

**PARTICIPLES, ADJECTIVES,
AND THE ROLE OF
ARGUMENT STRUCTURE**

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Proceedings of the LFG12 Conference

Miriam Butt and Tracy Holloway King (Editors)

2012

CSLI Publications

<http://csli-publications.stanford.edu/>

Abstract

The focus of this paper is a construction which is surprisingly rarely scrutinised: the impersonal passive of the intransitive. Although it sometimes receives a brief mention in discussions of the passive, and although the impersonal passive label is often wrongly given to morpholexical impersonal constructions, there are as yet no thorough analyses of the impersonal passive available for any language. In this paper, I offer an analysis of this construction in Polish, where it is made up of a tensed auxiliary or copula, and a participle commonly referred to as the passive participle.

1 The impersonal passive of the intransitive – an introduction

A example of an impersonal passive of the intransitive in Polish is given in (1), with the assumption that no neuter singular referent can be found in the context of this sentence which could be interpreted as the antecedent of its ‘dropped’ subject. The agent in impersonal passives, downgraded to an oblique, is optional and frequently left unexpressed. The *-n-/t-* participle has the SG.N ending *-e* used in situations when agreement breaks down, such as here, where there is no subject for the participle to agree with:

- (1) *Było codziennie sprzątane (przez firme).*
was.3SG.N daily clean.PART.SG.N (by company)
‘There has been cleaning every day (by a company).’

Sentence (1) is an example of a predicative use of the *-n-/t-* participle in an impersonal construction, i.e. a construction without a subject. Its personal counterpart is the common personal passive, where the participle has to agree with its subject in gender and number; depending on the grammatical gender of the subject, the participle will have one of the following endings, in the singular: masculine *-y*, feminine *-a*, or neuter *-e*; and in the plural: masculine human *-i*, or other than masculine human *-e*. In Table 1 below, (1) is repeated in (3) and shown next to its personal counterpart in (2). Although the subject of the personal variant can bear any number or gender, in the table below it is illustrated with a noun of neuter gender and singular number (this minimises the number of variables for an easier comparison of the examples).

In the typological literature, a participial personal passive is sometimes referred to as an ‘objective resultative’. This is in contrast with another type of construction, the so-called ‘possessive resultative’, in which the participle is a member of a secondary predicate which is part of the clausal object of a personal active verb ‘have’. The bottom row of Table 1 shows a relatively familiar personal ‘possessive resultative’ in (4), and a virtually unstudied impersonal ‘possessive resultative’ in (5). It is worth

noting that Polish possessive resultatives have a more neutral possessive interpretation than their English translations.¹ In the absence of an oblique agent, Polish possessive resultatives do not exclude the interpretation that the possessor may have been the agent.

	personal	impersonal
‘objective resultative’	(2) <i>Mieszkanie było</i> flat(N).NOM was.3SG.N <i>sprzątane (przez firmę).</i> clean.PART.SG.N.NOM (by company) ‘The apartment was cleaned (by a [professional] company).’	(3) <i>Było sprzątane</i> was.3SG.N clean.PART.SG.N <i>(przez firmę).</i> (by company) ‘There was cleaning done (by a [professional] company).’
‘possessive resultative’	(4) <i>Ojciec miał mieszkanie</i> father(M).NOM had.3SG.M flat(N).ACC <i>sprzątane (przez firmę).</i> clean.PART.SG.N.ACC (by company) ‘Father had the apartment cleaned (by a [professional] company).’	(5) <i>Ojciec miał</i> father(M).NOM had.3SG.M <i>sprzątane (przez firmę).</i> clean.PART.SG.N (by company) ‘Father had the cleaning done (by a [professional] company).’

Table 1. The impersonal passive of the intransitive (3) among the family of ‘resultative’ constructions; imperfective aspect

The occurrence of the participle in the ‘resultative’ constructions is independent of the aspect of the verb from which the participle is formed. Table 2 repeats the templatic examples from Table 1, but this time all participles are perfective.

