences between the two types of clauses might be the presence (in the morpholexical impersonal) versus absence (in the anticausative) of a syntactic covert subject. The following sentences, intended to show that the lack of a superordinate subject in the anticausative prevents successful

impersonals respectively, they overlap considerably in both their surface expression and the underlying (argument) structure. Consider the argument structure of a morpholexical impersonal of the transitive (repeated here from (60) in Chapter 1, Section 1.4.3):



The anticausative of the transitive without object promotion could be hypothesised to result from an additional ‘object preservation’ rule which would prevent it from being naturally ‘promoted’ to subject function (see Chapter 5, Section 5.2.4 for a detailed account of the rules of argument-to-function mappings, including the ‘object preservation’ rule). Its structure would be represented as:



control of the subject of the subordinated predicate, are (correctly) at best awkward if not clearly ill-formed:

- (i) a. *?*Idąc do pokoju wylało mi się zupę.*
 going to room spilt.3SG.NEUT me.DAT REFL soup(FEM).ACC
 ‘This soup it has spilt to me walking to the room.’ (meaning: ‘I unintentionally spilt this soup while I was walking to the room’)
- b. *?*Rozpocząwszy gotowanie przesoliło mi się marchewkę.*
 having-begun cooking oversalted.3SG.NEUT me.DAT REFL carrot(FEM).ACC
 ‘This carrot it has oversalted to me having begun cooking.’ (meaning: ‘Having begun cooking, I oversalted this carrot unintentionally’)

However, the acceptability of controlled subordinate predicates in sentences such as the above can be improved with some alterations or additions influencing the semantic and/or pragmatic expression of these clauses; among other things, it seems to depend on the semantics of the verbs used in these constructions, including their aspect. I have to leave this issue for further investigation.

Another instance of semantic contrast which could arguably distinguish the anticausative from the impersonal is apparent in a class of transitive predicates roughly corresponding to those predicates which participate in the middle alternation in English. Consider the following Polish example:

- (321) *Czytało się tę książkę Piotrowi z przyjemnością.*
 read.3SG.NEUT REFL this.FEM.ACC book(FEM).ACC Peter(MASC).DAT with
 pleasure
 ‘It read this book to Peter pleasantly.’ (meaning: ‘The reading of this book was very pleasant for Peter’ or ‘It was very pleasant [for one] to read this book to Peter’)

As indicated in the English translation, the sentence above is ambiguous between the anticausative and the impersonal interpretation, and the choice of the overall interpretation of the clause correlates with the interpretation of the participant mapped onto the dative argument.

If the dative argument is understood as the agent of the event, the clause is clearly anticausative in meaning. The activity is presented as ‘spontaneous’, with the dative argument being both the actual agent and the beneficiary of the event affecting him by its occurrence. If, however, the dative argument is understood as an additional (non-agent) beneficiary participant, the interpretation of the clause is that of an unspecified-agent construction. The activity is presented as undertaken by a wilful agent who is unspecified but would normally be understood from the context. On this interpretation, the dative argument may not be understood as an agent under any contextual conditions.

At present, I have no explanation for the fact that syntactic phenomena such as control and reflexive binding (of elements subordinated to the main predicate) do not seem to correlate uniquely with the distinction between the semantic interpretations of the anticausative without object promotion and the reflexive impersonal in Polish. One possible reason is that the existence of a robust morpholexical strategy of creating impersonal predicates of virtually any transitives or intransitives may have taken over, or at least affected, part

of the domain of the anticausative. Another possible explanation is that the anticausative is indeed restricted to predicates which are able to promote their underlying objects to subject, and all anticausatives with unpromoted objects are instances of the morpholexical impersonal (the meaning-preserving one in the case of the unspecified-agent interpretation, or the meaning-altering one in the case of the dative agent interpretation). I must leave this issue unresolved here.

3.2.5 The meaning of the anticausative

While referring to the meaning of the anticausative, I have used various traditionally invoked notions including that of ‘spontaneous occurrence’, ‘unintentional/accidental/involuntary action’ performed by an agent, or even ‘self-causation’ by the underlying object, as if the characteristics of the abandoned agent role were transferred onto to the second semantic participant turning it into a ‘pseudo-agent’. Each of these descriptive phrases captures some element of the meaning of the anticausative, but none seems to be general enough to capture the meaning which underlies all of the different manifestations of the anticausative, and which would correspond to the operation which has been hypothesised to be responsible for this construction: the deletion of the first argument and rendering the agent/experiencer role argumentless.

3.2.5.1 The ‘core’ anticausative

Perhaps the essence of the meaning of the anticausative, corresponding to the above definition, is that it makes the predicate focus on the event itself (as opposed to the causative reading corresponding to ‘one has done/experienced so’) and weakens the element of agentivity in the semantics of the predicate.

The interpretation of the second, non-human argument as a ‘pseudo-agent’ does not seem to be a consequence of promoting it to the status of the syntactic subject (cf. non-agentive passive subjects), but it rather seems to be a consequence of the deletion of the

first argument of the predicate. This interpretation seems to be available whenever the underlying object is promoted to subject, even when the original human agent is expressed or implied in some other way in the clause or the context.

I have already suggested that the conflicting interpretations of the agent might perhaps be pictured as a tension between the agent role wanting to be identified with the patient role $x_i y_i$, and the agent role wanting to be identified with the beneficiary role $x_j b_j$. The following representation illustrates the conflict occurring in a single set of roles: $x_{i/j} y_i (b_j)$. Unless the clause becomes structurally reflexive, this tension is never resolved in the anticausative in favour of the full identification of the agent with the patient (cf., for example, the infelicitous control of purpose adverbials in sentences such as #*The boat sank to collect the insurance*).

Quirk et al. comment on sentences such as *The fish is frying* that they focus ‘on the process, without implying (as in the passive) human agency. In being given the subject function, *the fish* acquires a status that *appears* to assign it *some* responsibility for the process’ (1985:744; emphasis added). Siewierska further notes that anticausative clauses ‘involve actions that logically require an outside agent. Yet in each case there is a feeling that the inanimate subject is by its nature affecting or initiating the action’ (1984:170). Furthermore, ‘[i]n anticausative constructions the subject is understood as possessing some property which facilitates the action’ (ibid.).

The tension in the interpretation of the agent suggests that the weakening of agentivity is as fundamental to the meaning of the anticausative as the focus on the event. It seems to be present even in middles and other anticausatives in which the event could not possibly occur without a human agent. If the existence of anticausatives of intransitive verbs (such as the Polish ones illustrated in Section 3.2.4.1) is confirmed by further research, they will also very clearly fall within the general meaning of the anticausative as specified above. In anticausatives of intransitives with human actors, the difference in the interpretation between the causative and the anticausative variant can be further specified by reference to

the *unintentional effect* of the action on the actor in the latter construction even when the actor may have been a wilfully acting agent.

3.2.5.2 ‘Anticausative’ meaning in other derivations

Semantic changes involving the weakening of agentivity or the ‘internalisation’ of the agent in the event can also be observed in lexical derivations other than anticausativisation, whenever the operation disturbs the default mapping of the agent/actor in some way. In the anticausative, the disturbance comes from the fact that the agent is deprived of the argument onto which it maps by default. As a result, it tries to achieve recognition either through the identification with the patient or with the beneficiary, or both (because the tension remains unresolved). I will show below that in Polish we can identify a lexical operation which derives intransitives by forcing the agent role to conflate with the patient ($x=y$). Although it is not anticausative (the first argument is not removed from the argument structure), it shares with the anticausative some aspects of meaning, as well as using the same reflexive morphology as the anticausative.

The operation can apply to different classes of verbs, and I will illustrate it with three examples. The first example is a semantic class of verbs of emission. This class comprises typical, and at the same time obligatory, intransitives such as *pachnieć* ‘smell nicely’, *śmierdzieć* ‘smell’, *dymić* ‘emit fumes’, *łzawić* ‘water’ (of eyes), *krwawić* ‘bleed’, *błyszcząć* ‘shimmer’, *migotać* ‘glimmer’, *bieleć* ‘to show/look white’, etc. Some of them can occur in either basic or reflexive form without a change in transitivity, but with a slight change of meaning:

- (322) a. *Świeca* *dymiała.* ~ *Świeca* *się*
 candle(FEM).NOM emitted-fumes.3SG.FEM candle(FEM).NOM REFL
dymiała.
 emitted-fumes.3SG.FEM
 ‘The candle smoked.’
- b. *Oczy* *łzawią.* ~ *Oczy* *się łzawią.*
 eyes(NONVIR).NOM water.3PL eyes(NONVIR).NOM REFL water.3PL

‘The eyes are watering.’

- c. *Rana* *krwawiła.* ~ *Rana* *krwawiła się.*
wound(FEM).NOM bled.3SG.FEM wound(FEM).NOM bled.3SG.FEM REFL

‘The wound bled.’

- d. *Fale* *błyszczą.* ~ *Fale* *błyszczą się.*
waves(NONVIR).NOM shimmer.3PL waves(NONVIR).NOM shimmer.3PL REFL

‘The waves are shimmering.’

- e. *Gwiazdy* *migoczą.* ~ *Gwiazdy* *się migoczą.*
stars(NONVIR).NOM glimmer.3PL stars(NONVIR).NOM REFL glimmer.3PL

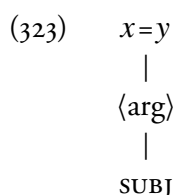
‘The stars are twinkling.’

- f. *Żagle* *bieleją* *w oddali.* ~ *Żagle*
sails(NONVIR).NOM look-white.3PL in distance sails(NONVIR).NOM
bielą *się* *w oddali.*
look-white.3PL REFL in distance

‘The sails are looking white in the distance.’

In Polish descriptive tradition the semantic change occurring between non-reflexive and reflexive predicates is usually attributed to a more or less accomplished identification of the agent and the patient. As for the sentences above, it has been argued for example by Schenker that the nonreflexive verbs are ‘potentially agentive’, and ‘convey a more intensive and/or uninterrupted mode of action’ than the reflexive verbs which portray the action as ‘weak’ or ‘intermittent’ (1993:69). Specifically, ‘the active *bieleje* [looks-white] projects the image of whiteness, while the reflexive *bieli się* [looks-white REFL] does not’ (ibid.:68). Hence, in (322f) the subject of the left-hand side variant actively displays its whiteness, while in the right-hand side variant the perception of whiteness is more ‘subjective’ to the perceiver.

Schenker’s account is consistent with my hypothesis that in the reflexive predicates in (322) the agent/actor and patient roles are conflated ($x=y$) and both mapped onto the original first argument of the predicate:



(Compare the above diagram with the reflexive, as in (300) or (301) in Section 3.2.1, in which the two roles are coindexed or simply mapped onto the same argument, but not conflated). The equation symbol between the two roles represents the fact that the referent of these two roles is inherently a single entity for this predicate (cf. a similar representation of a non-human causer and instrument as a single entity in Chapter 1, Section 2.3.1.8).

I suggest that the essence of the lexical operation which derives the reflexive predicates in (322) is that it weakens the agentivity of the participant mapped onto the subject and thus makes the expression of the event focus on the event itself more than on its participant. The representation in (323) captures the similarity of interpretation between this type of derived predicate and the canonical anticausative (the anticausative with a promoted object) as well as preserving the intuitions of the traditional descriptive accounts of this phenomenon in Polish.

Another example of derived reflexive intransitives in Polish, which use the same morphology as the anticausative and which similarly share with the anticausative some aspects of meaning, are the so-called ‘intensiva’ (e.g. Wilczewska 1966; Nagórko 1998; Szymańska 1998; Biały 2000). These are predicates, occurring typically with animate or human agents/experiencers, which frequently denote actions of increased intensity, where the intensification (or other modification of meaning) is encoded in the prefix (semantically and morphologically derived from a preposition; see examples below). The reflexive marker and the prefix seem to be integral parts of these predicates; most of them⁶, particularly the intensiva formed from transitive verbs, have no counterparts without one or the other.

The intensiva which are derived from (non-reflexive) *intransitives* pattern structurally

⁶Possibly all – depending on the analysis.

with the semantic class of emission verbs discussed above. These verbs include *przejść się* ‘walk a little’, *przespać się* ‘sleep a little’, *wyspać się* ‘sleep as much as one needs’, etc. Some, such as *wrócić się* ‘return’, which are now most commonly used intransitively even without the reflexive marker, were originally transitive and therefore the reflexive marker may be analysed as an exponent of ‘true’ reflexivity. However, the non-reflexive variants of the other verbs listed above are obligatorily intransitive. I suggest that the argument structures of their derived reflexive variants are the same as those of the reflexivised verbs of emission, that is, they can be represented as in (323)⁷.

The intensiva derived from *transitive* predicates with animate or human agents/experiencers do not have counterparts without the reflexive marker. The prefixes which attach to them often make them perfective⁸ and have been argued to add a ‘causal’ element to the predicate (Szymańska 1998). Examples of such derivations are:

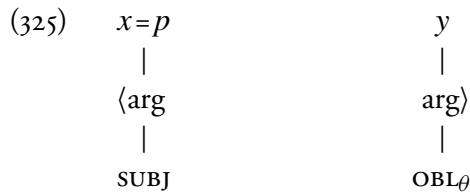
- (324) a. *jeść (coś_{ACC})* ‘eat (something)’ ⇒ *najeść się (czegoś_{GEN}/czymś_{INSTR})* ‘make oneself full eating (something)’
 b. *jeść (coś_{ACC})* ‘eat (something)’ ⇒ *przejeść się (czymś_{INSTR})* ‘eat too much of (something)’
 c. *oglądać (coś_{ACC})* ‘watch (something)’ ⇒ *naoglądać się (czegoś_{GEN})* ‘watch (something) to one’s heart’s content’
 d. *łupać (coś_{ACC})* ‘break (something)’ ⇒ *naluć się (czegoś_{GEN})* ‘break lots of (some-

⁷At this point, a comparison can be made with some English verbs which are associated with only one participant and may not be used with a patient different from the agent, such as *behave*, *bestir*, *betake*, or *pride* (Curme 1935:65). Despite being semantically intransitive, for historical reasons they always require the reflexive pronoun in the object position (all the verbs above but the first one), or they use the reflexive pronoun optionally without a change in the meaning (the verb *behave*). Here we would not like to say that there is synchronically a conflation of the agent and the patient at the semantic level of argument structure leading to the derivation of these verbs. Rather, we may assume that these verbs have the structure of syntactically transitive verbs with the specification that they may only be reflexive.

⁸However, the prefixes themselves do not determine the perfectivity of the predicates because prefixed verbs in Polish may have imperfective counterparts formed with, for example, the imperfective suffix *-ywa-*.

thing)'

I suggest that the result of this productive derivation can be captured in the following way:



The diagram above is similar to the one in (323) in that it represents an addition of the patient role conflated with the agent. Here, I have labelled the patient role p rather than y simply to show that the original y participant, corresponding to the theme (or the original object), is mapped onto an oblique argument position (arg_4) instead of the direct object argument position (arg_2).

All three examples of reflexivised verbs mentioned above – the reflexivised verbs of emission, the reflexivised intransitives with animate actors, and the reflexivised transitives with their original patient/themes demoted to obliques – share with the anticausative that element of their meaning which makes us perceive the agent/experiencer as weakened in its agentivity and possibly ‘internalised’ in the action. Like in the anticausative, all predicates derived in this way are also syntactically intransitive.

3.3 Other semantic issues

In this section I will deal with two outstanding semantic issues regarding the anticausative. First, I will sum up the observations which I have made about the anticausative and compare them with the standardly made generalisations about the semantic restrictions on this construction. Afterwards, I will give an account of the mappings available to the participants of the event in anticausatives involving intermediary instruments.

3.3.1 Semantic restrictions on anticausatives

Levin (1993:26-31) provides a classified list of English verbs which do and which do not participate in the causative/inchoative and middle alternations. According to her, the verbs which can undergo the causative/inchoative alternation may roughly be characterised as verbs of change of state or change of position (for example, *roll* verbs, *break* verbs, *bend* verbs, verbs zero-related to adjectives, verbs of change of colour, *-en* verbs, *-ify* verbs, *-ize* verbs, *-ate* verbs, and some *amuse*-type psych-verbs).

Verbs which do not undergo this alternation in English include some verbs which are only used transitively (such as verbs of change of possession), some verbs which are used only intransitively (such as verbs of appearance, disappearance and occurrence), and several classes of verbs which Levin does not characterise under any common heading, but which could be seen as failing to fulfil the ‘lack of agentivity’ condition on anticausative formation proposed by Haspelmath (1993; see Section 3.2.2 and below). These verb classes include verbs of cutting (*cut* verbs and *carve* verbs), verbs of contact by impact (*hit* verbs, *swat* verbs, and *spank* verbs), *touch* verbs, *destroy* verbs, and verbs of killing (*murder* verbs and *poison* verbs).

In his account of the inchoative/causative verb alternation, Haspelmath offers the following generalisation:

A verb meaning that refers to a change of state or a going-on may appear in an inchoative/causative alternation unless the verb contains agent-oriented meaning components or other highly specific meaning components that make the spontaneous occurrence of the event extremely unlikely. (1993:94)

It is not difficult to see a correspondence between the formulation above and the characteristics of the verbs listed by Levin in the non-alternating classes including verbs of cutting, spanking, destroying and killing. Apart from this semantic restriction, the other two types of predicates listed by Levin as failing to undergo the alternation (i.e. some transitive verbs

such as *give* and *contribute*, and some intransitive verbs such as *appear*, *disappear* and *occur*) seem to be barred from it by their valency properties. Moreover, Levin reports that, although few English psych-verbs (verbs of psychological state) participate in the inchoative/causative alternation, ‘all verbs of this type appear to participate in the French, Italian, and Russian counterparts of this alternation’ (1993:30).

As for the middle alternation, both Levin and Haspelmath distinguish it from the inchoative/causative alternation. Levin (1993:26) reports that the English middle alternation ‘is described as being restricted to verbs with affected objects’. This constraint explains why verbs such as *break* and *cut* can participate in it, but verbs such as *know* or *adore* cannot (cf. **The answer knows easily*, **French fabrics adore easily*, Levin *ibid.*). This constraint is also used to explain the contrast between the following two uses of verbs such as *pound*: **This metal won’t pound* versus *This metal won’t pound flat*. Levin argues that ‘the object of this verb is not affected by the action of the verb, so that the verb is found in the middle construction only in the presence of a resultative phrase, which contributes a state that results from the action of pounding’ (*ibid.*).

I suggest that a much clearer picture of the constructions and operations in question emerges if in our considerations we separate lexical-syntactic restrictions from the semantic ones as well as the pragmatic ones. As I already argued earlier in this Chapter (Section 3.2), the basic lexical-syntactic restriction on the formation of the anticausative is that the argument structure of the predicate must contain an argument in the first position in the structure. Since the deletion of this argument from an intransitive valency frame would lead to a lexically impersonal predicate, English does not have anticausatives of intransitives because it does not allow subjectless sentences. This restriction can be seen as corresponding to Levin’s observation that the inchoative/causative alternation does not, in general, apply to intransitive verbs in English.

I also suggested earlier that semantic restrictions defining the anticausative in terms of the availability of the event to occur spontaneously (as in Haspelmath’s formulation above),

- (327) **reflexive** x, y
 |
 ⟨arg⟩
 |
 SUBJ

Furthermore, if the argument remaining in the anticausative structure is associated with a participant which may *not* be interpreted as ‘agentive’, the resulting construction may be interpreted as a **middle** (though it also needs to fulfil the particular LCS requirements to receive the arbitrary/generic interpretation of a ‘core’ middle).

Verbs such as ‘know’ or ‘adore’ can normally take only sentient referents as subjects. If their second arguments are associated with referents which are capable of ‘causing’ the events denoted by these verbs (i.e. they are human, or at least animate), lexical detransitivisation of these predicates in Polish normally produces not the anticausative interpretation but either a ‘deobjectivise’ interpretation or the reflexive interpretation which involves the association of two distinct semantic roles with one referent (see Section 3.2.1 above for more details). In both cases the single argument (with two distinct semantic roles associated with it) is mapped onto the first position in the argument structure, rather than the second.

Since this strategy seems to be the only way predicates of this type deal with detransitivisation, the middle interpretation does not occur because the interpretation of a detransitivised verb of this type is always reflexive (or, in Polish, it can also be deobjectivise), but never anticausative. If the second argument, associated with a non-sentient referent, is mapped onto subject, the resulting construction is not ill-formed but uninterpretable (*#Ta piosenka zna się* ‘#This.NOM song.NOM knows (itself?)’).

On the other hand, it is unclear whether Polish allows the formation of the anticausative of verbs such as ‘know’ or ‘adore’ if the second argument associated with the non-sentient referent is not promoted to subject. The surface structure for such a construction is certainly available (cf. *Tę piosenkę zna się dobrze* ‘This.ACC song.ACC knows REFL well’). However, it is not clear whether the structure of clauses with such verbs are ever anticausative, or only morphologically impersonal (in which case this class of verbs would indeed be seman-

tically restricted from undergoing anticausativisation). This question is, in fact, another instantiation of the problem regarding the distinction between the hypothesised anticausative without object promotion and the reflexive impersonal, a problem which was already posed in Section 3.2.4 and which is still awaiting a definitive solution.

3.3.2 The mapping of instruments in the anticausative

In Chapter 2 on the passive, Section 2.3.1, I offered a detailed discussion of the possible mappings of instrument participants in active and passive clauses. In this section I would like to look briefly at the mapping of instrument participants in the anticausative.

3.3.2.1 The anticausative with non-causer instrument

First, consider the following Polish sentence with a predicate involving an intermediary instrument which cannot be conceived of as a causer (cf. Section 2.3.1.3; the following example is repeated from (183a)):

- (328) *Piotr rozłupał płytę kilofem.*
 Peter(MASC).NOM split.3SG.MASC slab(FEM).ACC pick-axe(MASC).INSTR
 ‘Peter split the slab with a pick-axe.’

This predicate can be represented in the following way (repeated from (180)):

- (329) **active with oblique instrument**
- | | | |
|----------|----------|------------------|
| <i>x</i> | <i>y</i> | <i>z</i> |
| | | |
| ⟨arg | arg | arg⟩ |
| | | |
| SUBJ | OBJ | OBL _θ |

The following are anticausative variants of the above clause. Sentence (a) is a ‘plain’ anticausative, i.e. one without the instrument participant; (b) is a plain anticausative with the instrument participant; and (c) contains both the instrument and the agent who used the instrument:

- (330) a. *Płyta się rozłupała.*
 slab(FEM).NOM REFL split.3SG.FEM

‘The slab split.’

- b. (?) *Phyta się rozłupała kilofem.*
slab(FEM).NOM REFL split.3SG.FEM pick-axe(MASC).INSTR
‘The slab split with a pick-axe.’
- c. *Patrz, jak się płyta ładnie rozłupała*
look.IMPERAT.2SG how REFL slab(FEM).NOM nicely split.3SG.FEM
Piotrowi tym kilofem.
Peter(MASC).DAT this.MASC.INSTR pick-axe(MASC).INSTR
‘Look how the slab split nicely to Peter with this pick-axe.’

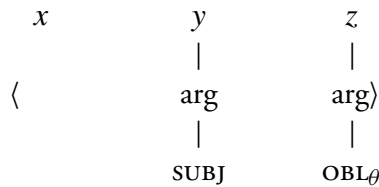
The marking regarding grammaticality in the above sentences is intended to show that a ‘plain’ anticausative with a non-causer instrument – i.e. an instrument requiring a human or other external causer, as in (b) – might be judged as awkward and difficult to interpret, presumably due to the tension in the interpretation of the agent. However, when the human agent is expressed overtly – as in the dative in (c) – the instrument is fully legitimate as well as interpretable. The same contrast is captured in the following set of sentences:

- (331) a. *Zrobiło się zdjęcie?* – *Tak, zrobiło się.*
made.3SG.NEUT REFL photograph(NEUT).NOM – yes made.3SG.NEUT REFL
‘Has the photograph taken itself? – Yes, it has.’
- b. (?) *Zdjęcie zrobiło się tym*
photograph(NEUT).NOM made.3SG.NEUT REFL this.MASC.INSTR
aparatem.
camera(MASC).INSTR
‘The photograph has taken itself with this camera.’
- c. *Patrz, jakie ładne zdjęcie*
look.IMPERAT.2SG what.NEUT.NOM nice.NEUT.NOM photograph(NEUT).NOM
zrobiło się Piotrowi tym aparatem.
made.3SG.NEUT REFL Peter(MASC).DAT this.MASC.INSTR camera(MASC).INSTR
‘Look what a nice picture has taken itself to Peter with this camera.’

In general, it seems that ‘plain’ anticausatives of predicates denoting events requiring external agents, whether without or (particularly) with intermediary instruments, are not ill-formed but may be infelicitous on pragmatic grounds (see also Section 3.4 below).

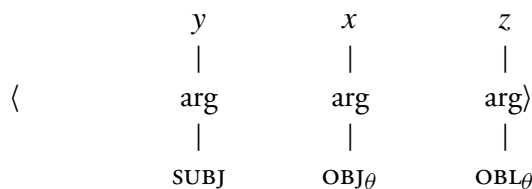
I suggest that anticausatives such as the above may be represented in the following way:

(332) **anticausative with oblique instrument**



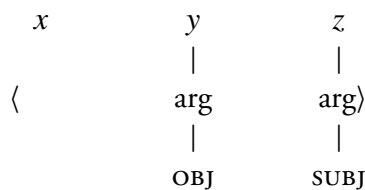
If the original human agent is re-mapped onto the dative argument, this can be represented as in:

(333) **anticausative with oblique instrument and dative agent**



In Section 2.3.1.3 I suggested that active clauses with non-causer instruments in subject position (as in *The pick-axe broke the slab*) could be represented in the following way (diagram repeated from (188)):

(334) **active with subject instrument**



Notice that this construction is ‘anticausative’ in that the human agent is not associated with a syntactic subject and the first argument position with which it would normally be associated is not present in the argument structure. Nevertheless, the agent is semantically required and, as in the standard anticausative without the instrument being mapped onto subject, it may be re-mapped in Polish onto the dative argument (or, at least, the referent of the dative may be coindexed with the agent):

- (335) *Patrz jak mi ładnie kilof rozłupał*
 look.IMPERAT.2SG how me.DAT nicely pick-axe(MASC).NOM split.3SG.MASC
te płytę.
 this.FEM.ACC slab(FEM).ACC
 ‘Look how nicely the pick-axe has split this slab for me.’

If we analyse the agent of the predicate above as re-mapped onto the dative, the representation of the predicate will be as follows:

(336) **active with subject instrument and dative agent**

| | | | |
|---|-----|------------------|------|
| | y | x | z |
| | | | |
| ⟨ | arg | arg | arg⟩ |
| | | | |
| | OBJ | OBJ _θ | SUBJ |

Alternatively, the following representation can be used to capture the fact that the additional beneficiary participant may, but does not have to, be associated with the same referent as the original agent:

(337) **active with subject instrument and dative agent/beneficiary**

| | | | | |
|---|-------|-----|------------------|------|
| | x_i | y | $b_{i/j}$ | z |
| | | | | |
| ⟨ | | arg | arg | arg⟩ |
| | | | | |
| | | OBJ | OBJ _θ | SUBJ |

3.3.2.2 The anticausative with instrument causer

Predicates with instrument causers were discussed in detail in Sections 2.3.1.4 to 2.3.1.7, and this particular type of the oblique-subject alternation can be exemplified with the following pair of sentences (repeated from (189b) and (191b)) containing a locatum-type argument alternating between oblique and subject functions:

- (338) a. *Piotr wypełnił jamę wodą.*
 Peter(MASC).NOM filled.3SG.MASC pit(FEM).ACC water(FEM).INSTR

‘Peter filled the pit with water.’

- b. *Woda wypełniła jamę.*
water(FEM).NOM filled.3SG.FEM pit(FEM).ACC
‘Water filled the pit.’

Sentence (a) is a canonical active with an oblique locatum (or, more generally speaking, instrument) argument:

(339) **active with oblique instrument**

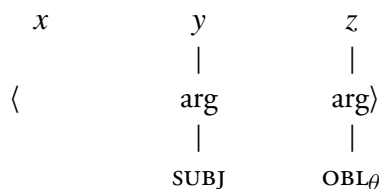
| | | |
|----------|----------|------------------|
| <i>x</i> | <i>y</i> | <i>z</i> |
| | | |
| ⟨arg | arg | arg⟩ |
| | | |
| SUBJ | OBJ | OBL _θ |

And the anticausative variants of this particular predicate, like the anticausatives discussed in the previous section, may be the following:

- (340) a. *Jama się wypełniła.*
pit(FEM).NOM REFL filled.3SG.FEM
‘The pit filled itself/got filled.’
- b. *Jama wypełniła się wodą.*
pit(FEM).NOM filled.3SG.FEM REFL water(FEM).INSTR
‘The pit filled with water.’
- c. *Patrz, jak szybko się ta jama*
look.IMPERAT.2SG how quickly REFL this.FEM.NOM pit(FEM).NOM
wypełniła Piotrowi wodą.
filled.3SG.FEM Peter(MASC).DAT water(FEM).INSTR
‘Look how quickly this pit filled itself to Peter with water.’

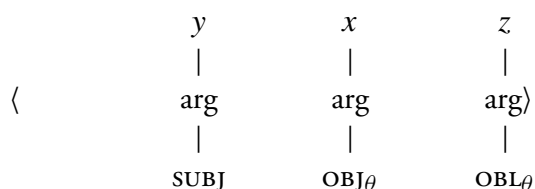
The argument structure of the anticausatives above may be represented in exactly the same way as the anticausatives in the previous section (diagram repeated from (332)):

(341) **anticausative with oblique instrument**



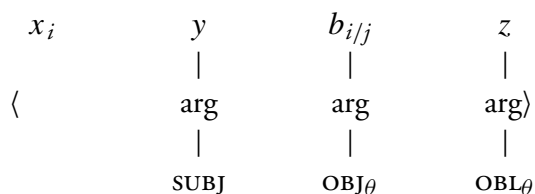
The re-mapping of the original human agent onto the dative argument could similarly be captured as in (332) above:

(342) **anticausative with oblique instrument and dative agent**



However, the interpretation of anticausatives containing predicates which do not necessarily require an external human causer seems to be always ambiguous between the ‘human agent’ and the ‘spontaneous’ one. Therefore, we may choose to represent the expression of the agent through the dative by coindexing the agent role with the beneficiary. In this way, it is clear that the syntactic dative in actual anticausative sentences such as (340c) is ambiguous between the ‘agent’ and the ‘beneficiary’ interpretation:

(343) **anticausative with oblique instrument and dative agent/beneficiary**



In Section 2.3.1.4, I suggested that ‘demi-active’ clauses with instrument causers in subject position (as in *Water filled the pit*) could be represented as in (diagram repeated from (194)):

(344) **active with instrument causer (= ‘demi-active’)**

| | | |
|-------|-----|--------------------|
| x_i | y | z_i |
| | | |
| ⟨arg | arg | (arg)⟩ |
| | | |
| SUBJ | OBJ | (OBL $_{\theta}$) |

When a dative argument is added to a demi-active clause, the ambiguity between the agent and the instrument interpretations of the locatum argument overlaps with the ambiguity between the agent and the beneficiary interpretations of the argument associated with a human referent:

- (345) *Woda wypełniła mi szybko jamę.*
water(FEM).NOM filled.3SG.FEM me.DAT quickly pit(FEM).ACC
‘Water has filled the pit quickly for me.’

Accounting for this double ambiguity poses a challenge to diagrammatic representations such as the ones I use in this work. I offer the following possibility:

(346) **active with instrument causer and dative agent/beneficiary**
(= ‘demi-active’ with dative agent/beneficiary)

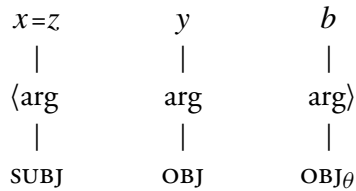
| | | | |
|-----------|-----|-----------------|-------|
| $x_{i/j}$ | y | $b_{i/k}$ | z_j |
| | | | |
| ⟨ | arg | arg | arg)⟩ |
| | | | |
| | OBJ | OBJ $_{\theta}$ | SUBJ |

If the preferred interpretation of the particular demi-active clause with a dative argument is that which attributes agentivity to the human participant, the overall interpretation of the clause will be similar to clauses such as (337) discussed in the previous section, i.e. active clauses with a dative agent/beneficiary and a non-causer instrument in the subject position.

Alternatively, if the preferred interpretation of the demi-active clause with a dative argument is that which attributes agentivity to the locatum argument, the overall interpretation of the clause will be similar to the interpretation of active clauses with a non-human causer

(as discussed in Section 2.3.1.8, and Section 3.3.2.4 below) with an added human beneficiary (cf. diagram (217)):

(347) **active with non-human causer and dative beneficiary**



Thus, the complex diagram in (346) above does indeed seem to capture both interpretive possibilities in a single predicate. It also allows these interpretations to overlap, reflecting the overlap of the conflicting interpretations of actual Polish clauses with such participants.

3.3.2.3 The anticausative with instrument and human patient

I have already emphasised that anticausatives with human patients are interpreted as reflexives. Just as non-human patients/themes which become subjects of the anticausative seem to be invested with some agentive properties, human patients are also interpreted as actors of the event. Moreover, the interpretation assigned to these human actor-patients does not leave room for an external agent or causer. In other words, a structurally reflexive construction may not be understood as having an external causer⁹, unless perhaps such a causer could be *added* to the argument structure of the predicate by causative derivation (resulting in predicates corresponding to ‘make someone wash oneself’, for example).

The following are examples of active (but not anticausative) sentences with instruments and human patients:

- (348) a. *Brutus* *przeszył* *Cezara* *sztyłem.*
 Brutus(MASC).NOM pierced.3SG.MASC Caesar(MASC).ACC dagger(MASC).INSTR

⁹This, of course, may not be true of all *morphologically* reflexive predicates. If a language uses reflexive morphology in the passive construction, for example, a human patient may or may not at the same time be interpreted as the agent.

- (351) **reflexive** x, y
 |
 ⟨arg⟩
 |
 SUBJ

3.3.2.4 The anticausative and non-human causers

Non-human causers were discussed in Chapter 2, Section 2.3.1.8, and I hypothesised that the structure of sentences with non-derived non-human causers, such as, for example:

- (352) a. *Wiatr powalił stare drzewo.*
 wind(MASC).NOM knocked-over.3SG.MASC old.NEUT.ACC tree(NEUT).ACC
 ‘The wind has knocked over the old tree.’
- b. *But obtarł nogę.*
 shoe(MASC).NOM rubbed-sore.3SG.MASC leg(FEM).ACC
 ‘The shoe has rubbed-sore the leg.’

might be the following (repeated from (217)):

- (353) **active with non-human causer** $x=z$ y
 | |
 ⟨arg arg⟩
 | |
 SUBJ OBJ

It appears that, for the purposes of morphosyntax, predicates such as the above are treated in the same way as predicates with human agents. Thus, the sentences above make the following anticausatives:

- (354) a. *Drzewo powaliło się.*
 tree(NEUT).NOM knocked-over.3SG.NEUT REFL
 ‘The tree knocked-over itself./The tree fell.’
- b. *Noga obtarła się.*
 leg(FEM).NOM rubbed-sore.3SG.FEM REFL
 ‘The leg rubbed itself sore.’

Although non-human causers may not be mapped onto the dative argument like human causers, interestingly, they may sometimes be expressed in adjuncts indicating the circumstances of the event:

- (355) a. *Drzewo powaliło/przewróciło się na wietrze.*
tree(NEUT).NOM knocked-over/fell.3SG.NEUT REFL in wind
'The tree knocked-over itself in the wind./The tree fell in the wind.'
- b. *Noga obtarła się w bucie.*
leg(FEM).NOM rubbed-sore.3SG.FEM REFL in shoe
'The leg rubbed itself sore in the shoe.'

Like anticausatives of predicates with human causers, the ones with non-human causers are not always felicitous or stylistically acceptable. The following section will address some of the pragmatic issues regarding anticausatives.

3.4 Pragmatic issues

The issue of informational balance was already discussed in Chapter 2, Section 2.4, with reference to some passives which have been reported apparently to require obligatory adverbial modification to be considered well-formed. A similar restriction is generally believed to hold true for middles.

In this section I will argue, as I did for the so-called accomplishment passives, that the presence of adverbials or other elements is not a condition posed by syntax for the well-formedness of the middle construction. Instead, due to the particular semantic relation between the referent of the subject of the middle and the nature of the eventuality denoted by the verb, not all utterances expressed in the middle may be informationally felicitous. In case of an informational deficit, adverbial modifiers or other linguistic devices are able to compensate for it and thus make the utterance informative.

Commenting on the middle construction in English, Levin (1993:26) observes that it is characterised as lacking specific time reference and 'more often than not' including an

adverbial or modal element. The following is a list of representative examples of English middles from an earlier section (3.2.3):

- (356)
- a. *This meat cuts #(easily).*
 - b. *Her books read #(well).*
 - c. *This desktop polishes up #(badly).*
 - d. *This door just pulls.*
 - e. *This toy assembles #(in seconds).*
 - f. *The toy winds up (at the back).*
 - g. *These DVD players now sell #(for under a hundred pounds).*
 - h. *The cat's claws retract.*
 - i. *An even number divides #(by two).*

It is evident that some of the sentences above are informative enough without any additional elements of meaning apart from the subject and the verb. In others, the informational balance can be altered by changing the subject noun phrase. This shows that informational felicity depends on the interplay of the particular subject noun phrase and the verb, and it may not be equated with, for example, any particular verb's requirement to co-occur with adverbial modification:

- (357)
- a. *All of these titles sell.*
 - b. *Warm butter pours.*

Middles are also felicitous with linguistic devices other than adverbial modifiers or other oblique elements. Examples below illustrate middles with negation and contrastive context:

- (358)
- a. *These dishes don't break.*
 - b. *This dress doesn't wash – it only dry cleans.*
 - c. *This sofa divides, that one doesn't.*
 - d. *This tent assembles, while that one just inflates.*

e. *This tabletop only polishes, not scrubs!*

f. *These stamps/vouchers/coupons cut not tear off the sheet as you would expect.*

Szymańska & Śpiewak (2000:331-332) report that many authors (e.g. Wilczewska 1966; Fagan 1992; Roberts 1987) regard middle sentences as non-eventive because they describe features, relations, abilities, dispositions and habits, not any actual actions. Spencer (2000:279) similarly confirms that English middles have a ‘potential’ meaning and are aspectually stative – and it is for these reasons that they cannot be used to report on an episodic event (e.g. **This sweater has just washed very easily*). Szymańska & Śpiewak suggest that the type of stative interpretation typical of core middles can be understood as the ascription of a contingent property/relation (in the sense of van Voorst 1988): ‘[a] contingent property/relation can be defined as a property/relation that does not belong to its bearer as a natural consequence of the simple fact that the bearer is an object of a particular kind’ (ibid.:331). Therefore, given our standard assumptions about the nature of the referents of their subjects, middles which do not ascribe a contingent property/relation to the referents of their subjects will need some ‘enrichment’ to be non-trivial in a given context.

Schenker (1985) points out that predications such as **/#The book reads* are odd because it is difficult to find a context in which a book could be characterised solely by the action of being read. Translated into the ‘contingent property condition’, this means that ‘without some additional modification (e.g. specification of the intensity or positive/negative qualification of the property) the property cannot be interpreted as contingent, so the predication is trivial’ or uninformative (Szymańska & Śpiewak ibid.). Szymańska & Śpiewak admit (ibid.:332, footnote 10) that in practice it may be difficult to decide precisely what properties are non-contingent, i.e. follow from the very nature of the entity in question and must be somehow present in the hearer’s representation of the lexical item. This may account for the variability in the judgements of acceptability or felicity regarding some instances of the middle construction.

Chapter 4

The impersonal

The main feature of this Chapter will be a detailed description of the Polish construction which has been misanalysed and misclassified by all major formal syntactic frameworks developed so far as an ‘ill-behaved’ impersonal passive. It is the *-no/-to* impersonal, a construction which uses the same verbal stem as the passive, which does not contain an overt expression of the agent, retains the accusative object and applies unproblematically to unaccusative predicates.

I suggested in the introductory Chapter that the *-no/-to* impersonal belonged to a larger family of constructions whose purpose is to despecify the agent of the predicate – or, more precisely, to despecify the principal semantic participant of the event denoted by the predicate (regardless of the semantic role by which it is identified). The present Chapter contains an overview of the family of agent-despecifying constructions, with discussion of all Polish constructions which have been considered impersonal due to the fact that they appear without a nominative subject. The main purpose of this overview is to place the morpholexical impersonal in its larger context by presenting a bigger picture of the phenomenon which it instantiates.

I suggest that we may distinguish two broad functional categories of constructions with an unspecified principal participant. (For brevity, I will keep referring to this participant as

an ‘agent’, particularly in those places where the semantic role of this participant does not matter.) The first category comprises constructions with unspecified *human* agents, and the other one constructions with unspecified *non-human* agents.

I also suggest that there are three ways in which a construction of this type can be identified. The interpretation of an unspecified agent may be conveyed by the use of certain lexical items (such as the pronoun ‘someone’), by the conventional use of particular verbal agreement (such as 3PL), or by the morpholexical suppression of the subject (resulting in a derived predicate, such as the *-no/-to*).

The table below exemplifies the different constructions which are found in Polish, showing which processes are used in the two functions: the function of despecifying a *human* versus *non-human* agent.

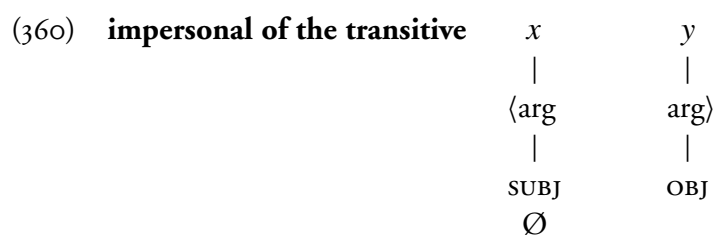
(359) Constructions with unspecified agents

| | UNSPECIFIED HUMAN AGENT | UNSPECIFIED NON-HUMAN AGENT |
|--------------------------------|---|--------------------------------|
| LEXICALISED | <i>ludzie</i> ‘people’ <i>ktoś</i> ‘someone’ | <i>coś</i> ‘something’ |
| WITH CONVENTIONAL AGREEMENT | 3PL.(VIR) 2SG ... | 3SG.(NEUT) |
| GRAMMATICALISED | <i>-no/-to</i> impersonal reflexive impersonal | |

I argue that in Polish there are only two constructions which grammaticalise unspecified agents and, furthermore, that they both involve only human agents. These are the *-no/-to* impersonal and the reflexive impersonal. I argue that the process which produces them is most clearly represented by appealing to the notion of argument structure. Specifically, the mechanism by which the agent is despecified in these constructions involves inhibiting, or

‘suppressing’, the ‘final’ syntactic subject. The results of this process, evident in the particular morphosyntactic behaviour of the constructions, cannot be explained by appealing only to surface syntax.

I suggested that the result of the operation of ‘suppression’ of the subject could be represented in the following way:



Because the operation occurs at the level of argument structure and affects a core participant of the predicate, the resulting impersonal constructions can be viewed as voice-altering.

After the presentation and analysis of the two morphologically derived impersonal constructions in Polish, I will give an overview of a large group of other phenomena which are also, traditionally, regarded as impersonal. They are impersonal (i.e. syntactically and/or lexically subjectless) in many other languages and they may have been impersonal in Polish at its earlier stages. Despite that, and despite the fact that they are in the right semantic neighbourhood to be impersonal, I will demonstrate that almost none of them (except for a very small class of inherently impersonal defective verbs discussed in Section 4.4) are impersonal: subjectlessness is not part of the syntax of these constructions.

