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Secondary Predication in Polish

By

Malgorzata Szajbel-Keck

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Slavic Languages and Literatures

in the

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of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Johanna Nichols, Chair

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Fall 2015

Abstract

Secondary Predication in Polish

by

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Doctor of Philosophy in Slavic Languages and Literatures

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Johanna Nichols, Chair

This thesis explains how secondary predication is constructed. It focuses on Polish, with some comparisons to other languages, and provides analysis on the syntactic, morphological and semantic level in the paradigm of Minimalism.

It starts with a definition of primary and secondary predication, maintaining that only adjuncts are true secondary predicates. This is followed by an introduction of a new phrase type, bipartite, to Polish linguistics – an expression consisting of a preposition and adjective or, sometimes, a noun. It is shown that bipartites are not simply adverbs, for which they have been taken so far, but they can serve in a variety of functions, some of them typical for adjectives, such as attributive modifier or predicative use. That predicative use, especially in secondary predication, is then in the focus of the rest of this work.

The morphosyntactic composition of secondary predication is discussed in detail, showing that lexically secondary predicates involve both adjectives and nouns (to a much lesser extent). Structurally, secondary predicates are divided into bare ones, consisting of an adjective or noun, and prepositional ones, involving bipartites, and thus consisting of a combination of a preposition and adjective or noun. Semantically, secondary predicates can be depictive or resultative. It is also illustrated that although secondary predicates fall into the category of adjuncts, they must be clearly distinguished from adverbials, attributives, interjections and absolutes.

The second part of this study concentrates on the syntax of secondary predication. It shows that secondary predicates are best described as small clauses with a predicator serving as Pr head. Three attachment sites are proposed that allow for unambiguous subject and object control, as well as separation of depictives and resultatives from circumstantials.

Secondary predicates can both agree and not agree with controlling NPs. Cases are discussed where agreement is obligatory, optional or blocked. In order to account for this variety, two types of Pr head (small clause head) are assumed: the full one blocks agreement and may assign its own case, the defective one allows agreement. The agreement involves both Agree and feature sharing between the controlling NP and secondary predicate. Finally, long distance control of secondary predicates in non-finite constructions and verbal nouns is explained.

Additional to dichotomy depictive vs. resultative, a third group, the co-called circumstantials, is identified which differs significantly from the former ones not only in semantics, but also in lexical composition (they are predominantly nominal) and attachment site (inside NP).

Keywords: secondary predication, adjective, bipartite, Polish, syntax, small clause, predicator, depictive, resultative

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Abbreviations

(Orthographical conventions and glosses of the original sources of the examples are sometimes slightly modified.)

0	no person, i.e. impersonal form
1	1st person
2	2nd person
3	3rd person
A	adjective
ACC	accusative
ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb
C	complementizer
COMP	complementizer
COND	conditional
D	determiner
DAT	dative
DO	direct object/accusative argument
e	elided element
ECM	exceptional case marking
F	feminine
FT	future tense
GEN	genitive
IMP	imperative
INF	infinitive
INS	instrumental
IO	indirect object/dative argument
IPF	imperfective
LOC	locative
M	masculine
N	noun
NEG	negation
NG	neuter gender
NKJP	Narodowy Korpus języka Polskiego (Polish National Corpus)
NOM	nominative
P	preposition
PA	past tense
PART	participle
PF	perfective
PL	plural
POL	polite form of address (combined with predicate in 3.S)
PR	predicator
PRED	predicative case

PRO	silent subject of a non-finite predicate
<i>pro</i>	silent subject of a finite predicate
PRT	present tense
REFL	reflexive particle
S	singular
SP	secondary predicate
SUBJ	subject
V	verb
VN	verbal noun
VOC	vocative
XP	phrase of type X

0. Introduction

This dissertation is concerned with morphosyntax of secondary predication in Polish. In general terms secondary predicates are non-finite adjunct predicates which provide additional information about participants of an event. These predicates, without independent tense and with an anaphoric tense instead, either overlap in time with the primary predicate or they are its direct result. This is the first study that provides a detailed description of the whole phenomenon in Polish. It brings together previous scattered references to secondary predicates in the linguistic literature and research on the Polish language. At the same time, it provides and interprets new observations relevant for the description of Polish.

Predication – the relation of the predicate to the subject and other arguments present in the clause – is a fundamental feature of a language. Main predication of a clause relates subject to the main, tensed predicate, and is the intrinsic element of every utterance. Secondary predication is the relation of an adjunct predicate to one of event participants of the primary predication. It has ancillary function, adding information about event participants, and it functions rather like an adjunct that can be freely removed from the utterance without any detrimental effect on the grammaticality. As such, secondary predication does not belong to the fundamental features of a language and even though it is relatively widely spread across the world’s languages, in many cases it is used only marginally.¹

Although terms ‘main predicate’ and ‘primary predicate’ are often used interchangeably, they represent two different concepts in my study that may but must not overlap. Main predication is the matrix predication of the utterance that sets out time and type of the event. Formally, it is the predication in the main clause and it is always tensed in Polish. The term primary predication is used here only in relation to secondary predication and it merely indicates the predicate to which a secondary predicate is attached. Primary predicate may be the main predicate, but it may also be a predicate of the subordinate clause, which may or may not be finite. Consider following examples:

- (0.1) Marek_i siedział zamyślony_i
Marek sat lost.in.thoughts
‘Marek sat lost in thoughts’

¹ Himmelmann and Schultze-Berndt (2005), Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann (2004) provide an wide overview of world’s languages that use secondary predication.

- (0.2) Marek_i siedząc zamyślony_i nawet nie zauważył, kiedy Ania weszła
 Marek_i sitting lost.in.thoughts_i even NEG noticed when Ania entered
 do pokoju
 to room
 ‘Sitting lost in thoughts, Marek didn’t even notice when Ania entered the room’

In (0.1), *Marek siedział* ‘Marek sat’ is the main (matrix) predicate. It is also the primary predicate to which the secondary predicate *zamyślony* ‘lost in thought’ is adjoined. In (0.2), on the other hand, *Marek nie zauważył* ‘Marek didn’t notice’ is the main predication relation, whereas *Marek siedząc* ‘Marek sitting’ is subordinated. Since the secondary predicate *zamyślony* is adjoined to *Marek siedząc*, it is *Marek siedząc* that is the primary predicate but not the main predicate.

Polish, similarly to other Slavic languages, makes little use of secondary predication in contrast to for instance neighboring Germanic languages (such as English or German) where secondary predicates are much more common. Examples like the ones in (0.3) – (0.4) are rare in Polish and only a small group of adjectives can appear there. Sentences in (0.5) – (0.6) vary in their acceptability from highly dispreferred (0.5) to ungrammatical (0.6) which is in contrast to their English translations that are equally acceptable in all three cases. All these examples make use of adjectives in the construction of secondary predication.

- (0.3) Stefan_i wrócił do domu nieprzyjemnie podniecony_i
 Stefan.NOM.S.M returned to home unpleasantly excited.NOM.S.M
 ‘Stefan returned home unpleasantly excited’
 (NKJP: Dołęga 1989[1934], fiction)

- (0.4) Tata_i przyjechał trzeźwy_i i blady_i
 dad.NOM.S.M arrived sober.NOM.S.M_i and pale.NOM.S.M
 ‘Dad arrived sober and pale’
 (NKJP: Tryzna 2010, fiction)

- (0.5) Anna lubi pić herbatę_i ?gorącą_i
 Ann likes drink.INF tea.ACC.S.F hot.ACC.S.F
 ‘Anna likes to drink her tea hot’

- (0.6) Jan pomalował drzwi_i *czerwone_i
 John painted door.ACC.PL.M red.ACC.PL.M
 ‘John painted the door red’

Resulting from this infrequency, secondary predication has not received much attention in studies of the Polish language. It is rarely mentioned in works dealing with Polish syntax or adjectives specifically, and works mentioning it usually restrict themselves to a

statement that it is a very restricted and rather non-productive construction (e.g. Franks 1995a; Hentschel 2009; 2013).

This study shows that the studies of secondary predication in Polish up to now have been much too narrow and ignored alternative ways of expressing secondary predication which, in fact, turn out to be much more widely spread in the language than considered so far. Interestingly, these alternative ways are natural (and neutral) fixes to the ungrammatical examples above: example (0.7) is a grammatical version of example (0.5), and example (0.8) of (0.6).

(0.7) Anna lubi pić herbatę na gorąco
Ann likes drink.INF tea.ACC.S.F NA hot
'Anna likes to drink her tea hot'

(0.8) Jan pomalował drzwi na czerwono
John painted door.ACC.PL.M NA red
'John painted the door red'

Note that the adjective has changed form and it has no inflectional features marked in examples (0.7) and (0.8). This is because, synchronically, this form is idiosyncratic and does not belong to any adjectival inflectional paradigm. Historically, adjectives in this construction have kept suffixes from an old nominal inflection of adjectives, which has long been lost in Polish (Grzegorzczkowska et al. 1984, 461). Another difference is that the adjective is preceded by a preposition in examples (0.7) and (0.8).

Bipartites, as I call this type of combination of a preposition and adjective or noun, following Goeringer (1998) in his terminology, have been treated as adverbials across the board in the Polish linguistic tradition, without any reflection that they might also have other functions. It is symptomatic of this attitude that in Polish grammars and linguistic works they are called *przysłówki* 'adverbs', *quasi-przysłówki* 'quasi-adverbs', *wyrażenia przysłówkowe* 'adverbial expressions' or *wyrażenia quasi-przysłówkowe* 'quasi-adverbial expressions'. As I will show, they do not always refer to the process or event directly. Often enough refer rather to participant of the event.

The recognition of this construction as a true secondary predication, for which I have already opted in Szajbel-Keck (2014), allows me to challenge yet another established claim about secondary predication in Polish. Namely, that secondary predication is semantically always depictive, which means that it characterizes the event participant during the time of the event, and that it is never resultative, i.e. that it never provides information of what the participant becomes as a direct result of the event. English examples in (0.9) make clear the difference. The predicative adjective *sad* in example (a) is depictive because it describes David's mood during sitting, whereas the predicative adjective *clean* in example (b) is resultative because it denotes the result of the action performed by David – the state which his hands achieved after washing.

(0.9) *English*

- a. David sat sad
- b. David washed his hands clean

Examples showing that Polish, in fact, has also resultative secondary predication, have already been mentioned by Hentschel (2009) in his overview of the morphosyntactic marking of secondary predication in Slavic languages, where he compares them with the German resultative counterparts:

(0.10) a. Tankowałem pusty zbiornik_i do pełna_i
I.filled.up empty fuel.tank.ACC.S.M DO full
'I filled up the empty fuel tank'

b. *German*

Ich habe den leeren Behälter voll getankt
I have the empty container full filled.up.PART
'I filled up the empty fuel tank'
(Hentschel 2009, 374)

(0.11) a. Wymiótł talerz_i do czysta_i
he.swept plate.ACC.S.M DO clean
'He swept the plate clean' → he ate everything

b. *German*

Er putzte den Teller blank
he cleaned the plate shining
'He cleaned the plate shiny' → 'he ate everything'
(Hentschel 2009, 374)

Since Hentschel's article is merely aimed at providing a brief overview, he does not go into details. A detailed examination of these and similar examples is one of the goals of the present study.

Examples parallel to the ones provided by Hentschel, with clearly resultative meaning are easily found in the Polish National Corpus. See for instance the sentence in example (0.12), where the secondary predicate *do sucha* 'until dry' informs what effect did wiping have on the stem, and not in what state the stem was during wiping. More details on the opposition depictive vs resultative are provided in section 1.1.