¹ There seems to be a convention in English to use possessive resultatives particularly in the context of services performed by others, where the resultative is closer in meaning to a causative, as in *We had the house painted; I'm having a copy of the report sent to you*; they are also used to express undesirable events, as in *He had his car stolen last night*. These uses are either unavailable in Polish, or only coincidentally available if they are compatible with the basic possessive interpretation of the possessive resultative.

	personal	impersonal
‘objective resultative’	(6) <i>Mieszkanie było</i> flat(N).NOM was.3SG.N <i>wysprzątane (przez firmę).</i> clean-up.PART.SG.N.NOM (by company) ‘The apartment was cleaned up (by a [professional] company).’	(7) <i>Było wysprzątane</i> was.3SG.N clean-up.PART.SG.N <i>(przez firmę).</i> (by company) ‘[It] was cleaned up (by a [professional] company).’
‘possessive resultative’	(8) <i>Ojciec miał mieszkanie</i> father(M).NOM had.3SG.M flat(N).ACC <i>wysprzątane (przez firmę).</i> clean-up.PART.SG.N.ACC (by company) ‘Father had the apartment cleaned up (by a [professional] company).’	(9) <i>Ojciec miał</i> father(M).NOM had.3SG.M <i>wysprzątane (przez firmę).</i> clean-up.PART.SG.N (by company) ‘Father had [it] cleaned up (by a [professional] company).’

Table 2. The impersonal passive of the intransitive (7) among the family of ‘resultative’ constructions; perfective aspect

Finally, the *-ne/-te* participle is also found in the attributive use, as a modifier, as in (10a,b). This use can only be personal, and it will not be discussed further in this paper:

- (10) a. *sprzątane mieszkanie*
clean.PART.SG.N.NOM flat(N).NOM
‘[a/the] cleaned apartment’
- b. *wysprzątane mieszkanie*
clean-up.PART.SG.N.NOM flat(N).NOM
‘[a/the] cleaned-up apartment’

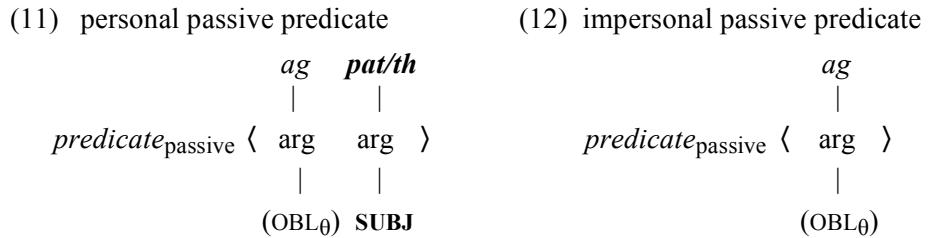
2 Argument structure

In the spirit of ‘demotional’ approaches, I treat passivisation as an operation on predicate argument structure which results in a different assignment of grammatical functions to the arguments of the predicate than that found in the default active argument structure. Specifically, the highest ranking unergative argument is ‘downgraded’ to an oblique, while the second argument (corresponding to the active direct object), if there is one, becomes the subject. Detailed argumentation in favour of this analysis of the passive, and extensive references to earlier literature, can be found in Kibort (2001,

2004, 2008). Additionally, following the widely shared understanding that the locus of argument structure is the whole predicate rather than the individual verb, I argue that passivisation is not an operation on a lexical item. Instead, all argument-structure-changing operations are operations on mapping templates within argument structure, producing different mapping templates that fit (semantically and syntactically) certain classes of predicates. Furthermore, I argue in the spirit of LFG that the argument-structure-changing operations do not need to produce (or, derive) one argument structure template from another in a procedural way. Instead, argument-structure-changing operations capture what can be understood as static relations between existing mapping templates – some of which may be ‘basic’ and others ‘derived’ – which are available for predicates. If a passive or other argument-structure-changing operation could be alternatively analysed as an operation on a lexical item, this is merely coincidental with the fundamental operation on the mapping template.

Thus, within the argument structure module of the grammar there may be a mapping template that represents the ‘active diathesis’ and another one that represents the ‘passive diathesis’, and what we call a passive operation relates the two templates and captures the conditions that have to be fulfilled by a predicate to fit both templates. Therefore, a mapping template can be understood as a constraint on argument structure that specifies a particular voice or diathesis for a class of predicates that fits it.