Among those, I will first discuss other Polish constructions with unspecified agents which do not result from morphological voice-altering operations on argument structure. The main two types are: the construction with ‘weather verbs’, and the so-called ‘adversity impersonal’. Although some of them have been referred to as impersonal particularly in traditional descriptive literature, they all have *both* syntactic and surface subjects. Apart from the two morphological impersonals, no other Polish constructions with unspecified agents result from the suppression of arguments or from any changes in the assignment of syntactic functions to the arguments. The ‘weather construction’, the ‘adversity impersonal’, and

even the predicative adverbial construction (discussed in Section 4.5) are syntactically personal and they do not lack a subject at any level of abstract representation of the predicate. I will argue that the apparent subjectlessness of all of these constructions results from the familiar phenomenon of subject ellipsis (such as *pro*-drop).

Finally, I will devote the last section of this Chapter (Section 4.6) to a brief discussion of predicates requiring a genitive argument. Apart from genitively marked direct objects in predicates which also have nominative subjects, genitively marked arguments may appear in clauses which seem to disallow a nominative argument. Nominativeless clauses with genitive arguments have, thus, been regarded as impersonal, and their subjectlessness has usually been attributed to the inherent subjectlessness of the participating predicates. I argue that the apparently impersonal predicates identified in this way are, again, fully personal, and that the genitive marking of core arguments (either object or subject nominals) results from the fact that these nominals are headed by quantifiers which require that the nominals are marked for genitive.

That English has personalised all of its impersonal predicates and lost its syntactically impersonal constructions (such as the impersonal passive of the intransitive) is, perhaps, unsurprising in the light of the fact that it has also lost its case system. Polish has retained a robust case system, and yet, perhaps surprisingly, has personalised almost all of the predicates which could be syntactically impersonal due to their ‘non-personal’ semantics. As a result, most of the apparent Polish impersonals are, in fact, lexically and syntactically personal: they are constructions resulting from certain conventional uses of predicates which do take syntactic subjects.

4.1 The Polish *-no/-to* impersonal

In this section I offer a detailed description of the *-no/-to* impersonal, highlighting in particular the characteristics of this construction which distinguish it from the passive.

The *-no/-to* impersonal is one of two grammaticalised (i.e. morphologically derived)

constructions in Polish with unspecified human agents. In contrast with the passive which changes the default assignment of core grammatical functions to the arguments of the predicate, the morpholexical impersonal preserves the grammatical function mappings of the predicate to which it applies. In order to alter the mapping of arguments to final grammatical functions, the passive downgrades the underlying subject to an oblique function. The impersonal is insensitive to the ‘underlying’ or original grammatical function pre-specification. It suppresses the overt realisation of the subject, but it can apply to any predicate which has a ‘final’ (i.e. finally specified), syntactic subject. Since the usage which it has grammaticalised is the despecification of a *human* agent, it is used with predicates whose subjects are human.

Thus, while passivisation is a ‘relation-changing’ operation sensitive to syntactic specifications within argument structure and insensitive to the semantic characteristics of the participants, impersonalisation is a ‘relation-preserving’ operation sensitive to human agency and insensitive to the internal syntax of argument structure. While the passive is a syntactic detransitiviser, the impersonal preserves the transitivity of the predicate. The fact that the passive and the *-no/-to* impersonal overlap both formally and functionally only serves to emphasise the central importance that morphosyntactic criteria should play in distinguishing these constructions (see also Blevins 2003).

4.1.1 Existing accounts of the *-no/-to* construction

Accounts of the Polish *-no/-to* construction which have been offered so far have followed two lines of argumentation. One has treated the *-no/-to* construction as an impersonal variant of the passive, and the other has treated it as a non-passive construction with an ‘indefinite’ human agent.

The functional and formal similarities between the *-no/-to* construction and the passive are considerable. Just as the passive ‘eliminates’ the initial subject of the predicate, the *-no/-to* construction too seems to ‘eliminate’ the subject and render it inexpressible. Both

constructions similarly imply the agent. Furthermore, the Polish *-no/-to* verb form makes use of the same derived participial stem as the passive verb. These are the main reasons why those few formal accounts which have dealt with the Polish *-no/-to* construction have assumed that it is a variant of an impersonal passive. Not infrequently, the existence of the true impersonal passive of the intransitive, in which the verb form uses a different inflectional ending to the *-no/-to* form, has gone unnoticed.

Blevins (2003:473-474) points out that most of the theoretical work had, until recently, neglected impersonal constructions altogether. This may have been due to the fact that few, if any, of the formal frameworks sanction the generation of syntactically subjectless constructions. Because the subject function is assumed to be universally required in clauses, subjects (including null or shared subjects) are standardly considered obligatory. This constraint has been expressed in GB as the 'Extended Projection Principle' (Chomsky 1982), in RG as the 'Final 1 Law' (Perlmutter & Postal 1983), or in LFG as the 'Subject Condition' (Bresnan & Kanerva 1989). Thus, while all major formal frameworks have an account of the passive, none recognises that there might exist a different 'subject-inhibiting' construction such as the impersonal. Instead, constructions which overlap with the passive functionally and/or morphologically, such as the Polish *-no/-to* impersonal, have been included in the formal category of the passive. However, accounting for the impersonal within the category of the passive has required adjusting the solutions which had been developed within each of the frameworks to account for the passive. As I will show below, this has led to very undesirable results.

The other category of accounts has focused on the functional overlap between the *-no/-to* construction and constructions which are interpreted as having an indefinite or unspecified agent. In Polish descriptive literature the *-no/-to* construction has rather consistently been classified as an 'active indefinite' and included in the list of the various linguistic means which could be used in the language to render the referent of the logical subject indefinite or unspecified (e.g. Siewierska 1988:271). In the few theoretical accounts that have agreed

with this basic analysis, the *-no/-to* construction has been treated as having some sort of a null subject: an element similar to a *pro_{arb}* (e.g. Dziwirek 1994:223; Maling 1993, cited in Billings & Maling 1995:42) or a *PRO_{arb}* (e.g. Lavine 2003:21). The present account similarly treats the Polish *-no/-to* impersonal as an active construction belonging to a larger functional class of unspecified-agent constructions. However, the richer notion of argument structure in constraint-based approaches avoids the need for empty or null syntactic arguments. I will, therefore, attempt to capture the distinctive characteristics of this type of construction through the representation of argument structure.

In the sections below I will present some more details of the solutions which have been offered within the two broad categories of accounts of the *-no/-to* construction and demonstrate why none of them has been fully satisfactory. As I have already argued, a lexical rule suppressing the subject in the argument structure makes it possible to both account for the distinct properties of the Polish *-no/-to* impersonal and preserve all the previous correct generalisations about passives.

4.1.1.1 Impersonal passive accounts

The analysis of the *-no/-to* construction as passive has often been supported by diachronic arguments: the *-no/-to* form *was* historically a nominal neuter passive participle used with neuter passive subjects (Siewierska 1988:270). The morphological similarity between the passive participle and the *-no/-to* form has therefore led to a natural conclusion that the *-no/-to* construction does involve passive morphology and results from an application of a mechanism analogous to the passive operation.

Since the distinct properties of the *-no/-to* construction are in conflict with the generalisations which had been made about the passive, all the solutions which have been proposed following this line of thought have been forced to reject those generalisations in order to include the *-no/-to* construction among the passives.

Although the GB framework does not explicitly allow alternations between syntactic

structures such as the active/passive alternation to be captured at the level of lexical derivation, GB accounts of the passive usually invoke some notion of ‘case absorption’ (Jaeggli 1986) or ‘theta-role suppression’ (Baker et al. 1989). The previous generalisations about passives included the crucial observation that a passive construction could not contain a structural accusative, since the direct object of the active predicate would always surface as the subject of its passive counterpart. Thus, the existence of the *-no/-to* construction created problems for GB’s case and theta theories. Most importantly, an explanation was required of why the passive *-no/-to* form did not absorb case and why the direct internal argument did not externalise.

Among the proposed solutions it has been argued, for example, that a passive verb can sometimes assign case just like the related active verb, and hence that passive morphology does not always absorb case (Borsley 1988:486), or that the final vowel *-o* on the verb form acts as a restorer of the case assigning properties of the passive participle (Kipka 1989:147). These solutions, however, did not address any of the issues regarding the status of the structural nominative (or, covert subject) position within the construction.

More recently, Franks (1995:348) has suggested that since in the ‘passive + accusative’ construction no nominative subject is possible, the passive morpheme in certain languages (such as Polish) is able to absorb either accusative *or* nominative case, and it is only the absorption of the accusative which necessitates movement of the object to subject position. In a similar spirit, Babby (1998:22) suggests that in languages like Polish (though not English), the affixation of the passive morpheme renders the external categorial argument NP (i.e. subject) optional. If the optional external argument is not selected, the direct internal argument (i.e. object) does not externalise.

Babby also argues that the *-no/-to* construction contains no subject at all at any level of representation. While the affixation of the passive morpheme ensures the dethematisation of the subject, the impersonal inflectional ending *-o* is used only when the external argument (i.e. subject) is not selected – that is, when the sentence is truly subjectless. Thereby,

Babby considers the canonical subject position non-obligatory, and suggests that in the *-no/-to* construction it is simply not projected. The absence of a subject position accounts for the phrase structure of predicates which are lexically impersonal (which is also suggested by Babby), though it still leaves unsolved the issues of the syntactic presence of the covert subject in the *-no/-to* construction.

Being aware of the control phenomena in which the covert subject of the *-no/-to* construction participates, others have put forward different suggestions. Discussing the *-no/-to* construction in Ukrainian, Sobin (1985:649) argued that, while it was the non-assignment of theta role to its subject (and not case absorption) which caused it to be passive, the subject position in this construction was occupied by a null expletive. Franks (1995:347,355) agreed that no theta role was assigned to subject position in passive + accusative constructions. He concluded, therefore, that the position must be occupied by a null expletive and he identified it in Polish as a PRO – the empty pronominal found in certain non-finite clauses – with arbitrary reference.

However, apart from the fact that the very existence of null expletives is debatable even within the GB framework, Bondaruk & Charzyńska-Wójcik (2000) have recently argued not only that the Polish *-no/-to* construction should not be classified as passive (because of the presence of the accusative nominal as well as lack of absorption of the external theta role), but also that the covert subject present in it is not suitable for the status of an expletive (such as a *pro*) because it does, in fact, carry a theta role. In the following sections I will provide ample evidence supporting these suggestions.

Apart from being tackled within GB, the *-no/-to* construction has also featured in some Relational Grammar accounts where, until recently (see next section), it was similarly assumed to be a syntactic variant of the morphological passive. Most importantly, the construction played a major role in the debate, initiated in the 1970s in the RG framework, on whether the primary operation of the passive is the advancement of the initial direct object to subject, with subject demotion as a concomitant (Perlmutter & Postal 1977), or

the demotion of the initial subject, with object advancement as a concomitant (Keenan 1975; Comrie 1977).

In the debate, the *-no/-to* construction was used as evidence to support the demotion analysis of the passive. As for the analysis of the *-no/-to* form itself, no conclusive suggestion within this line of argumentation was offered, though the proponents of the demotion analysis generally believed that the demotion operation was 'the decisive factor' which would make it possible 'to explain the verbal morphology of impersonal passives in terms analogical to those employed in explaining the verbal morphology of passive constructions' (Kubiński 1993:205).

Another problem created by the assumption that impersonals and passives belong to the same category of constructions has been noted by Timberlake (1982)¹. Discussing a Lithuanian construction cognate with the Slavonic *-no/-to* construction, he pointed out that the applicability of this, ostensibly passive, construction to unaccusative verbs shows that unaccusatives can passivise and so that the previously held generalisation about the inapplicability of the passive to unaccusative predicates (Perlmutter 1978) does not hold.

Like the issue of 'passive + accusative', the passivisation of unaccusatives poses a serious problem for any formal account of the passive. By allowing 'passives of unaccusatives', theories cease to be able to offer a principled account of the variation within the passive construction. Furthermore, there is no principled way to account for the fact that some languages allow 'passives' of unaccusatives alongside passives of unergatives while others strictly prohibit the former, and it is not even clear that formal frameworks have any straightforward way of describing this typological difference.

Whether or not to analyse the *-no/-to* construction as distinct from the passive is, therefore, not an argument between two accounts with differing constraints. It is, rather, an

¹For a critical discussion of Timberlake's claims see Blevins (2003) who argues that the Lithuanian verb forms which occur in 'unaccusative' and 'double' passives, though being diachronically related to the passive, have an evidential meaning that identifies them as part of the mood, rather than the voice, system of the language.

argument between an account which provides a coherent notion of the passive, and an account which offers an extended notion of the passive and no principled description of the variation within the construction.

4.1.1.2 'Active indefinite' accounts

What all the accounts outlined above had in common was the assumption that the *-no/-to* construction is a syntactic variant of the canonical passive. As I said earlier, however, this has not been the only way in which the *-no/-to* construction has been approached in the literature. Slavonic linguists have long recognised that the construction differs from the passive and discussed it extensively, classifying it together with personal constructions with indefinite or unspecified agents.

The long-established Polish descriptive tradition which has treated the *-no/-to* construction as an 'active indefinite' and grouped it together with other constructions which have an unspecified agent interpretation, such as the one using 3^{PL.VIR} morphology, includes Szober 1923; Oesterreicher 1926; Koneczna 1955, 1956; Lewicki 1964; Wierzbicka 1966; Doros 1975; Brajerski 1979; Bogusławski 1984; Siewierska 1988; and Rozwadowska 1992. Working in the spirit of this descriptive tradition, several Polish RG linguists have argued against an impersonal passive analysis of the Polish *-no/-to* construction by showing that the initial subject of sentences with the *-no/-to* form is also their final subject (Neubauer 1979; Dylą 1983; Dziwirek 1994). One of the most recent non-passive accounts of the *-no/-to* construction is Śpiwak (2000), who sees the *-no/-to* and other nominativeless constructions as resulting from an operation on the (lexical) conceptual-semantic structure of the predicate (the saturation of a 'light', i.e. semantically underspecified, Effector participant), which affects directly the surface syntactic form of the predicate (e.g. *ibid.*:152,156).

Dziwirek's (1994) RG account of the *-no/-to* construction, supported by examples of the syntactic behaviour of its covert subject, has probably been the most successful non-passive analysis of the construction offered within a formal framework. Although intended

as a syntactic account, due to its non-configurational treatment of grammatical relations it is best viewed as a theory of alternative assignments of grammatical relations to the arguments of the predicate. The present analysis, which treats the generation of the *-no/-to* construction as a derivation operating on predicate stems in the lexicon, preserves all the insights of Dziwirek's account.

In general, formal syntactic analyses of the Polish *-no/-to* construction as an 'active indefinite', like the impersonal passive accounts, have so far only involved null or empty subject hypotheses. They have either suggested the presence in the construction of a phonetically empty pronoun *pro* which is dropped in the way analogous to canonical personal pronouns in null-subject languages (e.g. Dziwirek 1994:223; Maling 1993, cited in Billings & Maling 1995:42), or of an empty pronominal anaphor PRO analogous to the null, or shared, subject of non-finite clauses in syntactic control contexts (e.g. Lavine 2003:21).

A basic problem with the *pro_{arb}* hypothesis is that it is forced to posit an empty category whose semantic requirements are met only by the particular verb form, which is achieved by establishing the particular, 'impersonal' agreement. In the words of Śpiewak (2000:132), 'assuming that the [-*no/-to* ending] is the morphological realisation of agreement with the null expletive subject amounts to positing a *fourth gender* (apart from masculine, feminine and neuter) for the sake of the null expletive alone'. Additionally, it is not even clear what exact semantic specifications the empty pronominal element would have to possess that would trigger such agreement, since covert subjects receive different interpretations for example in the *-no/-to* impersonal and the Polish reflexive impersonal (see Sections 4.1.4 and 4.2 on the interpretation of the agent in the *-no/-to* and the reflexive impersonal, and cf. Dziwirek's comments regarding the same issue in 1994:234-235, footnote 36).

Furthermore, the covert subject of the *-no/-to* construction cannot be a dropped pronominal subject because, unlike in other instances of *pro*-drop, the *-no/-to* verb form does not accept a surface subject (pronominal or other) under *any* circumstances. The null pleonastic element *pro* canonically occurs in finite, personal predicates. Personal verbs forms do, or

do not, appear with a surface subject depending on the characteristics of the referent of the subject they select. In the *-no/-to* construction, on the other hand, any attempt to express the subject overtly invariably leads to an ungrammatical result.

The human arbitrary reference restriction on the interpretation of the Polish *-no/-to* construction makes is somewhat similar to infinitival clauses with PRO_{arb} subjects. Lavine (2003:21), who attributes this observation to Maling (1993), cites the following examples to illustrate this phenomenon (from Maling *ibid.*):

- (361) a. *It's all too common to bark (at your kids/*in the dogpound).*
b. *It's common to be warped (in an insane asylum/*in a lumberyard).*
c. *It's normal to be rusty (after not speaking French for years/*after lying in water for weeks).*
d. **To be milked before dawn is important.*
e. **To exist without a proper governor is difficult, except for PRO.*

He suggests that the covert subject of the Polish *-no/-to* construction is a PRO (rather than a *pro* or a null expletive) because it requires non-agreement and, like the English examples above, has arbitrary interpretation.

However, the big PRO account is also problematic in several respects. First, while PRO is posited to occur in non-finite predicates, the *-no/-to* form is clearly finite. The second issue concerns the interpretation of PRO in the *-no/-to* construction. The subject of the *-no/-to* construction is always interpreted as an *unspecified* human, but it is by no means always arbitrary. The covert subject of the *-no/-to* construction may have either an unspecified arbitrary referent or, very commonly, an unspecified *definite* referent. This is, in fact, also true of the 'discourse-controlled' infinitival clauses even in English (cf. *It was nice to talk to you; It is necessary to leave early, so we have to get up at 5 am;* etc.). However, the difference between the two types of clause lies in the interpretation they impose on events which involve *non-human* referents as subjects.

Despite the marking of some of the clauses in (361) as starred, I suggest that they

should not be regarded as ill-formed. The starred versions may be awkward or difficult to interpret as they are presented, but they are not, in fact, ungrammatical. Consider the following pragmatically improved examples with the ‘optional control’ of the PRO by a superordinate non-subject argument:

- (362) a. *It's all too common for all the dogs to bark all at once in the dogpound.*
b. *It's common for the boards to be warped in a lumberyard.*
c. *It's normal for iron parts to be rusty after lying in water for weeks.*
d. *For dairy cows, to be milked before dawn is important.*
e. *For anaphors, to exist without a proper governor is difficult, except for PRO.*

While, by default, the subjects of the infinitivals are indeed interpreted as arbitrary human, the non-finite predicates themselves do not preclude a non-human interpretation of their subjects and the default interpretation can easily be overridden.

Thus, while the PRO of the discourse-controlled infinitival clauses does not have to be either arbitrary or human, the covert subject of the *-no/-to* construction is always human. Attempts to coerce *-no/-to* predicates into expressing non-human agents produce results which are either uninterpretable or are likely to be understood as having human agents despite the semantics of the verb and the circumstances of the denoted event (see also Section 4.1.4.3). Unlike the PRO of infinitives, the covert subject of the *-no/-to* construction does not require control (i.e. does not need to be shared) under any circumstances and it has a referent which is human. It is a full-fledged logical and syntactic subject which obligatorily lacks an overt realisation in constituent structure.

Finally, Lavine (2003:21, footnote 26) acknowledges that the subject of the *-no/-to* construction differs from the PRO_{arb} of the infinitival clause in one more respect. When the PRO_{arb} in Polish uncontrolled infinitivals has an adjectival complement, the adjective has to be masculine (singular), while the covert subject of the *-no/-to* construction is compatible only with predicate adjectives which are virile (plural), as in the following examples (provided by Lavine's reviewer; see also Section 4.1.4.2):

- (363) a. *Jest ważne być szczęśliwym / *szczęśliwymi.*
 is important.NEUT be.INF happy.MASC.INSTR / happy.PL.INSTR
 ‘It is important to be happy.’
- b. *Wyglądano na *szczęśliwego / szczęśliwych.*
 looked.IMPERS to happy.MASC.ACC / happy.VIR.ACC
 ‘[They] looked happy.’

Lavine comments that ‘[i]t is not clear whether these facts follow from a language-specific property of infinitival PRO in Polish [which he suspects is the case], from more general properties of the *-no/-to* construction, or from a finer-grained analysis of PRO itself’ (ibid.).

Taking into consideration all the observations made above, as well as bearing in mind the outstanding problems within GB with the empty element PRO itself, I suggest that an account of the subject of the *-no/-to* construction should be sought in the argument structure of the *-no/-to* construction. The fact that *-no/-to* impersonalisation preserves both the grammatical relations and the internal semantic structure of the predicate, but suppresses the surface realisation of its subject, can be naturally captured by reference to argument structure representations.

In her very brief mention of impersonal constructions, Klaiman (1991:6) presents her intuitions regarding a productive impersonal (her example involves a Bengali construction) in the following way. The omission of the first core argument results in a marked construction. However, the verb does not acquire a conventional lexical sense; rather, the grammatical marker signals omission of the logical subject. The result is a subjectless clause or, more specifically, a structure in which the subject is suppressed.

This is exactly the intuition behind the present analysis of the Polish *-no/-to* impersonal. The suggested model of argument structure makes it possible to hypothesise how exactly the operation can be conceptualised and distinguished from other subject-affecting operations such as passivisation or anticausativisation as well as from syntactic phenomena such as subject control.

4.1.2 An overview of the differences with the passive

Arguments against an impersonal passive analysis of the Polish *-no/-to* impersonal, highlighting particularly the differences between this construction and the passive of the intransitive, can be grouped into three categories. First, the *-no/-to* construction has distinct morphological properties; second, it is subject to different restrictions on applicability; and third, it displays distinct morphosyntactic properties pointing to the presence of a working, though non-overt, syntactic subject. I will discuss and illustrate these properties in turn below.

4.1.2.1 The morphology and distribution of the *-no/-to* form

The first set of arguments involves the morphological shape and the distribution of the *-no/-to* form. Despite using the same verbal stem (ending in *-n/-t*) as the Polish resultative/passive participle, the *-no/-to* form is a pseudo-participial form – it functions exclusively as a main verb and has no adjectival properties or distribution. It is *not* the 3SG.NEUT morphology used in impersonal passives of intransitives (the 3SG.NEUT form of the *-n/-t* participle is *-ne/-te*). It is also different from the morphology used in other Polish impersonal constructions displaying ‘default’ 3SG.NEUT agreement whether due to the lack of a surface subject (as in reflexive impersonals), the presence of a non-agreeing subject (as in sentences whose subjects are certain quantifier phrases or acronyms, in sentences with clausal subjects, certain indeclinable subjects, and certain foreign place names – most of these are exemplified in Dziwirek 1994:211-214), or a dropped *pro*_{INDEF} subject (as in, for example, weather constructions or adversity impersonals – see Section 4.3.2).

The *-no/-to* form does not belong to the inflectional paradigm of modern Polish. It was historically the nominal neuter passive participle which has lost its neuter meaning (together with the loss of all the nominal forms of passive participles in Polish), acquired an impersonal/unspecified-agent meaning, and is now used exclusively in this meaning (Siewierska 1988:270). It is never used in contemporary Polish passives, which have evolved

from the adjectival rather than the nominal declensional system (Dziwirek 1994:184).

Apart from the above, unlike the passive participle, the *-no/-to* verb form in Polish is used without any of the passive auxiliaries ('be', 'become', etc.) and, as was shown in Chapter 1 (Section 1.4.3), it cannot co-occur with an expression of the passive agent (i.e. the 'by'-phrase) corresponding to the covert subject.

4.1.2.2 Applicability and restrictions on applicability

Second, the inclusion of the morphological impersonal in the category of the passive overlooks a fundamental difference regarding the applicability of the two constructions. While discussing the passive (in particular, Section 2.2.1), I showed that the applicability of passivisation is limited to unergative predicates whose first argument is in some way pre-specified as a subject. Passivisation, therefore, does not apply to unaccusative predicates whose argument structure does not single out the 'initial' subject but instead just lists its arguments, possibly as its complements.

In contrast with passivisation, *-no/-to* impersonalisation can be applied to unaccusative verbs, and the examples below illustrate the difference in the applicability of the two operations:

- (364) a. *bywać/*było bywane_{PART}/bywano_{IMPERS}* ('be often, attend, be_{ITERATIVE}')
b. *umierać/*było umierane_{PART}/umierano_{IMPERS}* ('die_{IMPERF/ITERATIVE}')
c. *plakać/*było płakane_{PART}/płakano_{IMPERS}* ('cry')
d. *drżeć/*było drżane_{PART}/drżano_{IMPERS}* ('tremble')

For comparison, the following are intransitive unergative verbs which do passivise:

- (365) a. *tańczyć/było tańczone_{PART}/tańczono_{IMPERS}* ('dance')
b. *sprzątać/było sprzątane_{PART}/sprzątano_{IMPERS}* ('clean/tidy')

And the following are examples of sentences with impersonalised unaccusative predicates:

- (366) a. *Umierano z wycieńczenia.*
 died.IMPERS from exhaustion
 ‘[They] died/used to die of exhaustion.’
- b. *Często bywano w Warszawie.*
 often was_{ITERATIVE}.IMPERS in Warsaw
 ‘[They] used to be often in Warsaw.’
- c. *Przeciętnie ważono 80 kilogramów.*
 on-average weighed.IMPERS {80 kilograms}.ACC
 ‘On average, [they] weighed 80 kilograms.’

The inclusion of the *-no/-to* impersonal in the category of the passive has forced theorists to reject existing correct crosslinguistic generalisations about passives, namely, that a structural accusative is not encountered without a structural nominative, and that unaccusatives invariably fail to passivise. In consequence, as I showed in the previous section, such theoretical solutions have had to compromise some important tenets of their own frameworks.

It is worth emphasising that, apart from very few (phonologically and semantically driven – see below) exceptions, *-no/-to* impersonalisation is almost completely productive. Lavine (2003:7) suggests (after Cetnarowska 2000) that the formation of the Polish *-no/-to* from unaccusative predicates is limited to imperfectives with an iterative interpretation, and that this constraint is most likely related to the availability of a generic interpretation for the subject of the *-no/-to*. In fact, the lack of the availability to interpret the subject of the *-no/-to* as generic and human seems to be the reason behind most of the unsuccessful instances of the *-no/-to* construction, whether it is formed from unaccusative or unergative verbs, and whether the verb is iterative or not.

The following examples of unaccusative verbs with experiencer subjects show that it is possible to use non-iterative and non-habitual unaccusative perfective predicates in the *-no/-to* construction. Sentences of this type which are the easiest to come by contain obligatorily reflexive verbs, as in (a):

- (367) a. *Podczas oględzin maszyny natknięto się na uszkodzenie.*
 during investigations(NONVIR).GEN machine(FEM).GEN came-across.IMPERS
 REFL on defect
 ‘During the examination of the machine [they] came across a defect.’
- b. *Zadrżano na wieść o niechybnej wojnie.*
 trembled.IMPERS at message about certain war
 ‘[They] shuddered at hearing the news of imminent war.’

Even the verb *odczuć* ‘feel_{PERF}’ (from *czuć* ‘feel_{IMPERF}’) can occur in the *-no/-to* impersonal, as in:

- (368) a. *Dopiero w 1988 roku odczuto ponownie potrzebę odtworzenia Towarzystwa Przyjaciół ‘Ossolineum’.*
 only in 1988 year felt.IMPERS again need(FEM).ACC
 reconstitution.(NEUT).GEN Society Friends ‘Ossolineum’
 ‘It wasn’t until 1988 that the need to reconstitute the Society of the Friends of “Ossolineum” was felt.’
- b. *Odległość od epicentrum do najdalszego miejsca, w którym odczuto wstrząs wyniosła około 20 km.*
 distance from epicentre to furthest place in which felt.IMPERS quake
 constituted about 20 km
 ‘The furthest distance at which the quake was felt was about 20 km from the epicentre.’

However, it is uncertain whether in this particular lexical variant the verb ‘feel’ is unaccusative, since, unlike the basic form, it appears to allow passivisation:

- (369) *Jego śmierć została tam odczuta o wiele głębiej niż w Polsce.*
 his death(FEM).NOM became.3SG.FEM there feel.PART.SG.FEM at much deeper than
 in Poland
 ‘His death had a much deeper impact [on people] there than in Poland.’

Since the interpretation of the covert subject of the *-no/-to* construction is always that of a human agent, the *-no/-to* impersonal is typically not used with verbs connoting a

non-human agent, such as e.g. *szczekać* ‘bark’ or *ćwierkać* ‘twitter’, unless the action referred to (metaphorically) in this way *was* indeed performed by humans. This, however, is not a syntactic, but a conventional restriction, since there is nothing morphologically or syntactically wrong with the *-no/-to* impersonal formed from these verbs (cf. *szczekano* ‘bark_{IMPERS}’, *ćwierkano* ‘twitter_{IMPERS}’).

Similarly, since the inflectional properties of the agent of the *-no/-to* construction are virile (plural) (see Section 4.1.4.2), the impersonal is not commonly found (although, again, can be formed morphosyntactically) with verbs denoting activities of selected individuals which are usually inaccessible to wider groups, such as e.g. *abdykować* ‘abdicate’ (example from Wolińska 1978:67). For a more detailed discussion of the interpretation of the agent of the *-no/-to* construction, see Section 4.1.4.

As argued in this work, the difference in the applicability of *-no/-to* impersonalisation and passivisation results from the fact that while passivisation targets the underlying subject of the predicate in order to downgrade it to a lower grammatical function (an oblique), *-no/-to* impersonalisation applies to any predicate which has a syntactic subject associated with a human referent, regardless of the underlying syntactic specification of the argument onto which the subject function has been mapped.

This hypothesis correctly predicts that impersonalisation would also be allowed to apply to derived subjects of passivised transitive predicates, since it would be interpretable with any passive subjects which have human referents. This is confirmed by examples such as (370) which contains an impersonal form of an auxiliary (*bywano*) in a periphrastic passive construction with a passive participle (*bitymi*):

- (370) *Dostawano* *różne* *kary* *i*
 received.IMPERS various.NONVIR.ACC punishments(NONVIR).ACC and
bywano *bitymi*.
 wasITERATIVE.IMPERS beat.PART.PL.INSTR
 ‘[They/One] received various punishments and be beaten.’

Therefore, *-no/-to* impersonalisation and passivisation have to be seen as independent

operations yielding the following possible constructions:

(371) The passive and the *-no/-to* impersonal

| | ACTIVE | PASSIVE |
|--------------------------|---|---|
| PERSONAL | <i>Więżniowie bili strażników.</i> ‘The prisoners beat the warders.’ | <i>Strażnicy bywali bici.</i> ‘The warders were beaten.’ |
| <i>-no/to</i> IMPERSONAL | <i>Bito strażników.</i> ‘[They/One] would beat the warders.’ | <i>Bywano bitymi.</i> ‘[They/One] would be beaten.’ |

Note that in impersonalised passive sentences it is, in fact, possible to get a ‘by’-phrase corresponding to the original passivised agent:

(372) *Bywano bitymi przez więźniów.*
was_{ITERATIVE}.IMPERS beat.PART.PL.INSTR by prisoners
 ‘[They/One] would be beaten by the prisoners.’

which would be represented as:

(373) **passive predicate impersonalised**

| | |
|-------|------|
| x | y |
| | |
| ⟨arg | arg⟩ |
| | |
| (OBL) | SUBJ |
| | ∅ |

It is, however, still impossible to re-map the participant corresponding to the subject of the impersonal onto a passive oblique. Note also that the suppressed subject of the impersonal need not be a semantic *agent*, but it may be an experiencer or undergoer. This point will be taken up further in Section 4.1.4.

The existence of impersonalised passives constitutes probably the strongest argument for the non-passive status of the *-no/-to* impersonal, given that passives of passives appear to be unattested. This possibility is consistent with the different constraints on the applicability of passivisation and impersonalisation identified earlier.

4.1.2.3 Distinct syntactic properties

The final argument against a passive analysis of the Polish *-no/-to* impersonal comes from an examination of the morphosyntactic properties of this construction. Specifically, unlike the impersonal passive of the intransitive, the *-no/-to* construction can be demonstrated to have a working syntactic subject which participates in control, reflexive binding and raising. Some examples illustrating these phenomena were already given in the introductory Chapter 1, Section 1.4.3.1. As this issue deserves closer examination, I will use the whole of the following section to demonstrate the morphosyntactic properties of the *-no/-to* construction in more detail and compare it with the impersonal passive of the intransitive.

4.1.3 Morphosyntactic properties of the *-no/-to* impersonal

The discussion offered in this section centres around the notion of the syntactic subject. The prominence of the grammatical function of the subject in English, Polish and other nominative-accusative languages is reflected in the syntax in that there are certain specific syntactic possibilities which are restricted to subjects. I will mention below two categories of syntactic rules in Polish which can be used as tests for subjecthood, or – in the case of the *-no/-to* construction – for the presence of the subject. One is the requirement to share the syntactic subject with a predicate complement which subcategorises for a subject (as in control and raising constructions), and the other is the binding of reflexives (cf. the syntactic properties of subjects, as defined in e.g. Keenan 1976; Klaiman 1991:20ff).

The first three subsections below contain examples illustrating how the requirement to share the syntactic subject with another, subordinate verbal form which subcategorises for it is fulfilled by the *-no/-to* construction while it is not satisfied by the impersonal passive of the intransitive. The verbal forms used in the test include the infinitive functioning as a complement of the main verb, and various derived verbal forms functioning as adverbials. The last subsection illustrates the difference between the *-no/-to* impersonal and the impersonal passive in their ability to bind reflexives and reflexive pronouns.

4.1.3.1 Sharing the subject with infinitives

Although the infinitive in Polish does not always have to have a syntactic controller (see Section 2.2.5.2 on clausal subjects in the passive), some verbs take infinitival complements which share their subjects with the main verb:

- (374) a. *Piotr planował uciec.*
Peter(MASC).NOM planned.3SG.MASC escape.INF
'Peter planned to escape.'
- b. *Więźniowie próbowali tańczyć (walca).*
prisoners(VIR).NOM tried.3PL.VIR dance.INF (waltz(MASC).ACC)
'The prisoners tried to dance (waltz).'
- c. *Wierni zaczęli śpiewać (pieśni) o dziewiątej.*
believers(VIR).NOM began.3PL.VIR sing.INF (hymns(NONVIR).ACC) at nine
'The congregation began singing (hymns) at nine.'

The fact that, for this class of verbs, the unexpressed subject of the infinitive has to be controlled by a *coreferential* subject of the main verb, is confirmed by the ungrammaticality of the following sentences in which passive subjects are not allowed to control the infinitival complements:

- (375) a. **Walc był próbowany tańczyć.*
waltz(MASC).NOM was.3SG.MASC try.PART.SG.MASC dance.INF
'Waltz was tried to dance.'
- b. **Pieśni zostały zaczęte śpiewać o dziewiątej.*
hymns(NONVIR).NOM became.3PL.NONVIR begin.PART.SG.NONVIR sing.INF at
nine
'Hymns were begun to sing at nine.'

In the *-no/-to* construction the control phenomenon is preserved: although there is no overt subject, the subject of the infinitival complement is successfully controlled by the covert subject of the *-no/-to* verb form:

- (376) a. *Planowano uciec.*
 planned.IMPERS escape.INF
 ‘[They] planned to escape./There was planning to escape.’
- b. *Próbowano tańczyć (walca).*
 tried.IMPERS dance.INF (waltz(MASC).ACC)
 ‘[They] tried to dance (waltz)./There was an attempt to dance (waltz).’
- c. *Zaczęto śpiewać (pieśni) o dziewiątej.*
 began.IMPERS sing.INF (hymns(NONVIR).ACC) at nine
 ‘[They] began singing (hymns) at nine./The singing (of hymns) began at nine.’

In case of infinitival control, it is not possible to compare the behaviour of the *-no/-to* construction with an impersonal passive of the intransitive because there are no impersonal passives with objects (including infinitival complements) which might require this type of control. I showed in Chapter 2, Section 2.2.5.2, that infinitival clauses are found in Polish both in the (active) object and passive subject positions. Therefore, sentences such as the following (sentence (a) is repeated from (154)):

- (377) a. *Było planowane wyjechać.*
 was.3SG.NEUT plan.PART.SG.NEUT leave.INF
 ‘It has been planned to leave./There has been planning to leave.’
- b. *?Było planowane uciec.*
 was.3SG.NEUT plan.PART.SG.NEUT escape.INF
 ‘It was planned to escape.’

are, in fact, passives of transitive predicates, with the infinitives as subjects. The verbs carry the 3SG.NEUT ending not because the predicates lack subjects, but because their subjects (i.e. the infinitives) lack person, number and gender features which normally trigger verbal agreement. The passives in (377) are, therefore, only superficially impersonal – they are passives with non-agreeing (non-personal) subjects.

Non-agreeing passives with infinitival subjects are, arguably, not very common and there are many examples of clauses of this type which would be considered straightforwardly ungrammatical, for example:

- (378) a. **Było* *chciane* *wyjechać.*
 was.3SG.NEUT want.PART.SG.NEUT leave.INF
 ‘It was wanted to leave.’
- b. **Było* *próbowane* *tańczyć* (*walca*).
 was.3SG.NEUT try.PART.SG.NEUT dance.INF (waltz(MASC).ACC)
 ‘It was tried to dance (waltz).’
- c. **Było* *zaczęte* *śpiewać* (*pieśni*) *o*
 was.3SG.NEUT begin.PART.SG.NEUT sing.INF (hymns(NONVIR).ACC) at
dziewiątej.
 nine
 ‘It was begun to sing (hymns) at nine.’

The precise reason for this judgement is unclear. It is possible that such sentences are parsed as impersonal passives of transitives which have retained their structural objects instead of promoting them to subjects, as in similar examples with nominal objects:

- (379) **Było* *próbowane/zaczęte* *tę* *piosenkę.*
 was.3SG.NEUT try/begin.PART.SG.NEUT this.FEM.ACC song(FEM).ACC
 ‘(intended) This song has been tried/begun.’

and for this reason they are rejected as ungrammatical. Sentences in (377) are certainly non-canonical, but they are nevertheless acceptable to some speakers. The explanation of the variability in the judgements needs further research.

Finally, it may be worth mentioning that infinitival clauses can be formed from both active predicates, as in all the examples given above, as well as from derived passive predicates. *Passive* infinitival complements can, therefore, be found with some verbs. In a passive infinitival complement the unexpressed passive subject (the logical object) is controlled by the coreferential subject of the main verb:

- (380) *Piotr* *nie chciał* *być* *pobity* *przez*
 Peter(MASC).NOM NEG wanted.3SG.MASC be.INF beat-up.PART.SG.MASC by
kaprala.
 corporal
 ‘Peter did not want to be beaten up by the corporal.’

And here also the control phenomenon is preserved after *-no/-to* impersonalisation:

- (381) *Nie chciano być pobitymi.*
 NEG wanted.IMPERS be.INF beat-up.PART.PL.INSTR
 ‘[They] did not want to be beaten up./No one wanted to be beaten up.’

To sum up, the requirement of the subject of an infinitival clause to be controlled by a coreferential superordinate subject is satisfied by any type of syntactic subject in the matrix clause. It is satisfied by canonical active subjects, passive subjects (after passivisation has promoted the logical object of the predicate to subject), and equally by the covert active and passive subjects of the *-no/-to* construction.

4.1.3.2 Sharing the subject with deverbal adverbials

The situation is analogous with various adjunct clauses which use derived verbal forms functioning as adverbials of time. This type of deverbal form has been referred to in Polish as a ‘participle’, and two of these are distinguished based on their morphology and function: the ‘contemporaneous participle’ ending in *-ąc*, and the ‘anterior participle’ ending in *-wszy/-wszy*.

The **contemporaneous participle** in *-ąc* is used as an adverbial of time as well as an adverbial of manner. It is particularly in its function as an adverbial of time, in simultaneous temporal adjunct clauses, that its subject must always be controlled by a coreferential subject of the main verb:

- (382) a. *Wychodząc z budynku Piotr zauważył napisy na ścianach.*
 leave.PARTCONTEMP from building Peter(MASC).NOM noticed.3SG.MASC
 inscriptions(NONVIR).ACC on walls
 ‘On leaving the building Peter noticed some/the inscriptions on the walls.’
- b. *Wysprząтали sale przygotowując budynek do remontu.*
 cleaned/cleared.3PL.VIR rooms(NONVIR).ACC prepare.PARTCONTEMP
 building(MASC).ACC for renovation

‘They cleared the rooms while preparing the building for renovation.’

- c. *Rozchodząc się chłopcy zapalili*
desperse.PARTCONTEMP REFL boys(VIR).NOM lit/smoked.3PL.VIR
(*papierosy*).
(cigarettes(NONVIR).ACC)

‘As they were dispersing, the boys smoked (lit cigarettes).’

As in the examples given in the previous section, the control phenomenon is preserved when the main verb is expressed in the *-no/-to* impersonal (sentence (a) below is repeated from (54)):

- (383) a. *Wychodząc z budynku zauważono napisy*
leave.PARTCONTEMP from building noticed.IMPERS inscriptions(NONVIR).ACC
na ścianach.
on walls

‘On leaving the building [they] noticed some/the inscriptions on the walls.’

- b. *Wysprzątano sale przygotowując*
cleaned/cleared.IMPERS rooms(NONVIR).ACC prepare.PARTCONTEMP
budynek do remontu.
building(MASC).ACC for renovation

‘[They] cleared the rooms while preparing the building for renovation.’

- c. *Rozchodząc się zapalono (papierosy).*
desperse.PARTCONTEMP REFL lit/smoked.IMPERS (cigarettes(NONVIR).ACC)

‘As [they] were dispersing, [they] smoked (lit cigarettes).’

The impersonal passive of the intransitive, however, does not contain a subject which could control the subject of the participial clause, so the addition of a participial clause renders the following impersonal passive sentences ungrammatical:

- (384) a. *Tutaj zostało wysprzątane (*przygotowując*
here became.3SG.NEUT clean/clear.PART.SG.NEUT (prepare.PARTCONTEMP
budynek do remontu).
building(MASC).ACC for renovation)

‘It was cleared here/This place has been cleared (while preparing the building for renovation).’

- b. (**Rozchodząc się*) *było* *palone*.
 (disperse.PART_{CONTEMP} REFL) was.3SG.NEUT smoke.PART.SG.NEUT
 ‘There was smoking here/Smoking was done here (while dispersing).’
- c. *Tutaj było tańczone* (**śpiewając sprośne*
 here was.3SG.NEUT dance.PART.SG.NEUT (sing.PART_{CONTEMP} obscene
piosenki).
 songs)
 ‘There was dancing here/Dancing was done here (singing obscene songs).’

As was the case in sentences with infinitival complements, passive subjects of personal passives cannot control participial subjects if they are not coreferential with them:

- (385) a. *Salę zostały wysprzątane*
 rooms(NONVIR).NOM became.3PL.NONVIR clean/clear.PART.PL.NONVIR
 (**przygotowując budynek do remontu*).
 (prepare.PART_{CONTEMP} building(MASC).ACC for renovation)
 ‘The rooms were cleared (while preparing the building for renovation).’
- b. *Papierosy były palone*
 cigarettes(NONVIR).NOM were.3PL.NONVIR smoke.PART.PL.NONVIR
 (**rozchodząc się*).
 (disperse.PART_{CONTEMP} REFL)
 ‘Cigarettes were smoked (while dispersing).’
- c. *Te sprośne tańce*
 these.NONVIR.NOM obscene.NONVIR.NOM dances(NONVIR).NOM
były tańczone (**śpiewając sprośne*
 were.3PL.NONVIR dance.PART.PL.NONVIR (sing.PART_{CONTEMP} obscene
piosenki).
 songs)
 ‘Those obscene dances were danced (singing obscene songs).’