(0.12) Potem wytarł ją_i do sucha_i i zaczął żuć
then he.wiped her.ACC.S.F DO dry and started chew.INF
'Then he wiped it [i.e. the stem of a plant] dry and started to chew'
(NKJP: Brandys 1974, non-fiction literature)

0.1. Methodology

Linguistic studies of secondary predication have usually been developed within one of the major theoretical syntactic or semantic frameworks. The choice of framework might influence which literature is considered and which aspects of a particular construction are primarily discussed. It might also influence what type of data is collected and how it is interpreted depending on the explanatory power of the particular theory. This might result in omissions and ignoring of particular observations that cannot be accommodated or explained by the tools at hand. In result, some of the descriptions turn out to be one-sided or simplistic in explanation. The primary goal of this study is to paint as detailed and accurate picture of secondary predication in Polish as possible. In order to achieve it, I consulted literature regardless of its theoretical background as long as it provided insight into secondary predication in Polish, Slavic and beyond. Therefore, I consulted typological studies of secondary predication. I checked what has been written on adjectives, especially in their predicative function, and complex adverbials both in traditional descriptions of Polish grammar, and in more current, mainly generative, studies of their syntactic use. I even looked through Polish dictionaries to see how they dealt with prepositional constructions discussed here, and consulted lexicographic studies.

Still, it is impossible to write a truly theory neutral description in linguistics. Any description presupposes a theory and requires a coherent and methodologically valid approach. Coming from the Minimalist perspective, I decided to remain in that framework. It makes sense in the case of secondary predication which is foremost a morphosyntactic phenomenon and the Minimalist explanatory power lays foremost in the formal structure of the language. Still, I need to caution the reader that the use of certain technical terms does not necessarily presuppose theoretical implications of Minimalism. For instance, the term ‘nominal phrase’ (NP in short) is used for nominal expressions in general and is not meant to bear any theoretical significance, as to whether for instance each nominal has an additional determiner layer (DP) in Polish or not.

0.2. Sources of data

I subscribe to the evolutionary understanding of language. I treat it as a live and evolving organism that constantly undergoes changes. Some happen slowly, but others may come rapidly, depending on the speed of their spread and overall acceptance. Under such understanding, colloquial language is the most current stage of a language and a proper register to look for evidence for the most recent changes in language. Standard language is the version of the colloquial language frozen at some point in time and codified. That process is always more or less influenced by the grammarians’ opinions at the time of what is grammatical. The necessity to formally codify standard language makes it less susceptible to rapid changes than the colloquial register, especially if these developments

go against the agreed upon rules. As a consequence, many changes spreading in the colloquial language are considered errors, and it takes time until (if at all) they are accepted as standard. Under such approach, ‘errors’ and non-standard uses of language are as informative (or sometimes even more informative) as the correct utterances. Since the Polish National Corpus, my main source of data, consists in more than 80% of texts written in the standard language, it is not surprising that it may not provide examples for some of the most recent developments in the use of secondary predicates in Polish, especially if they are considered errors, such as splitting the bipartite with an intensifier (discussed in section 0.4.4) in *Gramatyka współczesnego języka polskiego* (the Grammar of Modern Polish Language) (Grzegorzczkowska et al. 1984). The internet, on the other hand, allows me to see what happens in the language currently, regardless of the grammaticality judgements passed by the Polish grammar authorities and editors. Since I am not interested in what the language is supposed to be like but rather what it actually is, I sometimes need to go outside the Polish National Corpus to see if what is predicted to not happen really does not happen. That is why my investigation is based on different types of data.

The variety of data sources has been dictated also by the relative infrequency of secondary predication in the natural language, both spoken and written. Originally, I planned the National Corpus of Polish (www.nkjp.pl), NKJP in short, to be my main source of data.² This seemed to be a logical choice for an extensive study of a structure appearing in natural language. The balanced subcorpus of NKJP contains 300 million segments that can be expanded to 1800 million if necessary, where segments roughly respond to words.³ The majority of texts have been produced in the last few decades. I mainly used the balanced subcorpus in order to ensure the appropriate representation of all language registers in my query.⁴ The corpus is fully annotated on several levels: morpheme, word, phrase and sentence. The query language is complex and allows for both general and detailed searches on each of the annotation levels. Importantly, texts collected here represent different registers, including for instance literary prose, newspaper articles, blog entries etc. It also makes an attempt to include spoken language in form, for instance, of transcripts from government meetings.

Still, the query language of the NKJP is not powerful enough to allow for a directed search of secondary predication. Neither morphological features nor syntactic position of an adjective or a noun functioning as a secondary predicate, nor the combination of both are distinctive enough to pick out secondary predication out of all other possible syntactic

² For a detailed description of the Polish National Corpus see Przepiórkowski et al. (2012).

³ According to Przepiórkowski et al. (2012, 61f), segments are never longer than an orthographic word (i.e. a string of signs between spaces), but sometimes they are shorter. For instance, the subjunctive particle *by* is always a segment regardless whether it stands alone (*on by przyszedł* ‘he would come’ – 3 segments) or is attached to another word (*on przyszedłby* ‘he come.would’ – 3 segments), reflexive verbs count as two segments (e.g. *boję się* ‘I am afraid’), punctuation counts as one segment too.

⁴ The balanced subcorpus of NKJP contains following text types: 50% journalism and short press notes, 16% fiction, 5.5% non-fiction, 5.5% guides and handbooks, 2% scientific texts, 3% other texts (including for instance administrative paperwork, ads, classifieds, political propaganda, instructions), 1% unclassified non-fiction, 10% spoken texts, and 7% internet texts (Przepiórkowski et al. 2012, 33).

functions for nouns, adjectives, and prepositions. It took some time to find query definitions that would turn the most instances of secondary predication. Surprisingly, annotation errors resulting from machine tagging have been of some help here. For instance, bipartites in form of *na adjective+o*, such as *na zimno*, *na sucho*, etc., are consistently tagged as a string of a preposition *na* and an adverb *zimno*, because in fact the form *zimno* is homonymous with the adverb meaning ‘coldly’. Since it is impossible for an adverb to follow a preposition, and for a preposition to accidentally precede an adverb because there are no free standing prepositions in Polish, entering a query ‘[pos(ition):prep(osition)] [pos(ition):adv(erb)]’ resulted in instances of secondary predication.

In order to get a larger sample, I decided to also aim directly for the most common predicative adjectives (such as for instance *pijany* ‘drunk’ or *trzeźwy* ‘sober’), the most common predicative combinations of a preposition and adjective (e.g. *do czysta* ‘until clean’, *do naga* ‘until naked’, *na czczo* ‘hungry’, *na trzeźwo* ‘sober’, *po pijanemu* ‘drunk’), and strings that would most probably be followed by a secondary predicate (e.g. *wrócić do domu* + adjective ‘to return home + adjective’ with the verb inflected in all possible combinations of person, number and gender). This allowed me to collect a sample of almost 1000 examples. This sample, however, can only be analyzed qualitatively. Any quantitative analysis would be skewed because of all the targeted queries that I had to perform in order to get a big enough sample. For instance, the number of occurrences of the adjective *pijany* ‘drunk’ – 111, which is a 30% of all examples with adjectives as secondary predicates (total of 333) is by no means representative of its popularity in that construction, and it is simply a result of targeted search for that adjective in a position which would most probably result in secondary predication. The only somehow valuable information that we can get from this number, which I obtained without any lengthy search, is the confirmation of my suspicion that this particular adjective is used relatively often as a secondary predicate. The same observation applies to its antonym *trzeźwy* ‘sober’ of which I also have a little bit more than 100 examples. Usually after I reached 100 examples for a particular adjective, I moved to searching for the next one.

Tagging of bipartites is also far from satisfactory in NKJP, mainly because of the inconsistency in tagging of the second element. The first element is always tagged as preposition, but the second element has been troublesome for the taggers, and the result that they achieved for the automatic tagging is far from satisfactory.

Table 0.1: *Tagging of adjectival bipartites in NKJP*

TYPE	FIRST ITEM	SECOND ITEM
<i>na szybko</i> ‘fast’	[na: prep :acc]	[szybko: adv :pos]
<i>na prędcę</i> ‘quickly’	[na: prep :acc]	[prędcę: ign]
<i>do naga</i> ‘naked’	[do: prep :gen]	[nagi: adj :sg: nom :f:pos]
<i>po polsku</i> ‘in Polish’	[po: prep :loc]	[polski: adjp]
<i>po pijanemu</i> ‘drunk’	[po: prep :loc]	[pijany: adj :sg: dat :m1:pos]
<i>z pańska</i> ‘like a lord’	[z: prep :gen:nwok]	[pański: adj :sg: nom :f:pos]

(acc – accusative, adj – adjective, adjp – post-prepositional adjective, adv – adverb, dat – dative, f – feminine, gen – genitive, ign – unknown form, loc – locative, m1 – human masculine, nom – nominative, nwok – non-vocalic, pos – positive, prep – preposition, sg – singular)

Table 0.1 illustrates how particular types of bipartites are tagged in NKJP. It shows that the preposition is consistently treated as a regular preposition, and the case feature indicates the case that the preposition typically assigns to its complement, which holds for most of them. The only problematic preposition is *na*, which can assign either accusative or locative, and the choice of accusative by the tagger seems arbitrary, especially that neither in the *na szybko* type nor the *na prędcę* type the second element is tagged with the accusative case. The second element of a bipartite is at best problematic for the tagset of NKJP. Although there is a dedicated category of a post-prepositional adjective, i.e. an adjective that can be a sole complement of a preposition, only forms ending with *-sk-u/-ck-u/-dzk-u* are tagged as such. The other ones are confused with other homonymous forms: either with another inflectional form of the adjective (both *naga*, and *pańska* are confused with the feminine nominative singular form) or an adverb derived from that adjective (*szybko*). These combinations are syntactically incorrect: prepositions do not select adverbs, and in other cases there is mismatch in case features: *do* [gen] apparently selects *naga* [nom], *po* [loc] is followed by *pijanemu* [dat], and *z* [gen] by *pańska* [nom]. It goes without saying that such case mismatches are prohibited in Polish, and since all these are valid bipartites, it is the tagging that is incorrect and not the forms themselves. Finally forms that are not homonyms of any other ‘valid’ ones are marked as an ‘unknown form’, such as *prędcę*.

Two types of queries, random and targeted, allow me to make observations in two directions. In the random search, I was looking for adjectives that were not followed by nouns or other adjectives (in order to exclude attributive uses), and that were not preceded by a verb *być* ‘to be’ (in order to exclude copula clauses). At some point, I also added a requirement that they had to be followed by a diacritic marking the end of the clause, since an adjective in such position would most probably be predicative. A sample collected that way provided me with an overview of exactly what adjectives may be secondary predicates. This sample was, however, too small to draw any conclusions about the morphosyntactic properties of secondary predicates. For that purpose targeted sampling turned out to be a good choice. Having sampled large numbers of tokens with several

adjectives only, I could observe different patterns that were independent of the semantics of the adjective itself.

Results of my queries became basis for descriptions and explanations provided below. Nevertheless, I am unable to fully avoid constructing my own examples for the explanatory purposes. They, however, appear only where I lack an appropriate example in my dataset, or when I need an example simpler than the ones from the corpus.

A note on formatting of the examples. Each example contains gloss line and English translation. In order to keep examples as clear as possible, I decided to gloss with inflected forms and keep inflectional features down to a minimum necessary for understanding or important for a current discussion. Wherever appropriate, I co-index secondary predicates and their controllers. This coindexing has only illustrative function and has no theoretical significance. I provide source of each example, and its absence means that the example has been constructed. I also decided to not only indicate NKJP as a source for the examples, but to actually indicate the original source, in order to show the reader from what period of time the example comes and what register it represents, starting with highly colloquial internet chat entries and ending with literary prose.