The following diagrams represent mapping templates for personal and impersonal passive predicates, respectively (the syntactic specifications of argument positions for features are omitted here for the sake of a simpler presentation, as they are not relevant for the points argued in this paper):



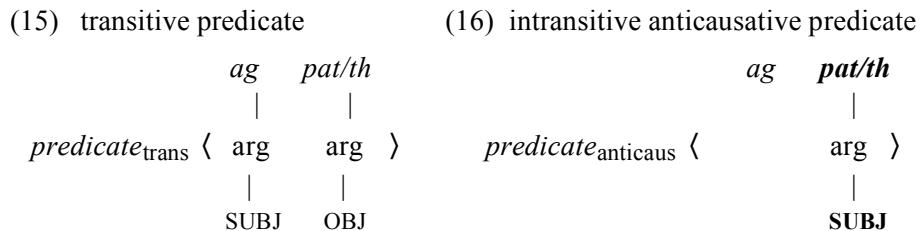
The impersonal passive in Polish has no overt subject (either lexical or a ‘dummy’ expletive one, since Polish does not have expletives); nor does it have a covert subject which could participate in syntactic control or binding. For example, since the reflexive possessive pronoun in (13a) needs to be bound by a subject, it cannot be licensed in a sentence without a subject. By comparison, non-reflexive possessive pronouns in (13b) are locally free, therefore the sentence is well-formed:

- (13) a. **Było codziennie sprzątane we wszystkich swoich pokojach.*
 was.3SG.N daily clean.PART.SG.N in all.PL.LOC
 own[REFL].PL.LOC rooms(NONMHUM).LOC
 ‘There was cleaning every day in all of one’s own rooms.’
- cf. b. *Było codziennie sprzątane we wszystkich naszych/ich pokojach.*
 was.3SG.N daily clean.PART.SG.N in all.PL.LOC
 our.LOC/their.LOC rooms(NONMHUM).LOC
 ‘There was cleaning every day in all of our/their rooms.’

While it is understood that passivisation is meaning-preserving, or ‘morphosyntactic’ (Sadler and Spencer 1998), many other argument-structure-changing operations are meaning-altering. Anticausativisation, for example, is an operation on predicate argument structure that targets the level of argument positions and deletes the first core argument from the valency frame of the base predicate; the anticausative is, then, a lexical detransitiviser (which does not, however, delete the semantic participant of the predicate; see Kibort 2007, 2008 for discussion):

- (14) a. *Tomek wylał zupę.*
 Tomek(M).NOM spilt.3SG.M soup(F).ACC
 ‘Tomek spilt the/some soup.’
- b. *Zupa wylala się.*
 soup(F).NOM spilt.3SG.F REFL
 ‘The soup spilt.’

The following diagrams represent mapping templates for transitive (causative) and intransitive anticausative (or, inchoative) predicates, respectively (again, without the syntactic specifications of argument positions for features, for the sake of a simpler presentation):



Note that both the passive and the anticausative argument structure templates link a SUBJ argument with a *patient/theme* – this is indicated in bold in diagrams (11) and (16).

3 The range and the interpretation of the *-n-/t-* participle

The impersonal *-ne/-te* construction exemplified in (1) is considered to be an instance of the impersonal passive of the intransitive because it is possible to establish the following active-passive alternation:

- (17) a. *Firma codziennie sprzątała.*
company(F).NOM daily cleaned.3SG.F
'The [professional] company cleaned every day.'
- b. *Było codziennie sprzątane (przez firmę).*
was.3SG.N daily clean.PART.SG.N (by company)
'There has been cleaning every day (by a company).'

On the other hand, the impersonal *-ne/-te* construction – particularly the perfective variant, as in (7) – can be argued to be an instance of a non-passive predicative adverbial construction, such as (18), where the *-o* ending on 'clean' is unambiguously adverbial:

- (18) *W pokoju było czysto.*
in room was.3SG.N cleanly
'[It] was clean in the room.'