The **anterior participle** is also used as an adverbial of time, appearing in consecutive temporal adjunct clauses, and its subject also needs to be controlled by a coreferential subject of the main verb:

- (386) a. *Zakończywszy posiłek, uczestnicy*
 finish.PART_{ANTERIOR} meal(MASC).ACC participants(VIR).NOM

spotkania rozpoczęli dyskusję.
 meeting(NEUT).GEN began.3PL.VIR discussion(FEM).ACC

‘Having finished the meal, the participants of the meeting began the discussion.’

b. *Ukończywszy malowanie, sprząkali (sale).*
 finish.PARTANTERIOR painting(NEUT).ACC clean.3PL.VIR (rooms(NONVIR).ACC)

‘Having finished painting, they were tidying up (the rooms).’

c. *Rozejrzawszy się czy ktoś nie idzie, chłopcy zapalili (papierosy).*
 look-around.PARTANTERIOR REFL whether someone NEG comes boys(VIR).NOM
 lit.3PL.VIR (cigarettes(NONVIR).ACC)

‘Having looked around to ensure that no one was coming, the boys smoked (lit cigarettes).’

d. *Tańczyli (polkę), dobrawszy się w pary.*
 danced.3PL.VIR (polka(FEM).ACC) get-matched.PARTANTERIOR REFL in pairs

‘Having got in pairs, they were dancing (polka).’

The control of subject is preserved when the main verb is turned into a *-no/-to* impersonal predicate (sentence (a) below is repeated from (55)):

(387) a. *Zakończywszy posiłek rozpoczęto dyskusję.*
 finish.PARTANTERIOR meal(MASC).ACC began.IMPERS discussion(FEM).ACC

‘Having finished the meal, [they] began the discussion.’

b. *Ukończywszy malowanie, sprzątano (sale).*
 finish.PARTANTERIOR painting(NEUT).ACC clean.IMPERS (rooms(NONVIR).ACC)

‘Having finished painting, [they] were tidying up (the rooms).’

c. *Zapalono (papierosy) rozejrzawszy się czy ktoś nie idzie.*
 lit.3PL.VIR (cigarettes(NONVIR).ACC) look-around.PARTANTERIOR REFL whether
 someone NEG comes

‘[They] smoked (lit cigarettes) after having looked around to ensure that no one was coming.’

d. *Tańczono (polkę) dobrawszy się w pary.*
 danced.IMPERS (polka(FEM).ACC) get-matched.PARTANTERIOR REFL in pairs

‘[They] were dancing (polka) having got in pairs.’

And again, control of the subject of the participle is impossible when the main intransitive verb is turned into a passive, since the main predicate no longer contains a subject:

- (388) a. *Tutaj było sprzątane (*ukończywszy malowanie).*
 here was.3SG.NEUT clean.PART.SG.NEUT (finish.PART_{ANTERIOR} painting(NEUT).ACC)
 ‘It was cleaned here/This place has been cleaned (having finished painting).’
- b. *Tutaj było palone (*rozejrzawszy czy ktoś nie idzie).*
 here was.3SG.NEUT smoke.PART.SG.NEUT (look-around.PART_{ANTERIOR} REFL whether someone NEG comes)
 ‘There was smoking here/Smoking was done here (after having looked around to ensure that no one was coming).’
- c. *Tutaj było tańczone (*dobrawszy się w pary).*
 here was.3SG.NEUT dance.PART.SG.NEUT (get-matched.PART_{ANTERIOR} REFL in pairs)
 ‘There was dancing here/Dancing was done here (having got in pairs).’

If the passive predicate contains a derived passive subject which is not coreferential with the subject of the participial clause, the resulting sentence is similarly unacceptable:

- (389) a. *Salę były sprzątane (*ukończywszy malowanie).*
 rooms(NONVIR).NOM were.3PL.NONVIR clean.PART.PL.NONVIR (finish.PART_{ANTERIOR} painting(NEUT).ACC)
 ‘The rooms were cleaned (after having finished painting).’
- b. *Papierosy były palone (*rozejrzawszy się czy ktoś nie idzie).*
 cigarettes(NONVIR).NOM were.3PL.NONVIR smoke.PART.PL.NONVIR (look-around.PART_{ANTERIOR} REFL whether someone NEG comes)
 ‘Cigarettes were smoked (after having looked around to ensure that no one was coming).’

- c. *Była tańczona polka (*dobrawszy*
 was.3SG.FEM dance.PART.SG.FEM polka(FEM).ACC (get-matched.PART_{ANTERIOR}
się w pary).
 REFL in pairs)
 ‘A polka was danced (after having got in pairs).’

4.1.3.3 Sharing the subject in a subject-raising construction

The Polish raising verb *zdawać się* (which is obligatorily reflexive) corresponds to the English verb *seem*. When it is accompanied by a finite clause introduced by a complementiser (*że* ‘that’) it displays default ‘impersonal agreement’, i.e. 3SG.NEUT ending, because the finite clause is its non-agreeing subject (cf. the corresponding ‘dummy subject’ *it* in the equivalent sentence in English):

- (390) *Zdawało się, że oni tego nie dostrzegali.*
 seemed.3SG.NEUT REFL that they(VIR).NOM this.MASC.GEN NEG noticed.3PL.VIR
 ‘It seemed that they did not notice this.’

In the raising construction, as in English, the subject of the raising verb inherits its properties from the subject of the embedded predicate expressed in the infinitive:

- (391) *Oni zdawali się tego nie dostrzegać.*
 they(VIR).NOM seemed.3PL.VIR REFL this.MASC.GEN NEG notice.INF
 ‘They seemed not to notice this.’

The following is an example of a sentence in which the raising verb takes a clausal complement containing a *-no/-to* verb:

- (392) *Zdawało się, że tego nie dostrzegano.*
 seemed.3SG.NEUT REFL that this.MASC.GEN NEG noticed.IMPERS
 ‘It seemed that [they] did not notice this.’

When the covert subject of the embedded impersonal clause is raised to the subject position in the main clause, the raising verb turns up in the impersonal (sentence (a) below is repeated from (56)):

- (393) a. *Zdawano się tego nie dostrzegać.*
 seemed.IMPERS REFL this.MASC.GEN NEG notice.INF
 ‘[They] seemed not to notice this.’
- b. *Zdawano się przyzwyczajając do nowego stylu życia.*
 seemed.IMPERS REFL get-used.INF to new style life
 ‘[They] seemed to get used to the new lifestyle.’

Thus, it is clear that the *-no/-to* impersonal does contain a syntactically active subject whose properties can be unproblematically shared with the raising verb in exactly the same way as the properties of the canonical subject in example (391).

The impersonal passive of the intransitive can appear as a clausal complement of a raising verb after being introduced by a complementiser, as in (394a), but it does not have a subject, so it cannot provide one for the raising verb in a subject-raising construction exemplified in (394b):

- (394) a. *Zdawało się, że tutaj było sprzątane.*
 seemed.3SG.NEUT REFL that here was.3SG.NEUT clean.PART.SG.NEUT
 ‘It seemed that it had been cleaned here.’
- b. *Zdawało się tutaj być sprzątane.*
 seemed.3SG.NEUT REFL here be.INF clean.PART.SG.NEUT
 ‘It seemed to have been cleaned here.’

Sentence (b) is, in fact, a ‘subject-raising’ construction without a raised subject: the predicate of the embedded clause has become non-finite but – since it did not contain a subject – it could not have provided it for the subject position in the main clause. Because this raising construction has no subject, the raising verb resorts again to the 3SG.NEUT ending which is also used in subjectless sentences.

4.1.3.4 The binding of reflexives

Reflexivity in Polish is expressed by forms of the reflexive pronoun *siebie* ‘self_{ACC}’ (*sobą* ‘self_{INSTR}’, etc.), the reflexive possessive adjective *swój* ‘own[REFL].MASC.NOM/ACC’ (*swoja*

‘own[REFL].FEM.NOM’, *swoją* ‘own[REFL].FEM.ACC’, etc.), and the appositively used emphatic pronoun *sam* ‘own-self.MASC.NOM’ (*sama* ‘own-self.FEM.NOM’, etc.). In the accusative case, the reflexive pronoun *siebie* is, in some restricted contexts, interchangeable with its enclitic form *się*, though the latter is also used as a reflexive marker serving other morphosyntactic and lexical functions (e.g. to mark the anticausative; see Chapter 3, in particular Section 3.2.1).

In those contexts where reflexive and reflexive possessive pronouns have to be coreferential with the subject, as in:

- (395) a. *Piotr oglądał się/siebie w lustrze.*
 Peter(MASC).NOM looked-at.3SG.MASC REFL/self.ACC in mirror
 ‘Peter looked at himself in the mirror.’
- b. *Piotr oglądał swoje zbiory.*
 Peter(MASC).NOM looked-at.3SG.MASC OWN[REFL].NONVIR.ACC
 collections(NONVIR).ACC
 ‘Peter looked at his collection.’

when the predicate is expressed in the *-no/-to* impersonal, the pronouns are similarly interpreted as referring back to the non-overt subject (the following sentences are repeated from (57) and (58)):

- (396) a. *Oglądano się/siebie w lustrze.*
 looked-at.IMPERS REFL/self.ACC in mirror
 ‘One looked at oneself in the mirror./They looked at themselves in the mirror.’
- b. *Oglądano swoje zbiory.*
 looked-at.IMPERS OWN[REFL].NONVIR.ACC collections(NONVIR).ACC
 ‘One looked at one’s collection./They looked at their collection.’

The following example illustrates the fact that in simple sentences, that is those without any secondary predication which might provide an alternative subject, only the subject can be the controller of the reflexive possessive pronoun:

- (397) *Więżniowie_i bili strażników_j swoimi_{i/*j} łańcuchami.*
 prisoners(VIR).NOM beat.3PL.VIR warders(VIR).ACC OWN[REFL].PL.INSTR
 chains(NONVIR).INSTR
 ‘The prisoners_i beat the warders_j using their_{i/*j} chains.’

On the other hand, a non-reflexive possessive pronoun will be interpreted as having an antecedent other than the subject, for example the object:

- (398) *Więżniowie_i bili strażników_j ich_{*i/j} łańcuchami.*
 prisoners(VIR).NOM beat.3PL.VIR warders(VIR).ACC their.INSTR
 chains(NONVIR).INSTR
 ‘The prisoners_i beat the warders_j using their_{*i/j} chains.’

Not surprisingly, this rule applies equally to the covert subject of the *-no/-to* construction:

- (399) *Bito_i strażników_j swoimi_{i/*j} łańcuchami.*
 beat.IMPERS warders(VIR).ACC OWN[REFL].PL.INSTR chains(NONVIR).INSTR
 ‘[They_i] beat the warders_j using their_{i/*j} chains.’
- (400) *Bito_i strażników_j ich_{*i/j} łańcuchami.*
 beat.IMPERS warders(VIR).ACC their.INSTR chains(NONVIR).INSTR
 ‘[They_i] beat the warders_j using their_{*i/j} chains.’

The impersonal passive of the intransitive does not allow the use of possessive reflexive pronouns as modifiers of any nominals that may occur in it as adjuncts, since it does not contain a subject that the reflexive could refer to:

- (401) a. *Było sprzątane (*swoimi) maszynami.*
 was.3SG.NEUT clean.PART.SG.NEUT (OWN[REFL].PL.INSTR)
 machines(NONVIR).INSTR
 ‘It was cleaned here/This place has been cleaned with (one’s own) machines.’
- b. *W (*swoich) pokojach było sprzątane.*
 in (OWN[REFL].PL.LOC) rooms(NONVIR).LOC was.3SG.NEUT clean.PART.SG.NEUT
 ‘It has been cleaned in (one’s own) rooms./((One’s own) rooms have been cleaned.’

To sum up the evidence presented in the last few subsections, impersonal *-no/-to* sentences exhibit the same control patterns and obey the same rule of reflexive binding as sentences with canonical subjects. According to the above criteria, therefore, they cannot be considered subjectless. In this respect they differ from impersonal passive sentences formed from intransitive predicates. While the *-no/-to* impersonal has a syntactic subject, the impersonal passive does not have a syntactic subject which could control reflexives and subject positions of its complements or adverbials. The *-no/-to* construction is, therefore, not a variant of the impersonal passive.

4.1.4 The agent of the *-no/-to* construction

It is generally acknowledged that the *-no/-to* construction, though lacking an overt subject, is not agentless. In the following three subsections I will discuss the evidence that may be found of the presence of the agent in the *-no/-to* impersonal and identify the inflectional properties of this agent. Finally, by analysing various instances of the usage of the construction, I will discuss the way in which the agent of the *-no/-to* impersonal is, or may be, interpreted.

4.1.4.1 Control of agent-oriented adverbials

The agent of the *-no/-to* impersonal cannot appear in the overt structure of the clause either as an oblique (in a ‘by’-phrase) or a dative. An agentive ‘by’-phrase is never acceptable in this construction (see Chapter 1, Section 1.4.3) and – as in canonical personal clauses – a dative argument in the *-no/-to* impersonal is always understood as referring to an additional beneficiary participant who/which is not the same as the agent unless it is expressed in a reflexive pronoun. This resistance to any overt expression of the agent is unsurprising: an explicit specification of the agent would conflict with the unspecified-agent interpretation

associated with the impersonal (see also Blevins 2003:489)².

However, the agent does have a covert presence in the *-no/-to* impersonal and licenses agent-oriented adverbials and purpose clauses:

- (402) a. *Zatopiono ten statek celowo.*
 sank.IMPERS this.MASC.ACC ship(MASC).ACC on-purpose
 ‘[They] sank the ship on purpose.’
- b. *Celowo zbito właśnie tę szybę.*
 on-purpose broke.IMPERS just this.FEM.ACC pane(FEM).ACC
 ‘This window pane was broken on purpose.’
- c. *Nie jedzono tego, bo obawiano się trucizny.*
 NEG ate.IMPERS this.NEUT.GEN because feared.IMPERS REFL poison(FEM).GEN
 ‘[They] did not eat it, because [they] feared that it may have been poisoned.’
- d. *Zatopiono ten statek po to, aby
 uzyskać odszkodowanie.*
 sank.IMPERS this.MASC.ACC ship(MASC).ACC for this.NEUT.ACC COMPL
 obtain.INF insurance(NEUT).ACC
 ‘[They] sank the ship to collect the insurance.’
- e. *Żeby uratować dziecko, wybito szybę.*
 COMPL save.INF child(NEUT).ACC broke.IMPERS pane(FEM).ACC
 ‘In order to save the child, [they] broke the window pane.’

For the sake of brevity I have, so far, followed the tradition in referring to the first participant of the *-no/-to* construction as ‘agent’. It is, however, important to remember that the semantic role of this participant need not be agentive (if ‘agent’ is understood in opposition to ‘experiencer’ or ‘undergoer’). In Section 4.1.2.2 I showed that the *-no/-to*

²Blevins (2003:489,495) also points out that, despite this resistance, in Balto-Finnic and Ukrainian morphological impersonal constructions agentive phrases are acceptable in certain circumstances (for different reasons in the two types of language). I showed earlier that the Polish reflexive impersonal can also accept an expression of the agent through a dative argument, which should also create a conflict of interpretation. The conflict is, however, considerably softened due to the substantial overlap between the reflexive impersonal and the anticausative (see Chapter 3).

impersonal may apply to unaccusative verbs, most of which have semantically non-agentive first participants. The following are some examples of the *-no/-to* construction formed from unergative (passivisable) and unaccusative (non-passivisable) verbs whose subjects are not agents but experiencers/undergoers. In sentences such as these, agent-oriented adverbials and purpose clauses are not felicitous³:

- (403) a. *Znaleziono niemowlę w koszu (#celowo / #żeby je uratować).*
 found.IMPERS baby(NEUT).ACC in basket (on-purpose / COMPL it save)
 ‘[They] found a baby in a basket (on purpose/in order to save it).’
- b. (*#Celowo / #Żeby oszczędzić sobie dalszych prześladowań*) *umierano*
 (on-purpose / COMPL save oneself further persecutions) died.IMPERS
z wycieńczenia.
 from exhaustion
 ‘[They] died/used to die of exhaustion (on purpose/in order to save [them]selves from further persecutions).’

The infelicitous examples above show that the subject participant of these predicates does not have properties characteristic of agents – but, of course, they cannot be taken as evidence that the first participant does not exist at the semantic level of representation of these clauses. Consider, in (404), *personal* clauses with the same verbs and, in (405), impersonal clauses analogous to (404) with predicative extensions showing a coreferential agent/experiencer:

³The Polish verbs *być* ‘be’ and *bywać* ‘be_{ITERATIVE}’ (the latter used in example (366b)) provide an instructive illustration of the difference between unaccusativity (a syntactic phenomenon) and non-agentivity (a semantic phenomenon). These verbs do not passivise, but they may be used agentively and their principal participant may license agent-oriented constituents: *Celowo nie byłam na tym spotkaniu* ‘I wasn’t at that meeting on purpose’, *Kasia bywała w operze tylko po to, by media zanotowały, że należy do wyższych sfer* ‘Katie was_{ITERATIVE} at the opera only to make the media note that she belongs to the upper classes’. Intuitively, in these sentences the participant is a ‘willed experiencer’, and examples like these also show that the widely used semantic labels such as ‘agent’, ‘patient’, ‘experiencer’ or ‘undergoer’ do not capture such semantic distinctions easily. In this work, I will continue to use these labels mostly as shorthand to refer to the first, second, and other semantic participants of the event denoted by the verb.

- (404) a. *Piotr odgarnął stos liści i znalazł niemowlę w koszu.*
 Peter(MASC).NOM removed.3SG.MASC pile(MASC).ACC leaves(NONVIR).GEN and found.3SG.MASC baby(NEUT).ACC in basket
 ‘Peter removed the pile of leaves and found a baby in a basket.’
- b. *Ludzie zarażali jedni drugich i umierali w krótkich odstępach czasu.*
 people(VIR).NOM infected.3PL.VIR one another and died.IMPERS in short gaps time
 ‘People infected one another and died/used to die in quick succession.’
- (405) a. *Odgarnąwszy stos liści znaleziono niemowlę w koszu.*
 remove.PARTANTERIOR pile(MASC).ACC leaves(NONVIR).GEN found.IMPERS baby(NEUT).ACC in basket
 ‘Having removed the pile of leaves, [they] found a baby in a basket.’
- b. *Zarażano jedni drugich i umierano w krótkich odstępach czasu.*
 infect.IMPERS one another and died.IMPERS in short gaps time
 ‘[They] infected one another and died in quick succession.’

All the examples cited above provide evidence that the Polish *-no/-to* impersonal does not only have a covert syntactic subject, but that its subject argument is linked to a semantic participant such as an agent or an experiencer.

4.1.4.2 Inflectional properties of the *-no/-to* agent

I already mentioned above in Section 4.1.1.2 that, in contrast with the subject of the infinitive which triggers masculine (singular) agreement, the covert subject of the *-no/-to* construction triggers virile (plural) marking in agreeing (adjectival and nominal) predicative complements. The following examples show that expressions whose referents are, inflectionally, other than virile (plural) are incompatible with the *-no/-to* form and produce ill-formed clauses (examples (406), (408a), (409a), (411a) and (412) have been adapted from Dziwirek 1994:222-223):

- (406) a. **Pracowano jako nauczyciel.*
worked.IMPERS as teacher(MASC).NOM
- b. **Pracowano jako nauczycielka.*
worked.IMPERS as teacher(FEM).NOM
- c. **Pracowano jako nauczycielki.*
worked.IMPERS as teachers(NONVIR)[FEM].NOM
- d. *Pracowano jako nauczyciele.*
worked.IMPERS as teachers(VIR).NOM
‘[They] worked as teachers./One worked as a teacher.’
- (407) a. **Wyglądano na szczęśliwego.*
looked.IMPERS to happy.MASC.ACC
- b. **Wyglądano na szczęśliwą.*
looked.IMPERS to happy.FEM.ACC
- c. **Wyglądano na szczęśliwe.*
looked.IMPERS to happy.NONVIR.ACC
- d. *Wyglądano na szczęśliwych.*
looked.IMPERS to happy.VIR.ACC
‘[They/One] looked happy.’
- (408) a. **/??Będąc samotnym chodzono często do barów.*
being single.MASC.INSTR go.IMPERS often to bars
- b. **Będąc samotną chodzono często do barów.*
being single.FEM.INSTR go.IMPERS often to bars
- c. *Będąc samotnymi chodzono często do barów.*
being single.PL.INSTR go.IMPERS often to bars
‘Being single [they/one] often went to bars/pubs.’
- (409) a. **/??Będąc jedynakiem martwiono się o rodziców.*
being only-child(MASC).INSTR worry.IMPERS REFL about parents
- b. **Będąc jedynaczką martwiono się o rodziców.*
being only-child(FEM).INSTR worry.IMPERS REFL about parents

- c. *Będąc jedynakami martwiono się o rodziców.*
 being only-children(VIR).INSTR worry.IMPERS REFL about parents
 ‘Being an only child/the only children [of their respective families] [they/one]
 worried about [their/one’s] parents.’

Similarly, a strong implication of a singular subject performing a singular solitary activity usually produces an unacceptable result. Such meaning might be implicated, for example, by the verb in a particular context, as in (410b), or by the singular number marking of the object noun phrase, as in (411a) and (412a) (but not (410d,e), because the event is presented as iterative; in this way, it is interpreted as performed by a plural agent ‘made up of’ at least two separate singular agents):

- (410) a. *#/?W 1936 roku abdykowano.*
 in 1936 year abdicated.IMPERS
 ‘In 1936 [they/one?] abdicated.’
- b. *#/*W 1936 roku abdykowano ze sprawowania funkcji króla Anglii.*
 in 1936 year abdicated.IMPERS from performing function king England
 ‘In 1936 [they/one] abdicated as king of England.’
- c. *Gdy abdykowano z urzędów partyjnych, w parlamencie zrobiło się zamieszanie.*
 when abdicated.IMPERS from offices party in parliament created REFL
 confusion
 ‘When [they] abdicated from the party offices, confusion befell on the parliament.’
- d. *W historii Europy, częściej abdykowano z urzędu papieża niż z urzędu świeckiej głowy państwa.*
 in history Europe more-often abdicate.IMPERS from office pope than from
 office secular head state
 ‘In the history of Europe, [one] more often abdicated from the office of the pope than from the office of a secular head of state.’
- e. *W średniowieczu abdykowano z braku męskiego potomka.*
 in Middle-Ages abdicated.IMPERS of lack male heir

‘In the Middle Ages one would abdicate due to a lack of a male heir.’ (Śpiewak 2000:159)

- (411) a. *#/*W samotności oplakiwano brata.*
in solitude mourn.IMPERS brother(MASC).ACC
‘In solitude [they/one] mourned [their/one’s] brother.’
- b. *W samotności oplakiwano braci.*
in solitude mourn.IMPERS brothers(VIR).ACC
‘In solitude [they/one] mourned [their/one’s] brothers.’
- (412) a. *#/*Kochano swoją żonę.*
loved.IMPERS own[REFL].FEM.ACC wife(FEM).ACC
‘One loved one’s wife.’
- b. *Kochano swoje żony.*
loved.IMPERS own[REFL].NONVIR.ACC wives(NONVIR).ACC
‘[They] loved [their] wives.’

Note, however, different behaviour with a different object:

- (413) a. *Kochano swoje życie.*
loved.IMPERS own[REFL].NEUT.ACC life(NEUT).ACC
‘One loved one’s life.’
- b. *?/#Kochano swoje życia.*
loved.IMPERS own[REFL].NONVIR.ACC lives(NONVIR).ACC
‘[They] loved [their] lives.’

These inflectional properties of the subject of the *-no/-to* construction are reminiscent of the subject of the unspecified-agent construction which uses 3PL.VIR agreement. These properties make both constructions highly suitable to be used as generics (cf. the generic use of the nominal *ludzie* ‘people(VIR)’ as the overt subject of personal clauses with unspecified agents).

However, it has been evident from numerous examples given so far that, just as the 3PL.VIR agreement may be used with reference to definite agents, similarly the *-no/-to* form

is used not only in generic or indefinite agent clauses, but it is also used to express definite and specific agents which are understood as such from the context. It is, therefore, more accurate to say that both the 3PL.VIR agreement and the *-no/-to* form express *unspecified* agents which can be definite or indefinite, specific or generic, depending on the particular usage of the constructions.

4.1.4.3 The interpretation of the agent

In Chapter 1, in the introductory section about the impersonal (Section 1.4.3.1), I already mentioned that the *-no/-to* impersonal can only be used to describe situations or events involving human activity. Therefore, the sentences below cannot be interpreted as relating to animals or abstract concepts, but only to humans (sentence (a), repeated from (59) in Section 1.4.3.1, is from Siewierska 1988:263):

- (414) a. *Gniazda budowano wysoko.*
 nests(NONVIR).ACC built.IMPERS high-up
 ‘[They/One] built nests high up.’
- b. *Biegano po podwórku i szczekano całą noc.*
 ran.IMPERS on farmyard and barked.IMPERS whole night
 ‘[They/One] ran around the farmyard and barked all night.’
- c. *W tym miejscu przecięto oś Y.*
 in this place crossed.IMPERS axis Y
 ‘In this place [they/one] crossed the Y axis.’

Similarly, despite the suggestive context, the only possible interpretation of the following sentences is that their agents were humans, not natural phenomena:

- (415) a. *Piotra stodołę spalono podczas gwałtownej burzy z piorunami dwa miesiące temu.*
 Peter(MASC).GEN barn(FEM).ACC burnt.IMPERS during violent storm with lightning two months ago.
 ‘[They] burnt Peter’s barn during the violent thunderstorm two months ago.’
- b. *Podczas suszy wypalono całe pole.*
 during drought burnt-out.IMPERS whole field(NEUT).ACC

‘During the drought [they] burnt out the whole field.’

In order to convey the meaning that the object of the predicate has been affected by a natural phenomenon, not a human agent, a construction other than the *-no/-to* has to be used. Constructions which may be used to express or imply a non-human cause(r) are: a personal (active or passive) clause with a lexically specified non-human causer; the anticausative; or a construction with a dropped indefinite NON-HUM pronoun and the verb carrying 3SG.NEUT agreement (such as the ‘weather construction’ or the ‘adversity impersonal’; see Section 4.3.2 below). However, neither the *-no/-to* construction nor the 3PL.VIR agreement can be used for this purpose.

The 3PL.VIR agreement construction, like the *-no/-to* construction, can only be understood as expressing a human agent even if it is used with verbs denoting activities or events typically performed or caused by non-humans. The obligatory human interpretation of both the *-no/-to* construction and the 3PL.VIR agreement construction may be instances of a more general phenomenon whereby subjectless forms of personal verbs are conventionally interpreted as having unspecified human agents, irrespective of the source of their subjectlessness (Blevins 2003:481).

Additionally, Frajzyngier (1982:274) suggests that the *-no/-to* construction implies a non-stative meaning or, more precisely, a willed action on the part of the agent, even when it is used with inherently stative verbs. Thus, it is not possible to interpret the sentence:

(416) *Wisiano na linach.*
hung.IMPERS on ropes
‘[They/One] would hang on the ropes.’

as ‘One was hanged/hanging on the ropes’, but only as ‘One would hang on the ropes’, implying an agentive act as in a sports demonstration or competition. If this was true, this characteristic would distinguish the *-no/-to* construction from the 3PL.VIR agreement construction which does not appear to be restricted to such interpretation.

Contrary to the above prediction, examples such as (403) and (407) (of *-no/-to* sentences with unacceptable agent-oriented adverbials) show that the *-no/-to* construction can be used to express an ‘unwilled’ action or event. However, with some predicates which have two possible interpretations: stative and non-stative⁴, the *-no/-to* construction does indeed seem to prefer a willed participant (agent or experiencer) and thereby impose a non-stative interpretation on the event.

Now, as for the usage of the *-no/-to* construction, despite the inflectional specification of its subject as 3PL.VIR, it may, in fact, be used with reference to participants other than masculine, plural, or speaker and addressee exclusive⁵. As long as the inflectional criteria are fulfilled (cf. Section 4.1.4.2 above), the construction can be found in a variety of contexts, implying that the referent of the agent is non-virile, as in:

- (417) *Kochano swoich mężów.*
 loved.IMPERS own[REFL].VIR.ACC husbands(VIR).ACC
 ‘[They] loved [their] husbands.’

or that it is other than 3rd person or plural:

- (418) a. *Mówiono o tym wyżej.*
 talked.IMPERS about this higher
 ‘[One] discussed this above.’ (meaning: ‘As I said above’) (adapted from Siewierska 1988:284, footnote 19)
- b. *Jak wykazano w poprzednim przykładzie, ...*
 as demonstrated.IMPERS in previous example
 ‘As [one] demonstrated in the previous example, ...’ (meaning: ‘As I demonstrated in the previous example, ...’)
- c. *Rozkaz wykonano.*
 order(MASC).ACC executed.IMPERS
 ‘[One] has executed the order.’ (meaning: ‘I have executed the order’)

⁴See also my remark in footnote (3) earlier in this Chapter regarding the agentive use of the verb ‘be’ in Polish.

⁵Tommola (1998) refers to a similar construction in Finno-Ugric as ‘suppressive *ambipersonal*’.

- d. *Podano do stołu.*
 served.IMPERS to table(MASC).GEN
 '[One] has served to the table.' (meaning: 'The meal is ready', said by the host to his/her guests) (Śpiewak 2000:177)
- e. *Zrozumiano?!*
 understood.IMPERS
 'Has [one] understood?' (meaning: 'Have you understood?!/Is it clear?!', spoken by an angry boss to an employee) (Śpiewak 2000:177)
- f. *Chcę, by mi natychmiast, w tej chwili, zwrócono mego ukochanego mistrza.*
 want.ISG COMPL me.DAT at-once at this moment gave-back.IMPERS
 my.MASC.ACC beloved.MASC.ACC master(MASC).ACC
 'I want that at this very moment [one] would give back to me my beloved master.' (meaning: 'I want you to give me back instantly, this minute, my beloved master', said by Margarita to Woland)⁶ (example adapted from Śpiewak 2000:177)
- g. *Proszę pani, ja się nie awanturuję, tylko proszę, żeby mi wydano zaświadczenie.*
 please madam, I REFL NEG brawl.ISG only ask.ISG COMPL me.DAT
 issued.IMPERS certificate(NEUT).ACC
 'Madam, I am not brawling, but only asking that [one] would issue the certificate to me.' (meaning: '... I am only asking you to issue the certificate to me', said by a customer to an uncooperative clerk)

4.2 The Polish reflexive impersonal

The Polish reflexive impersonal parallels the *-no/-to* impersonal in all the properties that I take to be definitional of this morpholexical class of construction. As a result, like the *-no/-to* construction, and unlike the passive, the reflexive impersonal can be used with

⁶From *The Master and Margarita* by Mikhail Bulgakov, translated into Polish by Irena Lewandowska & Witold Dąbrowski, Warsaw: Czytelnik 1987:363.

both unergative and unaccusative verbs, it preserves the structural accusative in transitive predicates, and does not accept an agentive oblique (a ‘by’-phrase).

In Chapter 1, Section 1.4.3.2, I gave examples of transitive reflexive impersonals with accusative objects and showed that surface expressions of the agent were not acceptable in this construction either in the nominative or in an oblique ‘by’-phrase. I also illustrated the presence in the reflexive impersonal of the covert syntactic subject by demonstrating that, like the subject of the *-no/-to* construction, it participates in syntactic control and the binding of reflexive and reflexive possessive pronouns (see also Siewierska 1988:263-264).

The following sentences illustrate the use of the reflexive impersonal with unaccusative predicates:

- (419) a. *Było się w Warszawie, to się wie jak się takie sprawy załatwia.*
 was.3SG.NEUT REFL in Warsaw so REFL knows how REFL such.NONVIR.ACC
 matters(NONVIR).ACC sorts
 ‘One has been to Warsaw, so one knows how to sort out such matters.’
- b. *Nie umarło się z choroby, to się umrze z głodu.*
 NEG died.3SG.NEUT REFL from disease so REFL will-die.3SG from hunger
 ‘If one has not died of disease, one will die of hunger.’
- c. *Przeciętnie ważyło się 80 kilogramów.*
 on-average weighed.3SG.NEUT REFL {80 kilograms}.ACC
 ‘On average, one weighed 80 kilograms.’

And the following sentences demonstrate that, like the *-no/-to* impersonal, the reflexive impersonal can be applied to a passivised predicate, as long as the derived passive subject has a human referent (sentences (b) and (c) below are adapted from Śpiewak 2000:139, cited after Rozwadowska 1992):

- (420) a. *Było się często bitym.*
 was.3SG.NEUT REFL often beat.PART.MASC.INSTR
 ‘One was often beaten.’
- b. *Jest się często karany za przekroczenie szybkości.*
 is REFL often punish.PART.MASC.INSTR for exceeding speed

‘One is often punished for exceeding the speed limit.’

- c. *W tym towarzystwie najpierw jest się prowokowanym, a potem*
in this company first is REFL PROVOKE.PART.MASC.INSTR and then
wyśmiewanym.
laugh-at.PART.MASC.INSTR
‘Among these people one is first provoked and then made fun of.’

Lastly, just like the *-no/-to* impersonal, the reflexive impersonal of a passivised predicate can unproblematically retain the ‘by’-phrase corresponding to the passivised agent (but not to the referent of the covert subject of the impersonal):

- (421) a. *Było się bitym przez kaprala.*
was.3SG.NEUT REFL beat.PART.MASC.INSTR by corporal
‘One was beaten by the corporal.’ (Avgustinova et al. 1999:14)
- b. *Jest się często karanym przez policję za przekroczenie szybkości.*
is REFL often punish.PART.MASC.INSTR by police for exceeding speed
‘One is often punished by the police for exceeding the speed limit.’
- c. *W tym towarzystwie najpierw jest się prowokowanym, a potem*
in this company first is REFL PROVOKE.PART.MASC.INSTR and then
wyśmiewanym przez tych samych ludzi, którzy ci przed
laugh-at.PART.MASC.INSTR by these same people who you.DAT before
chwilą schlebili.
moment flattered
‘Among these people one is first provoked and then made fun of by those same people who flattered you a moment ago.’

All the examples above additionally show that the Polish reflexive impersonal, unlike the *-no/-to* impersonal, can be used with verbs in all tenses. Furthermore, the reflexive impersonal verb form does not seem to impose the same inflectional requirements on its predicative complements as the *-no/-to* form. That is, if the context provides a specific agent/undergoer, agreeing (nominal and adjectival) predicative complements of the reflexive impersonal may carry any number and person markers corresponding to the features of the referent of the covert subject:

- (422) a. *Pracowało się jako nauczyciel /nauczycielka*
 worked.3SG.NEUT REFL as teacher(MASC).NOM /teacher(FEM).NOM
/nauczyciele /nauczycielki.
 /teachers(VIR).NOM /teachers(NONVIR).NOM
 ‘One worked as a teacher./[We] worked as teachers.’
- b. *Wyglądało się na biednego studenta /biedną*
 looked.3SG.NEUT REFL to poor.MASC.ACC student(MASC).ACC /poor.FEM.ACC
studentkę /biednych studentów /biedne
 student(FEM).ACC /poor.VIR.ACC students(VIR).ACC /poor.NONVIR.ACC
studentki, to i wpuszczali za darmo.
 students(NONVIR).ACC so and let-in.3PL.VIR for free
 ‘One looked like a poor student, so one was let in for free./ [We] looked like poor students, so [we] were let in for free.’
- c. *Było się często bitym /bitą*
 was.3SG.NEUT REFL often beat.PART.MASC.INSTR /beat.PART.FEM.INSTR
/bitymi.
 /beat.PART.PL.INSTR
 ‘One was often beaten.’
- d. *Było się kiedyś szczęśliwym /szczęśliwą*
 was.3SG.NEUT REFL in-the-past happy.MASC.INSTR /happy.FEM.INSTR
/szczęśliwymi.
 /happy.PL.INSTR
 ‘Once, one was happy.’

Just like the *-no/-to* construction, the reflexive impersonal is interpreted as having an unspecified human agent/experiencer. The agent/experiencer can be indefinite and generic (corresponding to the English *one*), or it can be definite and/or specific, understood from the context. It appears that the reflexive impersonal with a specific agent/experiencer is most commonly used with reference to the speaker (i.e. 1SG or 1PL). However, the context may indicate that the referent of the main semantic participant is other than the speaker. In the following examples, the activity in question is unproblematically attributed to the addressee (singular or plural):

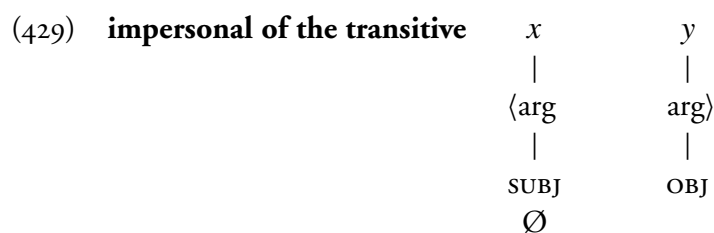
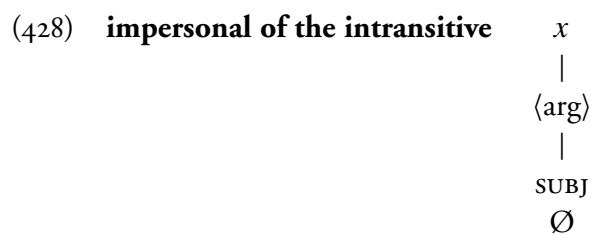
- (423) a. *A w tym pomieszczeniu, co tutaj się robiło?– Tutaj*
 and in this room what here REFL did.3SG.NEUT here
stemplowaliśmy paczki.
 rubber-stamped.IPL.VIR parcels(NONVIR).ACC
 ‘And in this room, what did one do here? – Here we rubber stamped the parcels.’
 (meaning: ‘And in this room, what did you do here? ...’)
- b. *I co, piło się? Niestety będzie mandacik.*
 and what drank.3SG.NEUT REFL unfortunately will-be.3SG little-fine
 ‘So, one has been drinking. There will be a fine, then.’ (meaning: ‘So, you’ve
 been drinking ...’ spoken by a police officer to a driver)

The re-introduction of the suppressed agent/experiencer into the surface expression of the reflexive impersonal in the form of a dative argument naturally limits the interpretation of the agent to a specific referent, for example:

- (424) a. *No i tak mi się pracowało.*
 well and so me.DAT REFL worked.3SG.NEUT
 ‘And so one/I was working.’
- b. *No i tak mu się pracowało.*
 well and so him.DAT REFL worked.3SG.NEUT
 ‘And so one/he was working.’
- c. *No i tak im się pracowało.*
 well and so them.DAT REFL worked.3SG.NEUT
 ‘And so one/they were working.’

There is a consensus among Slavonic linguists that the present-day Polish subjectless reflexive construction with transitive verbs is no longer passive, but exclusively active. According to Siewierska (1988:266; see also references therein), the reflexive passive to impersonal active reanalysis is believed to have been facilitated by the accusative marking of the potential subject. According to Pisarkowa (1984:43, cited in Siewierska *ibid.*), nominative as opposed to accusative marking of the logical object in transitive reflexive constructions is still found in Polish 16th and 17th century texts and even as late as the 19th century. In contemporary Polish, however, the nominative undergoer in a reflexive construction can only

The only difference between the last two proposed constructions and the morphological impersonal is that, rather than deleting the underlying subject argument from the lexical representation of the predicate, the impersonal retains it and inhibits its surface realisation. I proposed earlier that the results of this operation could be represented in the following way, for intransitive and transitive predicates, respectively:



The morphosyntactic properties of the impersonal as captured in the two diagrams above are displayed very clearly by the Polish *-no/-to* impersonal which was discussed earlier in the present Chapter. The Polish reflexive impersonal shares with the *-no/-to* impersonal all the key properties defining this category of constructions. However, some additional peculiarities of the Polish reflexive impersonal – such as, for example, its ability to re-map the original agent onto the dative argument – make it difficult to draw a definite distinction between this construction and the anticausative⁷.

Like the *-no/-to* impersonal, the reflexive impersonal imposes a ‘default’ human interpretation on the main semantic participant of the predicate even if the verb is otherwise

⁷My own survey of the reflexive impersonal and the anticausative, undertaken for the purposes of the present dissertation, has not yielded conclusive results beyond the hypotheses which I offered earlier in Chapter 3. Developing this account in greater detail would require a thorough study of reflexivity which has been beyond the scope of this project.

typically used with non-human causers (cf. example (414) in Section 4.1.4.3, illustrating the same property in the *-no/-to* impersonal):

- (430) a. *Gniazda buduje się wysoko.*
 nests(NONVIR).ACC build.3SG REFL high-up
 ‘One builds nests high up.’
- b. *Biegało się po podwórku i szczekało całą noc.*
 ran.3SG.NEUT REFL on farmyard and barked.3SG.NEUT whole night
 ‘One ran around the farmyard and barked all night.’
- c. *W tym miejscu przetnie się oś Y.*
 in this place will-cross.3SG REFL axis Y
 ‘In this place one will cross the Y axis.’

However, unlike in the *-no/-to* impersonal, this default interpretation can be exceptionally overridden by providing an alternative referent for the unspecified agent somewhere in the context, for example:

- (431) *Gdy się jest bocianem, gniazdo buduje się wysoko.*
 when REFL is stork(MASC).INSTR nest(NEUT).ACC builds REFL high-up
 ‘When one is a stork, one builds the nest high up.’

Finally, even more commonly than in the *-no/-to* impersonal, verbs used in the reflexive impersonal imply a willed main participant even when their lexical semantics involves an experiencer participant – otherwise the impersonal clauses are likely to be infelicitous or uninterpretable. The following examples have been adapted from Śpiewak (2000:160) (originally from Rozwadowska 1992:57):

- (432) a. *?Zdumiewa się Jana ładnym wyglądem.*
 surprises REFL John(MASC).ACC nice.MASC.INSTR appearance(MASC).INSTR
 ‘One surprises John with one’s appearance.’
- b. *?Fascynowało się profesorów swoją wiedzą.*
 fascinated.3SG.NEUT REFL professors(VIR).ACC OWN.[REFL].FEM.INSTR
 knowledge(FEM).INSTR
 ‘One fascinated the professors with one’s knowledge.’

- c. *?Szokuje się starsze pokolenie swoim zachowaniem.*
 shocks REFL older.NEUT.ACC generation(NEUT).ACC own.[REFL].MASC.INSTR
 behaviour[NEUT].INSTR
 ‘One shocks the older generation with one’s behaviour.’
- d. *?Interesuje się ludzi, gdy jest się przybyszem.*
 interests REFL people(VIR).ACC when is REFL newcomer(MASC).INSTR
 ‘One interests people when one is a newcomer.’

Thus, it can be claimed that, like the *-no/-to* impersonal, the reflexive impersonal is similarly almost fully productive and the acceptability of particular lexical classes of verbs in the reflexive impersonal depends on the likelihood of finding an appropriate context for the predication.

4.3 Non-voice-altering unspecified-agent constructions

In the following few sections of the current Chapter I will discuss briefly all the remaining Polish constructions with unspecified agents. I will focus on constructions which appear without an overt nominative subject, but which do not result from argument structure alterations. I will organise my discussion as in the table below which I repeat from (359):

(433) Constructions with unspecified agents

| | UNSPECIFIED HUMAN AGENT | UNSPECIFIED NON-HUMAN AGENT |
|--------------------------------|---|--------------------------------|
| LEXICALISED | <i>ludzie</i> ‘people’ <i>ktoś</i> ‘someone’ | <i>coś</i> ‘something’ |
| WITH CONVENTIONAL AGREEMENT | 3PL.(VIR) 2SG ... | 3SG.(NEUT) |
| GRAMMATICALISED | <i>-no/-to</i> impersonal reflexive impersonal | |

I will first present an overview of Polish constructions with unspecified *human* agents, followed by an overview of constructions with unspecified *non-human* agents.

4.3.1 Personal constructions with unspecified HUMAN agents

The two types of non-derived constructions coding unspecified *human* agents are: clauses with nominal phrases expressing the meaning of ‘unspecified human(s)’, and clauses with obligatorily dropped pronouns, in which verbal agreement is conventionally interpreted as implying a singular or plural unspecified human agent.