0.3. What is secondary predication?

Schulze-Berndt and Himmelmann (2004, 77f) list several general criteria that secondary predication needs to meet. First of all, two predicative elements must be present in a clause and one of them must be temporarily dependent on the other one. To assure dependency, secondary predicate is in a non-finite form, i.e. it is not marked for tense or mood. That predicate is also not a complement of the primary predicate and it is not obligatory. It is, however, obligatorily controlled by one of the arguments of the primary predicate, be it subject or object. That controlling NP is a shared argument of both predicates and it is not expressed separately as a subject of the secondary predicate. In fact, secondary predicate never has an overt subject. It is different with objects. The object of a secondary predicate is never shared with the primary predicate, and if present, it must be overtly expressed. Consider example (0.13), where the primary predicate *wychodzi* ‘leaves’ and secondary predicate *zły* ‘angry’ share the subject *Marek* which is overtly spelled only once, as the subject of the primary predicate. The secondary predicate has also an object *na nią* ‘at her’, which is overtly expressed and also not shared with the primary predicate.

(0.13) Marek_i wychodzi zły_i na nią
Marek leaves angry at her
‘Marek leaves angry at her’
(NKJP: Samson 2000, fiction)

Further, secondary predicate does not form a complex predicate of any kind with the primary predicate, but it rather independently enters into predication relation with the

controller. It also does not function as a modifier of that controller and it does not form a low-level constituent with it.

All these criteria are fulfilled by Polish predicates, as illustrated in example (0.14) where the conjoined adjectives *zły i głodny* ‘angry and hungry’ form a secondary predicate.

(0.14) Nowak_i wrócił do domu zły_i i głodny_i
Nowak.NOM.S.M returned to home angry.NOM.S.M and hungry.NOM.S.M
‘Nowak returned home angry and hungry’
(NKJP: Konatkowski.2007, fiction)

As adjectival forms, *zły* ‘angry’ and *głodny* ‘hungry’ are not marked with tense or mood, but rather depend temporarily on the main predicate. They are controlled by the subject of that predicate, which means that they inform us that Nowak was angry and hungry at the time of his arrival home, but not necessarily before or after. The secondary predicate is separated from its controller and the main predicate by other linguistic material, an adjunct prepositional phrase *do domu* ‘to home’ in this case, and therefore it cannot form any low-level constituent with its controller or any complex predicate with the main predicate:

(0.15) Nowak wrócił [do domu] [zły i głodny]

Finally, the secondary predicate *zły i głodny* ‘angry and hungry’ is adjunct-like because it can be removed from the clause without it resulting in ungrammaticality. Example (0.16) is still correct, only less informative than example (0.14) about the state of the subject.

(0.16) Nowak wrócił do domu
Nowak returned to home
‘Nowak returned home’

Another valid point that Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann (2004, 78) make is that it does not make sense to separate secondary predication structurally from adverbial constructions if the difference is only semantic. Secondary predicates need to be expressed by a syntactically different construction type or types to be considered a separate phenomenon. Secondary predicates and adverbial constructions may still be related to each other and overlap in some aspects because they all belong to adjunct constructions, but each of them must have unique morphosyntactic properties. As Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann notice, the distinction is rather gradual than clear cut on the semantic level, defined individually for each language, but it is more or less clear on the syntactic level. As I will show in this study, in Polish, secondary predicates are not only participant-oriented, i.e. provide information about one of the event participants (in contrast to event-oriented adverbial constructions, that provide information about the way the event or process is conducted) but also differ from adverbials morphosyntactically.

Schulze-Berndt and Himmelmann deal only with depictive secondary predicates. Although they admit that resultatives share a number of important characteristics with depictives, semantic and syntactic differences make it impossible in their opinion to provide one unified analysis for both types (Schulze-Berndt et al. 2004, 65ff), as it is for instance in Italian, according to Napoli (1992, 54f). They also indicate that it has been suggested for German and English that resultatives are not secondary predicates, but rather form complex predicates with the main predicate (Dowty 1979, 219ff, 303f; Winkler 1997). Their main argument against a unified analysis of depictives and resultatives in these languages is based on the fact that resultatives may sometimes be obligatory sentence elements there, as illustrated by German example (0.17), but depictives never are, as in example (0.18).

(0.17) *German – resultative*

ich schreibe mir die Finger_i *(wund_i)
 I write me.DAT.S the finger.ACC.M.PL sore
 Literally: ‘I am writing my fingers sore’
 (Schulze-Berndt et al. 2004, ex.14)

(0.18) *German – depictive*

ich schlafe (nackt)
 I sleep naked
 ‘I sleep naked’

Second argument against dealing with depictives and resultatives as one phenomenon is taken from prosody. Schulze-Berndt and Himmelmann (2004, 66f) show that prosody in clauses with depictives and resultatives is often different. It is true for German, where it also turns out to be a very practical device to disambiguate between depictives and resultatives in cases where the syntactic strings allow for both readings. According to Schulze-Berndt and Himmelmann (following Halliday (1967) and Winkler (1997)), depictives can receive their own phrasal stress, while resultatives must remain unstressed. Consider examples (0.19) and (0.20) where *roh* ‘raw’ is intoned as a separate phrase, while *blank* ‘clear’ is not and belongs to the phrasal prosody of the whole clause.

(0.19) *German*

er isst das Lámm_i róh_i
 he eats the lamb raw
 ‘He eats the lamb raw’
 (Winkler 1997, 291)

(0.20) *German*

dort fegt der Wind den Hímmel_i blank_i
 there sweeps the wind the sky clear
 ‘There the wind sweeps the sky clear’
 (Winkler 1997, 282)

I have not determined any vital differences between resultatives and depictives in Polish, similar to the ones mentioned above or other, which would compel me to analyze them as different syntactic phenomena. Importantly, none of the two arguments above hold: there is no difference in the prosodic structure of clauses with depictives and resultatives, and resultatives, just like depictives, are never obligatory in the clause. The only striking difference between depictives and resultatives in Polish, which will be discussed in detail later in section 1.3, is that adjectives can never convey resultative meaning as secondary predicates, as illustrated in example (0.21). Instead, the previously mentioned combination of preposition and adjective must be used, as shown in example (0.22).

(0.21) Student wytarł biurko; *czyste
 student wiped desk.ACC.S.NG clean.ACC.S.NG
Intended meaning: ‘Student wiped the desk clean’

(0.22) Student wytarł biurko; do czysta
 student wiped desk.ACC.S.NG DO clean
 ‘Student wiped the desk clean’

Moreover, I have not found any resultative secondary predicates that are obligatory elements of the clause or constitute a complex predicate with the main verb.

Since I have not found any compelling evidence that resultatives should be treated separately in Polish, I deal with both depictives and resultatives as one syntactic phenomenon.

0.4. Bipartites

Goeringer’s (1998) work on Russian adverbs draws attention to an untypical group of phrases consistently containing a preposition and an adjective or noun, such as Russian *vmeste* (composed of *v-* ‘in, on’ + *-meste* ‘place.LOC’) ‘together’ or *napropaluju* (composed of *na-* ‘on, in’ + *-propaluju* ‘idea of falling.ACC’) ‘headlong’. For that reason, he calls them *bipartites*, i.e. ‘two-parts’, and analyzes approximately 200 hundred of Russian examples. He shows that in Russian they not only function as adverbs, as illustrated in example (0.23), giving examples for VP adverbs, sentence adverbs and intensifiers, but can also act as adjectives, as in example (0.24). The fact that they are able to take up on adjectival role is a novel observation for bipartites not only in Russian, but in Slavic in general.

(0.23) *Russian*
 Passażiry govorili ypolgólosa i daže šagat’ staralis’ potiše
 passengers spoke in.low.voices and even step.INF tried quietly
 ‘The passengers were speaking in low voices, and even tried to step more quietly’
 (Goeringer 1998, ex.5.7)

(0.24) *Russian*

[On] ... podnjaj na menja golubye navýkate glaza
he raised on me blue bulging eyes

‘[He] ... raised his bulging blue eyes to me’

(Goeringer 1998, ex.5.12)

Since Goeringer’s study is restricted to Russian, I and several colleagues of mine decided to research if bipartites exist in other Slavic languages and if their properties are comparable to those described by Goeringer.⁵ We have collected almost a thousand examples from several Slavic languages trying to include at least one language from each of the main Slavic branches: East (Russian), West (Polish, Czech) and South (Bulgarian, Croatian). After we annotated their lexical composition, form and function, we noticed that there is a general pan-Slavic pattern in their morphological composition. We found multiple parallel bipartites differing only in language specific spelling conventions, such as Polish *na nowo* and Russian/Bulgarian *nanovo* both meaning ‘again, anew’, and Polish *do czysta* and Russian *dochista* meaning ‘(until) clean’. Sometimes, however, the same lexical items have developed different figurative meanings, such as Polish *na bialo* ‘white’ vs Russian *nabelo* ‘in final form, as final copy’ or Polish *na czarno* ‘illegally’ vs Russian *načerno* ‘in draft form, as rough draft’. In Polish, most bipartites are written separately. There are only a few that are written as one word and the latter ones have truly become one lexical item with exclusively adverbial function. It has not always been like that. Nowakowska (1933), for instance, in her monograph on manner adverbials in Polish from 1933 writes most of the bipartites as one word, regardless of their form, function or meaning.

First element of the bipartite is always a preposition, but the whole is not a prepositional phrase in traditional sense. The preposition often loses its typical semantics, it can select an adjective, and typically it does not assign any traditional case, such as accusative, instrumental, genitive or locative. What is more, some bipartites contain more than two lexical elements. Bulgarian *za vkušti* ‘carryout’, for instance, is composed of *za* ‘for’ + *v* ‘at’ + *kušti* ‘home’. If a third element is added, it is always a second preposition. This makes them hardly bi-partite, but for the lack of a better term I decided to keep it, as the vast majority of bipartites, and all of the bipartites I found in Polish, do in fact consist of two elements.

Even though bipartites are common in Polish, there is still no coherent definition or description of their defining properties. Each dictionary treats them differently, and there are even instances where there is no consequent treatment inside one dictionary. Neither lexicographers nor grammarians can agree on the nomenclature and typology. Each person gives them their own name, starting with a very narrow *przysłówek złożony* ‘complex

⁵ The project was conducted in 2010-2012, and the participants have been: Johanna Nichols, Cammeron Girvin and Elizabeth Purdy, Małgorzata Szajbel-Keck, all affiliated with UC Berkeley. Our observations have been reported at several conferences, for instance, at the Meeting of the Slavic Linguistic Society in 2012 and ATSEEL Meeting in 2011. Elements of our findings have been incorporated in this thesis.

adverb’ (Szałkiewicz 2010) and ending with very vague *wyrażenie (syntaktycznie) niestandardowe* ‘(syntactically) non-standard expression’ (Czerepowicka 2006). Only in recent years, studies appeared that attempt to provide a more comprehensive description of the phenomenon, but again they mostly concentrate on their adverbial function. Functionally one sided, since she discusses only their adverbial functions, Nowakowska’s (1933) description of the morphology and semantics of bipartites is the first detailed recognition of their existence in Polish. In her typology of adverbs, she calls them *przysłówki odwyrażeniowe*, by which she means that they have been derived from an expression, i.e. more than one word. She recognizes seven types: 1) *po polsku*, 2) *po bożemu*, 3) *powoli*, 4) *z pańska*, 5) *na brudno*, *na bakier*, 6) *na przódce*, 7) *włot*. Her classification is based both on the morphosyntactic structure and semantics. Czerepowicka’s (2006) study of Polish bipartites represents a syntactic approach. Her interest in them stems from her involvement in the development of the Polish National Corpus, where she has noticed that bipartites are very problematic when it comes to morphosyntactic tagging (see my discussion of that issue in section 0.2). In her detailed typological description, she splits bipartites according to their morphological composition, starting with the second element: noun, adjective, idiosyncratic forms, which she then further splits into subtypes depending on the preposition.