This analysis seems particularly appropriate for sentences such as (7), or (19a), since we observe the following analogy:

- (19) a. *W pokoju było ładnie wysprzątane (przez firmę).*
in room was.3SG.N nicely clean/tidy-up.PART.SG.N (by company)
'[It] was nicely cleaned/tidied up (by a company) in the room.'
- b. *W pokoju było czysto i wysprzątane.*
in room was.3SG.N cleanly and clean/tidy-up.PART.SG.N
'[It] was clean and tidied up in the room.'

The same problem of interpretation occurs in personal sentences with the *-n-/t-* participle. While it may be reasonable to argue that some personal sentences with an auxiliary/copula and a *-n-/t-* participle, such as (20a), are quite clearly passive, and others, such as (20b), are quite clearly non-passive, in a vast number of cases the passive versus non-passive interpretation is impossible to establish with any certainty. Examples (20c-d) illustrate that

some very common occurrences of the *-n-/t-* participle are genuinely ambiguous between being passive versus non-passive, and that it is possible to establish an alternation between the *-n-/t-* construction and either an active transitive variant or an intransitive anticausative (inchoative) variant:²

- (20) a. *List jest/był ukradziony.*
 letter(M).NOM is/was.3SG.M steal.PART.SG.M.NOM
 ‘The letter is/was stolen.’
 ~ Someone stole the letter. passive?
- b. *On jest/był wyspany.*
 he.NOM is/was.3SG.M sleep.PART.SG.M.NOM
 ‘He is well-slept.’ (= He has slept well)
 ~ *He has been slept by someone./*Someone has slept him
 (e.g. his mother). active?
- c. *On jest/był zmartwiony.*
 he.NOM is/was.3SG.M worry.PART.SG.M.NOM
 ‘He is/was worried.’
 ~ *On zmartwił się.* ‘He has (become) worried.’
 ~ *Ten problem go zmartwił.* ‘This problem has worried him/
 got him worried.’ both?
- d. *Silnik jest/był zepsuty.*
 engine(M).NOM is/was.3SG.M break.PART.SG.M.NOM
 ‘The engine is/was broken.’
 ~ *Silnik zepsuł się.* ‘The engine has broken.’
 ~ *Tomek zepsuł silnik.* ‘Tomek has broken the engine.’ both?

This means that neither personal nor impersonal sentences with the predicatively used *-n-/t-* participle can be unambiguously assigned the passive argument structure in (11)-(12). Therefore, their syntactic model should not specify whether they instantiate a passive or non-passive construction, but they should remain underspecified with regard to this distinction.

² The anticausative construction in Polish uses the derived reflexive form of the verb, hence the presence of the reflexive marker *się* in the anticausative alternants in examples (20c,d).

4 Morphology and lexical entries

The Polish *-n-/t-* participle underlies a set of forms which make up an inflectional paradigm identical to that of the adjective:³

(21)		‘red.NOM’	‘clean/tidy.PART.NOM’
[SG].M		<i>czerwon-y</i>	<i>sprzątan-y</i>
[SG].F		<i>czerwon-a</i>	<i>sprzątan-a</i>
[SG].N		<i>czerwon-e</i>	<i>sprzątan-e</i>
[PL].MHUM ⁴		<i>czerwon-i</i>	<i>sprzątan-i</i>
[PL].NONMHUM		<i>czerwon-e</i>	<i>sprzątan-e</i>

Like adjectives, *-n-/t-* participles denoting gradable concepts have comparative and superlative forms (analytical), e.g. *bardziej/najbardziej zepsuty/zmartwiony* ‘more/the most broken/worried’.

The *-n-/t-* participle is often labelled a ‘passive participle’ but at the same time it is widely acknowledged that the ‘passive’ label does not fit all participles in this class. Authors of academic grammars always clarify that the label ‘passive participle’ merely groups all participles sharing the same morphological form, including ‘morphologically passive participles with active meaning’.

I argue that the *-n-/t-* participle is not passive, but it should be correctly recognised as the so-called ‘resultative participle’. In the typological literature, resultative participles are ‘those verb forms that express a state implying a previous event’ (Nedjalkov and Jaxontov 1988). A resultative participle characterises its head by expressing a state that (typically) results from a previous event.