Examples of the former in Polish include the noun *ludzie* ‘people’ (as in: *Ludzie mogą cię obrobić za plecami* ‘People can cheat on you behind your back’) and the pronoun *ktoś* (as in: *Ktoś cię obrobił za plecami* ‘Someone cheated on you behind your back’), while examples of the latter include 3PL.(VIR) agreement (as in: *Zbudowali nam szkołę pod samym nosem* ‘[They] have built a school on our doorstep’; *Znowu podnieśli cenę paliwa* ‘[They] have raised the price of petrol again’), 2SG agreement (as in: *W tym kraju musisz mieć końskie zdrowie, żeby móc chorować* ‘In this country [you] have to be healthy as a horse to have the stamina to be sick (i.e. to be a patient)’), or even IPL (as in: *W trzeciej osobie liczby pojedynczej dodajemy końcówkę -s* ‘In the third person singular [we] add the ending -s’). Furthermore, adverbial and other predicators which are unable to carry agreement features (see Section 4.5) are commonly used to express unspecified agents (as in: *W tym kraju trzeba być zdrowym, żeby móc chorować* ‘In this country [one] has to be healthy to have the stamina to be sick’).

All of the examples above can, in principle, be used with reference to both definite and specific agents or experiencers. Their unspecified-agent or generic interpretation results from an interplay of numerous factors including the definiteness, modification and quantification of the nominals, the particular choice of verbal aspect, tense and mood, and the contextual information (including the extralinguistic context). Crucially, how-

ever, apart from the clauses with defective verbs which are inherently impersonal, all the other clauses are personal. They contain both an agent and a syntactic subject, and their unspecified-agent interpretation has resulted from conventionalising one of the usages of these constructions. Since their argument structures are basic personal, they do not need to be accounted for with recourse to the inner workings of argument structure.

4.3.2 Personal constructions with unspecified NON-HUMAN agents

The typology of non-derived constructions with unspecified *non-human* agents parallels that of the corresponding constructions with human agents. That is, in this category we find clauses with an overt indefinite pronoun *coś* expressing an ‘unspecified non-human causer’, and clauses in which the indefinite pronoun is obligatorily dropped. The latter leads to the particular verbal agreement which is conventionally interpreted as implying an unspecified non-human agent.

Like the constructions mentioned in the previous section, these ones are also personal and do not result from morpholexical operations on argument structure. However, clauses using 3SG.NEUT agreement without a nominative subject have been traditionally classified as impersonal. Two sub-types of these constructions have been commonly recognised: the so-called ‘weather constructions’ and ‘adversity impersonals’.

An application of morphosyntactic criteria will help me demonstrate that these constructions are neither subjectless nor do they have a suppressed or other null subject. Instead, I will show that they result from the omission of the indefinite pronoun referring to non-humans – in other words, they are instances of ‘*pro*_{INDEF-drop}’. The pronoun, which triggers 3SG.NEUT agreement, is omitted not necessarily to question the identity of the agent of the event denoted by the predicate, but in order to purposely leave a definite referent unspecified.

4.3.2.1 Constructions with ‘weather verbs’

Clauses describing weather phenomena in Polish commonly appear without an overt nominative subject and use verbal forms displaying ‘default’ agreement. The following are examples of such superficially impersonal sentences denoting natural or supernatural phenomena:

(434) *Pada/Świta.*
rains/dawns
‘It is raining/dawning.’

(435) *Zachmurzyło się.*
clouded-over,3SG.NEUT REFL
‘It has clouded over.’

(436) *W tym domu straszy.*
in this house spooks
‘It haunts in this house.’ (meaning: ‘This house is haunted’)

Below are examples of common verbs, usually intransitive, which appear in this type of superficially impersonal construction:

(437) Non-reflexive ‘weather verbs’ in Polish

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| a. <i>padać</i> (‘rain/snow’) | b. <i>straszyć</i> (‘haunt’) |
| <i>lać</i> (‘pour’) | <i>huczeć</i> (‘roar’) |
| <i>mżyć</i> (‘drizzle’) | <i>dudnić</i> (‘rumble’) |
| <i>siąpić</i> (‘drizzle/sprinkle’) | <i>walić</i> (‘bang’) |
| <i>wiać</i> (‘blow’) | <i>świstać/świszczeć</i> (‘whiz’) |
| <i>grzmieć</i> (‘thunder’) | |
| <i>tajać</i> (‘thaw’) | |
| <i>dnieć</i> (‘dawn’, lit. ‘become day’) | |
| <i>świtać</i> (‘dawn’) | |
| <i>zmiierzchać</i> (‘approach dusk’) | |

In addition to the above, the ‘weather construction’ can also use some verbs which usually appear in the anticausative, that is, which have the reflexive marker *się* (as in example (435) above):

(438) Reflexive ‘weather verbs’ in Polish

- | | | | |
|----|---|----|---------------------------|
| a. | <i>chmurzyć się</i> (‘cloud over’) | b. | <i>palić się</i> (‘burn’) |
| | <i>błyskać się</i> (‘lighten’) | | |
| | <i>rozpogodzić się</i> (‘clear up’) | | |
| | <i>przejaśnić się</i> (‘brighten up’) | | |
| | <i>ściemnić się</i> (‘get darker’) | | |
| | <i>ocieplić się</i> (‘get warmer’) | | |
| | <i>ochłodzić się</i> (‘get cooler’) | | |
| | <i>zmierzchać się</i> (‘approach dusk’) | | |

However, it is important to remember that in the ‘weather construction’ with a reflexive verb (such as one of the above), the reflexive marker is not required independently for the ‘impersonal’ interpretation of the construction.

It is relatively straightforward to demonstrate that verbs referring to phenomena of unknown origin (category ‘b’ in examples (437) and (438) above) can easily appear with a subject:

- (439) a. *W tym domu straszy.*
in this house spooks
‘It haunts in this house.’ (meaning: ‘This house is haunted’)
- b. *W tym domu coś straszy.*
in this house something(NEUT).NOM spooks
‘Something haunts in this house.’ (meaning: ‘This house is haunted by something/some ghost’)
- c. *W tym domu straszy duch pradziadka.*
in this house spooks ghost(MASC).NOM great-grandfather(MASC).GEN
‘This house is haunted by the ghost of the great grandfather.’

- (440) a. *Ale dudni!*
but rumbles
'How it rumbles!/What a rumble!'
- b. *Coś strasznie dudniło.*
something(NEUT).NOM terribly rumbled.3SG.NEUT
'Something rumbled/was rumbling terribly.'
- c. *To dudniły wystrzały z oddali.*
this rumbled.3PL.NONVIR shots(NONVIR).NOM from distance
'It was the shots [fired] from a distance that rumbled.'
- (441) a. *Pali się! / Pali się w kominku.*
burns REFL / burns REFL in fireplace
'Fire! / It is burning in the fireplace.'
- b. *Coś się pali.*
something(NEUT).NOM REFL burns
'Something is burning.'
- c. *Ogień/Węgiel się pali.*
fire/coal(MASC).NOM REFL burns
'The fire/Coal is burning.'

And while weather verbs (those from category 'a' in examples (437) and (438)) appearing with subjects are arguably less common, they are no less grammatical or acceptable. Most of the following examples are adapted from Wierzbicka (1966:187):

- (442) a. *Padalo. ~ Deszcz padał.*
rained.3SG.NEUT rain(MASC).NOM rained.3SG.MASC
'It was raining.'
- b. *Wiało. ~ Wiatr wiał.*
blew.3SG.NEUT wind(MASC).NOM blew.3SG.MASC
'The wind was blowing.'
- c. *Świta. ~ Poranek świta.*
dawns morning(MASC).NOM dawns
'It is dawning.'

- d. *Chmurzy się. ~ Niebo się chmurzy.*
 clouds-over REFL sky(NEUT).NOM REFL clouds-over
 ‘The sky is clouding over.’
- e. *Ochłodziło się. ~ Powietrze się ochłodziło.*
 cooled-down.3SG.NEUT REFL air(NEUT).NOM REFL cooled-down.3SG.NEUT
 ‘It has become colder.’

It is also important to note that all verbs appearing in the above sentences do not have to be used exclusively in the 3SG form. There are no morphosyntactic restrictions on any of these verbs which would prevent them from appearing in the plural, as in:

- (443) *Często padają tu ulewne deszcze.*
 often rain.3PL here torrential.NONVIR.NOM rains(NONVIR).NOM
 ‘Torrential rains often rain here.’

or in a different person:

- (444) *Głośno wiejesz, wietrze.*
 loudly blow.2SG wind(MASC).VOC
 ‘You are blowing loudly, wind.’

Wierzbicka (1966:188-189) argues that weather sentences without overt subjects imply an *unidentified* natural force. She points out that the sentences separated by hyphens in example (442) do not have identical interpretations. The ones to the right of the hyphens clearly identify the natural force or phenomenon behind the syntactic subject of the predicate, while the ones to the left of the hyphens do not specify which natural force or phenomenon is responsible for the process denoted by the predicate. She takes the lack of specification in the latter as an implication of an unidentified force and argues that this implication cannot be borne by the verb form itself, since it would also be present in the sentences to the right of the hyphens. She suggests, therefore, that the implied subject should not be seen as resulting from ellipsis (or, *pro-drop*), but that it should be analysed as a covert (‘zero’) subject. This special, null subject alternates with the overt subjects of the sentences to the right of the hyphens and triggers default agreement.

In the present work I have argued that the only two morphologically impersonal constructions in Polish are the *-no/-to* impersonal and the reflexive impersonal. I have also argued that positing null elements such as *pro_{arb}*, with a particular meaning to fit a particular construction, fails to explain why the construction always takes this particular null element. Or, looking at the same problem from a different angle, it does not explain why in the weather construction the *pro_{arb}* is interpreted as ‘some unidentified natural force or phenomenon’, while in other constructions for which it is posited it is interpreted differently.

I suggest, instead, that Polish ‘weather constructions’ are not impersonal – that is, they do not contain a suppressed, or covert, syntactic subject. I argue that they are personal constructions which do not lack a subject at any level of abstract representation of the predicate and which result from the familiar *pro*-drop phenomenon.

It seems that Wierzbicka has argued against a *pro*-drop analysis of Polish ‘weather constructions’ assuming that the dropped pronoun would have to be a personal pronoun corresponding to the nominal denoting the particular natural phenomenon, that is: *on* ‘he[MASC]’ for *deszcz* ‘rain(MASC)’ or *wiatr* ‘wind(MASC)’; *ono* ‘it[NEUT]’ for *niebo* ‘sky(NEUT)’ or *powietrze* ‘air(NEUT)’. This correspondence is based on the fact that all nominals in Polish are marked for grammatical gender. Therefore – according to Wierzbicka – if the ‘subjectless’ weather sentences were a result of ellipsis, the verb would have to display gender agreement with the dropped pronoun corresponding to the nominal denoting the natural phenomenon. Such agreement is indeed not established. However, as I will demonstrate below, the above hypothesis makes an incorrect assumption about the subject of the weather construction.

First, let me point out again that all nouns and pronouns in Polish, whether denoting or referring to people, objects, abstract notions or natural phenomena, bear the feature of grammatical gender: MASC, FEM or NEUT in the singular, and VIR (masculine human) or NONVIR (all other, i.e. non-masculine human and all non-human) in the plural. The so-

called *indefinite* pronouns *ktoś* ‘somebody’, referring to humans (HUM), and *coś* ‘something’, referring to non-humans (NON-HUM), bear the grammatical features MASC and NEUT, respectively, and these are also the gender agreements that they trigger in the verb.

The following is an example of a definite (and referential) use of an indefinite HUM pronoun *ktoś* which is employed here in order to avoid specifying the gender (and number) of the referent of the agent:

- (445) *Ten* *ktoś* *pisał,* *jakby chciał* *nas*
 this.MASC.NOM someone(MASC).NOM wrote.3SG.MASC as-if wanted.3SG.MASC us
ostrzec.
 warn.INF

‘This person was writing as if he/she wanted to warn us [of something].’

If the pronoun is dropped, as in any other familiar case of ellipsis, the resulting sentence could be:

- (446) *Pisał,* *jakby chciał* *nas ostrzec.*
 wrote.3SG.MASC as-if wanted.3SG.MASC us warn.INF

‘He/she was writing as if he/she wanted to warn us [of something].’

Although sentence (446) taken out of context is ambiguous between a gender non-specific (‘he or she’) and a gender specific (‘he’) interpretation of its agent, both sentences (445) and (446) show that **3SG.MASC agreement** is used with unspecified **human** subjects, whether overt or dropped.

By analogy, the following sentence:

- (447) *Wieje,* *jakby chciało* *powyrywać drzewa z korzeniami.*
 blows[3SG].NEUT as-if wanted.3SG.NEUT pull-out.INF trees with roots

‘[The wind] is blowing as if it wanted to pull out the trees with their roots.’

illustrates the use of **3SG.NEUT agreement** with an unspecified **non-human** subject. In the sentence above, the subject has remained unexpressed overtly, as in example (446).

If we choose to specify the number and gender of the agent of the event denoted by the verb, the number and gender agreement corresponding to the unspecified agent is replaced

by verbal inflection corresponding to the grammatical number and gender of the subject nominal. Therefore, in case of human agents, we can have, for example:

(448) *Piotr* *pisał,* *jakby chciał* *nas ostrzec.*
 Peter.MASC.NOM wrote.3SG.MASC as-if wanted.3SG.MASC us warn.INF
 ‘Peter was writing as if he wanted to warn us [of something].’

(449) *Ta* *kobieta* *pisala,* *jakby chciała* *nas*
 this.FEM.NOM woman.FEM.NOM wrote.3SG.FEM as-if wanted.3SG.FEM us
ostrzec.
 warn.INF
 ‘This woman was writing as if she wanted to warn us [of something].’

Moreover, in case of subject ellipsis, the verb retains its agreement with the ‘dropped *pro*’ denoting a human agent, because personal pronouns are specified for exactly the same features which trigger the agreement as the nominals they correspond to:

(450) (*On*) *pisał,* *jakby chciał* *nas ostrzec.*
 (he[MASC].NOM) wrote.3SG.MASC as-if wanted.3SG.MASC us warn.INF
 ‘He was writing as if he wanted to warn us [of something].’

(451) (*Ona*) *pisala,* *jakby chciała* *nas ostrzec.*
 (she[FEM].NOM) wrote.3SG.FEM as-if wanted.3SG.FEM us warn.INF
 ‘She was writing as if she wanted to warn us [of something].’

In case of overtly expressed non-human agents, the gender and number agreement also corresponds to the grammatical gender and number of the subject nominal, as was shown in sentences to the right of the hyphens in example (442). However, even though *deszcz* ‘rain(MASC)’ or *wiatr* ‘wind(MASC)’ are grammatically masculine, and *niebo* ‘sky(NEUT)’ or *powietrze* ‘air(NEUT)’ are grammatically neuter, it is not possible to replace these nominals with the personal pronouns *on* ‘he[MASC]’ or *ono* ‘it[NEUT]’ unless we personify the natural phenomena in question.

The unacceptability – or, more accurately, the infelicity – of sentences such as:

- (452) a. #*On* *padał.*
 he[MASC].NOM rained.3SG.MASC
 ‘It [he=the rain] was raining.’
- b. #*Ono* *się ochłodziło.*
 it[NEUT].NOM REFL cooled-down.3SG.NEUT
 ‘It [=the air] has become colder.’

follows from the fact that, in addition to being specified for number and gender, personal pronouns in Polish conventionally denote human (HUM) agents, while verbs such as ‘rain’, ‘snow’ or ‘cloud over’ imply a non-human (NON-HUM) ‘agent’ or cause.

Since weather verbs in Polish are not normally used with personal pronouns, it is, therefore, not plausible to suggest that weather constructions without an overt subject result from personal pronoun ellipsis. It is, however, possible to see them as resulting from the ellipsis of the indefinite pronoun *coś* ‘something’. The argumentation in support of this analysis can be summarised as follows:

- (a) both *pisać* ‘write’ and *padać* ‘rain’ take (at least) one argument;
- (b) the semantic requirement, or implication, regarding this (first) argument is that it is normally HUM in the case of *pisać* ‘write’, and NON-HUM in the case of *padać* ‘rain’;
- (c) the argument is normally mapped onto the grammatical function of the subject;
- (d) in the overt syntax, the subject is typically expressed in a nominal phrase containing a noun or pronoun which triggers verbal agreement;
- (e) the number and gender marking on the verb corresponds to the grammatical gender and number of the subject nominal whether the subject is present overtly or not – that is, in case of subject ellipsis (*pro-drop*), the particular verbal agreement is retained⁸;

⁸For an LFG account of the *pro-drop* phenomenon in general, see Bresnan 2001:60,144ff.

(f) to achieve the ‘unspecified agent’ interpretation (which is a special case of (d) above), the subject can be expressed with the ‘indefinite’ HUM pronoun *ktoś* ‘somebody’, which triggers 3SG.MASC agreement, or the ‘indefinite’ NON-HUM pronoun *coś* ‘something’, which triggers 3SG.NEUT agreement; as in (e) above, in case of subject ellipsis (*pro*_{INDEF-drop}), the original verbal agreement is retained.

One final remark which needs to be made about the use of the ‘indefinite’ pronouns *ktoś* ‘somebody’ and *coś* ‘something’ regards the likelihood of their occurrence with the two types of verbs exemplified above. The justification for the overt use of the indefinite HUM pronoun with verbs selecting a human agent lies in the very fact that there are potentially indefinitely many referents for such an agent. This contrasts with verbs referring to natural and supernatural phenomena which usually have only one referent: the thing which ‘rains’ (*pada*) is usually ‘rain’ (*deszcz*), and the thing which ‘blows’ (*wieje*) is usually ‘wind’ (*wiatr*). It is, therefore, rather unusual to question the ‘identity’ of the ‘agents’ of those events by using the overt ‘indefinite’ pronoun with weather verbs. By omitting this pronoun, the identity of the ‘agent’ is not questioned, but left unspecified, since it is in most cases understood anyway. One of the conventional uses of the ‘indefinite’ pronouns, both HUM and NON-HUM, is with a *definite* referent whom/which we choose not to specify.

To sum up, Polish constructions with the so-called weather verbs or other, usually intransitive, verbs denoting natural or supernatural phenomena, are not truly impersonal: they are neither subjectless, nor lack a specification for person. They are instances of the *pro*-drop phenomenon, with an indefinite pronoun (*pro*_{INDEF}) dropped in an analogous way to the familiar definite personal pronoun (*pro*). Just as the ellipsis of the personal pronoun does not affect the original agreement between that pronoun and the verb, similarly the ellipsis of the indefinite pronoun does not affect the original agreement between the indefinite pronoun and the verb.

4.3.2.2 'Adversity impersonals'

The so-called 'adversity impersonals'⁹ can be exemplified in Polish by the following sentences:

- (453) a. *Wyrzuciło łódkę na brzeg.*
threw-out.3SG.NEUT boat(FEM).ACC on shore
'The boat got thrown out to the shore.'
- b. *Odrzuciło go w bok.*
threw-off.3SG.NEUT him.ACC to side
'He got thrown off to the side.'
- c. *Zasypało drogę.*
covered.3SG.NEUT road(FEM).ACC
'The road got covered [with sand/snow].'

They are similar to weather constructions in that they do not contain an overt subject, and their agent is always understood as an unspecified non-human force or phenomenon. They are different from weather constructions in that they usually appear with a direct object in the accusative case, as in all the sentences above. Moreover, they may also include another nominal in the instrumental case which is commonly interpreted as denoting the 'cause' (the following examples have been adapted from Wierzbicka 1966, and from Siewierska 1988 who quotes from Doros 1975):

- (454) a. *Drogę zasypało śniegiem.*
road(FEM).ACC covered.3SG.NEUT snow(MASC).INSTR
'The road got covered with snow.'
- b. *Las zasnuło mgłą.*
forest(MASC).ACC enveiled.3SG.NEUT fog(FEM).INSTR
'The forest got enveiled with fog.'

⁹Since they do not have to have an 'adversity' meaning, they have also been referred to as 'detransitive impersonals' by Babby (1998). I would, however, prefer to reserve the term 'detransitive' to refer to constructions which result from valency-reducing morpholexical (morphosyntactic or morphosemantic) operations. In this section I argue that adversity impersonals do not belong to such constructions.

- c. *Biło deszczem w twarz.*
 beat.3SG.NEUT rain(MASC).INSTR into face
 ‘The rain beat [one/you] in the face.’
- d. *Pachniało sianem.*
 emitted-fragrance.3SG.NEUT hay(NEUT).INSTR
 ‘[It] was fragrant with hay./One could smell hay.’

Like weather constructions, adversity impersonals are also frequently taken to contain a null subject and they are, thus, treated as impersonal¹⁰. Specifically it is the existence of this ‘zero’ subject which is taken to trigger ‘default’ 3SG.NEUT agreement and impose on the construction an ‘inherent inanimate force’ interpretation (e.g. Wierzbicka 1966, Włodarczyk 1993, for Polish; or Mel’čuk 1979 for a cognate Russian construction).

However, I argue that like weather constructions, Polish adversity impersonals are also best accounted for in terms of the ellipsis of the indefinite NON-HUM pronoun, which eschews the need to resort to a null subject. Like weather constructions, they seem to turn happily into personal sentences and accept an overt specification of the ‘agent’ (an underlying subject, different from the referent of the instrumental nominal if there is one), for example:

- (455) a. *Huragan zasypał drogę śniegiem.*
 storm(MASC).NOM covered.3SG.MASC road(FEM).ACC snow(MASC).INSTR
 ‘The storm covered the road with snow.’
- b. *Wichura biła deszczem w twarz.*
 strong-wind(FEM).NOM beat.3SG.FEM rain(MASC).INSTR into face
 ‘The strong wind beat [one/you] with rain in the face.’

(sentence (a) is repeated from example (206) in Chapter 2, Section 2.3.1.7, which discussed causers manipulating their dependants).

Furthermore, predicates which make adversity impersonals are similarly infelicitous with an overt expression of a personal gender-marked pronoun corresponding to the nom-

¹⁰Among those who treat ‘adversity impersonals’ as impersonal active clauses with covert inanimate subjects Siewierska (1988:277) mentions Doros 1975, Mel’čuk 1979, and Whalen 1978.

inal expressing an inanimate agent:

- (456) a. #*On zasypał drogę śniegiem.*
he[MASC].NOM covered.3SG.MASC road(FEM).ACC snow(MASC).INSTR
'It [he=the storm] covered the road with snow.'
- b. #*Ona biła deszczem w twarz.*
she[FEM].NOM beat.3SG.FEM rain(MASC).INSTR into face
'It [she=the strong wind] beat [one/you] with rain in the face.'

Finally, as in weather constructions, the fact that the interpretation of the unspecified agent of adversity impersonals is that of a non-human (usually inanimate) force follows directly from the inflectional properties – and, thus, the interpretation – of the dropped indefinite NON-HUM pronoun.

One of the alternative analyses of Polish adversity impersonals have treated the instrumental nominal appearing in it as its underlying subject (cf. Siewierska 1988:275ff, and references therein). Arguments for this hypothesis come from the fact that there exist corresponding clauses in which the same nominal is a syntactic subject marked for nominative. Thus, we get the following sentences corresponding to (454):

- (457) a. *Śnieg zasypał drogę.*
snow(MASC).NOM covered.3SG.MASC road(FEM).ACC
'Snow has covered the road.'
- b. *Mgła zasnęła las.*
fog(FEM).NOM enveiled.3SG.FEM forest(MASC).ACC
'Fog enveiled the forest.'
- c. *Deszcz bił w twarz.*
rain(MASC).NOM beat.3SG.MASC into face
'The rain beat [one/you] in the face.'
- d. *Siano pachniało.*
hay(NEUT).NOM emitted-fragrance.3SG.NEUT
'The hay was fragrant.'

(all the examples above are adapted from Wierzbicka 1966:192; sentence (a) is repeated from example (211) in Chapter 2, Section 2.3.1.7 discussing locatum arguments as causers).

As remarked by Siewierska (1988:276), sentences such as (454a,b), which contain both an accusative nominal and an instrumental one, ‘bear a striking resemblance to the passive’, and have been classified as passive by some linguists. Neither the accusative nor the instrumental nominals in these sentences function as syntactic subjects; however, ‘if these clauses are seen to be derived from underlying actives [such as (457a,b), respectively], under the demotional analysis of the passive they would qualify as passive’ (ibid.).

A passive analysis of these sentences, however, leads to several problems. First, it leaves unexplained the fact that sentences such as (453a,b) and (454a,b), if classified as passive, contain a structural accusative without a structural nominative. Any potential explanation of this problem would be further complicated by the fact that there exist legitimate passives of these sentences, which display regular passive morphology and in which the underlying object is the syntactic subject:

- (458) a. *Łódka* *została* *wyrzucona* *na brzeg.*
 boat(FEM).NOM became.3SG.FEM throw-out.PART.SG.FEM on shore
 ‘The boat was thrown out to the shore.’
- b. *Piotr* *został* *odrzucony* *w bok.*
 Peter(MASC).NOM became.3SG.MASC throw-off.PART.SG.MASC to side
 ‘Peter got thrown off to the side.’
- c. *Droga* *została/była* *zasypana* *śniegiem.*
 road(FEM).NOM became/was.3SG.FEM cover.PART.SG.FEM snow(MASC).INSTR
 ‘The road got/was covered with snow.’
- d. *Las* *został/był* *zasnuty* *mgłą.*
 forest(MASC).NOM became/was.3SG.MASC enveil.PART.SG.MASC fog(FEM).INSTR
 ‘The forest got/was enveiled in fog.’

Moreover, for all these sentences, it is possible to specify an ‘agent’ of the event, real or metaphorical, both in the passive:

- (459) a. *Łódka została wyrzucona na brzeg przez
boat(FEM).NOM became.3SG.FEM throw-out.PART.SG.FEM on shore by
wzburzone morze /przez fale.
rough sea /by waves*
'The boat was thrown out to the shore by the rough sea/by the waves.'
- b. *Piotr został odrzucony w bok przez siłę
Peter(MASC).NOM became.3SG.MASC throw-off.PART.SG.MASC to side by force
odśrodkową.
centrifugal*
'Peter got thrown off to the side by the centrifugal force.'
- c. *Droga została całkowicie zasypana
road(FEM).NOM became.3SG.FEM totally cover.PART.SG.FEM
śniegiem przez najsilniejszy huragan w tym dziesięcioleciu.
snow(MASC).INSTR by strongest storm in this decade*
'The road got covered with snow by the fiercest storm in the last ten years.'
- d. *Las został zasnuty mgłą jakby
forest(MASC).NOM became.3SG.MASC enveil.PART.SG.MASC fog(FEM).INSTR as-if
przez niewidzialną rękę.
by invisible hand*
'The forest got enveiled in fog as if by an invisible hand.'

and in the active:

- (460) a. *Fale wyrzuciły łódkę na brzeg.
waves(NONVIR).NOM threw-out.3PL.NONVIR boat(FEM).ACC on shore*
'The waves threw the boat out to the shore.'
- b. *Siła odśrodkowa odrzuciła go w bok.
force(FEM).NOM centrifugal.FEM.NOM threw-off.3SG.FEM him.ACC to side*
'The centrifugal force threw him off to the side.'
- c. *Huragan zasypał drogę śniegiem.
storm(MASC).NOM covered.3SG.MASC road(FEM).ACC snow(MASC).INSTR*
'The storm covered the road with snow.'
- d. *Niewidzialna ręka zasnuła las
invisible.FEM.NOM hand(FEM).NOM enveiled.3SG.FEM forest(MASC).ACC*

mgłą.
 fog(FEM).INSTR
 ‘An invisible hand enveiled the forest with fog.’

Regardless of the plausibility of positing ‘agents’ of events denoted by the above predicates, it is clear that there is nothing morphologically or syntactically wrong with an overt expression of the syntactic subject in the ostensibly ‘impersonal’ adversity constructions. Furthermore, the personal passive and personal active examples given above do not only specify the forces behind the various events, but they also portray them as ‘agents’ who use the entities denoted by the instrumental nominals as their semantic instruments.

A passive analysis of Polish adversity impersonals also fails to explain why the entity expressed in the instrumental case in this construction may not, despite the absence of a nominal subject, appear in the prepositional ‘by’-phrase characteristic of passive agents:

- (461) a. **Zasypało drogę przez śnieg.*
 covered.3SG.NEUT road(FEM).ACC by snow
 ‘The road got covered by snow.’
- b. **Las zasnulo przez mgłą.*
 forest(MASC).ACC enveiled.3SG.NEUT by fog
 ‘The forest got enveiled by fog.’
- c. **Bilo w twarz przez deszcz.*
 beat.3SG.NEUT into face by rain
 ‘There was beating in the face by rain.’

And, finally, in the passive construction an oblique passive agent can normally co-occur with an expression of its semantic instrument. If the instrumental nominal in the adversity impersonal was indeed a passive agent, it could be expected to co-occur with semantic instruments. Such a combination of arguments is, however, impossible unless the two instrumental nominals are coordinated (the following examples are also adapted from Wierzbicka 1966:192, though they were used by her to support different argumentation):

- (462) a. **Las zasnuło mgłą sinym tumanem.*
 forest(MASC).ACC enveiled.3SG.NEUT fog(FEM).INSTR grey.MASC.INSTR
 cloud(MASC).INSTR
 ‘The forest got enveiled with fog with a grey cloud.’
- b. **Bilo deszczem w twarz strumieniami.*
 beat.3SG.NEUT rain(MASC).INSTR into face streams(NONVIR).INSTR
 ‘[One/you] got beaten in the face with rain with streams.’
- c. **Pachniało sianem słońcem.*
 emitted-fragrance.3SG.NEUT hay(NEUT).INSTR sun(NEUT).INSTR
 ‘[It] was fragrant with hay with sun.’

Apart from expressing natural entities or phenomena, instrumental nominals in Polish adversity impersonals can also denote some man-made objects¹¹, as in the following examples (adapted from Wierzbicka 1966:193):

- (463) a. **Zraniło go odłamkiem.*
 wounded.3SG.NEUT him.ACC shell-splinter(MASC).INSTR
 ‘He got wounded by a shell splinter.’
- b. **Poraziło go prądem.*
 struck.3SG.NEUT him.ACC electric-current(MASC).INSTR
 ‘He got an electric shock.’

Because of the occurrence of such instrumentals, proponents of treating the instrumental nominals in adversity impersonals as agents suggest that the interpretation of the ‘unspecified agent’ in this construction should be generalised to an ‘inanimate agent’ which is not necessarily ‘natural’, as opposed to a ‘natural force’ which would exclude man-made objects.

However, an analysis like this again fails to recognise that adversity impersonals have a *syntactic* subject distinct from the instrumental argument. The subject is an omitted

¹¹According to Siewierska (1988:276), who follows Doros (1975:68), in Russian adversity impersonals the instrumental nominals can also denote various man-made *machines* or *instruments*. This is, in general, unavailable in Polish. For a discussion of Russian adversity impersonals see also Babby 1994.

indefinite NON-HUM pronoun which triggers appropriate (i.e. 3SG.NEUT) agreement in the verb and carries the interpretation of an *unspecified* agent.

The overt specification of the agent in the form of a nominal phrase requires that the verb adjusts its agreement to match the inflectional properties of the nominal subject. I have shown in numerous examples so far that these nominal subjects can be marked for any gender or number, and that the verbs always adjust their agreement to match the properties of their subjects. This means that none of the verbs used in the weather construction or the adversity impersonal construction are inherently (lexically) impersonal. Furthermore, even though some verbs which are used in these constructions typically occur with subjects expressing natural phenomena or inanimate agents, some others may, in fact, allow a wider range of agents as their subjects.

The following are examples of ‘personalised’ adversity constructions with inanimate man-made (non-natural) entities in subject positions (examples in (464) have, again, been adapted from Wierzbicka 1966:193). It may be argued that these entities have to be personified to be allowed to denote agents:

- (464) a. *Pocisk* *armatni* *zranił* *go*
 missile(MASC).NOM of-cannon.MASC.NOM wounded.3SG.MASC him.ACC
odłamkiem.
 shell-splinter(MASC).INSTR
 ‘A cannon missile wounded him with a shell splinter.’
- b. *Suszarka* *elektryczna* *poraziła* *go*
 hair-dryer(FEM).NOM electric.FEM.NOM struck.3SG.FEM him.ACC
prądem.
 electric-current(MASC).INSTR
 ‘He got an electric shock from the hair dryer.’

And the following are examples of ‘personalised’ adversity constructions with human agents (rather than ‘natural forces’) as overt subjects:

- (465) a. *To organizatorzy rajdu zasypali drogę*
 this-is organisers(VIR).NOM rally(MASC).GEN covered.3PL.VIR road(FEM).ACC
sztucznym śniegiem.
 artificial.MASC.INSTR snow(MASC).INSTR
 ‘It was the organisers of the rally who covered the road with artificial snow.’
- b. *Wtedy ten dupek poraził Piotra*
 then this.MASC.NOM arse-hole(MASC).NOM struck.3SG.MASC Peter(MASC).ACC
prądem.
 electric-current(MASC).INSTR
 ‘Then this arse-hole treated Peter with electric current.’

In sentences such as the above the status of the instrumental nominals is not questionable: they are semantic instruments of human or (personified) non-human agents. When these sentences are passivised, their agents are expressed in a prepositional phrase and the semantic instruments retain their instrumental marking (this issue was already discussed in more detail in Chapter 2, Section 2.3.1).

When a non-human semantic instrument is coreferential with the agent, as in (457) above, or the following sentences (where (a) and (b) are repeated from example (203)):

- (466) a. *Mgła zasnukała las (sinym*
 fog(FEM).NOM enveiled.3SG.FEM forest(MASC).ACC grey.MASC.INSTR
tumanem).
 cloud(MASC).INSTR
 ‘Fog covered the forest (with a grey cloud).’
- b. *Deszcz bił w twarz (strumieniami).*
 rain(MASC).NOM beat.3SG.MASC into face(FEM).ACC streams(NONVIR).INSTR
 ‘The (torrents of) rain beat one in the face.’
- c. *Siano pachniało (słońcem).*
 hay(NEUT).NOM emitted-fragrance.3SG.NEUT sun(NEUT).INSTR
 ‘The hay was fragrant (with sun).’

the construction can be represented as in (repeated from (194)):

(467) **active with instrument causer (= ‘demi-active’)**

| | | |
|-------|-----|---------------------|
| x_i | y | z_i |
| | | |
| ⟨arg | arg | (arg)⟩ |
| | | |
| SUBJ | OBJ | (OBL _θ) |

and it is possible to passivise the sentences by demoting their instrument-causer subject to an oblique (compare the following with the ungrammatical adversity impersonals in example (461) above):

- (468) a. *Droga* *została* *zasypana* *przez śnieg.*
road(FEM).NOM became.3SG.FEM cover.PART.SG.FEM by snow
‘The road got covered by snow.’
- b. *Las* *został* *zasnuty* *przez mgłę.*
forest(MASC).NOM became.3SG.MASC enveil.PART.SG.MASC by fog
‘The forest got enveiled by fog.’
- c. *Twarz* *była* *bita* *przez deszcz.*
face(FEM).NOM was.3SG.FEM beat.PART.SG.FEM by rain
‘The face was beaten by rain.’

Polish personal passives with instrumental nominals provide one more argument in support of the hypothesis that instrumental nominals in adversity impersonals are underlying instruments rather than agents. In Polish passives, human agents (or animate agents or entities somehow associated with humans such as institutions or machines) occur exclusively in a prepositional phrase¹², as in (example adapted from Siewierska 1988:252):

¹²I have modelled this statement, as well as the two statements which follow it, after Siewierska (1988:252), who in turn cites from Saloni (1976:97-100). However, Siewierska formulates it in the following way: ‘Humans, or animates or entities somehow associated with humans such as institutions or machines tend to occur [in the passive] only in a prepositional phrase [i.e. not in the instrumental case]’. That this formulation is not correct is obvious even to Siewierska, as she herself immediately points out that there are counterexamples to this generalisation. As I illustrated earlier in Chapter 2 Section 2.3.1.7, humans (etc.) appear unproblematically marked for instrumental, both in the active and in the passive, if they are dependants of other causers

- (469) *Piec* *został* *naprawiony* *przez fachowca*
 stove(MASC).NOM became.3SG.MASC repair.PART.SG.MASC by expert
 /**fachowcem*.
 /expert(MASC).INSTR
 ‘The stove was repaired by an expert.’

Therefore, what is expressed in the instrumental case in the passive must be a semantic instrument. It fulfills the same instrumental role in the passive (example adapted from Siewierska *ibid.*):

- (470) *Piotr* *został* *oślepiiony* *światłami*
 Peter(MASC).NOM became.3SG.MASC blind.PART.SG.MASC lights(NONVIR).INSTR
 (*przez kierowcę nadjeżdżającego z naprzeciwka*).
 by driver approaching from opposite
 ‘Peter was blinded by car lights (by the driver who was coming towards him).’

as in the corresponding active:

- (471) *Kierowca* *nadjeżdżający* *z naprzeciwka* *oślepił*
 driver(MASC).NOM approaching.MASC.NOM from opposite blinded.3SG.MASC
Piotra *światłami*.
 Peter(MASC).ACC lights(NONVIR).INSTR
 ‘The driver who was coming from the opposite direction blinded Peter with his car lights.’

Polish passives with an instrumental nominal and no prepositional agent, such as (sentence (b) has also been adapted from Siewierska *ibid.*):

- (472) a. *Piotr* *został* *oślepiiony* *światłami*.
 Peter(MASC).NOM became.3SG.MASC blind.PART.SG.MASC lights(NONVIR).INSTR
 ‘Peter was blinded by car lights.’
 b. *Żołnierz* *został* *trafiony* *kulą*.
 soldier(MASC).NOM became.3SG.MASC hit.PART.SG.MASC bullet(FEM).INSTR
 ‘The soldier was shot by a bullet.’

(human or non-human) who/which manipulate them. Therefore, it is more accurate to say that it is *human agents* (not just humans as participants) which occur in the passive exclusively in a prepositional phrase.

are best analysed as canonical passives with an omitted agent phrase and an overt semantic instrument (cf. the discussion of this issue in Chapter 2, Section 2.3.1). By analogy, Polish adversity impersonals with instrumental nominals are best analysed as having an unspecified agent and an overt semantic instrument. Identification of the semantic roles of the agent and the instrument in the predicate ($x_i z_i$) may, however, lead to the alternative mapping of the instrument onto the subject function and result in a personal active construction which I referred to earlier as ‘demi-active’.

4.3.2.3 Other uses of *pro*[INDEF]-drop

One other type of Slavonic sentence which has frequently been regarded as impersonal (e.g. Franks 1995:70ff; Babby 1998:6ff; Nagórko 1998:266; Saloni & Świdziński 1998:150; Śpiewak 2000:169) uses verbs from a certain class denoting some physical or psychological states, as in:

- (473) *Mdli/Dusi/Skręca/Ciągnie/Boli/Swędzi/Kłuje* *mnie.*
 nauseates/chokes/convulses/pulls/aches/itches/stabs me.ACC
 ‘[Something] makes me nauseous/choke/convulse/contract my muscles/painful/itch/gives me shooting pains.’

All of these verbs appear with an experiencer marked for accusative case and frequently collocate with a particular oblique expression of the cause, for example:

- (474) a. *Mdli/Dusi/Skręca* *mnie od tego zapachu.*
 nauseates/chokes/convulses me.ACC from this smell
 ‘This smell makes me nauseous/choke/convulse.’
 b. *Mdli/Dusi/Skręca* *mnie z bólu/zazdrości.*
 nauseates/chokes/convulses me.ACC from pain/envy
 ‘The pain/envy makes me nauseous/choke/convulse.’

Contrary to the common assumption that these predicates do not accept a nominative subject, I argue that in modern Polish their morphosyntax does not actually disallow it. Consider the following:

- (475) a. *Wszystkie zapachy* *mnie mdliły.* *Nawet*
 all smells(NONVIR).NOM me.ACC nauseated.3PL.NONVIR even
zapach *kawy* *mnie mdlił.*
 smell(MASC).NOM coffee(FEM).GEN me.ACC nauseated.3SG.MASC
 ‘All smells made me nauseous. Even the smell of coffee made me nauseous.’
- b. *Ból* *skręcał* *mnie niemiłosiernie.*
 pain(MASC).NOM convulsed.3SG.MASC me.ACC mercilessly
 ‘The pain convulsed me mercilessly.’
- c. *Bolała/Swędziąca* *mnie głowa.*
 ached/itched.3SG.FEM me.ACC head(FEM).NOM
 ‘My head ached/itched.’
- d. *Coś* *mnie dusi.* / *Dusiły* *mnie*
 something(NEUT).NOM me.ACC chokes choked.3PL.NONVIR me.ACC
te *zapachy.*
 these.NONVIR.NOM smells(NONVIR).NOM
 ‘Something makes me choke. / Those smells made me choke.’

The examples above show additionally that, in fact, all the verbs from this class behave like ordinary personal verbs, taking on any tense marking and whatever person, number or gender marking is required to match the subject.

Without going into any more details of analysis, I take it, therefore, that these verbs are not impersonal, but that they belong to a larger class of object-experiencer predicates (such as ‘frighten’ or ‘surprise’) and that their argument structure is basically like that of any other transitive (two-place) predicates. In the apparently subjectless variants of sentences with these verbs, such as sentences in (473) and (474), the syntactic subject is a dropped ‘indefinite’ NON-HUM pronoun *coś* ‘something’. That is, sentences in (473) and (474) are yet another instance of *pro*_{INDEF}-drop. The fact that some of these verbs do not passivise (cf. the Polish ungrammatical **jestem bolony/mdłony przez...* ‘I am ached/nauseated by...’) can probably be accounted for by identifying these particular verbs as unaccusative.

Finally, in a similar vein, Polish sentences denoting physical or psychological states such as (example from Siewierska 1988:275):

- (476) *Zaszumiato mu w uszach.*
 hummed.3SG.NEUT him.DAT in ears
 ‘There was a buzzing in his ears.’

will be regarded here as personal and as an instance of *pro*_{INDEF}-drop, despite the fact that, as phrased by Siewierska, ‘the general consensus is that [clauses such as (476)] are active *impersonal* clauses’ (ibid., my emphasis). In the present work they are regarded as analogous to the ‘adversity impersonals’ discussed in the previous section. Consider, for example, their ability to accept nominative subjects: *coś zaszumiato* ‘something(NEUT).NOM hummed.3SG.NEUT’, *las zaszumiął* ‘the forest(MASC).NOM rustled.3SG.MASC’.

4.4 Inherently impersonal predicates

In order to complete my account of impersonal phenomena in Polish, I would now like to mention Polish nominativeless clauses which do not result from any derivation, and which do not contain elements omitted only from surface syntax. I argue that predicates which make these clauses are inherently subjectless – that is, their argument structures inherently lack the first argument. As before, I have been able to establish their status using morphosyntactic criteria.

The class of Polish inherently impersonal predicates is very small and comprises only a few defective (non-inflecting) verbs such as *widać* ‘see.[NON-PERSONAL]’, *słychać* ‘hear.[NON-PERSONAL]’, *czuć* ‘feel.[NON-PERSONAL]’, *stać* ‘afford.[NON-PERSONAL]’, *znać* ‘know.[NON-PERSONAL]’. The form of these verbs resembles the infinitive, but their distribution and morphosyntactic behaviour are not like those of infinitives – they function in the clause as main verbs, resembling personal predicates. Here are examples of typical clauses with these verbs:

- (477) a. *Słychać ją / jakieś mruczenie.*
 hear.[NON-PERSONAL] her.ACC some.NEUT.ACC murmuring(NEUT).ACC
 ‘One can hear her/some murmuring.’

- b. *Było* *widac* *łąkę.*
 was.3SG.NEUT see.[NON-PERSONAL] meadow(FEM).ACC
 ‘One could see a/the meadow.’
- c. *Czuć,* *że się wygina.*
 feel.[NON-PERSONAL] that REFL bends
 ‘One can feel that it is bending.’

As exemplified in the sentences above, all these verbs take complements in the form of an accusative noun/pronoun, a gerund or a finite clause.

If a sentence with a defective verb is meant to refer to the present, the verb may be used with or without the present auxiliary (*jest* ‘is’). In the past, as in sentence (b) above, all these verbs require the past auxiliary (*było* ‘was.3SG.NEUT’) which carries tense marking.

The fact that these predicates are truly impersonal does not seem to be contested in any sources since, as phrased by Fisiak et al. (1978:24), ‘there is no reconstructable noun phrase which can be regarded as being the deleted subject of sentences [with these predicates]’ (see also Nagórko (1998:267) for a similar remark).