0.4.1. Functions

Traditionally, bipartites have been defined as adverbs in Polish (Doroszewski 1952, 212; Grzegorzczukowa et al. 1984, 461ff; Nowakowska 1933, 41ff; Pałka 2011; Renz et al. 2010; Szałkiewicz 2010; Wróbel 1966), which is reflected in the terminology used in Polish dictionaries and grammars to describe them: *przysłówki (złożone)* ‘(complex) adverbs’, *quasi-przysłówki* ‘quasi-adverbs’, *przysłówki prefiksalno-sufiksalne* ‘adverbs derived with a prefix and suffix’, *przysłówki odwyrażeniowe* ‘adverbs derived from expressions’, *wyrażenia (quasi-)przysłówkowe* ‘(quasi-)adverbial expressions’. In fact, this seems to be their most dominant syntactic function, as in examples (0.25) and (0.26), where *na czysto* ‘clearly’ indicates how the subject was seeing, and *na szybko* ‘quickly’ describes in what manner the kitchen was transferred into a conference room.

(0.25) Potrzebowałem kilku dni, żeby zobaczyć na czysto
 I.needed several days in.order.to see.INF NA clean
 ‘I needed several days to see [it] clearly’
 (NKJP)

(0.26) Konferencja odbyła się w jadalni przemianowanej na szybko
 press-conference took.place REFL in dining.room renamed NA quick
 w biuro prasowe
 in office press
 ‘The press conference took place in the dining room, turned quickly into a press room’
 (NKJP: *Tygodnik Podhalański* 1996, press)

Use of bipartites, however, proves to be more complex than that in Polish. They can, in fact, serve not only as manner adverbs, illustrated by examples (0.25) and (0.26), but also as primary and secondary predicates, illustrated by examples (0.27) and (0.28) – (0.30) respectively, as well as noun modifiers, illustrated by example (0.31).

(0.27) Ma to być zupełnie pierwsza wycieczka; na wyjeździe i ma
 has it be.INF fully first trip.NOM.S.F on excursion and it.has
 być „na lekko;”
 be.INF NA light
 ‘It should be the very first trip of this excursion, and it should be with light gear’
 (NKJP: internet interactive⁶)

(0.28) Nie brakujemi; jej i po trzeźwemu;
 not miss me.DAT.S her.ACC.S and PO sober
 ‘I don’t miss her even when I’m sober’
 (NKJP: Nurowska 2009, fiction)

(0.29) *pro* piłem przecież na czczo; zaraz po przyjsciu z pracy
pro drank well NA empty shortly after arrival from work
 ‘Well, I drank on empty stomach, right after I returned from work’
 (NKJP: Dęboróg-Bylczyński 2009, fiction)

(0.30) Potem wytarł ją; do sucha; i zaczął żuć
 then he.wiped her.ACC.S DO dry and he.started chew.INF
 ‘Then he wiped it dry and started to chew.’
 (NKJP: Brandys 1974, non-fiction literature)

(0.31) Kolejny dzień - wycieczka; „na lekko;” z Danielki na Wielką
 another day trip.NOM.S.F NA light from Danielka on Wielka
 Rycerzową i znowu nocleg w Danielce
 Rycerzowa and again overnight-stay in Danielka
 ‘Another day – a “lightly-equipped” trip from Danielka to Wielka Rycerzowa and
 again an overnight stay in Danielka’
 (NKJP: internet interactive)

Interestingly, Grzegorzyczkowa et al. (1984), for instance, who formally treat all these forms as adverbs, note that some of them may “pass on information about a characteristic of the subject at the time of the action” [my translation] (Grzegorzyczkowa et al. 1984, 462), providing examples cited in (0.32). In my definition, this is of course not adverbial function but secondary predication.

⁶ In the NKJP terminology, ‘internet interactive’ data comes from forums, chat rooms, instant messaging, and mailing lists.

- (0.32) a. Zabił po pijanemu
 he.killed PO drunk
 ‘He killed drunk’
- b. Opowiadał po trzeźwemu
 he.talked PO sober
 ‘He was talking sober’
 (Grzegorzyczkowa et al. 1984, 462)

This example is a clear indicator of a long standing tradition in Polish linguistics to identify secondary predication with adverbial function, especially the instances of prepositional predicates. This attitude has a partial explanation in the fact that in case of prepositional forms, function does not carry change in form, as well as that true adverbs can also sometimes function as secondary predicates in Polish. Still, this approach must be changed, and this study hopes to initiate a new way of interpretation and classification of bipartites in Polish. Section 2.2.1 discusses in detail differences between adverbial adjuncts and secondary predicates.

In order to see in what functions bipartites are actually used, I conducted a corpus study. I searched the Polish National Corpus for examples containing several of the most common bipartites. Since there is no quantitative study of bipartites in Polish, I had to rely on my intuition in this respect. I selected bipartites listed in Table 0.1, and collected a total of 510 examples, 30 for each bipartite, by selecting 30 first results including a bipartite provided by the corpus search machine. I tagged them all for functions that they have in a clause, and observed that they always have one of the following five functions: 1) attributive modifier of a noun (in place of an adjective), 2) predicative element in copula clauses, 3) depictive secondary predicate, 4) resultative secondary predicate (for a definition of depictive and resultative secondary predicates see section 1.3), 5) adverbial modifier of a verb (in most cases) or an adjective (in several cases). Table 0.1 summarizes results of this tagging. Columns provide total numbers of bipartites in each function, as well as a percentage out of 30.

Table 0.2

BIPARTITE	ATTRIBUTIVE	PREDICATIVE ⁷	DEPICTIVE	RESULTATIVE	ADVERBIAL
<i>do białości</i> 'until white' (30)	0	0	0	30 (100%)	0
<i>do czysta</i> 'until clean' (30)	0	0	0	30 (100%)	0
<i>do naga</i> 'until naked' (30)	0	0	0	30 (100%)	0
<i>do niedawna</i> 'until recently' (30)	2 (7%)	0	0	0	28 (93%)
<i>do pełna</i> 'until full' (30)	0	0	0	26 (87%)	4 (13%)
<i>do sucha</i> 'until dry' (30)	0	0	0	30 (100%)	0
<i>do upadłego</i> 'until deadly tired' (30)	1 (3%)	0	0	29 (97%)	0
<i>na czysto</i> 'clean' (30)	1 (3%)	0	27 (90%)	0	2 (7%)
<i>na jawie</i> 'awake' (30)	4 (13%)	2 (7%)	17 (57%)	0	7 (23%)
<i>na lekko</i> 'lightly dressed' (30)	5 (17%)	2 (7%)	22 (73%)	0	1 (3%)
<i>na opak</i> 'upside down' (30)	5 (17%)	7 (23%)	0	0	18 (60%)
<i>na płasko</i> 'flat' (30)	1 (3%)	0	24 (81%)	4 (13%)	1 (3%)
<i>na sucho</i> 'dry' (30)	1 (3%)	0	17 (57%)	0	12 (40%)
<i>na szybko</i> 'quickly' (30)	7 (23%)	0	2 (7%)	0	21 (70%)
<i>na trzeźwo</i> 'sober' (30)	0	0	30 (100%)	0	0
<i>na wynos</i> 'to take out' (30)	14 (47%)	0	16 (53%)	0	0
<i>po trochu</i> 'bit by bit' (30)	3 (10%)	0	2 (7%)	0	25 (83%)
TOTAL =100%	44 (9%)	11 (2%)	157 (31%)	179 (35%)	119 (23%)

The bottom row, summarizing the total of appearances (out of 510) in each function, clearly shows that the adverbial function, deemed to be the major, if not the only function of bipartites by Polish scholars, accounts for only 23% of all examples. In fact, the dominant function of bipartites is secondary predication, accounting for 66% (depictives and resultatives counted together). Attributive use, traced in 44 examples (9%), and appearance in copula clauses (2%) further support the claim that bipartites can replace both adverbs and adjectives. What this Table also shows is that most of bipartites clearly specialize in one function. Bipartites *do białości* ‘until white’, *do czysta* ‘until clean’, *do naga* ‘until naked’, *do upadłego* ‘until deadly tired’, *na trzeźwo* ‘sober’ and *na płasko* ‘flat’ are used almost exclusively as depictive or resultative secondary predicates, which is not surprising since they denote qualities that are usually in the adjectival domain. Both bipartite *do niedawna* ‘until recently’ that has temporal reference and *po trochu* ‘bit by bit, little by little’ that relates to a manner fall into adverbial domain, and therefore they are predominantly used as adverbial modifiers. In general, data in Table 0.1 indicates that bipartites can easily take both adverbial and adjectival functions. Following chapters will concentrate on those bipartites that can replace adjectives in secondary predication, both depictive and resultative.

0.4.2. Structure

There are few prepositions that can be a part of a bipartite in Polish: *na*, *do*, *po*, and *za*. These prepositions lose their canonical properties when used in bipartites. They select an adjective, which is otherwise impossible in Polish.⁸ Further, their original meanings (spatial, temporal, distributive, purposive, etc.) have faded, and they have become functional connectives only. There are four semantic groups that can be distinguished here: depictive – mainly with *na*, illustrated by (0.33), but also with *po*, resultative – with *do*, illustrated by (0.34), manner – often with *po*, illustrated by (0.35), and time – with *za*, illustrated by (0.36).

⁷ Copula clauses are meant here, such as *Wszystko jest na opak* ‘Everything is upside down.’

⁸ Szajbel-Keck (2014) mentions two cases where the surface structure might suggest that prepositions in fact select adjectives, illustrated in (i) and (ii). These are, however, instances of NP-ellipsis (i) and category crossing, i.e. use of an adjective as a noun (ii):

(i) Lepiej się czuję w zielonej sukience niż w czerwonej e
 better REFL I.feel in green dress than in red e
 ‘I feel better in a green dress than in a red one’
 (Szajbel-Keck 2014, 365)

(ii) Poszliśmy do Małego
 we.went to Small
 ‘We went to Small [nickname]’
 (Szajbel-Keck 2014, 365)

- (0.33) Tego nie da się słuchać na trzeźwo!
 that not gives REFL listen.INF NA sober
 ‘It’s impossible to listen to that sober!’
 (NKJP: Matuszkiewicz 2009, fiction)
- (0.34) Rozebrali go do naga;
 they.undressed him DO naked
 ‘They stripped him naked’
 (NKJP: *Ekspress Ilustrowany* 2003, press)
- (0.35) Wszedł do pokoju po cichu
 he.entered to room PO quiet
 ‘He entered the room quietly’
- (0.36) Ja uczyłem się trochę za młodu na wiolonczeli
 I learned REFL little ZA young on viola
 ‘I learned to play viola a little when I was young’
 (NKJP: Myśliwski 2007, fiction)

Moreover, it is not clear what case these prepositions value⁹ on their complements because suffixes do not match adjectival inflection: *na*, as a preposition, values either accusative or locative, but none of these cases is overtly expressed with a suffix *-o* on an adjective (0.33); *do* can value only genitive which is never marked by a suffix *-a* on an adjective (0.34). On surface, second element of the bipartite looks like an adjective but with a masculine/neuter nominal inflection. In modern Polish, nominal and adjectival inflectional paradigms are clearly separated and crossovers are not allowed, even if, for instance, adjective is used as a noun, as shown in example (ii) in footnote 8. What is then the explanation for that combination in the second element of the bipartite? This is because, historically, *-o*, *-a*, and *-u* suffixes are remnants of an old nominal inflection of adjectives which has been long lost in Polish (Grzegorzczkowska et al. 1984; Nowakowska 1933, 41).¹⁰ That is why they have been considered inactive, and many grammars and dictionaries treat *cicho* and *sucha* as one morpheme. I, however, will argue against that. Although it might be true that for a

⁹ In the Minimalist understanding, prepositions enter sentence structure with a set of predefined features. One of them is case feature that defines what case the complement of that particular preposition should have. Nouns, on the other hand, as well as adjectives, enter syntactic structure with an empty (unvalued) case feature. In order to surface in appropriate form, this feature of the noun or adjective must be filled with a value, i.e. it must be valued. Case values in Polish are: nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, instrumental and locative. It is a matter of dispute whether vocative is a grammatical case that is valued syntactically, or a separate appellative form.