Resultative participles have a semantic orientation (Lehmann 1984): they are oriented towards the affected participant. (This is similar to deverbal adjectives which also have a semantic orientation, e.g. *dreadful* vs *fearful*). The affected participant is typically *patient/theme* or *experiencer/undergoer*. However, if a transitive event can be construed as affecting the agent, agent-oriented resultative participles can be formed from transitive unergative verbs – this is widely attested typologically particularly with verbs of obtaining, wearing, ingestion, and ‘mental ingestion’ (Nedjalkov and Jaxontov 1988: 9, cf. Haspelmath 1994: 174, fn. 10), and is also found in English: *he is drunk, a confessed killer, a practised liar, a recanted Chomskyan, a well-read person*, etc. (examples from Bresnan 2001: 34-36).

³ This section summarises the discussion presented in more detail in Kibort (2005 and 2011).

⁴ MHUM = masculine human gender; NONMHUM = non-masculine-human gender, i.e. all other than masculine human.

Syntactically, resultative participles modify their head noun or complement their **subject**.

Since not all predicative constructions with the resultative participle can be unambiguously assigned a passive or non-passive argument structure, I do not consider the formation of the adjectival resultative participle to follow the passivisation of the predicate, as is the standard assumption in the LFG tradition. Instead, as in Kibort (2005) and Thomas (2012), I assume the following participle-adjective conversion rule independent of passivisation:

- (22) Morphological change: $V \rightarrow [V_{Part}]_{A/V}$
Operation on lexical form: (non-oriented) $P \rightarrow$ semantically oriented P

In the formation of the resultative participle, the derived lexical form P is semantically oriented towards the affected participant. The semantic orientation does not involve the syntactic notions of subject or object. The participles can be used attributively or predicatively, some being suitable for the passive construction.

Since sentences with ‘be’ and resultative participles are underspecified with regard to whether they instantiate a passive construction or a non-passive predicative adjectival/adverbial construction, I propose that they are most straightforwardly analysed as having a copula ‘be’ combined with a predicative element (here, the participle):

- (23) ‘be’ + resultative participle = copula ‘be’ + predicative element ($Part_{A/V}$)

Recall that I assume that the operations of passivisation and anticausativisation are performed on the argument structure of a predicate, i.e. neither on a syntactic structure (f- or c-structure) nor on an individual lexical item (such as the base verb – which instead undergoes morphological derivations such as the one in (22)). Passivisation produces an argument structure in which the *agent* argument is assigned the grammatical function of the OBLIQUE and is optional, and the *patient/theme* argument if there is one is assigned the function of the SUBJECT (see (1b) for the intransitive variant).

Recall also that the argument structure templates for both a personal passive predicate, as in (11), and an intransitive anticausative predicate, as in (16), make available to the syntax a subcategorisation frame in which the subject argument (SUBJ) is interpreted as a **patient/theme**. Therefore, a resultative participle oriented towards an affected participant (here, the *patient/theme*), and used syntactically as a modifier of its head noun or a complement to its subject, must be listed in the lexicon as having a subcategorisation frame which is compatible with both the passive interpretation and the intransitive anticausative interpretation of the predicate. That is, if its subcategorisation frame does have a subject, the subject is indeed interpreted as a patient/theme.