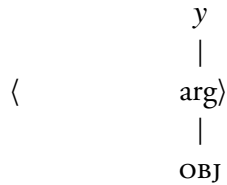
I suggest that impersonal predicates formed with defective verbs have lexically impersonal argument structures which, in the intransitive variants, may be represented simply as empty argument frames with no semantic alignment:

(478) **inherently impersonal predicate**

⟨ ⟩

while in the transitive variant they additionally include an underlying object argument (apart from the unoccupied first argument position):

(479) **inherently impersonal predicate with an object**



As will be argued in Chapter 5, in an argument structure like (479) it is normally expected that the first argument of the predicate is assigned the grammatical function of the subject (as in the canonical anticausative, for example). However, in defective verbs the underlying object is preserved as a syntactic object, which makes these verbs somewhat similar to morpholexical impersonals.

In contrast with morpholexical impersonals, defective verbs do not have a covert syntactic subject which would participate in syntactic control and reflexive binding, nor do they have an active agent which would control agent-oriented adverbials. On the other hand, they use the same lexical roots as the corresponding personal verbs which have agents/experiencers: *słyszeć* ‘hear’, *widzieć* ‘see’, *czuć* ‘feel’, etc. For this reason, despite being ‘impersonal’ at every level of argument structure which I have posited for the predicate (i.e. despite being subjectless, argument-less, and agentless), they are used exclusively in situations which involve human participants as agents/experiencers and they are interpreted accordingly. This might be the reason why they are exceptionally allowed to preserve their structural objects. There does not seem to be any other motivation for such a mapping, and the construction does not result from a productive derivational rule. On the contrary, the class of defective verbs in Polish is indeed very small and their morphosyntactic behaviour seems to be unusual.

4.5 Addendum I: predicative adverbial constructions

In the first ‘addendum’ to this Chapter I would like to discuss predicates in Polish which are formed with adverbs (or, non-agreeing predicative adjectives), nouns, and some other

verb-like (but non-personal) elements as predicators. These are illustrated below in (480), (481) and (482), respectively:

- (480) a. *Miło z tobą podróżować.*
 nicely with you travel.INF
 ‘It is nice travelling with you.’
- b. *Było ciężko wszystkim.*
 was.3SG.NEUT heavily all.VIR.DAT
 ‘It was hard for everyone.’
- (481) a. *Wstyd mu.*
 shame(MASC).NOM him.DAT
 ‘He is embarrassed.’
- b. *Czas jechać.*
 time(MASC).NOM leave.INF
 ‘It’s time to leave.’
- (482) a. *Mozna to wziąć.*
 be-possible.[NON-PERSONAL] this.NEUT.ACC take.INF
 ‘It is all-right to take it.’
- b. *Należy pracować.*
 be-necessary.[NON-PERSONAL] work.INF
 ‘It is necessary to work.’

Like the defective verbs discussed in the previous section, all of the predicates exemplified above are commonly assumed to be inherently impersonal – that is, lacking a syntactic subject (e.g. Fisiak et al. 1978:24; Nagórko 1998:267; Śpiewak 2000:163,169).

Referring to the predicative elements such as the ones in (482) as ‘modal verbs’ Śpiewak (2000:163) states that they appear only in ‘lexically marked’ nominativeless constructions and ‘do not appear in a non-NLC [Nominativeless Construction] pattern’. Assuming that the nominatively marked nominals in (481) are not subjects but predicators (though see discussion further below), indeed none of the predicators in examples above accepts nomi-

natively marked arguments (some starred examples are given below). This holds regardless of whether they are used ‘intransitively’, as in:

- (483) (**Pomieszczenie*) *było* *ciemno/zimno/pięknie*.
 (room(NEUT).NOM) was.3SG.NEUT dark-ly/cold-ly/beautiful-ly
 ‘(The room) it was dark/cold/beautiful [there].’
- (484) a. *Ale* *było* *wstyd*.
 INTERJECT was.3SG.NEUT shame(MASC).NOM
 ‘What a shame it was.’
- b. (**Piotr/*Dziecko*) *wstyd* *mu*.
 (Peter(MASC).NOM/child(NEUT).NOM) shame(MASC).NOM him.DAT
 ‘(Peter/The child) he is embarrassed.’

or ‘transitively’ with an additional argument expressed in an infinitival clause or other clause introduced by a complementiser:

- (485) a. *Dobrze/Miło/Okropnie/Łatwo/Ciężko/Wygodnie* *było* *pracować*.
 well/nice-ly/terribl-y/easi-ly/hard-ly/comfortabl-y was.3SG.NEUT work.INF
 ‘It was good/nice/terrible/easy/hard/comfortable to work.’
- b. (**Wiadomość* *była*) *niedobrze, że Piotr się zakochał*.
 (message(FEM).NOM was.3SG.FEM) not-well that Peter REFL fell-in-love
 ‘(The message was) it is not good that Peter has fallen in love.’
- (486) a. (**Nauczyciel*) *wstyd* *tak robić*.
 (teacher(MASC).NOM) shame(MASC).NOM so do.INF
 ‘(A teacher) it is a shame to do such a thing.’
- b. *Czas* *jechać*.
 time(MASC).NOM leave.INF
 ‘It’s time to leave.’
- c. *Strach* *coś* *powiedzieć*.
 fear(MASC).NOM something(NEUT).ACC say.INF
 ‘One is too afraid to say anything.’
- d. *Szkoda, że Piotr się zakochał*.
 pity(FEM).NOM that Peter REFL fell-in-love

‘It’s a pity that Peter has fallen in love.’

- (487) a. *Można/Wypada/Należy/Trzeba/Warto/Wolno*
be-possible/be-fitting/be-required/be-necessary/be-worth/be-allowed.[NON-PERSONAL]
(**emeryci*) *pracować.*
(old-age-pensioners(VIR).NOM) work.INF
‘(Old age pensioners) it is possible/fitting/required/necessary/worthwhile/allowed
to work.’
- b. *Wiadomo,* *że Piotr się zakochał.*
be-known.[NON-PERSONAL] that Peter REFL fell-in-love
‘It’s obvious that Peter has fallen in love.’
- c. *Nie wypada,* *żeby ksiądz*
NEG be-fitting.[NON-PERSONAL] COMPL.[3SG] priest(MASC).NOM
klął.
swear.-Ł-PART.SG.MASC
‘It is not fitting for a priest to swear.’

In my view, the fact that none of these predicators can co-occur with nominative subjects does not follow from the fact that the predicates are inherently impersonal. Instead, I suggest that they do have lexical and syntactic subjects, but that their subjects are non-agreeing and they might be dropped. Here is an outline of my argumentation in support of this hypothesis.

I suggest that all the clauses exemplified above are instances of the so-called subject-complement construction in Polish¹³. When it has an agreeing subject (such as a nominal phrase, a pronoun, or a gerund), the subject-complement construction is made up of a copula (the inflecting verb) and a predicator (e.g. an adjective). Examples of the predicative adjectival construction are:

¹³This is a copular construction with a nominal or an adjectival/adverbial predicate. When the predicator is adjectival or adverbial (not nominal), the name ‘subject-complement’ may be misleading by suggesting that the clause contains a noun phrase which is a complement of the verb, i.e. another argument, which is not the case in adjectival/adverbial predicative constructions.

- (488) a. *Piotr* *jest dobry.*
 Peter(MASC).NOM is good.MASC.NOM
 ‘Peter is good.’
- b. *Śpiewanie* *jest przyjemne.*
 singing(NEUT).NOM is pleasant.NEUT.NOM
 ‘Singing is pleasant.’

The gender, number and case marking of the adjectives functioning as predicators match those of the subjects, in the way analogous to the agreement found in phrases consisting of nouns and adjectives functioning as their modifiers. Non-agreeing modifiers, such as adverbials, cannot function as predicators in copular constructions with agreeing subjects:

- (489) a. **Piotr* *jest dobrze.*
 Peter(MASC).NOM is good-ly
 ‘Peter is goodly.’
- b. **Śpiewanie* *jest przyjemnie.*
 singing(NEUT).NOM is pleasant-ly
 ‘Singing is pleasantly.’

However, the reverse is true of non-agreeing subjects of subject-complement constructions – in particular, subjects which are infinitival clauses. Infinitives cannot be modified by adjectives, but they can, like verbs, be modified by adverbs. When infinitives are made subjects of the subject-complement construction, the predicate is made up of a copula and an adverbial (i.e. non-agreeing) predicator:

- (490) a. *Śpiewać jest dobrze/przyjemnie.*
 sing.INF is good-ly/pleasant-ly
 ‘It is good/pleasant to sing.’
- b. *Pracować było wygodnie.*
 work.INF was.3SG.NEUT comfortab-ly
 ‘It was comfortable to work.’

Because the infinitive lacks the inflectional properties of number and gender, the copula takes on the 3SG.NEUT form indicating failure of agreement with the subject.

All of the predicators exemplified at the beginning of this section can appear with infinitival subjects, and if they appear without them, the omission may be attributed to ellipsis. The infinitival subject, if dropped, can always be understood from the context, and it can always be expressed overtly without any change to the form or the lexical meaning of the predicate. In other words, when the infinitival subject of the predicative adverbial construction is dropped, the agreement marking of the copula remains unchanged. Furthermore, being copular constructions, these clauses cannot contain direct (accusative) objects. This is one of the key properties which distinguishes them from the defective verbs discussed in the previous section.

Since all of the predicators exemplified in (480), (481) and (482) behave in a similar way, I apply the same analysis to all of them despite the fact that, as lexemes, they are of different origin. I have referred to all of them as ‘adverbial’ predicators because they can all be seen as modifiers of events/actions rather than entities. A closer look at their interpretation reveals that this is indeed the case: the noun *strach* ‘fear’ used as a predicator means roughly *strasznie* ‘scarily’; the nouns *żal* ‘regret’ or *szkoda* ‘pity’ translate roughly into *niekorzystnie* ‘unfavourably’ or *smutno* ‘sadly’; and the verb-like non-personal predicators *można* ‘be-possible’, *należy* ‘be-fitting’, *trzeba* ‘be-necessary’, or *wolno* ‘be-allowed’ characterise events by specifying that there is a possibility (*jest możliwość*), a duty (*jest powinność*), a need (*jest potrzeba*), or a permission (*jest pozwolenie*) to do something/perform an action.

The different (denominal or deverbal) origin of the predicators forming predicative adverbial constructions may explain why they vary slightly in their behaviour with respect to the copula.

In copular sentences which have agreeing subjects, the present-tense copula may not normally be omitted (*Piotr *(jest) wysoki/głodny/nauczycielem* ‘Peter is tall/hungry/a teacher’). In contrast, clauses with predicative adverbial complementation may generally be used with or without the present-tense copula (*jest* ‘is’), though some predicators (such as those in example (487)) do not accept the present-tense copula easily.

In the past, all sentences with adverbial complementation require the past copula (*było* ‘was.3SG.NEUT’). However, two of the verb-like predicators, *należy* ‘be-required.[NON-PERSONAL]’ and *wypada* ‘be-fitting.[NON-PERSONAL]’, whose forms coincide with the 3SG present tense form, have their past tense form analogous to the past 3SG.NEUT form of a personal, inflecting verb: *należało* ‘was-required.[NON-PERSONAL]’ and *wypadało* ‘was-fitting.[NON-PERSONAL]’¹⁴. Despite this coincidence with the personal conjugational paradigm, these verb-like elements cannot appear with any other inflectional endings in any tense when they are used as non-personal predicators¹⁵.

I have a few more observations about nouns used as predicators as in, for example, (481) or (486). Because they are marked for nominative case, the nouns in these sentences might be regarded as ambiguous between being predicators or subjects. However, they are unlikely to be agreeing subjects with dropped copulas, because the present-tense copula in such sentences in Polish is not normally omitted (*Piotr *(jest) wysoki/głodny/nauczycielem* ‘Peter is tall/hungry/a teacher’). Also, in the following past variants of these sentences, the nouns do not function as syntactic subjects and do not trigger the expected 3SG.MASC agreement in the past auxiliary:

- (491) a. *Wstyd* *mu/nam* *było*.
 shame(MASC).NOM him/us.DAT was.3SG.PL
 ‘He was/We were embarrassed.’
- b. *Czas* *było* *jechać*.
 time(MASC).NOM was.3SG.NEUT leave.INF
 ‘It was time to leave.’
- c. *Strach* *było* *coś* *powiedzieć*.
 fear(MASC).NOM was.3SG.NEUT something(NEUT).ACC say.INF

¹⁴The past (preterite) form of Polish verbs is based on the *-ł* stem, with number and person agreement expressed through an auxiliary clitic.

¹⁵However, the forms do have a full inflectional paradigm when they are used in their other meanings. As main *verbs* (rather than just predicators), the personal verb *należać* means ‘belong.INF’, and *wypadać* means ‘fall-out/come-out/happen.INF’.

‘One was too afraid to say anything.’

On the other hand, if copular sentences with nominative nouns and infinitival arguments *do* appear with an overt 3SG form of the verb ‘be’ in the present tense, it may not be clear which of the two elements – the nominative noun or the infinitive – is their subject:

- (492) a. *Jest czas na nas. / Czas jest jechać.*
is time(MASC).NOM on us time(MASC).NOM is leave.INF
‘It’s time for us [to go]. / It’s time to leave.’
- b. *Pora jest się żegnać.*
right-time(FEM).NOM is REFL bid-farewell.INF
‘It’s time to say good-bye to one another.’
- c. *Strach jest coś powiedzieć.*
fear(MASC).NOM is something(NEUT).ACC say.INF
‘One is too afraid to say anything.’

Because the verb *jest* is not marked for gender, it is in apparent agreement with any of the nominative nouns used in these examples. If the sentences above have infinitival subjects, the verb *jest* should be interpreted as a copula forming a predicate with the nominative noun as the main predicator. If, however, the nominative nouns are subjects, the copula *jest* forms a predicate with the infinitival complement.

Sentences such as (492) have been traditionally regarded as subjectless (e.g. Nagórko 1998:267). But if the agreement features of the *past* form of the verb ‘be’ can be used to distinguish between impersonal and personal clauses, then the following clauses have to be considered personal, since the copula agrees with the nominal subject:

- (493) a. *Był już czas na nas. / Był czas jechać.*
was.3SG.MASC already time(MASC).NOM on us was.3SG.MASC
time(MASC).NOM leave.INF
‘It was already time for us [to go]./It was time to leave.’
- b. *Była pora się żegnać.*
was.3SG.FEM right-time(FEM).NOM REFL bid-farewell.INF

'It was time to say good-bye to one another.'

- c. *Strach* *był* *okropny cokolwiek powiedzieć.*
fear(MASC).NOM was.3SG.MASC terrible whatever say.INF
'One was terribly afraid to say anything.'

My conclusion, therefore, is the following. All of the sentences discussed above have syntactic subjects. In the past tense, sentences in (491) have infinitival (overt or dropped) subjects and the nominative nouns are predicators in copular predicates, while sentences in (493) have overt nominal subjects and infinitival predicators in copular predicates. In the present tense, however, sentences such as (492), containing the overt copula 'be', can be realisations of either one or the other clause structure.

Finally, it is important to note that the infinitival arguments in the sentences above do not have controlled subjects. As I already mentioned earlier (in Chapter 2, Section 2.2.5.2, on infinitival clauses as active objects and passive subjects), Polish infinitives are frequently discourse-controlled.

It might also be interesting to point out that the sentence in (494):

- (494) *Wolno* *pracować.*
be-allowed.[NON-PERSONAL] work.INF
'It is allowed to work.'

which uses a verb-like non-personal predicator, is similar to the following, marginally acceptable, passive sentence (due to the common root of the predicators in both sentences):

- (495) (?) *Jest zezwolone* *pracować.*
is allow.PART.SG.NEUT work.INF
'It is allowed to work.'

(cf. the discussion of a similar passive example (154) in Chapter 2 Section 2.2.5.2).

As I argued earlier in Chapter 2, the passive sentence (495) is not subjectless. Its subject is the infinitive which lacks agreement features and therefore triggers the 'default' 3SG.NEUT agreement in the passive verbal compound. Unsurprisingly, this analysis is analogous to

the one which I proposed above for clauses with verb-like predicators such as *wolno* ‘be-allowed.[NON-PERSONAL]’. The difference between the two types of construction is that the non-personal predicator *wolno* can co-occur only with a non-agreeing infinitival subject, while *zezwolone* is a participial form of the personal verb *zezwolić* ‘allow’, it has a complete paradigm of inflectional endings, and can also co-occur with nominative subjects.

Thus, clauses such as (494) are non-derived, syntactically personal, with the infinitive as subject and the verb ‘be’ as a copula (omittable in the present). Sentences such as (495), on the other hand, are derived, canonical passive with the infinitive as subject:

| | | | |
|-------|----------------------------------|----------|----------|
| (496) | passive of the transitive | <i>x</i> | <i>y</i> |
| | | | |
| | | ⟨arg | arg⟩ |
| | | | |
| | | (OBL) | SUBJ |

In the passive clause the verb ‘be’ is an auxiliary. In both cases the 3SG.NEUT form of the verb ‘be’ indicates failure of agreement with the subject.

As most other Polish predicates, predicative adverbial constructions may also, if the context allows it, contain a dative argument expressing the ‘beneficiary’, as in:

- (497) a. *Dobrze mi z tobą.*
 well me.DAT with you
 ‘It feels good to me [being] with you.’
- b. *Było im niewygodnie.*
 was.3SG.NEUT them.DAT uncomfortably
 ‘It felt to them uncomfortable.’ (meaning: ‘They felt uncomfortable’)
- c. *Wolno ci tylko patrzeć.*
 be-allowed.[NON-PERSONAL] you.2SG.DAT only look.INF
 ‘It is only allowed to you to look.’ (meaning: ‘You are only allowed to look’)

Although the dative argument in nominativeless sentences of this type (as well as in the reflexive impersonal) has sometimes been analysed as a subject (e.g. Wierzbicka 1966; Braterski 1979b; Franks 1995), consistently with my earlier argumentation I suggest that it

occupies the third argument position in the syntactic representation of the predicate:

(498) **intransitive predicate with a dative**



4.6 Addendum 2: predicates requiring a genitive argument

In the final section of this Chapter I want to mention Polish predicates which require a genitive argument. Apart from genitively marked direct objects in predicates which also have nominative subjects, genitively marked arguments may appear in clauses which seem to disallow a nominative argument. Thus, the latter type of clauses seem to be impersonal, and their subjectlessness has usually been attributed to the subjectlessness of the participating predicates (e.g. Koneczna 1949; Fisiak et al. 1978:23; Nagórko 1998:266).

The following sentences exemplify the apparently impersonal predicates which require a genitive complement:

- (499) a. *Przybywa/ubywa wody.*
 becomes-more/less water(FEM).GEN
 ‘There is more and more/less and less water.’
- b. *Nie ma Piotra /wody.*
 NEG has[=is] Peter(MASC).GEN /water(FEM).GEN
 ‘There is no Peter/water.’
- c. *Żal/Szkoda pieniędzy.*
 regret(MASC).NOM/pity(FEM).NOM money(NONVIR).GEN
 ‘I grudge the money.’

I will discuss them briefly below and argue that none of these sentences is formed with an inherently impersonal predicate.

It is known that the genitive case in Polish is used to mark direct objects in negative sentences, as well as a variety of objects with identifiable ‘partitive’ meaning – in particular, objects expressed with mass nouns, plural count nouns and the so-called ‘[semantic] objects of quick use’ (see, for example, Koneczna 1949; Wierzbicka 1988:447-455). The genitive marking of ‘partitive’ direct objects has been argued to follow from the semantics of the nouns expressing these objects. This case marking is applied regardless of whether the (basically personal) verbs taking these objects appear in their personal or derived impersonal use. Similarly, direct objects in negative sentences are marked for genitive case regardless of whether the (basically personal) predicates used in these sentences happen to be used personally or impersonally.

Apart from the above systematic cases of genitively marked objects in basically personal predicates¹⁶, there are sentences such as the ones exemplified in (499) which do not seem to conform to the rules of genitive marking of arguments identified above. To find out why this could be the case, I will first have a closer look at the type of sentence in (499c).

Sentences such as the following:

- (500) a. *Żal* *pieniędzy.*
 regret(MASC).NOM money(NONVIR).GEN
 ‘One grudges the money.’
- b. *Trzeba* *cierpliwości.*
 be-need.[NON-PERSONAL] patience(FEM).GEN
 ‘There is needed patience.’
- c. *Szkoda/Potrzeba* *mi* *pieniędzy.*
 pity/need(FEM).NOM me.DAT money(NONVIR).GEN
 ‘I grudge/need (the) money.’

are instances of the predicative adverbial construction discussed in the previous section. I argued that they should be analysed as resulting from the ellipsis of a non-agreeing (infinitive)

¹⁶And apart from some verbs which idiosyncratically mark their complements with the genitive case, e.g. *żądać czegoś* ‘demand something_{GEN}’, possibly because their objects were diachronically classified as ‘partitive’.

tival) syntactic subject. The provision of an overt expression of this implied subject reveals that the genitively marked nominal functions as the direct object of the infinitive and may be marked for either genitive or accusative case, depending on whether it has ‘partitive’ interpretation or not:

- (501) a. *Żal* *wydać* *pieniądze* */tak dużo*
 regret(MASC).NOM spend.INF money(NONVIR).ACC /so much
pieniędzy.
 money(NONVIR).GEN
 ‘One grudges to spend the money/so much money.’
- b. *Trzeba* *mieć* *cierpliwość* */dużo*
 be-necessary.[NON-PERSONAL] have.INF patience(FEM).ACC /much
cierpliwości.
 patience(FEM).GEN
 ‘What is needed is to have patience/a lot of patience.’
- c. *Szkoda* *mi* *odłożyć* *te* *pieniądze*
 pity(FEM).NOM me.DAT put-aside.INF these.NONVIR.ACC /so-much
/tyle *pieniędzy.*
 money(NONVIR).GEN
 ‘I grudge to put aside this money/so much money.’

Both the morphosyntax and the interpretation of these predicates seem to confirm that they indeed do not lack a syntactic subject, and that the genitive nominal receives its marking in accordance with the rule which had been identified above (see further below for a more detailed discussion of this rule). Moreover, as was already shown in the previous section, although the predicates in question do not need a copula in the present tense, they require the past copula when referring to the past:

- (502) a. *Żal* *było* *pieniędzy.*
 regret(MASC).NOM was.3SG.NEUT money(NONVIR).GEN
 ‘One grudged the money.’
- b. *Trzeba* *było* *cierpliwości.*
 be-need.[NON-PERSONAL] was.3SG.NEUT patience(FEM).GEN
 ‘There was needed patience.’

- c. *Szkoda/Potrzeba mi było pieniędzy.*
 pity/need(FEM).NOM me.DAT was.3SG.NEUT money(NONVIR).GEN
 ‘I grudged/needed (the) money.’

The presence of the genitive nominal seems somehow to strengthen the interpretation of the implied infinitive as subject, and the option of interpreting the nominative nominal as subject with an agreeing copula and the infinitival complement (as was shown in the previous section) does not seem to be available as readily here. Overall, I have no reason to treat sentences such as the above as syntactically subjectless, even though they may not have a surface subject and their inflected verb indicates non-agreement with the subject. I attribute the lack of a surface subject to ellipsis, and the lack of verbal agreement to the properties of the infinitival subject which lacks agreement features.

There now remain two other types of nominativeless clauses with genitive arguments in Polish: clauses with verbs expressing the notion of gradual disappearance or increase, as in (499a), and clauses with the negated existential verb ‘be’ which denote absence or non-existence of some entity, as in (499b). They are exemplified here once again, in (503) and (504), respectively:

- (503) a. *Przybywa/Ubywa wody.*
 becomes-more/less water(FEM).GEN
 ‘There is more-and-more/less-and-less water.’
- b. *Brakuje/Wystarcza mi pieniędzy.*
 lacks/is-enough me.DAT money(NONVIR).GEN
 ‘Money is lacking/enough to me.’ (meaning: ‘I don’t/do have enough money’)
- (504) *Nie ma Piotra /wody.*
 NEG has[=is] Peter(MASC).GEN /water(FEM).GEN
 ‘There is no Peter/water.’

Some Polish grammarians classify the above as impersonal (e.g. Koneczna 1949; Fisiak et al. 1978:23; Nagórko 1998:266) while others as personal (e.g. Szober 1953; Wierzbicka 1966; Jodłowski 1976:68). My own opinion is in agreement with the latter, for reasons which I

will outline briefly below.

Let us look first at the predicates in (503). The verbs are never used with auxiliaries and in the past variants of the sentences in (503) they would display regular 3SG.NEUT inflection. Since the genitive arguments are unlike canonical nominative subjects, their number, person and gender features have no influence on the form of the verb. At first glance, the sentences seem to disallow the expression of a nominative subject, even though the verb itself seems to allow inflectional endings different from 3SG.[NEUT]:

- (505) a. **Woda przybywa/ubywa.*
water(FEM).NOM becomes-more/less
'Water is becoming more-and-more/less-and-less.'
- b. **Pieniądze brakują/wystarczają.*
money(NONVIR).NOM lack/be-enough.3PL.NONVIR
'Money is lacking/enough.'

However, as pointed out already by Wierzbicka (1966:194), the verbs in question – all with a possible exception of *brakować* 'lack' – can, in fact, appear with nominative subjects. Consider the following sentences (examples (a)-(d) have been adapted from Wierzbicka *ibid.*):

- (506) a. *Ubyła połowa wody.*
became-less.3SG.FEM half(FEM).NOM water(FEM).GEN
'Half of the water has gone.'
- b. *Ta ilość zapasów wystarczy.*
this.FEM.NOM quantity(FEM).NOM reserves(NONVIR).GEN will-be-enough.3SG
'This quantity of the reserves will be enough.'
- c. *Ta suma pieniędzy wystarczyła.*
this.FEM.NOM sum(FEM).NOM money(NONVIR).GEN was-enough.3SG.FEM
'This sum of money was enough.'
- d. *Przybył mi nowy rodzaj kłopotów.*
became-more.3SG.MASC me.DAT new.MASC.NOM kind(MASC).NOM
problems(NONVIR).GEN

‘My problems have increased by a new kind [of problem].’

- e. *Ubył* *mu* *zab.*
became-less.3SG.MASC him.DAT tooth(MASC).NOM
‘He has lost a tooth.’
- f. *Przybył* *mi* *nowy* *uczeń.*
became-more.3SG.MASC me.DAT new.MASC.NOM pupil(MASC).NOM
‘I have gained a new pupil.’
- g. *Najwyraźniej Kasia* *mu* *nie wystarczała.*
most-clearly Katie(FEM).NOM him.DAT NEG was-enough.3SG.FEM
‘Clearly [having] Katie was not enough for him.’
- h. *?Brakuje tylko ten* *jeden* *kawałek!*
lacks.3SG only this.MASC.NOM one.MASC.NOM piece(MASC).NOM
‘There is only this one piece missing!’

The variable marking of the core argument, expressed either in the genitive in (503), or in the nominative in (506), seems to depend on some features of the nominal phrase expressing this argument. Wierzbicka (ibid.) hypothesised that the genitive marking indicated an unspecified quantity of the substance denoted by the noun. This hypothesis is confirmed by sentences such as (adapted from Wierzbicka ibid.):

- (507) a. *Przybyło/Ubyło* *dużo wody.*
became-more/less.3SG.NEUT much water(FEM).GEN
‘A lot of water has appeared/gone.’
- b. *Brakowało/Wystarczyło* *trochę pieniędzy.*
lacked/was-enough.3SG.NEUT some money(NONVIR).GEN
‘Some/A little money was lacking/enough.’
- c. *Przybyło* *mi* *dużo trosk.*
became-more.3SG.NEUT me.DAT many worries(NONVIR).GEN
‘I have gained a lot of worries.’

in which the ‘unspecified quantity’ (or ‘unspecified amount’) is expressed directly by the use of quantifiers such as *dużo* ‘a lot of/much/many’ or *trochę* ‘a little/some/a few’.

However, the same result of the genitive case marking of the noun expressing the core argument is achieved when the quantifier is a certain numeral¹⁷ or other declinable element, as in:

- (508) a. *Przybyło mi siedem/dwadzieścia-pięć trosk.*
 became-more.3SG.NEUT me.DAT seven/twenty-five.NOM worries(NONVIR).GEN
 ‘I have gained seven/twenty-five worries.’
- b. *Przybyło mi wiele trosk.*
 became-more.3SG.NEUT me.DAT many.NOM worries(NONVIR).GEN
 ‘I have gained many worries.’

Note that these quantifiers are marked for nominative case, but the verb still fails to agree with either the quantifier or the noun expressing the core argument.

At this point, it is important to remember that a similar phenomenon occurs in ordinary *personal* sentences with subjects which are phrases with a certain numeral or quantifier, as in (examples (a) and (b) are from Dziwirek 1990:147):

- (509) a. *Pięć dziewcząt przeczytało tę książkę.*
 five.NOM girls(NONVIR).GEN read.3SG.NEUT this.FEM.ACC book(FEM).ACC
 ‘Five girls have read this book.’
- b. *Sześć kobiet było smutnych.*
 six.NOM women(NONVIR).GEN was.3SG.NEUT sad.PL.GEN
 ‘Six women were sad.’
- c. *Wiele szklanek było czystych.*
 many.NOM glasses(NONVIR).GEN was.3SG.NEUT clean.PL.GEN
 ‘Many glasses were clean.’
- d. *Trochę entuzjazmu mogło pomóc.*
 a-little enthusiasm(MASC).GEN could.3SG.NEUT help.INF
 ‘A little enthusiasm could help.’

¹⁷In her paper discussing default agreement in Polish, Dziwirek (1990:147) identifies the set of numbers following this pattern of behaviour as: 5-21, 25-31, 35-41, etc. ‘Other numerals (i.e. numerals representing the number 1 and numbers ending in 2-4, e.g. 2-4, 22-24, 32-34, etc.) usually have more than one form: some forms behave like modifiers, others follow the pattern discussed here’ (ibid.).

- e. *Dużo wody wylało się na dywan.*
 much water(FEM).GEN poured-out.3SG.NEUT REFL on carpet
 ‘A lot of water has spilt on the carpet.’

It appears, therefore, that just as there are accusative and genitive variants of direct *objects* (depending on the morphosemantics of the nominal phrase expressing the object), there may also be nominative and genitive variants of nominals expressing *subjects*. Since the case marking of any noun may be affected by the quantifier with which it appears, both object and subject phrases may contain non-canonically marked nouns: a partitive object with an overt or dropped quantifier will be marked for genitive instead of accusative, and the nominal component of a quantified subject may be marked for genitive instead of nominative. For the concision of the argument, I will refer to the instances of genitive marking in both the object and the subject phrases as ‘partitive’.

When the quantifier is dropped from a partitive object phrase, the remaining noun is recognised and understood as a ‘partitive’ object despite the ellipsis. I hypothesise that the same process may be observed in subject phrases. Some combinations of meanings of particular predicates with the meanings of quantified entities in subject positions may favour a ‘partitive subject’ interpretation of the noun even when its quantifier is omitted. This seems to be precisely the case in sentences such as the ones in (510), repeated from (503):

- (510) a. *Przybywa/Ubywa wody.*
 becomes-more/less.3SG water(FEM).GEN
 ‘There is more-and-more/less-and-less water.’
- b. *Brakuje/Wystarcza mi pieniędzy.*
 lacks/is-enough.3SG me.DAT money(NONVIR).GEN
 ‘Money is lacking/enough to me.’ (meaning: ‘I don’t/do have enough money’)

To sum up, quantifiers, which impose a partitive reading on nouns, require that the nouns turn up in the genitive. Such quantifier phrases may occupy the positions of both objects and subjects. If the quantifier, as head of phrase, is able to decline, it will appear

with the accusative case marking in object position and with the nominative case marking in subject position, but the noun which it governs will remain genitive.

When a subject phrase is made up of a noun as head of phrase accompanied by a modifier, both elements agree in their case marking (nominative) and the features of the noun trigger the appropriate personal agreement in the verb. Quantifiers are not specified for person, number or gender and, therefore, a quantifier phrase with a partitive subject is not an appropriate controller of agreement with the verb. This leads to the verb being realised with the ‘default’ non-agreement marking of 3SG.NEUT, as in (507), (508), or (509). This agreement is retained even when the quantifier is dropped from the partitive subject phrase, as in (510).

The phenomenon of the ‘genitive of negation’ in existential sentences in Polish might be accounted for in a way analogous to the ‘partitive genitive’. The following are examples of sentences with the negated existential verb *być* ‘be’ in the present, past and future tenses (sentence (a) is repeated from (504)):

- (511) a. *Nie ma Piotra /wody.*
 NEG has[=is] Peter(MASC).GEN /water(FEM).GEN
 ‘There is no Peter/water.’
- b. *Nie było Piotra /wody.*
 NEG was.3SG.NEUT Peter(MASC).GEN /water(FEM).GEN
 ‘There was no Peter/water.’
- c. *Nie będzie Piotra /wody.*
 NEG will-be.3SG Peter(MASC).GEN /water(FEM).GEN
 ‘There will be no Peter/water.’

And below is the line of argumentation which may be worth exploring in further research into this type of construction.

The negated verb ‘be’ in the sentences above appears with the default marking of non-agreement irrespective of the semantic or inflectional properties of the genitive nominal. However, I believe it is incorrect to say that personal forms of this predicate do not exist.

Consider the following examples of negated existentials (not negated copular predicates):

- (512) a. *Piotr nie jest/był tam, ale tutaj.*
Peter(MASC).NOM NEG is/was.3SG.MASC there but here
'Peter is/was not there, but here.'
- b. *Woda, o której mówiłeś, nie była w butelce, ale w karafce.*
water(FEM).NOM about which.FEM.GEN talked.2SG.MASC NEG was.3SG.FEM in
bottle but in decanter
'The water you had mentioned was not in the bottle but in the decanter.'

Therefore, in negated existential clauses such as (511), it might be possible to analyse the genitively marked nominal in a way analogous to the partitive genitive – that is, analyse it as a non-canonical subject which fails to trigger personal agreement in the verb. The fact that, in the present tense, the form of the negated verb 'be' used with 'negated subjects' coincides with the 3SG form of the verb 'have' (*mieć*) might perhaps be treated as a one-off instance of suppletion in the conjugational paradigm of the verb 'be', the reasons for which would have to be investigated.

Finally, genitive marking of a core argument can, predictably, appear as a result of negation in sentences such as (477) in which defective (inherently impersonal) verbs take accusative nouns or pronouns as their direct objects. Here are examples of the negation affecting the case marking of the direct object in these inherently impersonal clauses:

- (513) *Nie widać/słyszać/czuć jej.*
NEG see/hear/feel.[NON-PERSONAL] her.GEN
'One can not see/hear/feel her/it.'

Although I have not been able to provide here a comprehensive account of the genitive marking of nominals expressing core arguments (objects or subjects), throughout this section I have followed the assumption that the grammatical function status of these arguments is not affected by this variation. If this is indeed the case, the argument structure of predicates with a genitively marked core argument is the same as the argument structure of predicates with arguments canonically marked for nominative and/or accusative.

Thus, although genitive marking itself is not a sign of subjectlessness of the predicate, it may indeed occur in inherently impersonal predicates such as the ones discussed in Section 4.4. It occurs there for the same reason as in inherently personal predicates – that is, due to the partitive and/or negative interpretation of the nominal expressing a core argument. Since inherently impersonal predicates do not have a subject (the first of the two core arguments), the genitive marking in these predicates can only affect their underlying object argument.

Chapter 5

Modelling operations on the argument structure of predicates

In the present Chapter, I will provide an illustration of how the findings offered in the main body of this thesis can be modelled formally.

The main ideas expressed in the previous Chapters can be summarised in the following pre-theoretical hypotheses about the passive, the anticausative and the impersonal. All three constructions are, morphologically, derivational. They result from operations on lexical argument structures of predicates, all of which affect the subject in some way.

The passive is an instance of alternative (non-default) mapping of grammatical functions onto the arguments of the predicate by means of which the underlying subject is demoted to an optional oblique. It is a meaning-preserving and function-changing operation.

The anticausative removes the first argument altogether from the lexical representation of the predicate, thereby rendering the first participant role associated with the predicate invisible to syntax (unless it is re-introduced into the lexical representation via a non-core argument). The main consequence of the operation is a change in the lexical structure and the meaning of the predicate. The remaining arguments may then be mapped onto

grammatical functions following either the standard (default) or the alternative assignment (if available). I will argue in this Chapter that the canonical anticausative (such as the second member of the causative/inchoative pair *Peter broke the glass* ~ *The glass broke*) results from the standard, non-altered, assignment of grammatical functions to the lexically detransitivised predicate.

Finally, the impersonal suppresses the realisation of the ‘final’ syntactic subject in overt syntax. The presence of the syntactic subject prevents the underlying object (if there is any) from being ‘promoted’ – that is, assigned the function of the final subject. Impersonalisation is, thus, also function-preserving, as it does not alter the default mapping of grammatical functions in any way. Since it does not affect the lexical semantics of the predicate, it is, furthermore, meaning-preserving.

As is clear from the descriptions offered above, in order to model these operations formally, we need to be able to make a three-way distinction between thematic structure, lexical transitivity, and surface valency (cf. Blevins 2003:508). In Chapter 1, Section 1.2.2, I suggested that a possible model of argument structure supporting the above generalisations could be conceived of as comprising minimally the following components: (a) a semantic tier representing the hierarchically organised participants in the event designated by the predicator; (b) a syntactic level that identifies the semantic participants as syntactic dependants of the predicate; and (c) principles of syntactic argument classification that anticipates, or leads to, the assignment of grammatical functions.

A model of argument structure developed in LFG contains all three components enumerated above. It thus provides a useful basis for describing derivational processes in lexical argument structures. In the following sections, I will first present an overview of LFG’s model and then, after suggesting some necessary adjustments, I will offer an analysis of the major voice-altering phenomena which I identified above¹.

¹Several sections of this Chapter contain ideas presented earlier in Kibort (2001). Where they differ, the present analysis supersedes the earlier version. See Blevins (2003) for a similar account of the passive and the impersonal illustrated with a constraint-based formalism based on HPSG-style descriptions.

5.1 LFG's model of argument structure

The outline of the relevant parts of LFG's Lexical Mapping Theory (LMT) given in this section is based primarily on Bresnan & Zaenen (1990), Zaenen & Engdahl (1994), and Bresnan (2001).

At the semantic level of argument structure, LMT identifies the arguments of the predicate by their semantic (or, thematic) roles and orders them to a presumably universal hierarchy. The following thematic hierarchy is offered by Bresnan (2001:307)²:

(514) THEMATIC HIERARCHY

agent > beneficiary > experiencer/goal > instrument > patient/theme > locative

5.1.1 The syntactic classification of semantic arguments

At the syntactic level, LMT provides a partially specified syntactic classification of the arguments via the features [+/- (thematically) restricted] and [+/- objective]. The arguments are associated with the syntactic classification according to the underlying lexical semantics of their thematic roles. The basic principles for determining the choice of syntactic features are as follows:

| | | |
|-------|-----------------------------|------|
| (515) | patientlike roles | [-r] |
| | secondary patientlike roles | [+o] |
| | other semantic roles | [-o] |

The features [+/-r] and [+/-o] constrain the way in which the arguments are mapped onto grammatical functions and group grammatical functions into natural classes:

²According to Bresnan (2001:321), this ordering of thematic roles has also been proposed by Kiparsky (1987), Bresnan & Kanerva (1989) and others, and might be derived from semantic primitives along the lines of Dowty (1991) and Engdahl (1990) or Jackendoff (1990) and Pinker (1989).

(516)

| | | |
|------|------------------|------------------|
| | [-o] | [+o] |
| [-r] | SUBJ | OBJ |
| [+r] | OBL _θ | OBJ _θ |

(where OBL_θ abbreviates multiple oblique functions, and OBJ_θ abbreviates secondary objects). In this way, the principles in (515) enable the mapping from the semantic to the syntactic level for any predicate.

As an example, the ‘intrinsic’ syntactic classification of arguments in a transitive (i.e. two-place) predicate such as *bic* ‘beat’ can be schematised as in:

(517)

| | |
|------------|------------|
| ⟨ <i>x</i> | <i>y</i> ⟩ |
| [-o] | [-r] |

where *x* and *y* represent the semantic roles of the participants of the event designated by the predicator *bic* ‘beat’, which are taken here to be an agent and a patient, respectively. The ordering of the two participants reflects the prominence ranking determined by the thematic hierarchy, where an agent is more prominent than a patient.

5.1.2 Default mappings of arguments to syntactic functions

The argument structure exemplified in (517) mediates between lexical semantics and surface syntactic structure, as it already contains sufficient syntactic information to enable the mapping of arguments to surface grammatical functions.

The mapping of syntactically pre-specified arguments to grammatical functions obeys the so-called ‘Function-Argument Bi-uniqueness’ condition (Bresnan 1980; 2001), which requires that each argument in the argument structure is associated with a unique grammatical function, and each grammatical function corresponds to a unique argument. Given that, according to LFG, multiple obliques and even multiple restricted objects are possible because these functions are further individuated by their semantic roles (ibid. 2001:311).

Since the negatively specified features in diagram (516) indicate unmarked feature values, the diagram can be read as a *markedness hierarchy* of grammatical functions, with SUBJ

being the least marked syntactic function, and the restricted object (OBJ_{θ}) being the most marked function. In LMT, the property of markedness of grammatical functions plays a role in determining the mapping of arguments to functions, and the principles according to which the syntactic realisations of the arguments are derived are formulated as follows:

(518) MAPPING PRINCIPLES

- (a) Subject roles:
 - (i) a $[-o]$ argument is mapped onto SUBJ when initial in the argument structure³; otherwise:
 - (ii) a $[-r]$ argument is mapped onto SUBJ.
- (b) Other roles are mapped onto the lowest (i.e. most marked) compatible function on the markedness hierarchy.

Following the above principles, we arrive at the following grammatical function assignment in the sample transitive predicate *bić* ‘beat’:

| | | | | | |
|-------|---|--------|--|--------|---|
| (519) | ⟨ | x | | y | ⟩ |
| | | $[-o]$ | | $[-r]$ | |
| | | | | | |
| | | SUBJ | | OBJ | |

³The actual LFG formulation of this mapping principle is as follows: ‘ $\hat{\theta}_{[-o]}$ is mapped onto SUBJ when initial in the a-structure’ (Bresnan 2001:311), where $\hat{\theta}_{[-o]}$, referred to as the ‘logical subject’, is defined as ‘the most prominent semantic role of a predicator’ (ibid.:307). However, this formulation seems to contain superfluous information. Specifically, due to the Subject Condition, LFG excludes the formation of predicates without any core arguments; according to the principles of semantic classification of thematic roles for function, LFG allows only those thematic roles which will map onto ‘subjective’ (core) or oblique (non-core) functions to be classified as $[-o]$; and finally, due to the thematic hierarchy (and the Subject Condition), thematic roles which will map onto oblique functions can never be initial in the argument structure or higher than the ‘subjective’ role. It follows from this that a $[-o]$ argument which is *initial* in the argument structure (i.e. has position adjacent to the left bracket; see also Falk 2001:108) can *only* be the most prominent thematic role, and it can never be an oblique participant. Thus, the formulation of the subject mapping principle in (518a)(i) is, in fact, just a more concise, but faithful, version of the LFG principle.

5.1.3 Alterations ('re-alignments') in syntactic function mappings

The fact that arguments of the predicate receive only partial syntactic classification – that is, they are in fact underspecified for grammatical function – invites a possibility of alternative mappings of the same arguments to different syntactic functions. Most importantly, since a [-r] role can be mapped onto an object or a subject, in certain contexts (such as the passive or locative inversion) the grammatical function of the subject can be assigned to an argument corresponding to a lower role on the thematic hierarchy than it would be otherwise. Another possibility of an alternative mapping is provided by the [-o] feature which allows the argument to be mapped onto a subject or an oblique.

These possibilities have been used in LFG analyses of passivisation and locative inversion – two types of operation occurring in argument structure which are characterised by systematic alternations in the assignment of grammatical functions and which do not affect the lexical semantics of the predicate ⁴.