¹⁰ Apart from here, a reflex of the nominal inflection of adjectives is found in a few remaining instances of pairings of short and long adjectives in Polish, such as *pewien* (short) vs. *pewny* (long) ‘certain’ or *zdrów* (short) vs. *zdrowy* (long) ‘healthy’ (cf. Comrie and Corbett (1993)). The distinction between short and long adjective is still retained in several other Slavic languages. There is, for instance, an interesting parallel with Russian, where this short adjectival inflection surfaces on adjectives when they function as predicates.

long time, after the nominal inflection of adjectives was lost, bipartites were frozen linguistic units, I find that they have recently been reanalyzed.

0.4.3. Derivation

Polish speakers have become able to create new prepositional secondary predicates with adjectives not attested earlier in this construction. *Po trzeźwemu* ‘sober’ (synonymous with *na trzeźwo*) in example (0.37) or *do goła* ‘until naked’ (synonymous with *do naga*), presented in (0.38), are such neologisms.

(0.37) Komendanta *pro*_i bał się tylko po trzeźwemu_i
commander *pro* he.feared REFL only PO sober
‘He was afraid of the commander only when he was sober’
(NKJP: Myśliwski 2007, fiction)

(0.38) Tam też ludzi_i rozbierają do goła_i i rabują!
there too people.ACC.PL.M undress DO naked and rob
‘They undress people and rob them there too!’
(NKJP: *Gazeta Wyborcza* 1994, press)

These bipartites are found in the Polish National Corpus, which consists mainly of modern texts from the last few decades, but they are not listed, for instance, in dictionaries, which tend to include only older bipartites. Now, in order to form *po trzeźwemu* ‘drunk’, Polish speakers had to reanalyze older similar bipartites, such as *po pijanemu* ‘drunk’, as consisting of three elements: *po* + adjective + *-emu*. The motivation behind *do goła* ‘until naked’ is slightly different. There is an established bipartite *do naga* with the same meaning that could have been used here. However, the adjective *goły* ‘naked’ is much more common in Modern Polish than the synonymous *nagi* ‘naked’ which is used only in higher registers. Therefore it is not surprising that the author of the utterance in (0.38) replaces the less common adjective for the more popular synonym.

What is more, Poles not only duplicate existing bipartites, but independently create new ones, such as *na ful* / *na fula* ‘full’ in (0.39) or *na maksa* / *na maxa* ‘maximally’ derived from recent English loans, adjectives *full* and *max(imum)*. These two bipartites show an alternative way to assimilate loans to the Polish morphosyntax. In example (0.39), instead of suffixing the English adjective in order to turn it into an adverb in Polish (i.e. *ful-owo*), speaker uses a bipartite.

- (0.39) Tylko żeby posłuchać na full, muszę poczekać, aż żona i
 only to listen.INF NA full I.must wait.INF until wife and
 dzieci wyjdą
 children will.leave
 ‘Only, to be able to listen in full volume, I have to wait for my wife and children to
 leave’
 (NKJP: Cieślik 2004, fiction)

Also, the most numerous group of Polish bipartites, the ‘*po* adjective-*u*’, which is formed with adjectives ending with *-ski* or *-cki*, is highly productive (Szałkiewicz 2010; Wróbel 1966). Adjectives used here stem from a noun, and they mostly belong to the following semantic groups: territory (*po amerykańsku* ‘American way, in American (language)’), occupation (*po złodziejsku* ‘like a thief’), social status (*po rycersku* ‘like a knight’, *po bratersku* ‘brotherly’), and religion (*po chrześcijańsku* ‘in a Christian way’) (Nowakowska 1933, 41ff). This group of bipartites is always event oriented and cannot be used as predicates. New bipartites of this type are easily created. Example (0.40), for instance, is taken from an internet site, where a particular Polish – German border region is promoted. Since this region includes two sister towns Polish Słubice and German Frankfurt, a name *Shubfurt* has been recently coined for the whole agglomeration. Example (0.40) is a name for a dish, typical for that area. It is common in Polish that when something is characteristic for a particular region, it is not attributed with an adjective but with a bipartite (i.e. *po amerykańsku* ‘the American way/American style’, *po berlińsku* ‘Berlin style’).

- (0.40) radosny kolorowy omlet; po słubfurcku;
 cheerful colorful omlette.NOM.S.M PO slubfurt
 ‘Słubfurt style cheerful and colorful omlette’
 (www.artrans.de/slubfurt/elemente/przewodnik_slubfurt.pdf, instructional)

Bipartite *po putinowsku* ‘in Putin’s way / like Putin’, in example (0.41), is an even more recent and spontaneous coinage.

- (0.41) Czarnecki ocenia Tuska po putinowsku
 Czarnecki judges Tusk PO like.Putin
 ‘Czarnecki judges Tusk in Putin’s way / like Putin.’
 (www.jerzy-kalwak.blog.onet.pl)

It is also worth mentioning that there is a temporal correlation between reanalysis of bipartites as three segmented (three morphemes) and the growing tendency to write them as two words. There is confusion in orthography in older texts, up until the mid-twentieth century. Afterwards, bipartites, especially those that have functions other than adverbial, are consequently written separately, without any explicit writing reform in this matter. It is, however, impossible to say for sure if the ‘two-words’ orthography contributed to the reanalysis or rather was a result of that reanalysis.

0.4.4. Word or a phrase?

Lexical status of bipartites is not clear. Polish linguists are split between treating them as a word and a phrase. The most commonly provided arguments in favor of treating them as one lexical item are: 1) the two elements cannot be split, 2) they cannot be reversed, and 3) the second element cannot be used independently (Szalkiewicz 2010, 406). None of these arguments, however, survives closer scrutiny, and therefore bipartites should be treated as two lexical items.

It is true that bipartites are hardly ever split, but it is not impossible to insert other lexical items between them. Intensifiers, such as *bardzo* ‘very’ and *zupełnie* ‘completely’, for instance, are able to come in between, as in examples (0.42) and (0.43).

- (0.42) a. bo nie wiem, co dla Ciebie znaczy bardzo na twardo
because not I.know what for you mean very NA hard
‘because I don’t know what you mean by ‘very hard boiled’ (egg)’
(www.dobramama.pl, instructional)
- b. Niekoniecznie lubię jajka; na bardzo twardo;, zbyt długo
not.necessarily I.like eggs.ACC.PL.NG NA very hard too long
gotowane...
boiled
‘I don’t necessarily like very hard boiled eggs, boiled too long ...’
(www.facebook.com/KatarzynaGurbacka)
- (0.43) a. I to zupełnie na sucho!
and it completely NA dry
‘And completely dry!’
(www.dalekoniedaleko.pl, non-fiction)
- b. Wszystkiego na zupełnie sucho nie zrobisz, tym bardziej
everything NA completely dry NEG you.will.do the more
jeżeli wiele włosów odstaje
if many hair.P stand.out
‘You won’t manage to do everything completely dry, especially if a lot of hair
stand out’
(www.forumfryzjerskie.pl, instructional)

The examples above are not isolated, even if the version with the intensifier inside is less common. Admittedly, there were no hits for the split cases in the Polish National Corpus (that is why I used Google instead), my main data source. But this merely shows that splitting bipartites by these intensifiers may have not become a part of the standard written language yet, which is the main source of data for NKJP. Table 0.3 shows results of a basic fixed phrase search in Google of several most common bipartites that can be modified by

an intensifier. Although intensifiers in front of the whole bipartite are clearly much more common, it is always possible to find the same bipartite with an intensifier inside too, especially in colloquial register.

Table 0.3

INTENSIFIER OUTSIDE	NO. OF RESULTS	INTENSIFIER INSIDE	NO. OF RESULTS
<i>bardzo na twardo</i> 'very hard'	18,600	<i>na bardzo twardo</i>	6,040
<i>bardzo na miękko</i> 'very soft'	7,410	<i>na bardzo miękko</i>	5,360
<i>zupełnie na sucho</i> 'completely dry'	25,800	<i>na zupełnie sucho</i>	319
<i>zupełnie do naga</i> 'completely naked'	1,740	<i>do zupełnie naga</i>	3
<i>zupełnie do sucha</i> 'completely dry'	597	<i>do zupełnie sucha</i>	3
<i>trochę po pijanemu</i> 'a little drunk'	3,480	<i>po bardzo pijanemu</i> 'very drunk'	4

The fact that bipartites can be split speaks in favor of treating them as syntactically complex phrases. Another argument in favor of a phrase rather than a lexical item is that partial elision is possible when two (or more) bipartites appear:

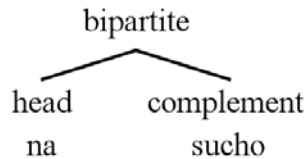
(0.44) Przeczytał kserokopie z pozakreślanymi na zielono i
 he.read photo.copies with marked NA green and
czzerwono fragmentami
 red fragments
 'He read photo copies with fragments marked green and red'
 (NKJP: Czubaj 2010, fiction)

(0.45) Na początek, żeby nie było wszystko tak zupełnie na
 at beginning so.that NEG it.was everything so completely NA
sucho i sztywno grafika przedstawiająca wszystkie łacińskie
 dry and stiff graphics presenting all Latin
 przypadki i pytania, na które odpowiadają
 cases and questions on which they.answer
 'To begin with, so that everything won't be so dry and stiff, here's a graphic
 presenting all Latin cases and questions that they answer'
 (www.lacina.globalnie.com.pl, non-fiction)

While it is true that the two parts of bipartites cannot be reversed, the same is true about prepositional phrases in general. Combinations such as *na stole* 'on the table' or *do domu* 'to home' also cannot be reversed but nobody claims that PPs in Polish, or any other language that has PPs, are one lexical item. The reason why words cannot be reversed has

in fact to do with their status as phrases. In Polish, phrases are left headed, which means that the head of the phrase is always to the left of the complement. It is not surprising then that the word order is fixed if we assume, as I will argue later, that the preposition is a head of the bipartite, and the adjective occupies the complement position, as shown in (0.46).

(0.46)



That is why I argue here that bipartites are phrases rather than lexical items, following Tokarski (2001, 155ff) who considered expressions such as *przysłówek złożony* ‘complex adverb’ to violate the fundamental principles of grammar because adverb is in definition one lexical item in Polish. Tokarski also supports the analysis of bipartites as combination of a preposition and an adjective in an idiosyncratic case. He even suggests that that form should be added to the inflectional paradigm for adjectives. A similar approach has later been supported by the linguists involved in the development of the Polish National Corpus that I used as my main source of data. I will also argue in chapter 3 that these idiosyncratic forms are a special predicative case.