To check this, let us consider again the participial derivation rule in (22). The lexical entry for the resultative participle formed from *sprzątać* ‘to clean’ includes the following subcategorisation frame: *sprzątan-* ⟨ SUBJ, (OBL) ⟩. The interpretation of a resultative participle is such that its SUBJECT argument is interpreted as the participant which is affected by the event. This is compatible with passive argument structure, and hence the participle may indeed receive a passive interpretation. The resultative participle *pęknięty*-⟨ SUBJ ⟩ ‘cracked’ does not have an optional OBL in its subcategorisation frame, hence the event it expresses cannot be interpreted as caused by any external participant, and the only interpretation available is that the sole SUBJ participant is affected by itself. With the resultative participle *otwart*-⟨ SUBJ, (OBL) ⟩ ‘open(ed)’, the SUBJ participant may be interpreted as either affected by the OBL participant, or by itself. The first interpretation is compatible with passive argument structure, while the second with anticausative argument structure. The absence of an overt expression of an OBL argument in the clause makes the construction underspecified with regard to which argument structure it instantiates. This underspecification is possible because in both the passive and the anticausative the same referent is mapped onto the SUBJ. (Note that the same underspecification applies correctly to *sprzątan-* ⟨ SUBJ, (OBL) ⟩ ‘clean(ed)’; that is, the grammar does not prevent the construction of an anticausative clause with *sprzątać* ‘to clean’, however, this usage would constitute a creative, perhaps jocular, extension of its meaning).

5 Distribution of the resultative participle as a predicative element

Tables 1 and 2 in Section 1 showed the impersonal passive of the intransitive among the family of the so-called ‘resultative’ constructions in Polish. However, it is useful to consider these constructions in the context of the full distribution of the *-n/-t* (resultative) participle in Polish.

The resultative participle as a predicative element in personal constructions – that is, with the subject of predication – is found in:

- [A] Finite analytic predicates (subject + copula + predicative element):

Mieskanie [v *bylo*] [PartP *sprzątane* (przez firmę)].
flat(N).NOM was.3SG.N clean.PART.SG.N (by company)
‘Apartment was cleaned (by a company).’

- [B] Independent non-finite predicates** (no copula, only subject + predicative element):

Mieszkanie [PartP *sprzątane* (przez firmę)].
flat(N).NOM clean.PART.SG.N.NOM (by company)
‘Apartment cleaned (by a company).’

- [C] Dependent non-finite predicates** (no copula, only subject + predicative element), i.e. ‘small clauses’ fulfilling the functions of subjects, objects, indirect objects, obliques, in main clauses:

- (i) in apposition to subject**

Mieszkanie [PartP *sprzątane* (przez firmę)] *błyszczało*.
flat(N).NOM clean.PART.SG.N.NOM (by company) shone.3SG.N
‘Apartment cleaned (by a company) was shining.’

- (ii) in apposition to object = the personal ‘possessive resultative’⁵**

Ojciec *miał* *mieszkanie* [PartP *sprzątane* (przez firmę)].
father(M).NOM had.3SG.M flat(N).ACC clean.PART.SG.N.ACC (by company)
‘Father had the apartment cleaned (by a company).’

- (iii) in apposition to indirect objects and obliques**

Ojciec *zafundował* *swojemu* *mieszkaniu*
father(M).NOM sponsored.3SG.M own[REFL].SG.DAT flat(N).DAT
[PartP *sprzątanemu* (przez firmę)] *wiosenną metamorfozę*.
clean.PART.SG.N.DAT (by company) spring-like.F.ACC transformation(F).ACC
‘Father gave his apartment cleaned (by a company) a spring-like transformation.’

Ojciec *zamieszkał* *w mieszkaniu* [PartP *sprzątanym*
father(M).NOM started-living.3SG.M in flat(N).LOC clean.PART.SG.N.LOC
od kilku lat (przez firmę)].
from few years (by company)
‘Father took accommodation in an apartment cleaned for a few years
(by a company).’

Fig. 1. The resultative participle as a predicative element
in personal constructions in Polish

Having constructed a catalogue of the occurrences of the resultative participle as a predicative element in personal constructions, the following question can be asked: which of the above types of predicates can be used without the subject of predication, i.e. without a referent of which to predicate (not just without an overt subject)?

⁵ This construction might be in the process of being grammaticalised as a new ‘perfect’ tense in Polish.

Without the subject of predication, the predication has to denote an ‘ambient’ characteristic or quality and can be general (in an unspecified location) or refer to a particular location specified in the clause or understood from the context. This interpretation restricts the range of possible constructions. Specifically, it does not make sense to create such clauses with independent non-finite predicates, as this would amount to creating independent small clauses without subjects (i.e. subjectless variants of [B]).