5.2 A revised model of argument structure

Although I have based my analysis of morpholexical operations on LFG's model of argument structure, I offer several revisions to it which improve its capability to account for the phenomena in question.

The first revision, which will be discussed in more detail in the subsection immediately below, involves refining the notion of the 'argument' by restoring the early LFG distinction within argument structure between semantic roles and argument positions. Furthermore, I will argue that rather than derive the ordering of the arguments from the ordering of the

⁴In standard LFG, the change in the syntactic function mapping in the passive results from the 'suppression' of the agent role in argument structure. In consequence of the suppression, 'the most prominent role cannot be mapped onto a syntactic argument in the f[unctional]-structure (though it may be linked to an argument adjunct such as the by-phrase in English)' (Bresnan 2001:310). I will, however, argue below for a different account of the passive operation itself, with the same result of syntactic function re-alignment.

thematic roles, we should assign priority to the syntactic representation over the semantic one and have a fixed order of syntactically identifiable argument positions, with a more flexible order of thematic roles which are mapped onto them.

I will, then, reformulate LFG's Mapping Principles which account for the mapping of arguments to grammatical functions, with the effect that they will make full use of the markedness hierarchy of grammatical functions suggested by LFG. The re-formulation of the Mapping Principles will help me eschew the Subject Condition which is undesirable in view of the existence of inherently impersonal predicates (see Chapter 4, Section 4.4; and Babby (1994:58; 1998) who also proposes inherently impersonal argument structures for certain classes of verbs in Russian).

After accounting for default mappings of arguments to syntactic functions, I will describe briefly all the theoretically available alternative ('re-aligned') mappings of arguments to syntactic functions. In my model, these result not from the operation of suppression, but from restricting the unrestricted (and underspecified) argument positions whose arguments would normally (by default) map onto subject and object. I will also explain how I envisage the operation of suppression which leads to the morpholexical impersonal construction, and I will exemplify some meaning-changing operations occurring at the levels of semantics and lexical valency which delete, add, or otherwise manipulate various components of meaning of the predicate.

Since the aim of this work has been an overview of the system of valency-changing operations, but not a thorough investigation of verb alternations resulting from changes to the lexical semantics of predicates, I have not examined the thematic hierarchy proposed by LFG in any detail, or questioned the validity of thematic roles themselves (for a discussion of these notions see, for example, Ladusaw & Dowty 1988; Dowty 1991; Wechsler 1995a,b; Davis & Koenig 2000). Likewise, I do not offer a theory of argument selection.

However, I assume that the thematic level of representation includes a selection of semantic participants from the following set:

- one or both of the two core participants characterised as a ‘proto-agent’ and a ‘proto-patient’ (which may be defined along the lines of Dowty 1991; and Ackerman & Moore 2001);
- one optional ‘proto-beneficiary’⁵;
- and further optional oblique participants expressing semantic notions such as ‘instrument’, ‘location’, and ‘recipient/goal/direction’⁶.

Furthermore, despite the separation of the semantic participants from the syntactic level of argument positions, the revised model preserves LFG’s condition of ‘Function-Argument Bi-uniqueness’: each argument is associated with a unique syntactic function (though, unlike in LFG, the only allowed multiplication of functions is that of oblique functions which are individuated by their semantic roles), and each grammatical function corresponds to a unique argument. On the other hand, the mapping between thematic roles and argument positions does not have to obey the condition of bi-uniqueness, but only the condition of *distinctness* which stipulates that no particular thematic role can be borne by two different arguments⁷. Thus, the proposed model does not specifically rule out the possibility of one argument position bearing two thematic roles. This, as I already suggested in Chapter 2, Section 2.3.1.8, was possibly the best way to account for certain

⁵Cf. LFG which suggests that there may be multiple secondary patientlike roles classified as [+o], e.g. Bresnan (2001:321): ‘Verbs may have multiple patientlike roles, as with ditransitives. Which roles count as secondary appears to be a parameter of variation.’

⁶Leaving aside the question whether my choice of terminology is indeed the best possible, I distinguish between the beneficiary and the recipient on the basis of the contrast evident in the following sentences (repeated from Chapter 2, Section 2.2.3.1): *Moja siostra upiekła mi sernik dla gości* ‘My sister has baked me a cheesecake for my guests’, *Piotr dał kotce rybę dla jej małych* ‘Peter gave the cat a fish for her young’. I take it that the dative argument in these clauses corresponds to a ‘proto-beneficiary’, and the oblique argument corresponds to a ‘recipient’, ‘goal’ or ‘direction’.

⁷This definition was offered by Klaiman (1991:41) in her discussion of the interpretation of these and other conditions on mappings within argument structure.

active clauses with non-human causers (that is, causers which inherently combine the roles of the agent and the instrument in one referent, which I notated as $x=z$).

5.2.1 The independence of argument roles and argument positions

The current LFG model assumes a two-tiered representation of argument structure. One of the tiers – the tier of the final classification of the arguments into syntactic functions (SUBJ, OBJ, ...) – is clearly a syntactic one and feeds directly into final categorial syntactic structure. The other tier, however – the tier at which the semantic arguments of the predicate are identified (as x , y , etc.) and syntactically pre-specified ($[-o]$, $[-r]$, ...) – compresses two different levels of information: the semantic level of thematic roles and the syntactic level of argument positions subcategorised for by the predicate. Below I will present some arguments in support of the separation of these two compressed levels.

The need to separate within argument structure the semantic information, such as the the representation of the thematic roles, from the syntactic representation of the predicate's valency was already evident in my earlier discussion of the anticausative and the reflexive impersonal. In the anticausative we have to account for both the absence of the argument position which would normally be linked to the original agent/causer, and at the same time for the clandestine presence of the original agent participant which can be re-introduced into the predicate in Polish via the dative argument position. To be able to do it, we need to distinguish in argument structure the level of semantic roles as separate from syntactic argument positions.

In the reflexive impersonal, the primary operation is not deletion of an argument, but suppression of the final subject. However, like in the anticausative, the agent participant may be optionally re-mapped from the first argument position onto the overtly expressed dative argument, thereby affecting the lexical semantic composition of the predicate. In the variant of the reflexive impersonal with the 'agentive' dative nominal, the covert subject is retained, but the interpretation of its participant role is transferred onto the additional

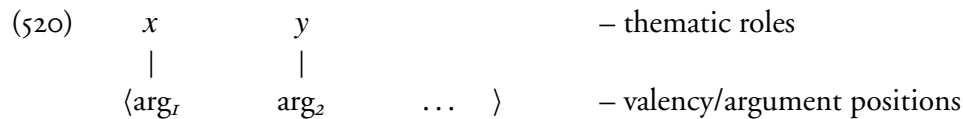
(dative) argument. As with the anticausative, the explanation of this phenomenon requires referring to the semantic level of representation in argument structure as distinct from the syntactic level of argument positions.

Moreover, the need to separate semantic information from the syntactic representation of the predicate's valency manifests itself very strongly in attempts to account for unaccusativity. In syntactic accounts of unaccusativity, the arguments of unergative and unaccusative predicates are distinguished by resorting to the notion of their 'underlying' grammatical functions (such as, respectively, the 'initial' subject and 'initial' object of Relational Grammar; e.g. Perlmutter 1978). In LMT, they can be distinguished by recognising that the highest argument of an unergative predicate is non-objective ([−o]), while the highest argument of an unaccusative predicate is unrestricted ([−r]). LMT's intrinsic syntactic classification makes it possible to refer to arguments independently of their thematic roles and grammatical functions, and captures the generalisation that an unaccusative argument is not an object, but at the same time it is, underlyingly, not a subject.

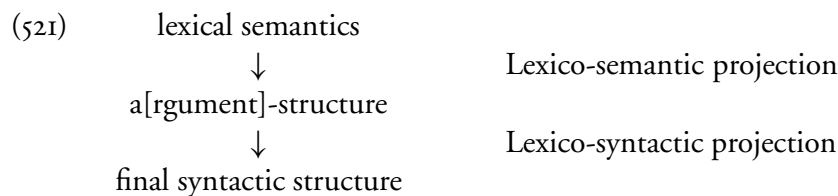
The difficulty in applying this idea in the actual LMT analyses of constructions lies in the fact that, in most current LFG accounts, arguments of the predicate are identified with their thematic roles, even though unaccusativity and operations which are sensitive to it – such as passivisation – have been recognised as essentially syntactic phenomena, and the notion of an 'underlying slot which comes first, but which is not a subject' is not easily expressible in thematic terms. In fact, it has been demonstrated that it is impossible to find a common semantic denominator for either the class of syntactically unaccusative, or unergative verbs (e.g. Rosen 1984; Wechsler 1995a).

It is uncontroversial that the two types of predicates display surface syntactic contrasts in a great number of languages. Furthermore, as has been argued here, passivisation and locative inversion occur completely at the syntactic level. These facts lend further strong support to the argument that it is beneficial to restore the earlier LFG distinction between semantic roles and argument positions.

Throughout this work, I have represented the two levels of argument structure as independent, though formally related through mapping:



with argument positions further mapped onto final grammatical functions. Such a model is in agreement with the scheme which underlies the design of LFG as well as other lexicalist syntactic frameworks (Bresnan 2001:306):



Once the semantic component is extracted from the syntactic argument structure and posited as a separate level of representation, I would also want to argue, following Alsina (1996:37), that ‘although arguments are ordered in the a[rgument]-structure according to their thematic role, thematic role information is not represented at a[rgument]-structure’ since ‘if thematic information is represented in the lexical semantic representation of predicates, it would be redundant to replicate this information elsewhere, as in the a[rgument]-structure’. The revised model indeed allows us to posit that the passive rule needs to refer only to the syntactic information about the arguments and that, in fact, thematic information is inaccessible to it. This is confirmed by the fact that passivisation is restricted to a syntactically, not semantically, distinct class of predicates.

In order to reformulate LFG’s passive rule in purely syntactic terms, we only need to state that instead of applying to the semantically most prominent role on the thematic hierarchy, it applies to the ‘underlying’ subject – that is, only to the unergative argument pre-specified syntactically as [–o]⁸. By analogy, the locative inversion rule applies only to

⁸As argued by Blevins (2003:495-500), this restriction on passivisation has not been invalidated by alleged

the unaccusative argument pre-specified syntactically as [-r].

Finally, it is worth noting that the distinction within argument structure between semantic roles and argument positions is, in fact, implicit in current LFG work concerning ‘empty’ (athematic) argument roles of raising verbs (Zaenen & Engdahl 1994; Bresnan 2001). In LFG representations of the a-structures of the subject-raising verb *seem* and the object-raising verb *believe*, given in (522a) and (b), respectively:

- (522) a. $\overline{\quad}$ $\langle x \quad y \rangle$ b. $\langle x \quad y \rangle$ $\overline{\quad}$
 [-r] [-o] [-o] [-o] [-r]

the athematic arguments are represented outside of the angled brackets, which indicates that they do not belong to the set of semantic participants of the action denoted by the predicate. They nevertheless have a specific position in the argument structure relative to the other hierarchically ordered roles, which gives them greater or lesser priority in the mapping to grammatical functions. Having no semantic content, they receive the inherent syntactic classification of [-r].

It could be argued that, due to the nature of the athematic argument, both of these representations imply the existence of a distinct level of argument positions separate from the semantic level, and that the representations in (522a) and (b) can be straightforwardly translated to the following notation:

- (523) a. x y b. x y
 | |
 $\langle \text{arg} \quad \text{arg} \quad \text{arg} \rangle$ $\langle \text{arg} \quad \text{arg} \quad \text{arg} \rangle$
 [-r] [-o] [-o] [-o] [-r]

These representations preserve very clearly the suggestion that raising verbs subcategorise for three syntactic argument positions whilst they involve only two semantic participants.

passives of unaccusatives: the forms, related diachronically to the passive, which occur in ‘unaccusative’ and ‘double’ passives in Lithuanian (Timberlake 1982) have an evidential meaning that identifies them as part of the mood, rather than the voice, system of the language.

5.2.2 Valency frames

After separating the semantic information from the syntactic level of argument positions, I suggest that priority should be assigned to the *syntactic* representation of the predicate's subcategorisation rather than the *semantic* representation of thematic roles with which argument positions are linked. That is, rather than deriving the order of argument positions from the ordering of the thematic roles, I suggest that it is the ordering of argument positions which determines the order in which the selected thematic roles are lined up to be linked with their argument positions in a default mapping for a given predicate.

While giving an outline of the model of argument structure in Chapter 1 (Section 1.2.2), I suggested that the syntactic level of argument positions could be conceptualised as consisting of a syntactic template or matrix with placeholder argument positions. This matrix, which I call a *valency frame*, is matched against the predicate's meaning and 'filled' with arguments corresponding to the selected conceptual participants of the predicated event. When arguments are mapped onto syntactic functions, they eventually become the syntactic realisation of the semantic participants of the predicate. This view of the syntactic component of argument structure is consistent with any lexicalist approach which uses a hierarchical model of the lexicon. I will now show briefly how I envisage the internal organisation of valency frames.

LFG proposes the following hierarchy of syntactic relations (Bresnan 2001:96; following Keenan & Comrie 1977):

(524) RELATIONAL HIERARCHY

$$\underbrace{\text{SUBJ} \succ \text{OBJ} \succ \text{OBJ}_\theta}_{\text{core}} \succ \underbrace{\text{OBL}_\theta \succ \text{COMPL} \succ \text{ADJUNCT}}_{\text{non-core}}$$

(with ADJUNCT being a non-argument function)⁹. Since these are *final* argument functions which can be defined as 'equivalence classes of c-structure expressions under the mapping

⁹For a discussion of other non-argument functions that do not map directly to participant roles, such as TOPIC and FOCUS, see Bresnan 2001:96ff.

to argument structures' (Bresnan *ibid.*), they cannot serve as the syntactic notions which determine the order of the arguments in the predicate's subcategorisation frame. However, an analogous 'hierarchy' could be posited based on LMT's atomic values [+/- r/o] instead of final grammatical functions.

I suggest the following ordering of syntactic positions holds at the 'valency level' of argument structure:

(525) ORDER OF SYNTACTIC POSITIONS

| | | | | | |
|--------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|-----|--------------------|
| ⟨ arg ₁ | arg ₂ | arg ₃ | arg ₄ | ... | arg _n ⟩ |
| [-o]/[-r] | [-r] | [+o] | [-o] | | [-o] |

This means that each 'argument slot' in a valency frame comes with a particular syntactic classification. In the case when all the differently pre-specified slots are used (i.e. none are bypassed), the argument in the first slot can be classified as either [-o] or [-r]; the argument in the second slot can only receive [-r] classification; and so on.

The first two argument slots of a fully used frame contain *core* arguments. The third argument slot (the Polish 'dative' slot), if taken to correspond to the LFG's secondary object (OBJ_θ), is also classified by LFG as a core argument. In my earlier discussion of beneficiary passive subjects in Chapter 2 (Section 2.2.3.1) I referred to it as 'non-oblique', since it has a unique position in argument structure and it cannot be multiplied. I was, however, similarly reluctant to call it 'core', since it is never syntactically indispensable in any basic, non-derived predicates. I am going to leave this small issue of labelling unresolved here. Finally, then, the fourth slot in a full valency frame is that of a *non-core*, oblique argument. This slot can be multiplied, and the fourth and further argument positions all receive the same [-o] classification.

In nominative-accusative type languages such as English or Polish the first two argument positions correspond to two structural cases: the nominative (the subjective case) and the accusative (the objective case). Although I do not offer a theory of argument selection, I assume that in *basic*, that is *non-derived* predicates, arguments which qualify to be represented in the first two slots have to correspond to semantic participants such as,

respectively, a 'proto-agent' and a 'proto-patient' (perhaps along the lines of Dowty 1991; and Ackerman & Moore 2001). Other argument positions are used for the expression of other dependants of the predicate: the third argument position (if available in the given language) for the expression of the dative (possibly corresponding to a 'proto-beneficiary'), and further argument positions for the expression of a variety of other oblique grammatical functions corresponding to oblique participants such as instrument, location, or recipient.

At first glance, the argument selection restrictions outlined above seem to re-introduce a standard thematic hierarchy. It appears that the principles of mapping suggested here could be reformulated in the way analogous to the current LFG ones, as: (i) a thematic hierarchy of proto-roles, and (ii) principles for determining the syntactic pre-specification of arguments following from the proto-role identification. However, the analogy with the LFG proposal would hold only for basic (non-derived) mappings. In LFG, the thematic hierarchy is fixed and it is only the syntactic classification of the thematic roles which is affected and altered (in a variety of ways) in order to account for non-basic role-to-function mappings. In the present account, in which the semantic component is separated from the syntactic level of representation, it is the order of syntactic positions which is fixed. Thematic roles do have a certain default ordering, but their actual ordering is flexible, not fixed. This means that, under certain conditions, the existing semantic participants may map onto the available argument positions in more than one way. For example, some semantic participants may compete for a certain argument slot, or a semantic participant may re-map onto an unused (but syntactically pre-specified) argument slot. Operations of this type, which I have called meaning-altering operations, will be discussed below in Section 5.2.6.

Since predicates vary with respect to the number and type of semantic participants which they select minimally, even basic (non-derived) predicates may 'lack' some arguments from the list given in (525). For example, in both English and Polish, a large number of verbs can be used either transitively or intransitively; or, in Polish, any predicate can

optionally select a beneficiary participant, but even the so-called ‘ditransitive verbs’ may appear without it. However, regardless of how many semantic participants are selected, in non-derived predicates they can only be mapped onto those argument positions for which they qualify. Thus, in the intransitive variant of ‘eat’ with a location participant, the agent is mapped onto the argument position ‘arg_I’ classified as [-o]/[-r], and the location is mapped onto the position ‘arg_L’ classified as [-o]. Similarly, in any Polish verb which does not in any syntactic circumstances accept a direct object but typically involves a second, beneficiary participant – e.g. *dziękować* ‘thank’ – the agent is mapped onto the argument position ‘arg_I’ classified as [-o]/[-r], and the beneficiary is mapped onto the position ‘arg_B’ classified as [+o].

Although in most canonical cases¹⁰ the principle described above produces the same result as LFG’s basic principles for determining the choice of syntactic features (which were given in (515)), giving priority to the syntactic rather than semantic classification has several theoretical advantages. It is based on the observation of the actual morphosyntactic behaviour (e.g. case marking, the availability for passivisation) of arguments rather than semantic distinctions between them which are frequently too subtle to discern. It enables a morphosyntactic classification of predicates based on the types of subcategorisation matrices they use; and, perhaps most importantly, it enables a reformulation of LMT’s Mapping Principles to eschew the Subject Condition and avoid redundancy (see Section 5.2.3).

Since, in the present model, lexical valency is determined by the morphosyntactic behaviour of the predicate and not by its semantic subcategorisation potential, the dropped object of an intransitively used transitive verb does not have to be accounted for with ‘suppression’ or other morpholexical means (as in the ‘Unspecified Object Deletion’ rule of LFG, e.g. Bresnan 2001:310). The second argument position may simply be unused by the predicate if the predicate happens not to take an object argument in the given (discourse-pragmatic) circumstances. In the present model, morpholexical operations are employed

¹⁰Though, importantly, not in predicates with non-derived benefactives.

to account for ‘deletions’ of arguments which result in derived argument structures. An example of such morpholexical deletion is the anticausative which cannot optionally appear with the deleted argument. In contrast, English and Polish predicates with dropped objects may optionally appear with the understood objects.

Finally, giving priority to the syntactic classification of argument positions rather than the semantic classification of the predicate’s participants, together with the lack of the ‘Subject Condition’, makes it possible to account for inherently impersonal predicates which are otherwise excluded by LFG. These are predicates such as the ones discussed in Chapter 4, Section 4.4, which cannot in any circumstances appear with a subject or be conceptualised as having a ‘proto-agentive’ participant. Their existence is itself evidence that the Subject Condition is misleading. In Section 5.2.3 I will argue, furthermore, that the Subject Condition is, in fact, redundant, since the provision of the subject for any personal clause can be ensured by the more general mapping principles.

The unergative/unaccusative distinction, which is argued here to be a syntactic phenomenon, is captured by allowing the first argument position in the valency frame to be syntactically classified as either $[-o]$ or $[-r]$, depending on the predicate. Moreover, the ordering principle in (525) does not restrict unaccusative predicates to intransitives (i.e. one-place verbs). In two-place unaccusative predicates such as ‘last’, ‘cost’ or ‘weigh’, both core arguments are classified as $[-r]$. The choice of the $[-r]$ rather than the $[-o]$ classification for the first argument reflects a purely syntactic distinction which directly affects the mapping possibilities available for the first argument.

The existence of non-passivisable two-place unaccusatives shows, moreover, that the Asymmetrical Object Parameter (Alsina & Mchombo 1993; Bresnan 2001:310), which has been posited as a constraint on a[rgument]-structures in some languages including English, may need to be reconsidered. Specifically, I suggest that the consecutive classification of two arguments as $[-r]$ in English (as well as Polish) should not, and does not need to, be ruled out in principle. The parameter will hold if it is understood as following from the

more general ordering of the syntactic positions (expressed in (525)): only arguments in the first and second positions can be classified as $[-r]$, but no other argument may receive this classification. In this way, it is not possible for there to be any doubling of $[-r]$ arguments caused by arguments in positions other than first or second.

5.2.3 Default mappings of arguments to syntactic functions

Diagram (516) above shows the way in which grammatical functions are constrained by the features $[+/-r]$ and $[+/-o]$, and the list in (518) contains LMT's Mapping Principles according to which arguments are mapped to syntactic functions. The Mapping Principles appeal to the following markedness hierarchy (also referred to by Bresnan (2001:309) as the 'partial ordering of argument functions') derived from the grouping of the functions in (516):

(526) MARKEDNESS HIERARCHY OF SYNTACTIC FUNCTIONS

$[-o]/[-r]$ SUBJ $>$ $[-r]/[+o]$ OBJ, $[-o]/[+r]$ OBL $_{\theta}$ $>$ $[+o]/[+r]$ OBJ $_{\theta}$

where the highest syntactic function is the least marked.

I suggest that, in order to make full use of the markedness hierarchy, the Mapping Principles could be reformulated as follows:

(527) MAPPING PRINCIPLE

The ordered arguments are mapped onto the highest (i.e. least marked) compatible function on the markedness hierarchy.

The new formulation derives the principles of argument to function mapping directly from the markedness hierarchy, without the in-built condition that the first encountered argument has to be pre-specified as either $[-o]$ or $[-r]$. In other words, it is the markedness hierarchy itself which determines the default mapping of arguments to surface grammatical functions.

The new formulation achieves correct mappings for various classes of predicates discussed in the literature (including unaccusatives and ditransitives, for example), but avoids stipulating specific principles where their result is already partially determined by the markedness hierarchy. In this way, it avoids redundancy both in the account of the mapping itself, as well as in the formulation of any conditions or constraints pertaining to the subject.

Since it makes redundant the Subject Condition ('Every predicator must have a subject'), it makes it possible to account for inherently impersonal predicates and any other constructions that may have posed problems of analysis due to their non-standard behaviour with respect to the subject. It may also enable a reappraisal of morphological causatives (with their multiple agentive arguments) as well as any other constructions in which the change in the predicate's meaning (lexical semantics) alters the semantic interpretation of the predicate's participants, which in turn brings about changes in the syntactic realisation of the arguments.

When applied to the transitive predicate *bic* 'beat', the revised Mapping Principle yields the expected result, which is the same as in (519) above:

| | | |
|-------|-------|-------|
| (528) | x | y |
| | | |
| | ⟨ arg | arg ⟩ |
| | [−o] | [−r] |
| | | |
| | SUBJ | OBJ |

5.2.4 Alternative mappings of arguments to syntactic functions

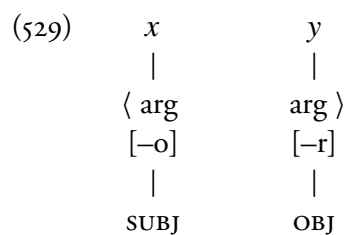
The previous section showed how the proposed model accounted for default mappings of arguments to syntactic functions. In the following few sections, I will describe briefly all the theoretically available alternative mappings of arguments to syntactic functions. In my model, these result not from the operation of suppression, but from restricting the unrestricted (and underspecified) argument positions whose arguments would normally (by default) map onto subject and object.

Restricting the first argument position leads to the passive or locative inversion, depending on whether the predicate is unergative or unaccusative. Restricting the second argument position, which becomes an option only after the first argument is deleted from the argument structure, leads to preserving the object despite the contrary default requirement following from the Mapping Principle. This non-default mapping resulting in object preservation is found in the Polish construction which I have called the ‘anticausative of the transitive without object promotion’ (see Chapter 3, Section 3.2.4.2), as well as in the common ‘active with subject instrument’ construction (e.g. *The axe broke the slab*; see Chapter 2, Section 2.3.1.3 on intermediary instruments which cannot be causers).

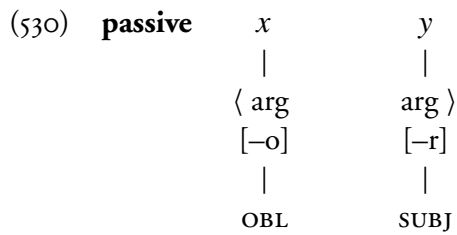
5.2.4.1 Passivisation

The fact that passivisation involves a change in the mapping of arguments to syntax is now uncontroversial in lexicalist accounts, and – as I indicated above – it is explained in LFG by resorting to the syntactic underspecification of the arguments. Apart from the change in the assignment of grammatical functions, pairs of active and passive predicates are standardly assumed not to differ with respect to their lexical semantics.

Diagram (529) is a repetition of (528) and represents the default – understood as ‘active’ in the context of the present discussion – assignment of final grammatical functions in the predicate *bić* ‘beat’:

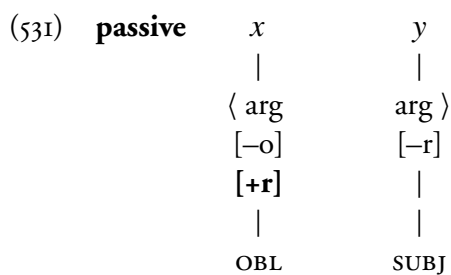


while the following diagram represents the alternative assignment of final grammatical functions in the same predicate after passivisation:



As I already said in Chapter 1, Section 1.4.1, a diagram like (530) represents only the final result of the application of the passive rule to a predicate – that is, it only represents the fact that the arguments of the predicate have received alternative assignment of grammatical functions, which is possible due to the syntactic underspecification of the arguments. I also argued that the existence of impersonal passives of intransitives in many languages including Polish points to the correctness of a ‘demotional’ rather than ‘promotional’ analysis of the passive.

Using only the principles of LMT outlined above, I suggest that the mechanism behind the assignment of alternative grammatical functions in the passive is the ‘demotion’, or ‘downgrading’, of the highest argument by specifying that it must map onto a ‘restricted’ ([+r]) grammatical function characteristic of obliques. The second argument (patient/theme) is then mapped onto its final function of the subject according to the Mapping Principle:



and the resulting construction is a personal passive of the transitive.

In the case of an intransitive (i.e. one-place) predicate, where there is no argument present which could be ‘promoted’ to subject position, the operation results in an impersonal passive which can be represented as:

(532) **passive** *x*
 |
 ⟨ arg ⟩
 [−o]
 [+r]
 |
 OBL

In standard LFG accounts of the passive, the mechanism proposed for the re-alignment of the ‘demoted’ agent participant is, briefly, as follows. The agent argument becomes ‘suppressed’ and thus prevented from receiving any further syntactic specification as well as, most importantly, from being mapped onto a syntactic argument. It is only allowed to be linked to an ‘argument adjunct’ such as the *by*-phrase in English. Since, as phrased by Zaenen & Engdahl (1994:193), the argument adjunct is ‘not strictly speaking the expression of the same role as the subject in an active sentence’, the highest [−o] argument in a passivised predicate is in fact assumed to be syntactically unexpressed. The linking between the original agent argument and the new argument adjunct is established through coindexing the two arguments (or, roles).

A nontrivial problem with the above proposal is that a passivised predicate ends up having two arguments (and possibly even two distinct thematic roles) corresponding to the same semantic participant, although passivisation clearly does not introduce an alteration in the semantics of the predicate which could be understood as an addition of an argument or role.

Alternatively, as suggested by Alsina (1996:54-56) for English, the linking between the original agent argument and the new argument adjunct is established through the lexical entry of the preposition *by* which ‘specifies some information about the c[onstituent]-structure realisation of an argument, and, so it can access a suppressed argument’. As a result, two types of obliques need to be identified, depending on the semantic participant they express: those that map onto arguments (such as the locative) and those that map onto adjuncts (such as the passive agent). In contrast with arguments, adjuncts are not repre-

sented at the a[rgument]-structure level – and this seems to be a solution to the problem posed by the standard LFG analysis of the passive agent outlined above.

This alternative analysis is based on the assumption (which I support, see Section 5.2.1 above) that argument structure is a level of representation that is derived from the lexical semantic representation, but it is distinct and separate from the semantic level. However, it requires the presence of an argument-taking preposition which would license the syntactic realisation of an argument. In view of the fact that in some languages (such as Russian, or some other Slavonic) the oblique agent is expressed simply in a nominal marked for an oblique case (which, in Russian, is the instrumental), I argue that the analysis which should be favoured remains the one outlined in (531) and (532). It sees the passive as an operation which downgrades the highest ([–o]) argument by specifying that it must map onto a restricted grammatical function characteristic of obliques.

As I will show below, the passive is one of two types of argument-restricting operations which are theoretically possible in argument structure due to the underspecification of argument positions. Since it forces the mapping of an [–o] argument onto an oblique function, it could be referred to generally as an operation **downgrading to oblique** (perhaps corresponding to a ‘demotion’ in RG terms).

The other type of argument-restricting operation involves arguments which are syntactically classified as [–r]. It forces them to map onto objects by imposing on them the [+o] restriction. Restricting the [–r] argument in the first argument position leads to the locative inversion construction, and it could be referred to as an operation **downgrading to object**. Restricting the [–r] argument in the second argument position (if applicable) leads to **preserving the object**. Both instances of this type of restriction will be discussed below.

5.2.4.2 Locative inversion

Locative inversion, which was discussed in Chapter 2, Section 2.2.4, can be exemplified by the following pair of English sentences (repeated from (124)):

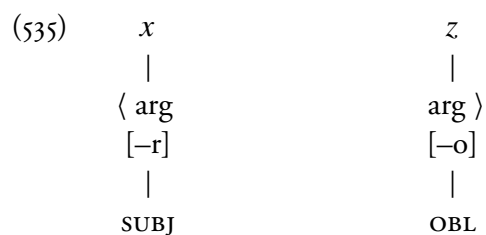
- (533) a. *Those visitors came to the village.*
 b. *To the village came those visitors.*

According to the principles of syntactic classification of arguments, the argument structure of the predicate *come* as in the sentences above can be represented as:

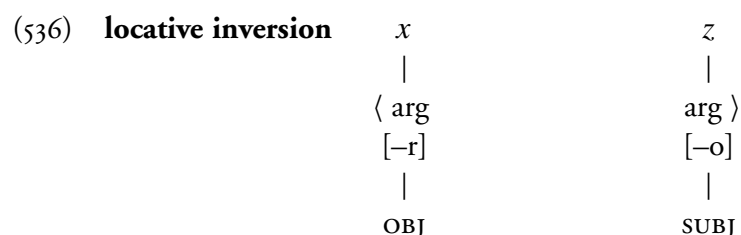


where the first participant (x) maps onto the first argument position (arg_1), the location participant (z) maps onto the fourth argument position (arg_4), and the [-r] classification of the first argument indicates that the verb is unaccusative.

The default, i.e. ‘uninverted’, assignment of grammatical functions in sentence (a) above can be represented as follows:



while the final result of the alternative, ‘inverted’, assignment of grammatical functions, as in sentence (b), can be diagrammed by LMT in the following way:



In Chapter 2, Section 2.2.4, I argued that – like in the case of the passive – the operation resulting in locative inversion should be viewed as ‘demotion’ of the highest argument to a lower grammatical function (here, object) rather than ‘promotion’ of a lower grammatical function (here, locative) to subject. As I showed in Section 2.2.4, the strongest evidence in support of this hypothesis comes from the observation that ‘inversion’ may, and does, occur in unaccusative predicates which take only one argument. Thus, ‘demotion’ of this argument to object occurs despite the fact that there is no locative argument to be promoted to subject. Furthermore, the feature decomposition of syntactic functions and the principle of monotonicity of LMT seem to support naturally the ‘demotion’ hypothesis.

However, let us first consider the standard LFG account of this construction. It was suggested by Bresnan & Kanerva (1989:26-28) that the mechanism which is involved in the process of assigning alternative grammatical functions in locative inversion is a special case of ‘subject default’: the first argument of a verb will be subject, unless special conditions (such as e.g. the first argument being [-r]) enable a lower [-o] argument to become subject by optionally characterising it as thematically unrestricted([-r]). When the location argument is a subject, the first (theme) argument must, then, be mapped onto object:

(537) **locative inversion** (attempted analysis)

| | |
|-------|-------|
| x | z |
| | |
| ⟨ arg | arg ⟩ |
| [-r] | [-o] |
| | [-r] |
| | |
| OBJ | SUBJ |

Although technically possible, the solution seems counterintuitive in that it imposes a ‘thematically unrestricted’ classification on an argument which had received the intrinsic syntactic classification of [-o] precisely because of its specific, non-core, thematic status in the argument structure. Although it appears as the second argument in the argument structure (which is often the position of the logical object), it did not qualify for the [-r] classification because it was associated with a specific, locative, semantic role. The suggested

solution assumes that the primary operation in locative inversion is the ‘promotion’ of a locative argument to subject. It seems to be motivated by the ‘Subject Condition’ which requires every predicate to have a subject and organises the mapping from arguments to grammatical functions SUBJ-centrally (cf. (518) versus the alternative proposal in (527)).

The alternative hypothesis which I am going to offer is consistent with viewing locative inversion not as triggered by ‘promotion’ of a lower argument to subject, but – similar to the passive – as ‘demotion’ of the highest argument to a lower grammatical function. In the old ‘re-mapping’ terminology this could be expressed as ‘demotion of subject to object’. In current LMT terms, this can be achieved by specifying that the highest (underspecified) argument must be ‘objective’ ([+o]). According to the Mapping Principle, the remaining (also underspecified) argument will be mapped onto subject:

| | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------|----------|
| (538) locative inversion | <i>x</i> | <i>z</i> |
| | | |
| | ⟨ arg | arg ⟩ |
| | [–r] | [–o] |
| | [+o] | |
| | | |
| | OBJ | SUBJ |

Apart from the fact that restricting, rather than un-restricting, of the mapping seems to be a theoretically more plausible analysis of a process resulting in a marked, non-default, construction, the solution in (538) correctly predicts that locative inversion may be found with predicates which subcategorise for only one argument. That is, like in the passive, ‘demotion’ of an argument involves a concomitant ‘promotion’ of another (lower) argument only if there is something to be ‘promoted’.

Thus, sentence (b) from the pair below (repeated from (126)):

- (539) a. *And then, those visitors came.*
 b. *And then – came those visitors.*

can be diagrammed as follows:

(540) **(locative) inversion** x
 |
 < arg >
 [-r]
 [+o]
 |
 OBJ

5.2.4.3 Complementarity of passivisation and locative inversion

The representations of both passivisation and locative inversion which were suggested in the previous two sections follow straightforwardly from the assumptions of LFG's Lexical Mapping Theory and are in accordance with monotonicity. The proposed analyses account for the distinctive properties of the resulting constructions and, when considered together, the two operations emerge as complementary processes which are part of a larger system of operations occurring in the argument structure of predicates.

As I already said earlier in Chapter 2, Section 2.2.4, it has been observed that there are crosslinguistic restrictions on the applicability of both passivisation and locative inversion which are based on the distinction between unergative and unaccusative predicates. The operation of passivisation applies only to unergative predicates – that is, those predicates whose most prominent argument is their underlying, or initial, subject. In the terminology of LMT, passivisation is restricted to predicates whose first argument is classified as non-objective ([-o]), as in (517). The analysis offered in this work correctly predicts that the passive rule cannot be applied to unaccusative predicates – that is, those whose initial argument is classified as [-r], as in (534) – because imposing a restricted [+r] marking on an unrestricted [-r] argument would violate the principle of monotonicity.

On the other hand, locative inversion has been demonstrated to apply only to unaccusative predicates. Since, according to the analysis offered in the present work, the locative inversion rule specifies that the highest argument of the predicate must be 'objective' ([+o]), the rule cannot be applied to unergative [-o] predicates, as this would also violate the prin-

ciple of monotonicity. The rule can, therefore, apply only to predicates in which the highest argument is classified as thematically unrestricted ($[-r]$).

Essentially, therefore, both operations seem to serve the same purpose – to downgrade the highest argument of the predicate to a lower grammatical function – and they apply, respectively, to two complementary classes of predicates: unergatives and unaccusatives. The resulting alternative mapping provides a means to take a different perspective on truth-functionally equivalent situations, a perspective which is motivated by discourse considerations such as the choice of syntactic pivot and/or presentational focus (see also Ackerman & Moore 2001:3).

5.2.4.4 Object preservation

Treating passivisation and locative inversion as ‘demoting’ rather than ‘promoting’ operations is fully supported by the generalisations offered by LFG in the form of the decomposition of syntactic functions into binary features. When taken further, this approach allows us to predict that, apart from passivisation and locative inversion, there may be one more situation where an unrestricted argument may be forced to map onto a restricted syntactic function against the default requirement of the Mapping Principle. This situation regards the second argument position in argument structure, the position of an underlying object, which is syntactically classified as $[-r]$.

Due to its underspecification, the second argument can map onto either object or subject. The possibilities are as follows:

- (a) if the first argument is present and is mapped onto subject, the second argument is mapped onto *object* (as in a default active clause);
- (b) if the first argument is present and is forced to map onto a function lower than the subject (i.e. an oblique, or the object), the second argument is mapped onto *subject* (as in the passive, or locative inversion, respectively);

- (c) if the first argument is deleted from the argument structure, the second argument is mapped onto *subject* (as in the canonical anticausative).

These mappings of the second argument onto its final syntactic function result directly from the Mapping Principle and may, therefore, be regarded as the ‘default’ options for the second argument, depending on the circumstances in which it is found.

However, it is theoretically possible that the unrestricted second argument [-r] may be forced to map onto a restricted syntactic function [+o] against the default requirement of the Mapping Principle, just as the first argument may be forced to map onto a restricted syntactic function in passivisation or locative inversion. This operation would be applicable in situations in which the second argument should, by default, map onto subject, but the default mapping is averted by the rule which instead preserves the second argument as an object.

The default mapping of the second argument onto subject occurs in situations listed under (b) and (c) above. Situation (b) does not prove to be favourable to the object preservation rule. The restriction either cannot be applied, because the rule would violate the principle of function-argument bi-uniqueness, or it would create a sort of impersonal construction without a syntactic subject, whose oblique agent would most likely be liable to reanalysis as a covert subject. However, in situation (c) the second argument could, conceivably, be mapped onto syntactic object without any violations. The operation would result in non-default (‘re-aligned’) mapping in the way analogous to the mapping which occurs in passivisation or locative inversion.

The prediction made by this hypothesis is confirmed by the existence of two constructions which were mentioned earlier in this work. The first one is a Polish construction which I referred to as the ‘anticausative of the transitive without object promotion’. In Chapter 3, Section 3.2.4.2, I asked whether ‘object promotion’ was indeed a defining property of the anticausative operation, or whether it was only one of the possible mappings which may happen as a consequence of the elimination of the first argument from the ar-

The other construction which appears to result from the application of the ‘object preservation’ rule is the common ‘active with subject instrument’ construction (e.g. *The axe broke the slab*). I discussed it in Chapter 2, Section 2.3.1.3, in connection with the distinction between intermediary instruments which can or cannot be causers.

I suggested that intermediary instruments which may not be conceptualised as agents (unless they are personified), but which may be mapped onto active subjects, do not have to be re-mapped onto the first argument position to be assigned the function of the subject. Instead, they can achieve the final mapping onto the subject function due to their syntactic pre-specification as non-objective:

| | | | | |
|-------|---------------------------------------|-----|------|------|
| (543) | active with subject instrument | x | y | z |
| | | | | |
| | | ⟨ | arg | arg⟩ |
| | | | [−r] | [−o] |
| | | | | |
| | | | OBJ | SUBJ |

The fact that the underlying object in the predicate above has retained its object status in surface syntax despite the contrary default requirement of the Mapping Principle can now be accounted for with the ‘object preservation’ rule:

| | | | | |
|-------|---------------------------------------|-----|-------------|------|
| (544) | active with subject instrument | x | y | z |
| | | | | |
| | | ⟨ | arg | arg⟩ |
| | | | [−r] | [−o] |
| | | | [+o] | |
| | | | | |
| | | | OBJ | SUBJ |

This brief discussion of constructions resulting from the hypothesised object preservation operation completes the overview of the theoretically available alternative mappings of arguments to syntactic functions. In the proposed model, all non-default mappings result from restricting the unrestricted (and underspecified) argument positions whose arguments would normally (by default) map onto subject or object.

Restricting the first argument classified as [−o] downgrades it to an oblique and leads

to the passive construction. Restricting the first argument classified as [-r] downgrades it to an object and leads to locative inversion. Restricting the second argument (which can only be classified as [-r]) becomes a workable option only after the first argument is deleted from the argument structure and leads to preserving the object despite the contrary default requirement of the Mapping Principle in constructions such as the non-canonical anticausative or the active with an instrument as subject.

5.2.5 Suppression of arguments

Unlike operations such as passivisation and locative inversion which are function-changing operations, the Polish *-no/-to* impersonal does not lead to a change in syntactic function assignment. In a transitive predicate, the underlying object is a surface object in a *-no/-to* impersonal, and – as was demonstrated in Chapter 4 – the construction has a syntactically active ‘covert’ subject which corresponds to its implied logical subject. It seems, therefore, that the *-no/-to* construction results from ‘blocking’ of the subject position – that is, ‘holding up’ the subject and preventing it from being mapped onto a categorial argument.

In LMT a role (or, argument) which cannot be mapped onto a categorial argument is said to be ‘suppressed’. The most straightforward formulation of a suppressing rule is: ‘Do not map an argument to the syntax’ (e.g. Falk 2001:111), and it is notated:

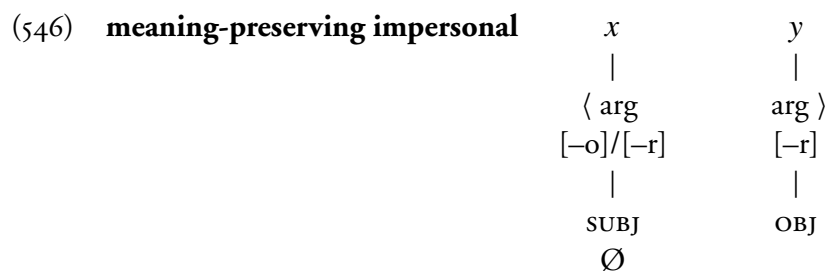
$$(545) \quad \text{SUPPRESSION} \quad \begin{array}{c} \text{arg} \\ | \\ \emptyset \end{array}$$

If (545) is understood as a rule suppressing the argument as a role or a member of the valency frame, it means that it affects the lexical semantics of the predicate, which is not the case in impersonalisation. However, if the rule is taken to refer to the expression of the argument through its syntactic function, then suppression is a very good way to account for what happens in impersonals. Morpholexical impersonals have a ‘final’ syntactic subject, but it is a covert subject which is prevented from appearing in surface categorial structure. Suppression prevents the subject from being mapped onto a categorial argument and it

may (as in the *-no/-to* impersonal) be associated with dedicated impersonal morphology.

Since impersonalisation operates outside the syntactic classification of the arguments, it should not be sensitive to the distinction between unergative and unaccusative predicates. As I showed in Chapter 4, this is indeed the case. In contrast with passivisation which is restricted to unergatives, impersonalisation can be applied to both unergative and unaccusative predicates (including the verb ‘be’ used as an auxiliary with passive participles), and with very few exceptions it is fully productive.