0.5. Structure of the dissertation

My study concentrates on the morphosyntax and semantics of both bare (adjectives) and prepositional (bipartite) secondary predicates. It shows that they are equally feasible constructions in modern Polish, even though the prepositional ones involve a special adjectival form that is not used otherwise. It starts with an introduction, where I define secondary predication in general terms (section 0.1) and introduce bipartites (section 0.4) – a category new to Polish linguistics. The introductory part outlines my theoretical approach (section 0.1) and explains I collected my data (section 0.2). Following two chapters evolve around the internal and external properties of secondary predication in Polish: typology of secondary predication based on its morphosyntax and semantics in chapter 1, and structural properties in chapter 2. Three different categorizations of secondary predication are presented in chapter 1, according to their lexical composition (section 1.1): nouns and adjectives, structural composition: presence or absence of a preposition (section 1.2): prepositional vs. bare secondary predicates, and semantic composition (section 1.3): depictives, resultatives and circumstantials. Structural properties are further discussed in detail in chapter 2 which highlights external characteristics of secondary predication, such as the fact that they are adjuncts rather than complements (section 2.1). It also distinguishes secondary predication from other similar constructions, such as adverbial adjuncts, attributives, interjections, and absolute construction (section 2.2). It ends with a close investigation of the control structure

identifying potential controllers as well as indicating differences in control between finite and non-finite environments (section 2.4). Chapter 3 incorporates observations from previous chapters into a syntactic description and explains complex internal syntax of secondary predicates as well as their attachment sites in the clause. It explains why secondary predicates are best described as small clauses, identifies points of adjunction, and works out the mechanics of agreement as well as explains cases when it fails. Chapter 4 continues syntactic analysis, presenting a few cases of unclear and non-local control, where irregularities in agreement are detected: impersonal clauses (section 4.1), non-finite clauses (section 4.2), and verbal nouns (section 4.3). Presence or absence of agreement is explained through the phase theory. Chapter 5 provides final conclusions, summarizes major findings of this study, indicating that it provides additional support to the analysis of small clause constructions in Polish initiated by Citko (2008), and continued by Bondaruk (2013a, 2013b).

1. Typology of secondary predication

Although secondary predication is only ancillary in its function to the primary predication, it does not lack on complexity. This chapter provides a detailed description of secondary predicates as they appear in Modern Polish.¹¹ It concentrates mainly on the morphological, structural and semantic features because they are intrinsically connected in the construction discussed here. I show that the three main typologies of secondary predication, although split into three levels of composition: semantic, lexical and structural composition, always in fact involve intreraction of all levels. Particular morphological features are always translated into a particular meaning, and reversely, particular meaning requires particular morphology, e.g. suffix.

1.1. Lexical composition

Secondary predication, in contrast to primary predication, does not make use of the canonical predicative component, i.e. verb, in Polish. Instead, adjectives and nouns serve as ancillary predicates without any assistance of an overt helping verb, as it is in the case of copular primary predicates.¹² As a result secondary predication is fully dependent on the primary predicate and its arguments regarding time, mood and person of its predication. We could also say that exactly for that reason – time dependence on the primary predicate, and person dependence on the controller – secondary predication does not need to make use of a helping verb. Adjectives are much more common secondary predicates than nouns, but nouns do appear there too, occasionally.

1.1.1. Nouns

Depictives and resultatives rarely make use of nouns. In fact, looking for nominal secondary predication in NKJP corpus turned out to be an impossible task due to that rarity and lack of tagging specifically for that syntactic function. Moreover, active use of ‘bare’ nouns became obsolete probably around the beginning of the twentieth century.¹³ The most

¹¹ A definitely interesting question of the shape of secondary predication in older versions of the language and its development in time deserves a separated study and is beyond the scope of this study.

¹² There are actually three types of copula clauses in Polish, verbal copula clauses, nominal copula clauses and dual copula clauses. Only the second one does not require an overt verbal complement. For a detailed description of copula clauses in Polish see Citko (2008) and Bondaruk (2013a).

¹³ A brief note on terminology is needed here. Structurally secondary predicates are split between those using a noun, an adjective or an adverb, and those using a combination of a preposition and a noun or adjective. For a simple differentiation between these two groups, I decided to call the first one ‘bare’ secondary

recent spontaneously formed examples that I came across are listed in Kałkowska et al. (1975, 43), and come from a novel *Poganka* by Narcyza Żmichowska, first published in 1846:

(1.1) *pro*_i zerwaliśmy się, jak to mówią, ptaszkiem_i
pro we.set.off.PA REFL as it they.say small.bird.INS.S.M
 ‘We set off, as one says, like birds’

(1.2) *i* znowu *pro*_i biegł strzałą_i
 and again *pro* he.run arrow.INS.S.F
 ‘and he ran (straight/fast) like an arrow again’

Sentences like (1.1) and (1.2) are still well understood in Polish, but ‘bare’ nominal secondary predication has been since replaced by an analytic construction with a comparative particle *jak* ‘how’ or *jako* ‘as’. This replacement is yet another example of the shift from case marking of semantic functions of nouns to analytic marking, mostly with particles and prepositions. The equivalents of examples (1.1) and (1.2) presented (1.3) and (1.4) respectively are more natural. (1.5) and (1.6) provide examples with *jak*-phrases from the corpus.

(1.3) *pro*_i zerwaliśmy się, jak to mówią, jak ptaszki_i
pro we.set.off.PA REFL as it they.say COMP small.birds.NOM.S.M
 ‘We set off, as one says, like birds.’

(1.4) *i* znowu *pro*_i biegł jak strzałą_i
 and again *pro* run.3.S.PA COMP arrow.INS.S.F
 ‘and he ran (straight/fast) like an arrow again’

(1.5) [Garstka pozostałych „hippiesów”]_i rozsiadła się szeregiem pod ogrodzeniem kościoła św. Agnieszki ...
 ... *i* siedziała jak ptaszki_i, nucąc cichutko jakąś piosenkę
 and sat COMP birds singing quietly some song
i słuchając cichego brzęku gitary.
 ‘A small group of remaining „hippies” sat in a row at the fence of the Saint Agnes church and sat (there) like birds, quietly singing a song and listening to the quiet sound of the guitar.’
 (NKJP: Iwaszkiewicz 2008, non-fiction literature)

predication, as opposed to ‘prepositional’ secondary predication. Hence, when I speak of ‘bare’ nouns or ‘bare’ adjectives, I simply mean that they are not accompanied by a preposition. At this point, it is also important to note that I take no stand in the discussion whether Polish nouns are just NPs or DPs.

- (1.6) Sella_i pomknęła jak strzała_i
 Sella ran like arrow
 ‘Sella ran like an arrow’
 (NKJP: Kossak 1952, fiction)

Interestingly, even though direct use of nouns as secondary predicates fell out of use, they are still encountered in a combination with a preposition, as illustrated in (1.7) – (1.9). They are, however, extremely rare and hardly productive, which means that only very restricted group of nouns can be used here.

- (1.7) *pro*_i wściekam się do białości_i, [kiedy myślę, że jakiś pętaK z KC,
pro I.get.angry REFL DO whiteness.GEN.S.F
 decyduje czy wyjdzie moja książka]
 ‘I get so angry that I become “white hot” [when I think that a squirt from KC
 decides whether my book will be punished or not’
 (NKJP: Kofta 2006, non-fiction literature)

- (1.8) Musiałem *go*_i rozgrzewać do czerwoności_i.
 I.must.PA him.ACC.S.M warm.up.INF DO redness.GEN.S.F
 ‘I had to warm it up until it became red hot’
 (NKJP: Sokołowski 2007, fiction)

The only somehow productive group are color terms, which identify the color of one of the event participants, literally or metaphorically, as shown in examples (1.7) and (1.8). A survey of the full National Corpus of Polish (NKJP), summarized in Table 1.1, has shown that only two color terms, *białość* ‘whiteness’ and *czerwoność* ‘redness’, are actually regularly used in this construction (609 and 803 examples respectively).¹⁴ Other color terms are used sporadically (*czern* ‘black’ 7 occurrences, *szarość* ‘grey’ and *biel* ‘white’ – 6, *czerwień* ‘red’, *fiolet* ‘violet’, *niebieskość* ‘blue’ and *różowość* ‘pink’ – 2, and *czarność* ‘black’, *granat* ‘navy blue’, *róż* ‘pink’, *żółtość/żółć* ‘yellow’ only once), if at all (no occurrences for *beż* ‘beige’, *blękitność* ‘light blue’, *blękit* ‘light blue’, *brąz* ‘brown’, *pomarańcz* ‘orange’, *purpura* ‘purple’, *róż* ‘pink’, *seledynowość/seledyn* ‘celadon’, and *zieloność/zieleń* ‘green’). Moreover, the high number of appearances of *białość* ‘whiteness’ and *czerwoność* ‘redness’ is due to its common collocation with particular verbs. *Do czerwoności* ‘until red’, for instance, collocates very often with verbs *rozgrzać* ‘to warm

¹⁴ For the purpose of this survey, I chose 16 most common color terms. I used two types of nouns. The right column contains underived names for the colors. The left column lists nouns derived with a suffix *-ość*, which is used in Polish to derive abstract terms. Roots used in derived nouns are regular, with no sound alternations, and they are the same as the ones used to derive color adjectives. Not all color terms have both nouns, and absence, according to *Słownik Języka Polskiego* (www.sjp.pl), is marked with --- in the table. I used this particular on-line dictionary because it not only lists entries that would appear in a printed dictionary, but also acceptable derivations. I searched for the non-existent forms, such as *#beżowość* ‘beige’ or *#brązowość* ‘brown’ in NKJP anyway, but I received no results (*#* marks here a form that according to morphological rules is correctly derived, but it does not exist in Polish and/or has not been attested by me).

up’, *rozpalić* ‘to light (with fire)’, *rozgrzać* ‘to heat up’ and similar. *Do białości* ‘until white’ collocates mostly with verbs *rozgrzać* ‘to heat up’, *trzeć* ‘to rub’, *pienić* ‘to foam’, and similar. Hence the frequency tells us more about the popularity of the whole collocation, and less about the frequency in use of the color term itself.

Table 1.1

Total number of occurrences of color terms in prepositional secondary predication in the full NKJP

GLOSS (until ...)	COLOR TERM derived with suffix -ść	NO.	COLOR TERM underived	NO.
beige	---	-	<i>do beżu</i>	0
white	<i>do białości</i>	609	<i>do bieli</i>	6
light blue	<i>do błękitności</i>	0	<i>do błękitu</i>	0
brown	---	-	<i>do brązu</i>	0
black	<i>do czarności</i>	1	<i>do czerni</i>	7
red	<i>do czerwoności</i>	803	<i>do czerwieni</i>	2
violet	---	-	<i>do fioletu</i>	2
navy blue	---	-	<i>do granatu</i>	1
blue	<i>do niebieskości</i>	2	---	-
orange	---	-	<i>do pomarańcza</i>	0
purple	---	-	<i>do purpury</i>	0
pink	<i>do różowości</i>	2	<i>do różu</i>	0
celadon	<i>do seledynowości</i>	0	<i>do seledynu</i>	0
grey	<i>do szarości</i>	6	---	-
green	<i>do zieloności</i>	0	<i>do zieleni</i>	0
yellow	<i>do żółtości</i>	1	<i>do żółci</i>	1

Hence, the pool of noun used in secondary predication is restricted to several colors, and a few random nouns, such as *pijak* in example (1.9).

- (1.9) Co Opolanie; robią po pijaku?
 what Opolanin.NOM.PL.M do PO pijak.L.S.M
 ‘What do people in Opole do drunk?’
 (www.Gazeta.pl, press)

Productivity is an important matter in description of secondary predication. It indicates that prepositional secondary predication does not make use of frozen phrases that should be treated as one lexical item, but can in fact be analyzed internally. The possibility to see the internal structure of bipartites is crucial in the explanation of their morphosyntactic behavior in secondary predication.

Replacing bare nouns with prepositional secondary predicates in case of depictives and resultatives goes along with the fact that circumstantials are the only type of secondary

predication that uses nouns regularly. This is because nominal circumstantials are always introduced by the comparative particle *jako* ‘as’, as in example (1.10) and also (1.78) – (1.82).