However, it is possible to create subjectless clauses with finite analytic predicates made up of a copula + predicative element, i.e. subjectless [A]. The predicative elements which are felicitous in this construction are those which can denote an ambient characteristic – some adverbs, and some resultative participles, e.g.:

- (24) a. *Jest/Było czysto/cicho/dobrze/wygodnie.*
is/was.3SG.N clean-ly/quiet-ly/well/comfortabl-y
‘[It] was clean/quiet/good/comfortable [there].’
- b. *Jest/Było sprzątane/wysprzątane.*
is/was.3SG.N clean/clean-up.PART.SG.N
‘[It] was cleaned/tidied up [there].’

Also, it is possible to create subjectless small clauses when the small clause fulfils the direct object function of a main clause, i.e. subjectless [C]. This is possible exclusively with the main verb ‘have’. Again, the predicative elements which are felicitous in this construction are adverbs and resultative participles, but their range seems to be wider than in the ‘subjectless [A]’ type. This is the impersonal variety of the so-called ‘possessive resultative’, on which research does not yet exist:

- (25) a. *Miał dobrze/wygodnie.*
had.3SG.M well/comfortabl-y
‘He was fine/comfortable.’
- (26) a. *Miał codziennie sprzątane.*
had.3SG.M every-day tidy.PART.SG.N
‘He had the cleaning done every day.’
- b. *Miał codziennie sprzątane w pokoju.*
had.3SG.M every-day tidy.PART.SG.N in room(M).LOC
‘He had the cleaning done in his room every day.’
- (27) a. *Miał ładnie posprzątane.*
had.3SG.M nicely tidy-up.PART.SG.N
‘He had [it] nicely cleaned/tidied up.’

- b. *Miał ładnie posprzątane w pokoju.*
had.3SG.M nicely tidy-up.PART.SG.N in room(M).LOC
‘He had it nicely cleaned/tidied up in his room.’

Examples of both variants of the subjectless *-ne/-te* construction are numerous both in Polish corpora and on the web, and many natural, non-constructed examples can be found in Kibort (2011).

To sum up, the resultative participle as a predicative element is also found in impersonal constructions:

SUBJECTLESS VARIANT OF [A]:

in finite analytic predicates made up of a copula + predicative element;
denoting an ambient characteristic:

Było sprzątane (przez firmę).
was.3SG.N clean.PART.SG.N (by company)
‘[It] was cleaned (by a company).’

SUBJECTLESS VARIANT OF [C]:

in dependent non-finite predicates which fulfil the direct object function
of a main clause; exclusively with the main verb ‘have’:

Ojciec miał sprzątane (przez firmę).
father(M).NOM had.3SG.M clean.PART.SG.N (by company)
‘Father had [it] cleaned (by a company).’
= **the impersonal ‘possessive resultative’**

Fig. 2. The resultative participle as a predicative element
in impersonal constructions in Polish

5 Functional structure – proposal

The present proposal for the f-structure of construction [B], with the resultative participle as a predicative element in independent non-finite predicates, follows the suggestion made in Dalrymple, Dyvik and King (2004: 191), as there is no evidence in Polish for an empty copula.

Constructions [Ci-iii], with the resultative participle as a predicative element in dependent non-finite predicates, have XADJs adjoined to the phrase like non-restrictive clauses, with their subjects provided from outside the predicate.