The following diagram represents a morpholexical impersonal which results from blocking the final subject and preventing it from taking a categorial argument:



Like all the other subject-affecting operations, it can be applied to a predicate regardless of whether there is another argument present in the argument structure or not, as long as the argument structure contains a final subject which the rule targets¹¹.

¹¹It is not immediately obvious how impersonalisation could be captured at f[unctional]-structure level of LFG which ‘translates’ between argument structure and surface categorial structure. Since an impersonalised predicate has an operational syntactic subject which corresponds to a semantic role, it would be wrong to omit the designator SUBJ from the angled brackets listing the f-structure functions of the predicate’s PRED attribute. Furthermore, the f-structure element satisfying the SUBJ designator must include case (NOM) and agreement features. In the case of the *-no/-to* impersonal, the agreement features are +HUM, PL, and VIR, while in the case of the reflexive impersonal they could be represented by the metavariable [*agr* α]. However, contrary to personal predicates, a morphosyntactically impersonal predicate must not contain a categorial argument – therefore, the functional specification of the SUBJ of the impersonal must have a [PRED *v*] feature which is obligatorily empty (leading to the c-structure node being unrealised, rather than filled with a null element). The following is an attempted representation of the f-structure of a *-no/-to* predicate (e.g. *czytano*

5.2.6 Meaning-altering operations

The passive, locative inversion, and object preservation operations all work by directly affecting the mapping of arguments onto final syntactic functions, while the impersonal suppresses the overt realisation of the final syntactic subject. Thus, both types of operation work within the *syntactic* layer of argument structure and do not seem to have any effect on the lexical semantics of predicates. For this reason, they can be regarded as meaning-preserving.

Apart from meaning-preserving alternations, however, both Polish and English have a wide range of constructions in which the alternating predicates differ in their lexical meaning¹². The changes in meaning may be accompanied by changes in transitivity and/or in the assignment of syntactic functions to the predicate's arguments. However, unlike in meaning-preserving constructions, the syntactic effects (if present) are here only a consequence, or by-product, of the changes which occur within the lexico-semantic layer of the argument structure of predicates.

In Chapter 2 I argued that the anticausative is an example of an operation which changes the lexical semantics of the predicate. Specifically, I argued that it is a lexical

'read.IMPERS'):

$$f: \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \\ \text{TENSE} \\ \neg\text{SUBJ} \\ \text{OBJ} \end{array} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{'czytano } ((f \neg\text{SUBJ})(f \text{OBJ}))\text{' } \\ \text{PAST} \\ \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{PRED} & \emptyset \\ \text{HUMAN} & + \\ \text{NUM} & \text{PL} \\ \text{GEND} & \text{VIR} \\ \text{CASE} & \text{NOM} \end{array} \right] \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} \vdots \\ \vdots \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right. \right]$$

where, as an impromptu notational solution, the negation operator (\neg) has been used to indicate that the grammatical function of the subject has been suppressed (\emptyset) in argument structure. In this way, the element which is absent (lacking) is not the subject itself, but the PRED value of the subject. Cf. Blevins (2003) for a representation of the impersonal in an HPSG-like formalism.

¹²Many of the constructions included in Levin's (1993) study of English verb classes and alternations are meaning-changing in my terminology.

In other situations, the alternative mapping of semantic participants to argument positions may result from a deliberate change to the default mapping. An example of this type of operation is the English dative shift discussed earlier in Chapter 2, Section 2.2.3.1. I suggested that in modern English the third argument position (that of the restricted object, such as the Polish dative) is unused and unusable in non-derived predicates, because English has lost the morphological distinction between dative and accusative and does not have a way of marking or otherwise identifying the argument in this position. In the absence of the second (underlying object) argument, the following sentences, intended to have two participants corresponding to the agent and the beneficiary mapped onto the first and third argument positions: *I gave Peter* and *Both parents cooked the children*, are acceptable only if the two arguments are understood as the subject/agent and the direct object/patient. However, I also argued that the third argument position in English becomes re-activated in ‘dative shift’, an alternation which is available for certain semantically ditransitive predicates.

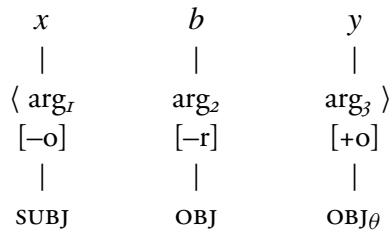
If the default mapping of semantic participants to argument positions in English predicates involving an agent, a theme and a beneficiary/recipient can be represented as follows:

(548) **transitive predicate with oblique beneficiary/recipient**

| | | |
|--------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| x | y | b |
| | | |
| ⟨ arg ₁ | arg ₂ | arg ₄ ⟩ |
| [–o] | [–r] | [–o] |
| | | |
| SUBJ | OBJ | OBL _θ |

the dative shift can be seen as altering the default mapping in such a way that the beneficiary is mapped onto the second argument position (that of the underlying object), and the theme is ‘pushed down the line’ onto the re-activated third argument position (that of the restricted object, or dative):

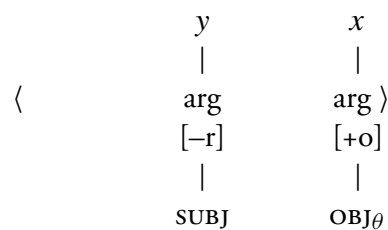
(549) **transitive predicate with shifted dative**



For the clarity of argumentation, I have subscripted the argument positions in both diagrams with numbers corresponding to argument positions in the full valency frame, not to the consecutive arguments which are actually present in the particular valency frames. The proposed analysis accounts for both the morphological marking (a preposition in the oblique, no marking in the dative) and the passivisability patterns of the non-dative shifted and dative-shifted predicates in English.

Some instances of non-default mappings of semantic participants to arguments in a predicate may be enabled as a consequence of other, independent, operations. For example, while discussing the Polish anticausative and reflexive impersonal, I suggested that the original agent/causer role in anticausative or reflexive impersonal predicates may become re-aligned and optionally mapped onto the third argument position (that of the ‘dative’). The following diagram represents the result of this re-alignment:

(550) **anticausative with dative agent**



Finally, in Chapter 2 (Section 2.3.1) and Chapter 3 (Section 3.3.2) I described and analysed the various possibilities of mapping to final syntactic functions available to semantic instruments. None of them, however, results from a change in the mapping of the instrument role onto its argument position.

In brief, I suggested that a default active clause in which the subject is an agent who uses an instrument (or other intermediary entity) to affect a patient/theme, could be represented

as follows:

| | | | |
|---|-------|------|------------------|
| (551) active with oblique instrument | x | y | z |
| | | | |
| | ⟨ arg | arg | arg ⟩ |
| | [-o] | [-r] | [-o] |
| | | | |
| | SUBJ | OBJ | OBL _θ |

In both English and Polish, a semantic instrument may end up being a syntactic subject. However, semantic instruments as subjects are not uniform in their morphosyntactic behaviour across different sentences. I therefore distinguished two types of constructions with semantic instruments as subjects. One (discussed recently in Section 5.2.4.4 on ‘object preservation’) results from the non-default assignment of the subject function to the instrument argument following the deletion of the first argument (as in the anticausative) and restricting the second argument position to retain its argument as object. Apart from the deletion of the first argument, the predicate does not undergo any further changes at the lexico-semantic level of representation, only at the syntactic level.

The other type of construction with a semantic instrument as subject results from some degree of identification (such as co-indexing or merging) of the agent and the instrument at the semantic level of thematic roles. In the light of the present analysis, however, this type of construction cannot be regarded as morphologically derived. The mapping of the causer-instrument ($x=z$) onto the first argument position is an instance of default mapping which does not result from any systematic morphosyntactic or morphosemantic change to argument structure. Both the coindexation and the merging of thematic roles is a phenomenon belonging to the study of reflexivity and, more broadly, the study of the relations between thematic roles and their referents, not thematic roles and argument positions in the argument structure.

5.3 Conclusions: the system of subject-affecting operations

The main three morpholexical operations discussed in this thesis, namely the passive, the anticausative and the impersonal, exemplify three different types of operation which can be thought to occur in the argument structure of predicates. All three can be treated as phenomena altering grammatical voice, since all of them affect directly one or both of the two core arguments of the predicate.

In traditional accounts, constructions produced as a result of these operations have frequently been grouped together as belonging to the same broad family of ‘passive-like’ constructions. In the light of the present account, it is not difficult to see how a view like this could be justified. A close analysis of these constructions has revealed that all the operations which produce them affect the first argument of the predicate in some way. An investigation of the morphosyntactic behaviour of these constructions has enabled me to posit and identify three different levels of representation of the predicate at which each of the operations is applied.

The passive affects the first argument of the predicate at the level of representation at which it is syntactically identified to become the default subject. Passivisation averts the default mapping of this argument onto the final syntactic subject by forcing it to map onto an oblique syntactic function. The completion of the satisfactory argument-to-function mappings in a passivised predicate involves ‘upgrading’ the underlying object to the function of syntactic subject, a function which has now become available. The semantic participants of the predicated event, as well as their mapping to argument positions in the valency frame, remain unaffected.

The anticausative affects the first argument of the predicate at the level of representation at which it is recognised as a member of the valency frame. The operation deletes the first argument from the argument structure frame, rendering the predicate lexically detransitive. If no further operations intervene, the satisfactory argument-to-function mappings in a lexically detransitivised predicate also result in the underlying object (now the first

argument appearing in the valency frame) being assigned the function of syntactic subject. The semantic participant which has lost the argument position to map onto also loses its interpretation as an agent, but it may in some languages be retrieved as a causer participant and re-introduced to syntax via a non-core argument.

Finally, the impersonal affects the first argument of the predicate at the level of representation at which it has been assigned its final syntactic function of the subject of the clause. Impersonalisation, which is available when the first participant is a human agent intended not to be specified, suppresses the overt expression of the syntactic subject in the predicate. The predicate becomes superficially detransitive (i.e. not accepting any expression of a surface subject) but, in fact, it retains its original valency both syntactically and semantically. Unless other operations intervene, the mapping of the semantic participants to argument positions in an impersonalised predicate remains similarly unaffected.

The multilevel model of argument structure developed in LFG allows one to formalise the above findings in a way which captures both the similarities and distinctive differences between these operations and correctly predicts the morphosyntactic behaviour of the altered predicates and their arguments. I have been able to account for all the default and altered argument-to-function mappings using the generalisations over syntactic functions expressed through LFG's binary features [+/- restricted] and [+/- objective]. Although I have suggested revisions to LFG's formulations of role-to-argument and argument-to-function mapping principles, as well as offered new solutions to account for morphosyntactic and morphosemantic operations affecting argument structure, all of my proposals happen to comply with the principle of monotonicity which is at the heart of lexical approaches to syntactic structure.

Chapter 6

Some morphological issues

In the earlier Chapters I offered a morphosyntactic account of passive-like voice phenomena in Polish and English. In this final Chapter I would like to address some issues which provide a connection between morphosyntax and morphotactics.

The diversity of the passive-like voice phenomena discussed above may prompt one to ask how a rich inventory of passive-like constructions gets established in a language, or, how a language develops a repertory of constructions. In an attempt to address this question, I will hypothesise how some of the constructions may have evolved. This exploration of the probable diachronic sources of constructions, undertaken from a typological perspective, will help me identify the reasons for the clustering of constructions. This, in turn, will make it clearer why certain constructions overlap in form. An understanding of these issues is very useful when one undertakes a synchronic analysis of constructions, as it provides clues to help untangle the categories which have been mixed up particularly in synchronic descriptions based on form.

The information presented in the few sections immediately below has been drawn from selected diachronic and typological studies which have shaped my understanding of the development of the passive. I have found, in particular, that Haspelmath (1990, 1994) offers insights which have frequently supported my own intuitions and findings. I do not,

however, offer a systematic study of the historical development of the constructions – issues such as these are addressed in the theoretical literature dealing with diachronic linguistic studies.

In order to establish how constructions may cluster, I will first compare the synchronic uses of passive markers, and then hypothesise how they can be seen as related. Finally, I will discuss in more detail the overlap of the passive and the resultative, an issue which is relevant to the analysis of the periphrastic passive in English and Polish.

6.1 Passive morphology in a typological perspective

It is widely known that the grammatical morphemes that mark the passive can have other – different but somehow related – uses, such as reflexive, reciprocal, anticausative and the potential passive (see e.g. Langacker & Munro 1975, Shibatani 1985, Haspelmath 1990).

Haspelmath (1990:32-37) provides a useful compilation of the various other uses of passive markers in languages which have the passive. In the sample of 80 languages used by him, 25 of the 39 passive morphemes have other uses, and only 14 morphemes have no other uses apart from marking the passive. The most important other uses of passive morphemes can be summarised as follows:

(552) **Reflexive** – agent performs action on him/herself.

Reciprocal – plural agents perform the action on each other; **collective** – a related use, possibly a supercategory: plural agents perform the action together.

Resultative – state resulting from a preceding action (see Section 6.3 below).

Anticausative – a spontaneous process without an external agent, while the basic verb denotes a transitive action (see Chapter 3 above).

Potential passive – the subject is capable of undergoing an action.

Fientive – derives a process of becoming from stative expressions, especially adjectives; (also called ‘inchoative’, but not to be confused with anticausatives)

and inceptives).

Reflexive-causative – the agent causes an action to be performed on him/herself.

Deobjective – the object of the action is unspecified.

Desubjective – the subject of the action is unspecified; (also called ‘impersonal’; see Chapter 4 above).

As for English and Polish, in both languages passive (‘participial’) morphology is used by the resultative; additionally, in Polish, the same participial form of verb as the one used in the participial passive (i.e. the *-n/-t* stem) is also used by the desubjective: the morphological *-no/-to* impersonal.

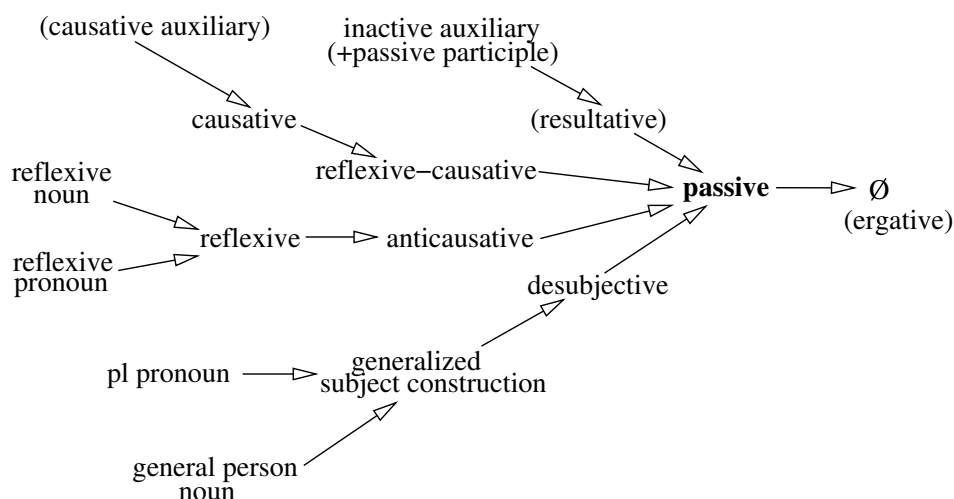
The Polish reflexive marker *się* is used in the reflexive, the reciprocal/collective, the anticausative, the reflexive-causative and the deobjective (the last two constructions are highly restricted lexically). It is also used in the other type of desubjective (the reflexive impersonal), and it may occasionally be encountered in an obsolete type of passive analogous to the reflexive passive in Russian (however, in contemporary Polish a reflexive construction with a nominative argument is no longer passive, but anticausative; see Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, Section 4.2).

Looking for some pattern in the distribution of these uses, Shibatani (1985) assumes that each of the other, non-passive, uses is semantically related to the prototypical passive. However, Haspelmath (1990:35) points out that it is not clear why the passive should be in the centre of the prototypically organised category. Instead, he posits implicational relationships among the uses of grammatical morphemes and argues that such implicational hierarchies arise diachronically when a morpheme is extended to another, semantically similar use.

6.2 Relating the different uses of passive morphology

All the uses listed in (552) are indeed related to one another semantically in some way. After having investigated the implicational relationships between them and consulted some established diachronic descriptions of constructions, Haspelmath (1990) hypothesises the following sources of passive morphemes and their convergence:

(553) (Haspelmath 1990:54, Diagram 1)



In the sections immediately below I will discuss a couple of these implicational sequences in more detail.

6.2.1 Passives and reflexives

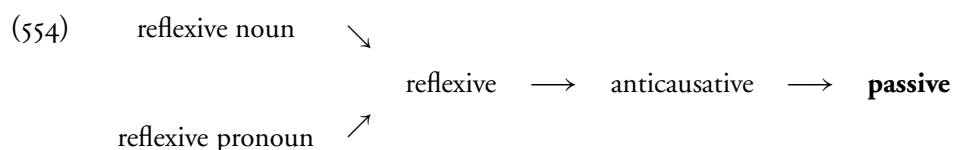
One of the implicational relationships among the uses of morphemes, suggested by Haspelmath, relates the reflexive, the anticausative and the passive. Haspelmath (1987:30) proposes the generalisation that if a verbal morpheme has both the reflexive and the passive use, then it will also have the anticausative use, because the anticausative is intermediate semantically between the reflexive and the passive. Geniušienė (1987:343-351) similarly finds that the

anticausative use comes between the reflexive and the passive use.

It is well known from typological diachronic studies¹ that reflexive nouns and pronouns may undergo grammaticalisation, attach to verbs, and become generalised to cover the uses of the anticausative and the passive. Haspelmath (1990:44-46) argues that the semantic mechanism of the transition from reflexive to passive via anticausative is an instance of semantic bleaching. Dropping the agentivity restriction on the reflexive leads to the anticausative use, and dropping the requirement of spontaneous occurrence on the anticausative leads further to the passive use.

While the reflexive implies the non-existence of an external agent (because the action is self-affecting), the anticausative is not restricted to clauses with an agentive subject (because affectedness is canonically attributed to spontaneous occurrence). However, the canonical anticausative is semantically restricted in another way: it is possible only with actions that can be conceptualised as lacking an agent. The passive constitutes a further generalisation of the anticausative in dropping this restriction and, instead, always requiring the existence of an agent even when it is not expressed (which is the consequence of extending the use of the same marker to new non-spontaneous contexts).

In this way, Haspelmath identifies the following common grammaticalisation path (cf. part of diagram (553) above):



The implicational relationships between the various synchronic uses of the Polish reflexive marker – that is, extensions of its meaning from the reflexive via the anticausative up to the (now obsolete) passive – appear to conform to the representation above. Apart from this, the reflexive form in Polish is also used in the impersonal construction. The Pol-

¹Studies of passives arising from reflexives, cited by Haspelmath 1990, include: Lehmann 1982:III.2.1.3; Faltz 1985; Geniušienė 1987; Siewierska 1984:Chapter 5.

ish reflexive impersonal (i.e. the reflexive variant of the desubjective) seems to be another implicational extension of the (reflexive) anticausative: the two constructions employ very similar morphosyntactic strategies, for example with regard to the possibility of expressing the human causer. For comparison, consider the following sentences which illustrate once again the overt expression of a human causer re-introduced into the clause as a beneficiary, bearing dative case, in the reflexive impersonal and in the anticausative, respectively:

- (555) *Piotrowi zbiła się szklanka.*
 Peter(MASC).DAT broke.3SG.FEM REFL glass(FEM).NOM
 ‘A/the glass broke to Peter/in Peter’s hands.’ (meaning: ‘Peter broke a/the glass unintentionally’)
- (556) *Piotrowi dobrze się pracowało.*
 Peter(MASC).DAT well REFL worked.3SG.NEUT
 ‘Peter’s work was going well.’

The semantic change required to turn the anticausative into the impersonal is the reinstatement of the requirement for a causer which is necessarily human. While the canonical anticausative applies only to actions that can be conceptualised as having no human agent (i.e. happening spontaneously, or brought about by a non-human causer), the impersonal requires an agent or experiencer which is human. Having said that, in their canonical instantiations, neither construction normally expresses its agent overtly.

6.2.2 Passives and resultatives

The grammaticalisation path leading from the inactive auxiliary combined with a ‘passive’ participle, through the resultative to the passive is the one Haspelmath assumes for all Indo-European and other languages which have periphrastic passives.

The elements which are now recognised as passive auxiliaries were initially main verbs. Most of them are intransitive (such as ‘be’, ‘become’, ‘stay’, ‘come’, ‘fall’, ‘go’), though they may be syntactically transitive (i.e. having a direct object, such as verbs with meanings

similar to 'undergo', 'suffer', or 'receive'). Although they can be *stative* (such as 'be') or *dynamic* (such as 'become'), according to Haspelmath (1990:38) all of them are *inactive* in the sense of 'non-agentive'. In view of what we know about the passive, it would be unsurprising to find that all the main verbs which have come to be used as passive auxiliaries have to be syntactically unaccusative.

Main verbs become auxiliary (grammatical) verbs when they enter into a specific construction which gradually grammaticalises. They may later turn into purely grammatical affixes if they become affixed to the verb stem and lose their verbal status.

As for the other element of the periphrasis, the participle with which the auxiliary is combined, in many languages with periphrastic passives the same form which is used as a participle in the passive construction (derived only from unergative verbs, transitive or intransitive, e.g. *the problem was solved*) is also used as an adjective with passive orientation (derived most commonly from transitive unergative verbs, e.g. *the solved problem*) and as an adjective with active orientation (derived most commonly from intransitive telic verbs, e.g. *a fallen leaf, an escaped prisoner*).

What is common to the two adjectival uses, the one with the passive and the one with the active orientation, is that in both of them the participial form is oriented towards the *affected participant* and, moreover, it 'refers to the *state* of this participant that *results from* its undergoing the complete *verbal action*' (Haspelmath, 1990:40, my emphasis). If, as suggested in this work, the passive is taken to be a morphosyntactic, not a functional category, the participial form on its own might be more appropriately called a *resultative participle* rather than a *passive participle*.

Haspelmath further explains how the common resultative participle formed from transitive verbs receives its most typical interpretation:

As adjectives, participles are used to characterize nouns by means of verbal actions, and resultative participles characterize by means of the results of verbal actions. But only the patient can be characterized by means of the result of

an action, because in general only the patient is affected by an action. This explains why resultative participles show passive orientation with transitive verbs (...). (ibid.)

As I will show in Section 6.3, resultative participles are not, in fact, restricted to characterising patients even in transitive verbs. Nevertheless, this is their most common usage, as well as the area of semantic overlap with the passive construction. Thus, having looked at the usage and the interpretation of the participial form, I suggest that the passive is indeed semantically implied by the resultative. Furthermore, the passive operation applies to a subset of the verbs which can appear in the resultative.

It would, however, be inaccurate to attribute the interpretation of the passive construction to the participle itself, rather than to the argument structure of the predicate expressed with the verb compound including an auxiliary as its essential element. An argument in support of this hypothesis comes from languages such as Russian which, like English and Polish, uses resultative participles in the passive construction, though only participles made of verbs in the perfective aspect (corresponding to the telicity requirement on the English and Polish resultative participles).

Russian imperfective verbs do not form resultative participles or periphrastic passives. When passivised, they are marked with the reflexive marker *-sja/s'*. This applies both to predicates referring to the present (as in (557) below) and to the past, (as in (558))²:

- (557) a. *Etot osobnjak restavrirujetsja arxitektorami*
 this.MASC.NOM residence(MASC).NOM renovates.REFL architects(MASC).INSTR
iz Peterburga.
 from Petersburg
 'This house is being renovated by architects from St. Petersburg.'
- b. *Zaxvachennyj samolet osvobozhdaetsja silami*
 hijacked.MASC.NOM plane(MASC).NOM liberates.REFL forces(FEM).INSTR
mestnoj milicji.
 local.FEM.GEN police(FEM).GEN

²I am grateful to Marina Chumakina for her advice regarding all the Russian examples in this section.

‘The hijacked plane is being liberated by the local police forces.’

- (558) *Kartina vosstanavlivalas’ specialistami v techenie trex mesjacev.*
 painting(FEM).NOM restored.FEM.REFL experts(MASC).INSTR in course three
 months

‘For three months the painting was being restored by experts.’

Russian perfective verbs (just like their Polish counterparts) cannot occur as main verbs in the present tense, because their semantics, denoting completion of an event, would be in conflict with the semantics of the present tense which denotes (roughly) an unfinished/continuing event or state. Naturally, this restriction on perfective verbs applies both to the active and the passive, where they would also be main verbs. Therefore, just as there is no present active of perfective verbs, there is no present participial passive of perfective verbs. (Recall that imperfective verbs, which can occur as main verbs in the present tense, form reflexive passives.) The only passive structure in which perfective verbs can legitimately occur is the passive referring to the past, as in:

- (559) *On byl pojman milicjonom.*
 he.NOM was.3SG.MASC capture.PART.SG.MASC policeman(MASC).INSTR
 ‘He was captured by a policeman.’

Now, resultative participles which are used in subject-complement constructions as adjectives are not limited by similar restrictions of tense. Therefore, perfective resultative participles can occur in sentences referring to the present, as in:

- (560) a. *On pojman.*
 he.NOM capture.PART.SG.MASC
 ‘He is captured.’
- b. *Kalitka otkryta.*
 gate(FEM).NOM open.PART.SG.FEM
 ‘The gate is open.’
- c. *Na stene poveshena kartina.*
 on wall hang.PART.SG.FEM picture(FEM).NOM

‘On the wall is hung a picture.’

Being subject-complement clauses, the sentences above do not contain the copula. The lack of a copula is a characteristic morphosyntactic feature of this type of clause in the present tense regardless of the type of complementation (adjectival, nominal, or adverbial) or the person feature of the subject (examples adapted from Frajzyngier 1978:151):

- (561) a. *Ja/On vrach.*
I/he doctor(MASC).NOM
‘I am/He is a doctor.’
- b. *Ja/On pojman.*
I/he capture.PART.SG.MASC
‘I am/He is captured.’

In the past tense in Russian, subject-complement clauses require a finite copula marked for past tense (resulting in sentences equivalent to: ‘I/He was a doctor’, ‘I/He was captured’). Since passive clauses with perfective verbs also require a copula, some subject-complement clauses with perfective resultative participles, lacking an agent phrase and any other adverbial modifiers which would force the non-stative interpretation of the verbal phrase, are similarly ambiguous between the passive and the non-passive (stative resultative) interpretation as the analogous examples in English and Polish which were given earlier in Chapter 2, Section 2.3.5.

In the present tense, however, Russian sentences such as the ones in (560) are resultative rather than passive. They describe the *state* of the subject in the present as having resulted from some previous event. They resist the passive interpretation by disallowing actional adverbials (except in some special contexts):

- (562) *?/*Kalitka bystro otkryta.*
gate(FEM).NOM quickly open.PART.SG.FEM
‘?/*The gate is quickly open.’

Compare (562) with the passive, in the past and the future tenses, both requiring the copula:

- (563) *Kalitka* *byla/budet* *bystro* *otkryta*.
 gate(FEM).NOM was.3SG.FEM/will-be.3SG quickly open.PART.SG.FEM
 ‘The gate was/will be opened quickly.’

Therefore, the morpholexical structure of Russian sentences in (560) is not passive, but it is the same as the structure of other subject-complement clauses with adjectival, nominal or adverbial complementation. And, more importantly, the resultative participle itself does not seem to be sufficient to support the passive structure. The participial passive makes use of the semantics of the resultative participle, but it also seems to need a finite auxiliary, such as the copula of subject-complement clauses, to support its ability to refer to various time frames in the analogous way to the corresponding active.

Therefore, I would hypothesise a slightly different grammaticalisation path covering the uses of ‘passive participial’ morphology than the one suggested by Haspelmath in (553), namely:

- (564) resultative → inactive copula + resultative participle → **passive**

In this way, the diagram would capture the extension of the meaning of the participial marker from the resultative to the passive and show that the passive, but not the resultative construction, requires an inactive copula to achieve the inflectional capacity analogous to the active.

Furthermore, as is evident from Polish, the ‘passive participial’ morphology can also be used to express the desubjective. It is known from Polish diachronic linguistic studies that the *-n/-t* impersonal (the desubjective) is an innovation in Polish (see e.g. Klemensiewicz et al. 1955:432-435; Długosz-Kurczabowa & Dubisz 1999:319), and we may hypothesise that the change of meaning from the passive to the impersonal involved obligatory interpretation of the agent as a human one, as well as obligatory despecification of this agent. Adding this implicational relationship to Haspelmath’s diagram in (553) would result in the following representation:

- (565) **passive** → desubjective

Haspelmath (1990:57-58) notes too that the desubjective can arise from the passive, and suggests that such cases are counterarguments to the common assumption that grammaticalisation changes are unidirectional. However, he is careful to add that they are not necessarily instances of degrammaticalisation; instead, they simply show that the development from the passive can happen in both directions.

6.2.3 Passives and other semantic categories

Other sources of passive morphology might be mentioned to complete the picture of its known or hypothesised grammaticalisation paths.

A less-well known source of the passive are **causatives**, with the grammaticalisation path discussed and diagrammed by Haspelmath (1990:46-49) as follows:

(566) (causative auxiliary) → causative → reflexive-causative → **passive**

An illustration of the transition of meaning from the causative to the reflexive-causative to the passive can be drawn from the following sequence in English:

- (567) a. *I have the barber shave me.*
 b. *I have myself shaved by the barber.*
 c. *I am shaved by the barber.*

According to Haspelmath, passives from causatives are not frequent, but they are nevertheless well-motivated. The essential semantic difference between the causative and the passive is loss of agency.

The fourth source of passives has been called by Haspelmath (ibid.:49-50) **generalised-subject constructions** and diagrammed as follows:

(568) pl pronoun ↘
 (general person noun) ↗
 generalised subj constr → desubjective → **passive**

It captures the fact that the passive can evolve from unspecified-agent constructions to which I referred earlier in Chapter 1, Section 1.3, and Chapter 4.

In brief, this grammaticalisation path begins with constructions using either conventional agreement (such as the 3PL pronoun, overt or obligatorily dropped) or special lexical items (generic or indefinite reference nominals such as *people*, or special pronominal subjects with arbitrary, indefinite or generic reference such as the English *one* or the German *man*). The special generalised-subject element (particularly the marker on the verb) may, then, lose its independent syntactic status and be interpreted as a desubjective (i.e. morpholexical impersonal) marker.

The reanalysis from the impersonal to the passive begins when the generalised subject of the impersonal, already semantically weak, loses its participant status and an agent phrase can be added to the construction. The direct object may, then, be reanalysed as the subject, the impersonal marker may be reanalysed as a passive marker, and the former object agreement marker as a subject agreement marker.

According to Haspelmath, passives which have arisen from impersonals are particularly common in African languages (e.g. the well-known case of Kimbundu, described by Givón in his 1979 and other papers), and they have also been identified in Micronesian languages (Jacobs 1976) and in Ainu (Shibatani 1985).

Two more interesting cases of this process have been reported in Balto-Slavonic (Ukrainian; see Blevins 2003:492-500) and Celtic (Welsh, Irish; see Statha-Halikas 1977; Blevins 2003:500-502). These languages have morphosyntactically impersonal constructions which pattern semantically with passives. The meaning of the suppressed subject of the impersonal in these constructions has become generalised and, as a result, '[t]hey receive an indefinite, but not exclusively human or even agentive interpretation, which is compatible with the use of (...) agentive phrases to further specify the suppressed subject' (Blevins *ibid.*:492).

Finally, to complete the account of the known origins of passive morphology, Haspelmath suggests that some passives may not arise via grammaticalisation. Instead, they may

result from the **lexical expansion of** initially idiosyncratic **derivational morphemes** (e.g. the Ancient Greek passive in *-thē*) (1990:51-52).

6.3 Overlap of the passive and the resultative

In this section I will highlight the area of overlap between the resultative and the passive and clarify the points of difference between the two phenomena. In order to do this, I will first discuss the notions of ‘adjective’, ‘participle’ and ‘resultative’ and outline the characteristics and properties of each of these categories. I will, then, show how the passive construction makes use of the available forms of the resultative participle and the subject-complement construction in which the resultative participle appears as an adjective in a predicative function. By offering a systematic account of both the resultative and the passive, I aim to show that the participial form itself is a morphologically derived lexeme which is not passive unless it is used in a passive construction identified on the basis of morphosyntax. When referring to the isolated participial form, it is, therefore, more accurate to use the term ‘resultative participle’. Using the term ‘passive’ with reference to this form outside the passive construction may be argued for from the fact that a large proportion of resultative participles are ‘semantically passive’. However, this functional classification is misleading and creates unnecessary problems. On the basis of the presence of the semantically passive participial form, many more constructions are classified as passive than are really, morphologically, passive.

6.3.1 Adjectives and participles

It is a widely accepted fact that adjectives do not constitute a universal syntactic category in language. Comparative studies show that while all languages seem to distinguish the major word classes of ‘noun’ (with the semantic function of encoding entities or objects) and ‘verb’ (encoding actions), and while all languages have a formal way of encoding ‘adjectival’

meanings or ‘property concepts’, not all languages have a distinct open class of ‘adjectives’ such as is found in Indo-European languages.

Many other languages either have a closed (non-productive) and rather small set of adjectives (e.g. many Bantu languages), or lack a distinct adjective class altogether (e.g. Mandarin Chinese). Languages which lack (or have few) distinct adjectives use verbs or nouns to express properties or qualities. Similarly, in languages which are regarded as having a distinct adjective class, the adjectives tend to share morphological and/or syntactic properties with nouns or with verbs. As a result, adjectives are not generally considered to have an independent status comparable to that of the universal word classes ‘noun’ and ‘verb’ (Wetzer 1996:3).

According to the traditional view on adjectival encoding, in languages like English and Polish which have a distinct open class of adjectives, property concepts are considered to be encoded either as adjectives, adjectival nouns, or as adjectival verbs – even though none of these subcategories is, in fact, clearly identifiable or homogeneous. Adjectives tend to split up into ‘noun-like’ and ‘verb-like’, and the boundaries between adjectives on the one hand and adjectival nouns and adjectival verbs on the other appear to be extremely fuzzy. As for the adjectivals, whatever their word class status is considered to be, they are typically attached to the nominal or verbal system of the language in question (ibid.:5-6). In languages like English and Polish the adjectivals which are derived from verbs and considered part of the verbal inflectional paradigm are traditionally referred to as participles.

The last characteristic, whose consequence is the retention of verbal valency at some level of representation other than just conceptual, is often considered necessary for a verb-derived adjective to be called a participle (Haspelmath 1994:152). It is this characteristic which distinguishes English verb-derived adjectives such as *understandable*, *reliable*, etc., or Polish verb-derived adjectives such as *zrozumiały* (‘understandable’), *policzalny* (‘countable’), *kurczliwy* (‘shrinkable’), etc., which are not normally considered participles, from verb-derived adjectives such as *singing/spiewający*, *smiling/uśmiechnięty*, *sung/spiewany*, *gath-*

ered/zgromadzony, etc., which are generally considered to be participles.

6.3.2 Verb-derived adjectives: orientation and tense

When participles are used in attributive function, they modify the head noun with which they are combined in the same way as adjectives do. I assume, after Haspelmath (1994:153, and footnote 5), that in a modifying relation, the *modifier* is relational and has a slot for its head which coincides with its referent. (In a governing relation, on the other hand, the *head* is relational, has slots for its arguments, and has a separate referent.) Furthermore, whenever the meaning of an attributive word is a concept involving more than one semantic participant, it is possible for the word to express a specific orientation towards one of the participants.

Taking Haspelmath's (ibid.) example of the English adjectives *dreadful* and *apprehensive*, we understand that they both involve fear which, in turn, involves the experiencer of the fear and the cause of the fear (the stimulus). Using the notion of orientation (which Haspelmath attributes to Lehmann 1984:152) we can say that *dreadful* is oriented towards its stimulus participant (i.e. the noun modified by *dreadful* is understood to be a stimulus), while *apprehensive* is oriented towards its experiencer (i.e. the noun modified by *apprehensive* is understood to be an experiencer).

Participles have a similar ability to display orientation and, moreover, any one verb can in principle produce a number of participles oriented towards any of the verb's participants. According to Nedjalkov & Jaxontov (1988:8-11) who do not use the notion of orientation but, in a similar spirit to Haspelmath's argumentation, propose a taxonomy of resultative constructions according to 'diathesis type', there are languages in which resultative participles may even be oriented towards non-core participants such as locations and beneficiaries (Nedjalkov & Jaxontov refer to them by their oblique-argument names of 'locatives' and 'datives'). However, the most frequently attested participles crosslinguistically are agent-oriented (also referred to as 'active' or 'subjective') and patient-oriented (also referred to as

‘passive’ or ‘objective’)³.

Another widely acknowledged feature of participles, apart from their orientation, is that they can display some tense characteristics, in a similar way to finite verbs. This means that in addition to coding the particular property of the referent in terms of (or, with reference to) the event denoted by the verb, the participle can also specify the time at which the property of the referent applies relative to the time of the event. This has often been taken to mean that participles indicate tense (the location of the event in time) and has led to the widely used labels ‘past’ and ‘present’ with reference to participles.

However, despite being traditionally called ‘past’ or ‘present’, some participles may not indicate tense at all, and instead they may, in fact, be able to refer to various time frames. An example of the participle whose time-reference is relative is the so-called ‘present’ participle in modern English and Polish (e.g. *śpiewający/singing*). In the language examples which I gave earlier in this work, I referred to this participle as ‘contemporaneous’, since this term captures better the fact that the participle is non-finite, can be used within any time frame and interpreted accordingly. Similarly, it is widely recognised by Polish linguists that the ‘past passive’ participle in Polish (the one formed with the *-n/-t* suffix) does not indicate past tense. The *-n/-t* suffix has originated from the infinitival stem, the participle has an orientation towards an affected participant, it can be formed from a much wider range of verbs than those which can undergo passivisation, and it can be used with reference to any time frame. In other words, despite being labelled ‘past passive’, the Polish *-n/-t* participle is a resultative participle which is not past and only sometimes used in the passive.

³Haspelmath (1994:154) further points out that, in cases such as the ones discussed in this Chapter – i.e. when the participial marker specifies the orientation – the participle is oriented *inherently*. However, it is also possible for participles to be inherently *unoriented* and oriented only *contextually*, as in, for example, Lezgian.

6.3.3 Resultative participles

The participial forms which I would now like to describe in more detail are the English and Polish participles referred to as ‘past’, ‘perfect’ and ‘passive’.

I suggest that all English participles referred to by these names result from the same morphological derivation. As I already mentioned in Section 6.2.2, ‘past passive’ (or, ‘passive’) participles formed from transitive verbs – as in *the solved problem* – and ‘past active’ (or, ‘perfect’/‘active unaccusative’) participles formed from intransitive verbs – as in *the escaped prisoner* – are, in fact, instances of the same participial formation which is best understood with reference to the notion *resultative*. Nedjalkov & Jaxontov (1988:6), who undertook a crosslinguistic study of resultative constructions, define the term resultative as indicating ‘those verb forms that express a state implying a previous event’. Both the past passive deverbal participle and the perfect active deverbal participle are, thus, the same *resultative participle* which characterises its head ‘by expressing a state that results from a previous event’ Haspelmath (1994:159).

Haspelmath (1994:159-161) discusses some of the semantic restrictions on the formation of the resultative participle, which all boil down to the fact that ‘a thing cannot always be characterized by means of a state resulting from an event in which it participated’. One obvious restriction that can be posited makes use of the notion of *affectedness*: it is possible, and indeed useful, to characterise a participant by means of a resulting state only if the previous event affected or changed it somehow (cf. *the abused child, the wilted dandelion*). For this reason, resultative participles formed from transitive verbs are most commonly patient-oriented.

Another restriction, also semantic in nature and deriving from the notion of affectedness, is that the verb may need to be telic to be able to form a resultative participle. This requirement is particularly relevant in the formation of those resultative participles which are agent-oriented. All the known restrictions on the formation of resultative participles will be discussed in more detail in the following sections.

In the meantime, a few words are due on Polish participial forms. In Polish, resultative participles can be formed from two different stems: the so-called **participial -n/-t stem** (with the allomorphs *-n/-t/-on/-et*), and the so-called **-ł stem** (with the allomorphs *-ł/-ł*). The following are examples of both types of participles:

- (569) a. *śpiewany* ‘sung’
 b. *popękany* ‘cracked’
- (570) a. *zwiędły* ‘wilted’
 b. *zbiegły* ‘escaped’
- (571) a. *osadzony* ‘[that has been] set; [that has been] settled’
 b. *osiadły* ‘[that has] set; [that has] settled’
 c. *rozespany* ‘that has slept too much’
 d. *ospały* ‘that has slept too much’
 e. *zamarznięty* or *zamarzły* ‘frozen’
 f. *przeziąknięty* or *przeziąkły* ‘soaked; permeated [with liquid]’⁴

6.3.4 The distribution of *-n/-t* and *-ł* participles in Polish

As I already said earlier, the Polish participle formed with the *-n/-t* suffix does not indicate past tense, and therefore its traditional name – the ‘past passive’ participle – is as misleading in Polish as it is in English. Similarly, the contemporary *-ł* participle in Polish no longer indicates past tense either.

⁴For details of the distribution of *-ł* and *-n/-t* suffixes in resultative adjectives in Polish, see Cetnarowska (2000). In brief, in the instances where parallel *-ł* and *-n/-t* forms exist, as in examples (e) and (f) of (571), the forms with *-n/-t* seem to be more frequently used than the *-ł* forms. However, although the productivity of *-ł* adjectives appears to be diminishing, the suffix *-ł* is still used in innovative derivations, and it is preferred in some adjectives – the ones formed from intransitive reflexive verbs – instead of the expected formation involving the *-n/-t* morpheme.

The *-n/-t* stem underlies the following forms in Polish:

(572) THE *-n/-t* STEM

1. Deverbal adjectives
 - Patient- and agent-oriented resultative adjectives
e.g. (*ukradziony list* 'a/the stolen letter', *najedzony pies* 'a/the dog that has eaten to the full')
2. Main verbs
 - (a) Analytic (part of a verb compound)
 - Object-oriented participles of the passive construction
e.g. *list został ukradziony* 'the letter became stolen'
 - Object-oriented 'perfect participles' of the colloquial 'perfect tense'
e.g. *mam to zapamiętane* lit. 'I have got it remembered; I have remembered it'
 - (b) Synthetic
 - The *-no/-to* impersonal verb forms⁵

And the *-ł* stem underlies the following forms in Polish:

(573) THE *-ł* STEM

1. Deverbal adjectives
 - Patient- and agent-oriented resultative adjectives
e.g. *upadły* 'fallen', *zbiegły* 'escaped'
2. Main verbs
 - (a) Synthetic
 - The preterite (with number and person agreement in the form of auxiliary clitics)⁶

⁵Lavine (2001, 2003) treats the *-no/-to* ending in contemporary Polish *-no/-to* verbs as an affixal auxiliary.

⁶See Spencer (1991:367-374) for a morphological analysis of the Polish preterite form.

(b) Analytic

- Untensed main verbs, marked for number and gender, of subordinate clauses introduced by the complementiser *žeby* marked for number and person (see end of Section 2.2.6)
- Future analytic tense forms based on the preterite form (with an auxiliary)
- Conditional form based on the preterite form (with an auxiliary-like formative particle)

6.3.5 The orientation of resultative participles

In this section and the next I will present an overview of what is known about the restrictions on the formation of resultative participles, based mostly on studies of English. The first restriction discussed is that of the affected participant.

In general, as I already mentioned earlier, in transitive verbs the action usually affects the patient or theme, not the agent, and, for this reason, most transitive verbs tend not to make agent-oriented resultative participles. That is, **the sung performer* is implausible, and therefore unacceptable, even if the verb happens to be used intransitively (compare: *the sung ballad*), and the only available interpretation of *the abused teacher* is that the participle characterises the patient of the activity denoted by the verb.

However, it is inaccurate to say that resultative participles can only characterise patients. In fact, the particular semantic role fulfilled by the participant does not seem to be relevant to the formation of the resultative participle characterising that participant. Instead, what is relevant is whether the action has affected the participant – whether patient, theme, or agent – in a way that can be used to characterise it.