- (1.10) *Mało tego, jako kobieta mam napady, popadam w histerię i myślę macicą, dlatego nie można mnie traktować poważnie... I.think uterus.INS that.is.why NEG can.0 me.ACC treat.INF seriously ‘To crown it all, as a woman, I throw fits, become hysterical and I think with uterus, so I can’t be treated seriously ...’*
(NKJP: *Samo życie*, p.247, 2010, TV show)

1.1.2. Adjectives

Adjectives are the core of secondary predication in Polish. They are the only class of content words that can actually productively appear in that construction. Several examples are provided below:

- (1.11) *I proi wróciłam do domu spokojna; and pro returned to home calm.NOM.S.F ‘And I returned home calm’*
(NKJP: Dehnel 2008, fiction)

- (1.12) *Jaka to była przyjemność widzieć ich; wesółymi; how it was pleasure see.INF them.ACC.PL.M cheerful.INS.PL.M ‘What a pleasure it was to see them cheerful.’*
(NKJP: Kowalska 2009, non-fiction literature)

- (1.13) *Odszedł, zostawiając ją zdziwioną; he.left leaving her astonished ‘He left, leaving her astonished’*
(NKJP: Kossak 1996[1952], fiction)

More on the morphosyntactic characteristics of adjectives here will be provided in following sections. Due to scarcity of nominal secondary predication in Polish, the remainder of this work will concentrate on the adjectival secondary predicates.

1.2. Structural composition

There are two ways to accommodate adjectives in secondary predication. They can either stand alone, as in examples (1.14) and (1.15) or be combined with a preposition, as in (1.16) and (1.17). I call the first type bare secondary predicates and the other ones prepositional secondary predicates (Szajbel-Keck 2014).

- (1.14) I *pro*_i wróciłam do domu spokojna_i
 and *pro* returned to home calm.NOM.S.F
 ‘And I returned home calm’
 (NKJP: Dehnel 2008, fiction)
- (1.15) Jaka to była przyjemność widzieć ich_i wesołymi_i
 how it was pleasure see.INF them.ACC.PL.M cheerful.INS.PL.M
 ‘What a pleasure it was to see them cheerful.’
 (NKJP: Kowalska 2009, non-fiction literature)
- (1.16) Pomelo_i jada się na surowo_i, samo lub sałatkach
 pomelo.ACC.S.NG eat.3.S REFL NA raw alone or salad
 owocowych
 fruit
 ‘Pomelo is eaten raw, alone or in fruit salad’
 (NKJP: *Express Ilustrowany* 2004, press)
- (1.17) Białka_i ubić na sztywno_i z cukrem
 egg.whites.NOM.PL.NG beat.INF NA stiff with sugar.INS.S.M
 ‘Whip the eggs with sugar stiff’
 (NKJP: internet, instructions)

1.2.1. Bare secondary predicates

As I mentioned before, semantically, bare secondary predicates are always depictive. Syntactically, they behave as nouns and adjectives in other functions.

Nouns. As I have mentioned before, use of nouns in secondary predication in Polish has become archaic. But since they still appear in texts from the last century, a note on their morphosyntactic form is in order. They do not require agreement with the controller. Gender feature is fixed on every noun. Case is always instrumental, which is not surprising because nouns behave the same way in copula clauses:

- (1.18) Adam jest nauczycielem
 Adam.NOM is teacher.INS
 ‘Adam is a teacher’

Adjectives. Adjectives must be inflected for case, number and gender. There is no exception here, which stands for instance in contrast to secondary predication in German where the identifying characteristic of adjectives in secondary predication is the fact that they do not have any inflectional marking (Müller 2008), examples of which are given in (1.19):

- (1.19) a. Er ißt das Fleisch_i roh_i
 he eats the meat raw
 ‘He eats the meat raw’
- b. Er_i ißt das Fleisch nackt_i
 he eats the meat naked
 ‘He eats the meat naked’
 (Müller 2008, ex.1)

Polish belongs to those inflecting languages that do not allow uninflected stems of inflecting word classes, such as nouns, verbs, pronouns and adjectives, to surface in the clause regardless of their position and under no circumstances.¹⁵ Consequently, also adjectives in secondary predication adhere to the rule that they must agree in case, number and gender with the controlling nominal. The adjective *pijany* ‘drunk’ in examples (1.20) and (1.21) changes its inflectional features according to the features of its controller: accusative singular masculine in example (1.20) and nominative plural masculine in example (1.21).

- (1.20) W sobotę rano patrol policji znalazł go_i
 in Saturday morning patrol police found him.ACC.S.M
 pijanego_i na chodniku
 drunk.ACC.S.M on sidewalk.L.S.M
 ‘On Saturday morning, the police patrol found him drunk on the sidewalk’
 (NKJP: *Dziennik Powiatu Bytowskiego* 2000, press)

- (1.21) [Archanioł i Piotr Apostoł]_i zalegli pijani w kącie
 [archangel and Peter apostle.NOM.S.M] lingered drunk.NOM.S.M_i in corner
 ‘Archangel and Peter the Apostle lingered drunk in the corner’
 (NKJP: Sieniewicz 2010, fiction)

Agreement and type of inflection on the adjective are one of the most striking differences between Slavic languages in secondary predication. In Russian, for instance, predicative adjectives do not inflect the same way as attributive adjectives. They receive a special predicative inflection which does not include case. Hence, if predicative adjectives agree with the controller, they do so only in number and gender. This type of inflection is typical for primary predicates in Russian. In secondary predication, it is archaic but still possible according to Hentschel (2009, 371):

¹⁵ Some of the loanwords are the only exception. Their morphophonology makes it impossible for Polish speakers to assign them an appropriate inflectional paradigm. Nouns ending with *-y*, such as *brandy* or *whisky*, are typical examples because Polish nouns never end with *-y* in a nominative singular form. For that reason, Polish speakers are ambivalent on the gender of those words and, consequently, on the inflectional paradigm which always depends on gender and the way the word ends morphophonologically (Przybylska 2010). The same applies to borrowed adjectives, such as *mini*, *cacy*, *ekstra*.

(1.22) *Russian*

Dom_i staryj stojal pust_i i gluch_i
house.NOM.S.M old.NOM.S.M stood empty.S.M and abandoned.S.M
'The old house stood empty and abandoned'
(Hentschel 2009, 371)[glosses and English translation mine]

As a rule, adjectives in Polish must have the same case as the noun they modify, as illustrated in examples (1.23) and (1.24). As example (1.25) indicates, this property is shared with copula clauses (Bondaruk 2013a; Citko 2008).

(1.23) Nowak_i wrócił do domu zły_i i głodny_i
Nowak.NOM.S.M returned to home angry.NOM.S.M and hungry.NOM.S.M
'Nowak returned home angry and hungry'
(NKJP: Konatkowski 2007, fiction)

(1.24) Częściej widzę cię_i trzeźwego_i niż pijanego_i
more.often I.see you.ACC.S sober.ACC.S.M than drunk.ACC.S.M
'I see you more often sober than drunk'

(1.25) Nowak_i jest zły_i
Nowak.NOM.S.M be.INF angry.NOM.S.M
'Nowak is angry'

Full agreement between the controlling NP and secondary predicate is sometimes broken, and the adjective fails to agree in case. It still agrees in number and gender though. In such situation, predicative adjective always surfaces in an invariant instrumental case. Consider for instance example (1.27) where the controlling object *ich* 'them' is accusative plural masculine, whereas the secondary predicate is instrumental plural masculine. The circumstances under which the adjective fails to agree with the controller will be discussed in the next chapter.

(1.26) Czemuż jednak widzę ich_i wciąż jeszcze podległymi?
why though I.see them.A.PL.M still still subordinate.INS.PL.M
'Why then I see them still subordinated?'
(NKJP: Kruczkowski 1932, fiction)

(1.27) Jaka to była przyjemność widzieć ich_i wesołymi_i
how it was pleasure see.INF them.ACCC.PL.M cheerful.INS.PL.M
'What a pleasure it was to see them cheerful'
(NKJP: Kowalska 2009, non-fiction literature)

The instrumental case is not surprising here. It fits in the more general phenomenon of predicative instrumental in the Slavic languages. Historically, it appears already in the Old Church Slavonic texts, and continues until today. In Polish, it spreads around the 16th and

17th centuries, influencing probably also the neighboring East Slavic languages (Hentschel 1993).

1.2.2. Prepositional secondary predicates

As my corpus study shows, for some of bipartites described in section 0.4, secondary predication turns out to be dominant function (e.g. *do czysta* ‘until clean’, *do naga* ‘until naked’, *na trzeźwo* ‘sober’).

Prepositional secondary predicates, that have been briefly presented for the first time in Szajbel-Keck (2014), are a result of the natural development in Slavic languages, where direct case is slowly being replaced by analytic constructions, mostly prepositional phrases and dependent clauses. Secondary predicates consist of two elements: a preposition and an adjective. Neither of them is a standard representative of its word class.

Preposition. There are only few prepositions that appear here, most prominently: *na*, *do* and *po* (Szajbel-Keck 2014). In these positions, prepositions have lost their canonical properties. They select an adjective, which is otherwise impossible in Polish. Further, their original meanings (spatial, temporal, distributive, purposive, etc.) have faded, and they have become functional connectives only. Their only semantic function is to determine whether the secondary predicate is depictive or resultative: as I have already mentioned *po* enforces depictive meaning, illustrated in (1.28), *do* – resultative, illustrated in (1.29) and (1.30), whereas *na* is ambivalent between these two, as illustrated in (1.31) and (1.32).

(1.28) Komendanta *pro*_i bał się tylko po trzeźwemu;
chief.of.police.GEN *pro* was.afraid.3.S REFL only PO sober
‘He was afraid of the chief of the police only sober’
(NKJP: Myśliwski 2007, fiction)

(1.29) Rozebrali *go*_i do naga_i
undress.3.PL.M.PA he.ACC.S DO naked
‘They stripped him naked’
(NKJP: *Express Ilustrowany* 2003, press)

(1.30) Błagam cię, wytrzyj mnie_i teraz do sucha_i i schowaj
I.beg you wipe.2.S.IMP me now DO dry and hide.2.S.IMP
dobrze
well
‘I beg you, wipe me dry now and hide me well’
(NKJP: Krüger 1959, fiction)

(1.31) Tego nie da się słuchać na trzeźwo!
 it NEG gives REFL listen.INF NA sober
 ‘It’s impossible to listen to that sober!’
 (NKJP: Matuszkiewicz 2009, fiction)

(1.32) Pierwsi skini_i golili się na łyso_i bo podobał im się
 first skins shaved REFL NA bald because pleased.3.S them REFL
 wygląd jamajskich imigrantów, którzy byli łysi
 appearance Jamaican immigrants who were bald
 ‘First skins shaved their heads bald because they liked the appearance of the
 Jamaican immigrants who were bald’
 (NKJP: Internet interactive)

Note especially examples with the adjective *goły* ‘naked’ in (1.33) and (1.34), and *suchy* ‘dry’ in (1.35) and (1.36) that can be either depictive or resultative, depending on the preposition. This shows that the depictive vs. resultative meaning in fact stems from the preposition and not from the adjective.

(1.33) Płacę z zimna bo *pro*_i wylazłem na goło_i z wanienki
 I.cry from cold because *pro* I.left NA naked from bathtub
 ‘I cry out of cold because I left the bathtub naked’
 (NKJP: internet interactive)

(1.34) Powinienem ich_i do goła_i obedrzeć
 I.should them.ACC.PL.M DO naked skin.INF
 ‘I should skin them naked’
 (NKJP: Sapkowski 2002, fiction)

(1.35) On je_i łykał na sucho_i, a potem zaczerpnął wody
 he them swallowed NA dry, and later he.took water
 ‘He swallowed them dry, and then he took some water’
 (NKJP: Żurkowski 1995, fiction)

(1.36) Błagam cię, wytrzyj mnie_i teraz do sucha_i i schowaj dobrze
 I.beg you wipe me now DO dry and hide well
 ‘I beg you, wipe me dry now and hide well’
 (NKJP: Krüger 1959, fiction)

Adjective. Synchronically suffixes on adjectives are idiosyncratic. They do not match any of the adjectival suffixes marking case, number and gender. Moreover, they remain unchanged on a particular adjective, regardless of the controller’s features (compare (1.31) – (1.33)). The surface shape of the suffix depends solely on the preposition heading the prepositional secondary predicate (*na* requires *-o*: *na czysto* ‘clean’, *na sucho* ‘dry’, *na cienko* ‘thin’; *do* requires *-a*: *do czysta* ‘until clean’, *do sucha* ‘until dry’, *do cienka* ‘until

thin’; *po* requires *-emu*: *po pijanemu* ‘drunk’). These suffixes serve as secondary predication markers, available only to adjectives. They replace case suffixes when an adjective is used as a secondary predicate, and they are inserted when adjective’s case feature is valued as predicative.