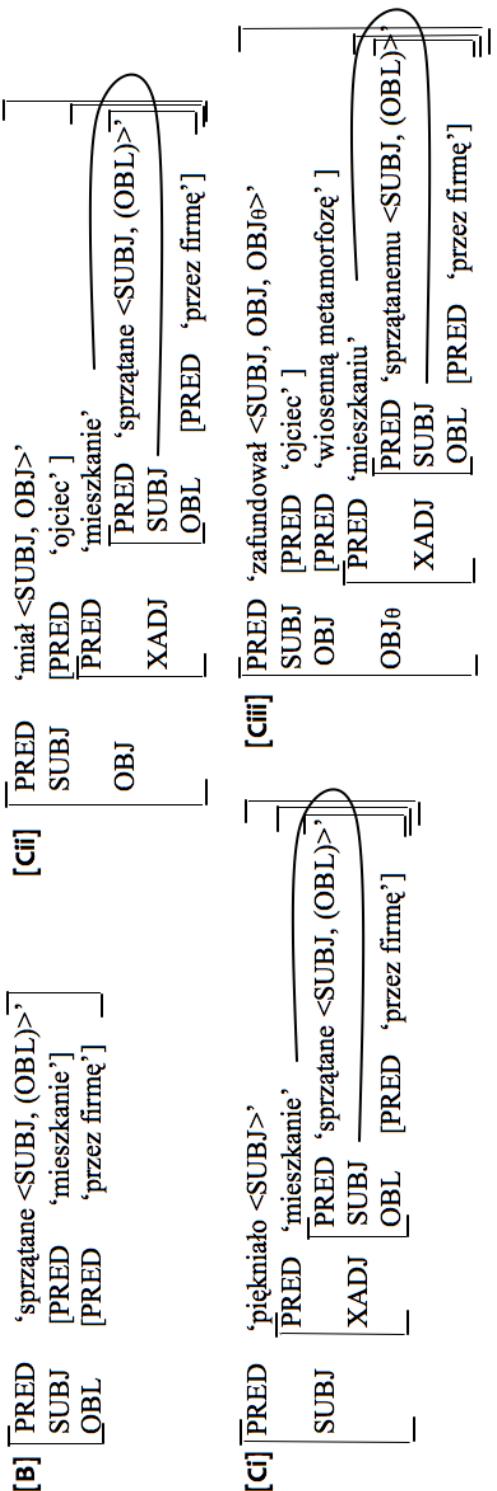


Fig. 3. Proposed f-structures for constructions [B] and [Ci-iii]

In construction [A], with the resultative participle as a predicative element in finite analytic predicates, the finite verb ‘be’ is analysed as a raising verb (following Przepiórkowski 2001; Dalrymple, Dyvik and King 2004; Ørsnes 2006; and the current LFG grammar for Polish outlined e.g. in Patejuk and Przepiórkowski 2012). Specifically, the SUBJ of ‘be’ is identical to the SUBJ of the subordinate predicate: its SUBJ functionally controls the SUBJ of the subordinate predicative element; however, the SUBJ of ‘be’ is its semantic argument (note that Polish has no expletives).

The form ‘be.3SG.N’ can occur with two different subcategorisation frames, a personal one, used in construction [A], and an impersonal one, used in SUBJECTLESS [A], where it combines with predicative elements that do not subcategorise for a subject, i.e. adverbs and the impersonal resultative participle in SG.N.

The *-n/-t* resultative participle in SG.N likewise has two subcategorisation frames, which combine with the two variants of ‘be.3SG.N’ accordingly:

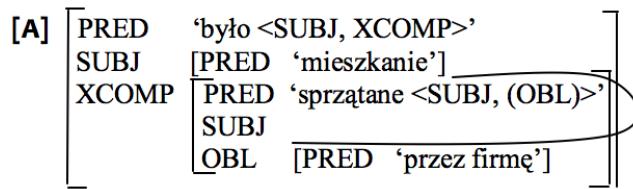


Fig. 4. Proposed f-structure for construction [A]

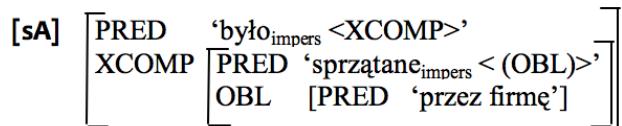


Fig. 5. Proposed f-structure for construction [SUBJECTLESS A]

Finally, all inflectional forms of ‘have’ also need two subcategorisation frames – let us call them object-personal and object-impersonal. The object-impersonal ‘have’ is used in the SUBJECTLESS [C] type of clause, also with predicative elements that do not subcategorise for a subject (i.e. adverbs and the impersonal resultative participle in SG.N):

- (28) a. *miał*_{obj-personal} <SUBJ, OBJ>
- b. *miał*_{obj-impersonal} <SUBJ, XCOMP> [sC]

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