For example, sometimes a transitive action may be such that it affects the agent. If this is the case, it is possible to characterise the agent by means of the state resulting from the action, and resultative participles with ‘active’ orientation can be formed. Haspelmath (1994:160) cites examples of transitive agent-oriented participles from Hindi-Urdu. Polish

is another language in which resultative participles of many semantically transitive verbs can be agent-oriented. These participles can be formed from telicised (as well as morphologically perfective) forms of verbs such as: *jeść* ‘eat’, *pić* ‘drink’ and semantic derivatives of these two (e.g. *zreć* ‘devour/pig out’, *chlać* ‘tope/guzzle’), *ubrać* ‘put on’ and *zniebnić* ‘cause to be cold’.

Verbs of this type encode actions which, despite involving two participants one of whom is a theme or patient, affect the agent saliently – that is, the action affects *both* the agent and the theme/patient. Therefore, as Haspelmath argues, it is not surprising that in some of these verbs the resultative participle can be *either* agent- or patient-oriented. The following examples are an illustration of this phenomenon in Polish⁷ (N.B. also the English translation of (575d)):

- (574) a. *zjedzony obiad* ‘a/the dinner that has been eaten (‘finished up’)’
 b. *najedzony chłopak* ‘a/the boy who has eaten himself full’
- (575) a. *wypita herbata* ‘(the) tea that has been drunk up’
 b. *spity nektar* ‘(the) drunk nectar’
 c. *ale jestem napity* ‘how full of drink I am (coll.)’

⁷In Polish there is a productive derivation of reflexive predicates, formed from both transitive and intransitive verbs, which results in a slight semantic change reminiscent of the old Indo-European middle voice in that the agent/experiencer of the action becomes ‘internalised’ in the action, and the verb becomes syntactically intransitive. The derived reflexive verb becomes obligatorily perfective through the addition of a prefix which usually determines the interpretation of the predicate, e.g. *jeść* (*coś*_{ACC}) ‘eat (something)’ becomes *najeść się* (*czegoś*_{GEN}/*czymś*_{INSTR}) ‘make oneself full eating (something)’, or *przejeść się* (*czymś*_{INSTR}) ‘eat too much of (something)’, *oglądać* (*coś*_{ACC}) ‘watch (something)’ becomes *naoglądać się* (*czegoś*_{GEN}) ‘watch (something) to one’s heart content’, *spać* ‘sleep’ becomes *wyspać się* ‘sleep as much as one needs to feel rested’, etc. All of the derived reflexive verbs can make agent-oriented resultative participles (even though some of these participles may be considered colloquial or informal). It might, therefore, be argued that the agent-oriented prefixed resultative participles in (574-577) are, in fact, formed from derived reflexive verbs, as illustrated in this footnote. This derivation was already discussed earlier in Chapter 3 on the anticausative construction, Section 3.2.5.2.

- d. *spity chłopak* ‘a/the drunk boy’
- (576) a. *ubrany płaszcz* ‘a/the coat that is/was being worn’
 b. *ubrany chłopak* ‘a/the boy who is/was dressed’
- (577) a. *przeziębione gardło* ‘a/the sore throat’ (lit. ‘a/the throat that has been exposed to the cold’)
 b. *jestem przeziębiony* ‘I have a cold’
 c. *przeziębiony chłopak* ‘a/the boy who has/had a cold’

In their typological survey of resultative constructions, Nedjalkov & Jaxontov (1988:9) treat agent-oriented resultative constructions as a separate category, calling them ‘possessive resultatives’, since in most of such constructions ‘the underlying object of the affecting action refers to a body part or possession of the underlying subject or to something in immediate contact with the latter’. They identify eight main groups of verbs that form ‘possessive resultatives’ crosslinguistically, including verbs of obtaining (‘take’, ‘receive’, ‘lose’), wearing (‘put on’, ‘wear’), ingestion (‘eat’, ‘drink’), and ‘mental ingestion’ (‘see’, ‘learn’, ‘study’) (cf. Haspelmath 1994:174, footnote 10).

Haspelmath (1994:161) further notes that agent-oriented resultative participles formed from transitive verbs had already been noted by Brugmann (1895) and Wackernagel (1920:288) with reference to the Latin ‘exceptionally active past participles’ such as *cenatus* ‘having eaten’ and *potus* ‘having drunk’.

Arguing in support of a different hypothesis, Bresnan provides more examples from English in which transitive agent-oriented resultative participles have been formed (2001:36, adapted):

- (578) a. *a confessed killer* [a killer who has confessed (his/her crime)]
 b. *a recanted Chomskyan* [a Chomskyan who has recanted (his/her opinion about Chomsky)]
 c. *(un)declared juniors* [juniors who have (not) declared (majors)]

- d. *a practised liar* [a liar who has practised (lying)]
- e. *an unbuilt architect* [an architect who has not built (buildings)]

She argues that all these verbs designate actions (verbal or other) that change one's moral, legal, or administrative status. Resultative participles formed from these verbs are, therefore, felicitous both with patient/theme and agent orientation.

If we now look at intransitive verbs, both the semantically 'unaccusative' ones (having one patient participant) and the semantically 'unergative' ones (having one agent participant), the situation is not much different. Whether the participant of the action is semantically a patient or an agent, a resultative participle can be formed if the action has affected the participant and caused it to assume a state resulting from the action. The following are examples from English (Bresnan 1978:8 and 2001:34,35; see also Levin 1993:87):

- (579)
- a. *elapsed time*
 - b. *a fallen leaf*
 - c. *the drifted snow*
 - d. *a collapsed lung*
 - e. *a lapsed Catholic*
 - f. *a failed writer*
 - g. *wilted lettuce*
 - h. *a grown man*
 - i. *a stuck window*
 - j. *an escaped convict*
 - k. *a risen Christ*
 - l. *an undescended testicle*

In Polish, resultative participles can be formed even from verbs such as *być* 'to be', *stać* 'to stay', *czuć* 'to feel', or *oschnąć* 'to become dry'. The meanings of all the resultative

participles formed from these verbs have become lexicalised to varying extents: *były* means ‘one that has been/was’, i.e. ‘former’; *staly* used to mean ‘one who stayed’, but has now been lexicalised as ‘unchanging, emotionally stable’; *czuły* used to mean ‘one who has felt’, but has now been lexicalised as ‘feeling for someone else, caring’; *oschły* means ‘one that has become (emotionally) dry’, i.e. ‘indifferent, unemotional’.

Thus, all the evidence suggests that the orientation of resultative participles is ultimately determined by the semantics of the whole predicate rather than by any syntactic differences between the arguments of the verb, or even by the thematic classification of participant roles.

6.3.6 Semantic restrictions on resultative participles

It is clear that the formation of resultative participles is not restricted to events in which the participant undergoes an involuntary change of state. Whether the change of state is involuntary or volitional, it is generally possible to form resultative participles characterising the participants which have undergone the change of state. However, a further restriction on the event has been noted: the verb expressing it has to be telic (in the sense of Vendler 1957; Dowty 1979).

Since the function of the resultative participle is to characterise an entity by means of a resulting *state*, atelic events which are not construed as resulting in any state cannot provide the semantic basis required for the formation of the resultative participle.

Haspelmath (1994:159) gives the following example. The English verbs *bloom* and *sleep*, which have single non-agentive participants, do not make resultative participles (**the bloomed dandelion*, **the slept dog*) because they are atelic. However, in languages in which atelic verbs can be telicised by a locative particle, resultative participles can, nevertheless, be formed from the derived telic variants of the verbs.

This is the case, for example, with German and Polish, in which both *bloom* and *sleep* can be telicised as in the following examples (the German ones are cited directly from

Haspelmath; also compare with Polish (574)-(577)):

- (580) a. **der geblühte Löwenzahn* ‘the bloomed dandelion’
b. *der aufgeblühte Löwenzahn* ‘the bloomed (‘blown’) dandelion’
- (581) a. **der geschlafene Hund* ‘the slept dog’
b. *der eingeschlafene Hund* ‘the dog that has fallen asleep’
- (582) a. **kwitnięty mlec* or **kwitły mlec* ‘a/the bloomed dandelion’
b. *rozkwitnięty mlec* or *rozkwitły mlec* ‘a/the bloomed (‘opened up’) dandelion’
- (583) a. **spany pies* or **spały pies* ‘a/the slept dog’
b. *rozspany pies* or *ospały pies* ‘a/the dog that has been affected by too much sleep; a/the sleepy dog’

Furthermore, in a similar way to the German and Polish examples above, where verbs have been telicised by prefixation, English too can form agent- and patient-oriented resultative participles from some atelic verbs if they are accompanied by an appropriate telicising preposition or adverbial. Just as in the German and Polish examples, the English telicising elements too change slightly the meaning of the base verb:

- (584) (examples (a) and (b) adapted from Bresnan (2001:31))
- a. *After the tornado, the fields had a marched-through look.*
- b. *You can ignore any recently gone-over accounts.*
- c. *What’s the difference between a run-over snake and a run-over attorney?*⁸

Cf. the unacceptability of: **marched fields*, **gone accounts*, **a run snake/attorney*.

- (585) ((a)-(e) adapted from Bresnan 2001:34,35)
- a. **a run slave vs a run-away slave*

⁸There are skid marks in front of the snake.

- b. **an exercised athlete vs an over-exercised athlete*
- c. **a flown bird vs a flown-away bird*
- d. **a flown pilot vs the most-distance-flown pilot*
- e. **!a travelled correspondent vs a widely-travelled correspondent*
- f. **a read person vs a well-read person*

Activities expressed with atelic verbs which lack an inherent result state can, then, be supplied with goals, limits, or result states and thus provide the necessary semantic basis for the formation of the resultative participle.

Bresnan (2001:34-35) discusses a couple of other cases of English resultative participles in more detail, in an attempt to tease out semantic distinctions between the verbs that can, and the verbs that cannot form them. One of the discussed verbs is *leave*. Bresnan argues that **a recently left woman* is unacceptable because the predicate focuses on the source of motion, not on the goal or result state.⁹

The verb *grow*, on the other hand, displays the following contrast: *a grown man* is acceptable, while *?a grown tree* is problematic. Bresnan cites the following explanation by Goldberg (p.c.): ‘The former refers to a culturally recognized end-point, namely adulthood, while the latter does not since there is no culturally recognized end state of treehood.’ It is, nevertheless, possible to imagine that the latter phrase might be uttered by an expert gardener with respect to a plant whose state of ‘adulthood’ he or she would be able to recognise.

Finally, Bresnan discusses the phrase **a thanked person*, which she considers ill-formed ‘because there is no salient result state defined by the process of thanking’. Similarly, the phrase **untaken advantage* is unacceptable (although *untaken seats* is acceptable) because ‘complex predicates consisting of verb and noun combinations like *take advantage of* do not define a result state of the internal noun (e.g. *advantage*), which forms part of the idiom’

⁹Bresnan attributes this and the following observation to Adele Goldberg, through personal communication.

(ibid.:35).

The telicity restriction on the formation of resultative adjectives is, then, the consequence of the semantic requirement that the verb phrase must denote an event which has an end point or results in a state.

6.3.7 Pragmatic restrictions on resultative participles

Finally, it has been observed that the semantic condition of telicity stated above is a sufficient, but – in fact – not a necessary condition for the formation of resultative adjectives.

Bresnan (2001:37) cites the following examples (from her personal communication with Adele Goldberg) of resultative adjectives based on *atelic* verbs, both activities (586) and states (587):

- (586) a. *long anticipated event*
b. *much hoped for consequences*
c. *much talked about idea*
d. *strongly backed candidate*
- (587) a. *much-loved doctor*
b. *much-feared consequence*
c. *communally owned property*
d. *despised politician*
e. *highly acclaimed actor*
f. *well-known performer*

and remarks that most of these examples require adverbial modification to be felicitous. In fact, some examples given in (585) above can be argued to demonstrate just this point (i.e. *a widely-travelled correspondent, a well-read person, a well-prepared teacher, etc.*).

Without the appropriate adverbial modification or contrastive context, even some of the apparently most canonical – i.e. patient-oriented, transitive, and telic (due to the involvement of an appropriate theme and the location of the event in the past) – resultative adjectives seem to be problematic, cf. *?a read book*, *?a drunk cup of tea*, *?a built house*, in contrast with, e.g. *an unread book*, *a quickly/slowly drunk cup of tea*, or *a well/nicely built house*.

Ackerman & Goldberg (1996) explain this phenomenon by resorting to a general pragmatic condition of informativeness. Bresnan sums it up as follows:

The adverbial modification increases the informativeness of the attribute, and thus its acceptability. Pragmatic informativeness and the semantic result state condition are members of what may be a family of sufficient (but not necessary) conditions on the use of adjectives. (ibid.:37)

Thus, the formation of resultative adjectives is not driven by syntax, but it is driven (or, determined) by semantics. It is, however, ultimately licensed by the pragmatic requirement of ‘informational balance’. An utterance has to be non-trivial in the given context. If a resultative adjective is informationally deficient, it will not be considered acceptable, even if morphosyntax allows the formation of the resultative participle from the particular verb. The informationally-felicitous use of resultative adjectives may require adding some semantic material to the modifier to make it non-trivial.¹⁰

6.3.8 The distribution of resultative participles

In all the examples given above, I have so far concentrated on the attributive use of resultative participles. However, as modifiers, resultative participles can be used both attributively

¹⁰A similar explanation has already been given to some passives discussed in Section 2.4. The phenomenon of the so-called obligatory adverbial modification has been observed with several different sentence types including the ‘middle’ construction and the morpholexical impersonal constructions. These were discussed in Chapter 3, in particular Section 3.4.

and predicatively (with the copula 'be'). That is, just like other adjectives, most resultative participles can also appear as adjectival complements in subject-complement clauses.

The following table represents the uses of verb-derived resultative adjectives in English and Polish:

(588) Resultative adjectives

| <i>used attributively</i> | <i>used predicatively</i> <i>(with copula 'be')</i> |
|--|--|
| Patient-oriented resultative adjective (‘passive’) | |
| Agent-oriented resultative adjective (‘perfect’/‘active unaccusative’/‘pseudo-passive’) | |

The area of overlap between the two types of adjectives, i.e. between the patient-oriented ones and the agent-oriented ones, indicates those cases in which both types of participles can be formed from the same base verb (as discussed in the sections above). ‘Patient’ is understood here as either patient or theme, and ‘agent’ as either agent or experiencer of the situation denoted by the verb.

As I argued above, all resultative adjectives are, in fact, produced by the same morphological derivation. It is a lexical derivational process which is driven by and sensitive to the semantics of the predicate. All resultative adjectives are oriented towards the affected participant which is typically a patient, a theme, an experiencer, and occasionally an agent.

Passivisation is also derivational, but it is a morphosyntactic rule (or constraint) rather than a morphological derivational rule. It is both driven and determined solely by syntax. The passive operation targets the underlying subject of the predicate which is identified on the basis of its syntactic properties (see Section 2.2.1). If the argument structure of the predicate contains an underlying object argument, it becomes the syntactic subject of the

passive clause and the situation denoted by the verb is predicated of it.

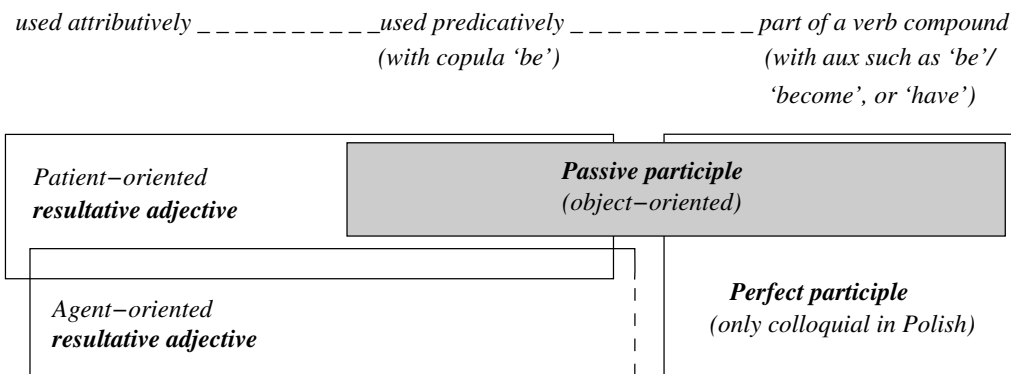
This last point is an area of syntactic overlap between the passive and the resultative. In the active, the most typical affected participant, a patient or theme, is coded as an object. However, the predicative use of the resultative participle allows any type of affected participant (including the one which is an object in the active) to be coded as subject. In this way, the syntactic structure of the resultative in the form of an adjectival complement to the affected patient as subject (i.e. the predicative use of the resultative adjective) turns out to be a convenient vehicle to express the passive.

Apart from the area of the overlap, the two constructions diverge into areas exclusive to each of them. Resultative participles as adjectives can modify all sorts of subjects, including affected experiencers and affected agents, most of whom would be excluded from appearing as subjects in the passive construction either because of the unaccusativity of the predicate or because the argument having the agent role would be suppressed in the passive. In general, the passive can be formed of a subset of the verbs which allow the resultative.

However, while the resultative participle as adjective has to modify a nominal head, the passive can be formed of intransitive predicates and, thus, the passive construction does not have to have a subject (see Section 2.2.2). Additionally, *be* is the only verb which can accompany the participle in both constructions. Other copulas used in the predicative adjectival construction include, for example, *seem*, *appear*, and *look*, while other auxiliaries used in the passive construction include *become* and *get*.

The following diagram is an illustration of the overlap in the use of the resultative adjective and the passive participle in English and Polish (repeated here from (267) in Section 2.3.5):

(589) Resultative participle and the passive construction



As I indicated in the previous diagram (588), patient-oriented resultative adjectives have also been referred to as ‘passive’, while agent-oriented resultative adjective have been referred to as ‘active unaccusative’, ‘perfect’, or ‘pseudo-passive’. These alternative traditional names have been omitted from diagram (589), for the sake of clarity. Because the driving principles behind resultative formation are semantic, the labels ‘object-oriented’ and ‘subject-oriented’ are not appropriate in the description of deverbal resultatives as adjectives. However, ‘object-oriented’ is the appropriate label for the personal participial passive.

Furthermore, the diagram also shows the area of overlap between the passive and the analytic perfect tense. Both constructions are driven by syntax and make use of the same derived verbal form as the semantically-driven resultative.

6.3.9 Subject-complement constructions

In this section I will expand briefly on the area of the syntactic overlap between the passive and the resultative. This issue was already mentioned earlier particularly in Section 2.3.5 in which I discussed the distinction, proposed by some linguists, between *actional* and *statal* passives, or *verbal* and *adjectival* passives. A useful summary of the accounts which treat the *be*-passive as a subject-complement construction is given in Siewierska (1984:139-149).

According to Siewierska (ibid.:127), the ‘superficial’ similarity between periphrastic passives and predicative adjectival constructions has led some linguists to interpret the participles in all passive clauses as adjectives. This approach, however, unduly imposes a stative interpretation on all ‘be’-passives regardless of the semantics of the verb compound as well as treating passive sentences as predicative adjectival clauses with the auxiliary as the main verb (i.e. a copula) and adjectival complementation.¹¹

As argued here, the similarity between the periphrastic passive and the predicative adjectival construction is not superficial – in some cases the passive indeed uses the very same *phrase structure* as the predicative adjectival construction. Furthermore, the passive may have treated it as a springboard for grammaticalisation and expansion. That is, following the grammaticalisation of the passive as a morphosyntactic category, it may have naturally expanded to include other auxiliaries than the copula ‘be’, thus becoming more distinct and independent from the predicative adjectival construction.

In his analysis of ‘be’-passives in a range of languages including English and Polish, Frajzyngier (1978) convincingly argues against treating the auxiliary as a main verb constituent of the underlying representation of passive sentences, as well as against analyses which derive the passive auxiliary ‘be’ from an underlying stative ‘be’. After a discussion of the similarities between predicative adjectival constructions and *agentless* ‘be’-passives he concludes, however, that all ‘be’-passives are *structurally* a subclass of subject-complement clauses (which he calls ‘nominal sentences’), and that ‘any base structure rule that will provide a model for the nominal sentence will also account for the *be*-passives.’ Furthermore, ‘the only difference that exists between these two types of sentence is lexical in nature, the predicate of the *be*-passives usually being a deverbial adjective’ (ibid.:154-155).

A morphosyntactic analysis of the passive operation, such as the one proposed in this

¹¹Studies in which the periphrastic passive has been regarded as an underlyingly complex sentence consisting of the main verb and – essentially – an adjective include Hasegawa (1968), R. Lakoff (1971), Langacker & Munro (1975), Wasow (1977), Chomsky (1980) and many subsequent movement-dependent syntactic accounts of the periphrastic passive.

work, allows me to specify that the difference between the passive and the predicative adjectival construction is indeed ‘lexical in nature’, though it is inaccurate to capture it in the way proposed by Frajzyngier. The passive is produced as a result of a lexical (morphosyntactic) operation on the argument structure of the predicate, while the resultative adjective results from the lexical (morphological) derivation of an adjective from a verb.

Nevertheless, as I argued above, the passive makes use of the phrase structure of the predicative resultative construction. Therefore, the surface syntactic model of a ‘be’-passive and of a predicative resultative in English and Polish is indeed the same. It is important to remember, however, that the formation of a resultative adjective does not require the application of the passive rule or constraint, nor does it require appealing to argument structure at all.

Discussing the common phrase structure of the two constructions, Frajzyngier defines ‘nominal sentences’ as sentences with nominal predicates, or ‘copular constructions’, whose logical structure can be either $X=Y$ (as in: *Elizabeth II is the present Queen of England*) or $X \in Y$ (as in: *Salt is white*) (ibid.:149; both examples originally from Suppes 1957:101).

Frajzyngier argues that ‘be’-passives differ from other nominal sentences only in the fact that the predicate in ‘be’-passives (i.e. the participle following the copula/auxiliary) is morphologically derived from the lexical class of verbs, while in other nominal sentences it does not have to be so derived. On the other hand, ‘we might have languages, such as Semitic, in which not only verbal adjectives are derived from verbs but such nominal categories as agent, instrument, name of action and place of action’ (ibid.:150). Therefore, syntactically – he argues – there is no distinction between *be*-passives and other nominal sentences.¹²

Based on the analysis of a sample of over thirty languages chosen at random from several language families, Frajzyngier further points out that there are no languages that have ‘be’-

¹²This view is in agreement with many traditional as well as some modern linguistic descriptions of the passive with ‘be’ in English (e.g. Bach 1967:482; Freidin 1975), Polish (e.g. the standard academic grammar of Polish by Saloni & Świdziński 1998:100) and other languages (e.g. traditional grammars of Persian).

passives but do not have nominal sentences formed with a copula. Moreover, the passive form in a language will contain the equivalent of ‘be’ only if the nominal sentence contains ‘be’ (cf. the common phenomenon of the absence of the copula both in the present tense of nominal sentences and in *-n/-t* resultatives, versus the presence of the copula in the past tense of nominal sentences, *-n/-t* resultatives, and participial passives, as in Russian – see Section 6.2.2 above).

Finally, diachronic analysis shows that ‘be’-passives are, generally, more recent forms than other passives or statives. The most natural explanation of the similarity between ‘be’-passives and stative nominal sentences is, therefore, that the former developed from the latter, and this happened because nominal sentences with a copula presented a suitable structure for the realisation of the passive. ‘In languages for which the *be*-passives are attested in the oldest available texts, one can claim that actually there is no distinction between *be*-passives and nominal sentences’ (Frajzyngier *ibid.*:154).

In sum, the participial passive with ‘be’ in English and other languages does overlap in both meaning and form with the class of subject-complement constructions. Although the two constructions are morphologically different, one of the morphological expressions that they use is the same for both of them.

6.4 The question of the passive participle

The fact that the Indo-European periphrastic passive uses the resultative participle has made it problematic to identify the passive (see, for example, Quirk et al.’s (1985:167ff) widely accepted, standard description of the ‘passive gradient’). This, in turn, has caused innumerable problems in attempts to define the passive and to account for it formally. The following short discussion illustrates some of the problems created by the overlap, in both form and function, of the passive construction and the subject-complement construction with a resultative adjective. I will finish the discussion by outlining a morphological rule for the formation of the resultative participle and its relation to the morphosyntactic rule

or constraint deriving the passive.

6.4.1 Problems with identifying the passive

Unless we accept that one form may be shared by two morphologically different constructions, distinguishing the passive participle from the resultative participle becomes a very difficult or even an impossible task, as the two participles are indistinguishable in some contexts (or, as I argue, because there is only one participial form, used by both constructions).

What is possible to do is to devise some tests to establish the categorial status of the forms occurring in the constructions in question. This has been done by Bresnan (1978, 1982a, and 2001), and I will use her examples to demonstrate the procedure. Despite capturing the difference in the categorial status of the participles, however, the tests themselves are not capable of identifying the passive or determining its definitional properties.

It has been argued that there are distinct *verbal passives* and *adjectival passives*, exemplified by sentences (a) and (b), respectively, in English and Polish:

- (590) a. *The window was broken by the boys from next door.*
b. *The broken window was dangerous.*
- (591) a. *Okno zostało wybite przez chłopaków od sąsiadów.*
window became broken by boys from neighbours
b. *Wybite okno było niebezpieczne.*
broken window was dangerous

Levin (1993:86-87), who provides a comprehensive list of publications which have discussed this distinction, traces it back to Barkai (1972). Levin herself points out, however, that '[t]here is some debate about whether a notion of “adjectival passive” that is distinct from “verbal passive” should be recognized’.

In the previous sections of the present Chapter I argued that from a large class of resultative adjectives, some (the ones which can be formed from unergative verbs and used as

object-oriented) are also used by the passive construction. In some accounts (e.g. Bresnan 1978 and later publications; Grimshaw 1990; Huddleston 1984 for English; Cetnarowska 2000:65 for Polish) a different hypothesis is offered. It is argued that the participial verb form which appears in periphrastic passives may also function as a deverbal adjective. Huddleston, for example, states that in English ‘in addition to the morphological process converting *-en* forms into central adjectives like *worried*, *surprised*, we have one converting *-en* forms into more marginal adjectives like *broken*’ (ibid.:323). It may be argued that the latter hypothesis is organised passive-centrally, and that the two hypotheses are inverse of each other with respect to the passive.

As a result, in passive-centric accounts the (b) sentences are regarded as structurally passive by analogy with their (a) counterparts. The (a) sentences are commonly referred to as ‘verbal passives’ and taken to contain a ‘verbal passive participle’, while the (b) sentences are referred to as ‘adjectival passives’ and taken to contain an ‘adjectival passive participle’. As I showed in the previous sections, the participial forms used in both (a) and (b) sentences are indeed morphologically identical.

Bresnan supports the distinction between the verbal and adjectival passives with three distributional diagnostic contexts and one morphological diagnostic test. The first three examples below show distributional diagnostic contexts for distinguishing verbal from adjectival participles.

(592) (Bresnan 1982a, ex. 31)

- a. *The prisoners were spared execution.*
- b. *The spared prisoners were freed.*

The sentence (a) above contains a passive participle (*spared*) followed by a second object noun phrase. Since English adjectives do not take noun phrase objects, the participle is a verb. On the other hand, in sentence (b) the participle is clearly an adjective, since it cannot take an object (**the spared execution prisoners*) and it occurs in a prenominal position.

(593) (Bresnan 1982a, ex. 30)

- a. *Margaret's statement was considered profound.*
- b. *That was a very considered statement.*

In this example, similarly, sentence (a) contains a passive participle (*considered*) with an adjectival complement. Since English adjectives cannot take adjectival complements, this participle is also a verb. On the other hand, sentence (b) has the same form in the prenominal position of an adjective. It is modified by *very*. Both of these characteristics would be disallowed if the participle were a verb. Moreover, being an adjective, it cannot take an adjectival complement (**a considered profound statement*).

One more syntactic-distributional diagnostic test in (594):

(594) (adapted from Bresnan 2001:30, ex. 9d)

- a. *However considered her statement may have been. . .*
- b. *However supportive of her daughter she may have been. . .*
- c. **However supporting her daughter she may have been. . .*

demonstrates that adjectives, but not verbs, can head concessional relative phrases beginning with *however*. The participial form in (a) is, therefore, again an adjective.

Finally, example (595) below shows a morphological diagnostic environment for distinguishing verbal from adjectival participles.

(595) (Bresnan 1982a, ex. 29)

- a. *The jacket was unzipped by someone wearing fingernail polish.*
- b. *The jacket was untouched by human hands.*

In sentence (a) the participle (*unzipped*) is understood as having been formed from the verb *unzip*. The 'reversative' prefix *un-* attaches to verbs to indicate the reversal of the action denoted by the base verb, as in *zip/unzip*, *tie/untie*, *button/unbutton*, *load/unload*, *do/undo*,

etc. If the prefix *un-* is attached to an adjective, as in *happy/unhappy*, *clear/unclear*, *appetizing/unappetizing*, *breakable/unbreakable*, etc., it has a ‘negative’ meaning of not having the property denoted by the adjective.

As demonstrated by Bresnan (1982a:22), the ‘negative’ adjectival prefix *un-* does not attach to verbs – although there is a verb *to unzip*, there is no verb **to untouch*. Therefore the participles occurring with the ‘negative’ adjectival prefix *un-*, such as *untouched*, *unloved*, or *uninhabited*, are not verbs but adjectives. On the other hand the participles occurring with the ‘reversative’ *un-* are not adjectives, but passive verbs.

Additionally, example (595) shows that both verbal and adjectival participles can be accompanied by an agentive *by*-phrase; consider the following additional examples (from Bresnan *ibid.*:24): *That claim is unsupported by data*; *Antarctica is uninhabited by humans*; *One fact is unexplained by this formulation*¹³.

Bresnan (1982a; 2001:31-32) uses the above tests in the context of the hypothesis that English has a general morphological process of participle-adjective conversion (see the following section for more details). When it is applied to verbal passive participles, the lexical conversion rule is hypothesised to change the verbal passive participle into an adjective used in adjectival passives.

Since passivisation is considered to be a lexical relation change altering the argument structure of the predicate, it should follow, then, that adjectives derived from a passivised predicate should inherit the same, altered, argument structure.

However, I suggest that it is, in fact, both impossible and unnecessary to determine whether the deverbal adjective is passive or not. Patients, themes, or experiencers which provide the orientation for deverbal adjectives do not have to be underlying *objects*, which would be the case if they were all arguments of a passivised predicate. I also demonstrated

¹³Bresnan (1982a:24) points out that *by*-phrases are more restricted with ‘adjectival passives’ than with ‘verbal passives’, cf. **That statement was very considered by everyone* versus *That statement was considered profound by everyone*. I suggest that the differences in the acceptability of the agent phrase are easily explained if resultatives are not treated as passive, but if both constructions are understood as overlapping in form.

above that some verbs (e.g. verbs of ingestion or wearing, in some languages) can form *both* theme-oriented and agent-oriented resultative participles using the same morphological means. The result, in both cases, is the same participle and it is unnecessary to posit that one has a passive argument structure, while the other does not.

Looking now at all participles from the point of view of argument structure, the hypothesised rule which converts verbal participles into participial adjectives is assumed to operate in parallel either on passive (lexical) forms of verbs to produce ‘passive’ adjectival participles, or on non-passive forms of verbs to produce ‘perfect’ or ‘present’ adjectival participles. Since passivisation is assumed to be an argument-structure changing operation on the predicate, ‘passive’ adjectival participles derived from passive verbal stems are expected to have a passive argument structure, while the argument structures of ‘perfect/past’ participles are assumed to be non-passive.

The ‘passive’ participle in both Polish and English is, however, identical in form with the ‘perfect’ participle, and in order to distinguish between them, we need to, in fact, stipulate which one is (underlying) object- and which subject-oriented – that is, whether any particular morpholexical operation has been applied to the predicate prior to converting it into an adjective. This, however, is done on the basis of the orientation that the participle displays towards a *semantic* participant.

The *eaten food* is assumed to be passive and understood as ‘the food that is/was eaten’ because eating food implies an agent performing the eating. Similarly, a *fallen leaf* is assumed to be non-passive (‘perfect’) because, on this understanding of *fall*, the phrase could not have been derived from a two-argument lexical structure corresponding to **some-onesomething fell the leaf*, but instead it derives from the single-argument structure corresponding to *a leaf fell/has fallen*.

However, verbs denoting actions which can be perceived as either agent-caused or spontaneous form participles which may be analysed as, simultaneously, either passive or non-passive. This can be illustrated with the following participles, functioning as verbs or

- (600) a. *drzwi były zamknięte*
door was closed
- b. *zamknięte drzwi*
closed door
- c. ~ *drzwi, które były/zostały zamknięte przez nich*
door which was/became closed by them
- d. or ~ *drzwi, które się zamknęły*
door which REFL closed
- (601) a. *suszarka była zepsuta*
hair-dryer was broken
- b. *zepsuta suszarka*
broken hair-dryer
- c. ~ *suszarka, która była/została zepsuta przez niego*
hair-dryer which was/became broken by him
- d. or ~ *suszarka, która się zepsuła*
hair-dryer which REFL broke

In none of the English or Polish sentences (a) or (b) is it possible to determine whether the ‘verbal’ or ‘adjectival’ participle (or a construction of which it is part) is passive or non-passive. It is, therefore, not possible to determine which one of the hypothesised argument structures should be assigned to it.

I suggest that the formation of the so-called ‘adjectival passive’ is analogous to the formation of any other construction with a resultative participle in an attributive or predicative function, and it does not require the application of the passive rule. There is no need to assume that adjectival passives have to be derived from a passivised verb phrase and there is no need to resort to the syntactic tier of argument structure in order to determine the orientation of the resultative participle. The resultative participle is neutral between being an adjective and a verb and can be used in both functions, including the function of the main verb of the passive construction.

Bresnan (2001:34) observes that deverbal adjectives in general denote a state derived

from the semantics of the base verb. This seems to be true for all participles, whether resultative with patient or agent orientation, or contemporaneous (such as *a smiling woman*). As I argued in Section 6.3, all restrictions on the formation of resultative participles are semantic and pragmatic in nature, not syntactic.

To sum up, the classification of participles into passive and non-passive is misleading. If, as argued here, passivisation is a morpholexical operation on argument structure, a verb form can be called ‘passive’ only if its argument structure has been altered by this operation. Resultative participles (of all orientations) result from the process of morphological derivation in the lexicon and, like the verbs they are related to, they may have both argument structure and/or event structure (for the latter see, for example, Cetnarowska 2000), but their argument structure does not need to be altered when they are used as adjectives. All restrictions on the formation of resultative participles can be accounted for with recourse to semantics and pragmatics, while the primary constraint on the formation of the passive is syntactic. The passive construction uses the resultative participle as its main verb in the verb compound and provides the only context in which a ‘passive participle’ can be identified as such.

6.4.2 Participle-adjective conversion

As was already mentioned above, Bresnan (1978:8-9, 1982a:29, 2001:31) proposes that English has a general morphological process of participle-adjective conversion which enables any verbal participle to be used as an adjective. If, as argued here, a participle is a lexical form which has not been specified for its categorial status of either an adjective or a verb, it may be plausible to suggest a participle-adjective conversion rule which just specifies the categorial status of the participle when it is required to perform the function of an adjective. However, this is not exactly how the rule is interpreted in lexical accounts.

It is evident that, apart from resultative participles (‘passive’ and ‘perfect’), the rule also applies to ‘present’ participles. Examples of present participles formed from both transitive

and intransitive verbs and used as adjectives are: *an unconvincing argument* (versus the resultative *an unconvinced audience*), *a boring novel* (versus the resultative *a bored reader*), *a smiling child*, *a breathing woman* (all language examples from Bresnan *ibid.*).

Thus, the following derivations are postulated for English:

- (602) a. *the food that is/was eaten* ⇒ *the eaten food*
b. *a leaf that has fallen* ⇒ *a fallen leaf*
c. *an argument that is/was not convincing* ⇒ *an unconvincing argument*

and the categorial status of all converted adjectives is confirmed by the tests which were demonstrated in the previous section.

The hypothesised participle-adjective conversion rule naturally accounts for the fact that the participles in both uses – the verbal and the adjectival – have the same form. Levin & Rappaport additionally remark that ‘[Bresnan’s] rule also captures the generalization, noted by Lieber (1980), that although the passive morpheme has a number of allomorphs, the verbal and adjectival passive participles of any given verb always involve the same allomorph: *the food was eaten, the eaten food; the ballad was sung, a badly sung ballad*’ (1986:629). In other words, ‘(...) adjectival passives show the full range of passive participle morphology that we find with passive verbs’ (Bresnan 2001:31).

Beside displaying the same allomorphs, the identity of form between English verbal and adjectival participles has also been observed in passives containing a verb and a preposition (examples from Bresnan 2001:31-32):

- (603) a. *After the tornado, the fields had a marched through look.*
b. *Each unpaid for item will be returned.*
c. *You can ignore any recently gone over accounts.*
d. *His was not a well-looked on profession.*
e. *They shared an unspoken, unheard of passion for chocolates.*

- f. *Filled with candy wrappers and crumpled bills, her bag always had a rummaged around in appearance.*

and in the fact that exceptions to the adjectival passive are also exceptions to the passivisation of a prepositional verb (examples adapted from Bresnan *ibid.*:32):

- (604) a. **a looked-like twin*
 b. **The twin is looked like by his brother.*

- (605) a. **the left-for reason*
 b. **No reason was left for.*

All this has been taken as evidence supporting the hypothesised rule converting verbal participles (passive or other) into adjectives. The participle-adjective conversion rule has, in turn, played the key role in the argumentation for the lexical character of passivisation. It has led to the general acceptance by lexicalist syntactic frameworks of the hypothesis that passivisation is a lexical relation change which can feed further lexical processes of derivational morphology, such as adjective formation, nominalisation, or compounding.

Arguing against postulating a separate rule of adjectival passivisation in addition to verb passivisation, Bresnan (1982a, 2001) proposes that the input to passive adjectival formation rule is the passive lexical form of the verb. If there were a separate morphological rule of ‘adjectival passivisation’ alongside of verbal passivisation – she argues – all the morphological parallels between verbal and adjectival passives would be an unexplained accident (Bresnan 2001:31). The participle-adjective conversion rule is formulated as follows (1982a:23):

- (606) Morphological change: $V_{[Part]} \mapsto [V_{[Part]}]_A$
 Operation on lexical form: $P(\dots(\text{SUBJ})\dots) \mapsto \text{STATE-OF } P(\dots(\text{SUBJ})\dots)$
 Condition: $\text{SUBJ} = \text{theme of } P$

I suggest, however, that in order to explain the coincidence of verbal and adjectival participial forms we do not have to assume the derivation of adjectives from verbal participles. A different assumption going in the ‘reverse’ direction with respect to the passive –

that the passive verb is one of the uses of the resultative participle – preserves all the above observations regarding the morphological and syntactic behaviour of the participial form in its different environments, and similarly does not require a separate rule of adjectival passivisation in addition to the rule which passivises the verb.

Thus, we could formulate the following rule of participial formation from the base verb¹⁴:

(607) Morphological change: $V \mapsto [V_{[Part]}]_{A/V}$

Operation on lexical form: (non-oriented) $P \mapsto$ semantically oriented P

Formulated as above, the rule holds for all categories of participles ('passive', 'perfect', 'present', etc.), with different semantic conditions on their derivation leading to their different semantic interpretations. For the resultative participle (with its particular morphology), the condition is that the derived lexical form P has to be semantically oriented towards the affected participant. For the 'present' (contemporaneous) participle (with its different morphology), the derived lexical form has to be semantically oriented towards the first participant, etc. Most importantly, the semantic orientation does not involve the syntactic notions of subject or object. Furthermore, all participles can, in principle, perform the function of either an adjective or a verb (A/V).

Thus, the morphological derivation of the resultative participle does not engage the syntactic level of argument structure at which the passive rule operates. The resultative derivation rule produces resultative participles which can be used attributively or predicatively, some of which are also suitable to be used by the passive construction. A patient-oriented resultative participle does not have to have been 'passivised' in order to be used as an adjective, just as the morphologically identical resultative participles with an orientation towards the first participant (agent or experiencer) are, naturally, not regarded as 'passivised'. Morphosyntactic passivisation is not required to have occurred either in the

¹⁴The particular choice of verbal stem may vary depending on the participle. For example, the Polish *-n/-t* participle is formed from the *-n/-t* verbal stem, while the Polish *-ł* participle is formed from the *-ł* verbal stem. See Section 6.3.4.

predicative adjectival construction (with 'be') such as the one labelled 'verbal passive', or in the attributive adjectival construction such as the one labelled 'adjectival passive'.

Because of its direction, the lexical rule of (verbal) participle-adjective conversion in (606) assumes that passivisation (if needed) occurs *before* the derived verb form can be used as an adjective in attributive constructions with 'passive' and 'perfect' deverbal adjectives. However, as I have shown, the construction with a resultative adjective, either in its attributive or predicative use, cannot always be unambiguously assigned a passive or non-passive argument structure, nor does it need to be always unambiguously classified as passive or non-passive. The participial formation rule in (607) does not come in the way of analysing passivisation in lexical terms as a constraint on argument structure, and predicts correctly the observations regarding the morphology and distribution of the resultative participle in its various functions.

Chapter 7

Conclusions

The active/passive alternation has attracted a considerable amount of work, particularly since the introduction of the formal generative approach to grammar in the late 1950s. Despite that, it appears that the passive has so far evaded successful analysis. Descriptive as well as terminological inconsistency pervading most of the discussions of this phenomenon becomes immediately apparent to anyone trying to deepen their understanding of the passive.

Furthermore, with the increasing number of studies, it has become clear that many of the characteristics traditionally associated with the passive may not hold crosslinguistically (cf. Siewierska 1984). It has, however, proven to be unexpectedly difficult to identify the unique properties of the passive and establish the relationship between the passive and other related, or similar, constructions.

Even if the analysis were to be restricted to the Indo-European passive, none of the familiar characteristics of the passive – such as the expected correspondence of the passive subject to an active object; the availability of the passive agent to be expressed in a *by*-phrase; the occurrence of a special verb form (a participle); the presence of an auxiliary verb – captures the passive uniquely, nor does any particular combination of these properties. Also, by originating from different levels of analysis (morphology, syntax, semantics), these

properties form an incoherent inventory which does not support formal analysis. In fact, neither the criteria based on form, nor those based on communicative function capture the essence of the passive. They cannot be applied to the analysis of the passive with consistency, and they cannot serve as the basis for a theoretical account of the passive.

In this work I have attempted to both identify the passive uniquely and to determine its relation to other constructions in English and Polish which overlap with the passive either in form or in function. In particular, I have described and analysed several related types of construction including the passive, the impersonal, and the anticausative.

Using morphosyntactic criteria, I identified the similarities and differences between these constructions, particularly with regard to the behaviour of their first argument and/or their first semantic participant. Furthermore, following lexicalist approaches to the phenomena of grammatical voice, I identified the relevant levels of abstract representation of the predicate at which these similarities and differences can be captured. This has enabled me to correct the misanalyses of certain phenomena attributed to the passive, and, most importantly, the misanalysis and misclassification of the Polish *-no/-to* impersonal as passive.

Consequently, I have been able to propose morpholexical models of all the constructions in question. The models demarcate the constructions and correctly predict their morphosyntactic behaviour despite the fact that, for historical reasons, some of these constructions may use the same form (e.g. the Polish *-no/-to* impersonal and the passive; or the Polish anticausative and the reflexive impersonal).

I have hypothesised the models of constructions using a formalism deriving from LFG's Lexical Mapping Theory. Although I have retained the main component of LMT – the feature decomposition of syntactic functions – in order to enable a consistent analysis of the constructions I have made several important revisions to LFG's model. I revised the principles of argument-to-function mapping to eschew LFG's 'Subject Condition', restored the early LFG distinction between argument positions and semantic roles, and – most

importantly – while retaining the fixed order of argument positions, I allowed the semantic participants to change order and re-associate with different argument positions for non-default, morphosemantically altered mappings. A broader discussion of the implications of these revisions for the theory of argument structure has been beyond the scope of the present study, but I expect these issues will be addressed in further work.

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