Noun. Nominal stems are less troublesome than the adjectival ones, but only to a certain extent. For one, there is nothing unusual in a noun being a complement of a preposition, as the ordinary prepositional phrases in (1.37) show. Further, the preposition *do* assigns genitive case to their complements, and it does so in the secondary predication too:

(1.37) ciało po pochyłości zsunęło się na dno
 body along slide slid.down REFL on bottom
 ‘the body slid down to the bottom along the slope’
 (NKJP: Dołęga-Mostowicz 1937, fiction)

(1.38) potem te punkciki rozgrzały się do białości
 later these dots warmed.up REFL DO whiteness.GEN.S.F
 ‘then the dots armed up until they became white’
 (NKJP: Filipiak 2006, fiction)

The second preposition is more problematic. On the surface, it seems like the bipartite follows the same rules as the regular PP, having the noun in the locative case. That is what the same suffixes in the bipartite *po pijaku* ‘drunk’ and *po pokoju* ‘around the room’ suggest in example (1.39). But then again, the suffix *-u* matches the suffix on the bipartites headed by the preposition *po* followed by an adjective, like *po pijanemu* ‘drunk’ and *po chłopsku* ‘like a farmer’, which is an old dative suffix. Therefore, it is difficult to say for sure, what actually triggers the *-u* suffix in the nominal bipartite – parallel with other PPs headed by the same preposition and complemented by nouns or parallel with other bipartites headed by the same preposition.

(1.39) Sting sam przyznał, że na pomysł *pro*_i wpadł po pijaku_i
 Sting alone admitted that na idea *pro* fell.inside PO drunk
 chodząc w kółko po pokoju
 walking in circle around room
 ‘Sting admitted himself that he got that idea drunk, walking around the room’
 (NKJP: *Esensja* 6, 2009, press)

1.3. Semantic composition

1.3.1. Depictives

Originally only bare adjectives were used in secondary predication. They have, however, one major semantic restriction. They can serve only as depictives, although depictive is

only one of the possible semantic functions of secondary predication. Depictives are defined as overlapping in time with part of the duration of the primary predication, which means that their validity is restricted only to that period of time (Hentschel 2009, 373; Schultze-Berndt et al. 2004, 77f). They say something about a state that holds for a participant of the main event during that event. Temporal dependence is clearly seen in the following examples, where the secondary predicate indicates the state of the subject during the time the primary predication is definitely happening, either for (assumed) several hours in example (1.40) or for a short point in time in example (1.41). Example (1.41) shows additionally that depictives do not necessarily have to go with imperfectives, i.e. they might also refer to momentary characteristics, and therefore second a perfective verb.

(1.40) facet_i spał pijany_i z głową na barze
 guy slept drunk with head on bar
 ‘The guy slept drunk with his head on the bar top’
 (NKJP: Górniak 2009, fiction)

(1.41) Być może legendarny przywódca; Wiewiórek też urodził
 be.INF may.3.S.PRT legendary leader.NOM.S.M squirrel also was.born
 się piękny;
 REFL beautiful.NOM.S.M
 ‘Maybe the legendary leader of Squirrels was born beautiful too’
 (NKJP: Sapkowski 2001, fiction)

We could of course assume, that the man in example (1.40) was drunk before he fell asleep, and would be perhaps still drunk once he woke up, but this would be a conclusion based on pragmatics and our knowledge of the world and not semantics of the secondary predicate. The same happens with the situation illustrated in (1.41) where we can also, again only through pragmatics and world knowledge, suppose that the legendary leader was beautiful also after his birth, at least for a while. Because all these assumptions are based on pragmatics and not semantics of the depictive or its relation with the primary predicate, they can easily be cancelled by additional information, as presented in (1.42).

- (1.42) a. facet spał pijany z głową na barze. A gdy się rano obudził, był zupełnie trzeźwy
 ‘The guy slept drunk with his head on the bar. *When he woke up in the morning, he was sober*’
- b. Być może legendarny przywódca Wiewiórek też urodził się piękny, ale nikt go takim nie zobaczył
 ‘Maybe the legendary leader of Squirrels was born beautiful too, *but nobody saw him that way*’

Therefore, only time overlap between the primary and secondary predicate is salient here.

1.3.2. Resultatives

The second semantic type of secondary predication, resultative, presents opposite relation. Resultatives in Polish follow semantically causative verbs, such as *wytrzeć* ‘wipe’, *rozebrać* ‘undress’, *wyprać* ‘wash’, or *rozgrzać* ‘warm up’, and they are an immediate result of the process evoked by the primary predicate (Grzegorzczkowska et al. 1984, 464). On a timeline, they never overlap with the primary predicate but directly follow it. This resultative relation cannot be conveyed by bare adjectives in Polish because they are insensitive to the aspect of the primary verb. As I have shown before, depictives can follow either imperfective or perfective verbs. Situations illustrated in (1.43) – (1.45) makes use of both aspects on the primary predicate, but the secondary predicate *po pijaku* remains in all contexts depictive. While example (1.43) provides general information about Adam’s behavior, example (1.44) states that Adam was drunk while he was buying that thing, although the main predicate is perfective. This is supported by the added observation of the salesman. The same holds for example (1.45) where the primary predicate is imperfective, and Ania saw Adam being drunk, while he was buying that thing.

(1.43) Adam_i często kupował dziwne rzeczy po pijaku_i
Adam often bought.IMP strange things PO drunk
‘Adam would often buy strange things when he was drunk’

(1.44) To również *pro*_i kupił po pijaku_i, bo sprzedawca powiedział, że
it also *pro* bought.PF PO drunk
ledwo trzymał się na nogach
‘Adam also bought this thing drunk because the salesman said, that he could barely stand on his own feet’

(1.45) Ania widziała go, jak *pro*_i kupował to po pijaku_i
Ania saw him how *pro* he.bought.IMP it PO drunk
‘Ania saw him buy it drunk’

Since adjectives are insensitive to the aspect of the primary verb, and there is no morphological way for adjectives themselves to indicate a result, they remain always depictive. Even the pragmatics of the situation and our knowledge of the world cannot force resultative meaning. If depictive meaning is logically unavailable, sentence becomes ungrammatical:

(1.46) Adam wytarł stół_i ?czysty_i
Adam wiped table.ACC.S.M_i clean.ACC.S.M_i
intended meaning: ‘Adam wiped the table clean’

Sentence (1.46) can only have the less intuitive depictive meaning ‘Adam wiped a clean table’ and not the more logical resultative ‘Adam wiped the table clean.’ The same applies to examples (1.47) and (1.48) which are grammatically correct, but logically questionable.

(1.47) Pomalowali ścianę_i ?białą_i
 they.painted wall.ACC.S.F white.ACC.S.F
 ‘They painted a white wall’
not: ‘They painted the wall white’

(1.48) Umyte jajko_i ugotować ?twarde_i
 cleaned egg.ACC.S.NG boil.INF hard.ACC.PL.NG
 ‘The hard and cleaned egg needs to be boiled’
not: ‘The cleaned egg needs to be boiled hard’

This does not, however, mean that there are no resultatives in Polish. Strigin and Demjanov (2001, 58ff) for instance claim that they are non-existent in Russian due to the fact that such ‘telic’ meaning can be sufficiently expressed by Russian verbal prefixes, in contrast to German or English:

(1.49) *Russian*
 Petr u-rezal palku
 Peter shorter.cut.PA stick
 ‘Peter cut the stick shorter’
 (Strigin et al. 2001, 64)

(1.50) *Polish equivalent of (1.49)*
 Piotr przy-ciął patyk
 Peter shorter.cut.PA stick
 ‘Peter cut the stick shorter’

In Polish, it is also possible to code the result of the event in a verbal prefix. This however did not stop Polish speakers from developing a way to express resultative meaning in secondary predication itself through prepositions, as shown in examples (1.51) – (1.54).¹⁶

(1.51) Adam_i na-jadł się do syta_i
 Adam PF.ate REFL DO full
 ‘Adam ate until he was full’

(1.52) Adam wytarł stół_i do czysta_i
 Adam wiped table.ACC.S.M DO clean
 ‘Adam wiped the table clean’

¹⁶ The question of the historical development of prepositional secondary predication deserves a separate study.

(1.53) Umyte jajko_i ugotować na twardo_i
 cleaned.ACC.S.NG egg.ACC.S.NG boil.INF NA hard
 ‘Cleaned egg should be boiled hard’
 (NKJP: *Poradnik Sprzedawcy Żywności* 1973, guidebook)

(1.54) Pomalowali ścianę_i na biało_i
 paint.3.PL.M.PA wall.ACC.S.F NA white
 ‘They painted the wall white’

In some cases this might seem redundant, as the resultative secondary predicate functions merely as a sort of intensifier to the predicate in example (1.51). The predicative telic verb *najeść się* implies already that someone filled their stomach, in which case the secondary predicate *do syta* ‘[until] full’ is somehow redundant. This would be the equivalent of Strigin and Demjanov’s example with the stick, which, would also be expressed without a secondary predicate in Polish, as shown in example (1.50). But resultatives in examples (1.52) – (1.54) actually do provide meaning that is not included in the main verb itself. As example (1.55) clearly shows, cleanliness is not a necessary result of the action encoded in the perfective verb *wytrzeć*. The verb *u-gotować* does not predetermine in what state the boiled egg will turn out to be in example (1.56), and the wall could be painted in different colors in example (1.57).

(1.55) Dopiero za trzecim podejściem Adam wy-tarł stół_i do czysta_i
 only after third attempt Adam PF.wiped.3.S table DO clean
 ‘Only after the third time, Adam wiped the table clean’

(1.56) Chciałam u-gotować jajko_i na twardo_i, ale wyszło mi na miękko_i
 I.wanted PF.boil.INF egg NA hard but it.came.out me NA
 soft_i
 ‘I wanted to boil the egg hard, but it turned out to be soft’

(1.57) Jedną ścianę_i pomalowali na biało_i, a drugą_i na czerwono_i
 one wall they.painted ON white and second ON red
 ‘They painted one wall white and the other one red’

The emergence of this type of secondary predication is an example of gap filling in a language. Depictive meaning is unmarked, as the simultaneity is typical for adjectives also in functions other than secondary predication, e.g. in attribution illustrated in (1.58) or primary predication illustrated in (1.59). It is implicit that the boy is sad at the time indicated by the main predicate – right now, and not necessarily before or after.

(1.58) Na ławce siedzi smutny_i chłopiec_i
 on bench sits sad.NOM.S.M boy.NOM.S.M
 ‘A sad boy sits on the bench.’

- (1.59) Ten chłopiec_i jest smutny_i
 this boy.NOM.S.M is sad.NOM.S.M
 ‘This boy is sad’

Resultative meaning is marked and needs explicit morphosyntactic marking in Polish. This is not a cross-linguistic phenomenon. In German, for instance, both depictives and resultatives are represented by adjectives with zero inflectional marking and no additional syntactic element marking either meaning, as examples (1.60) and (1.61) show. The actual semantics of the predicate must be inferred from the pragmatics of the situation:

- (1.60) *Resultative*
 Er kochte die Eier_i weich_i
 he boiled the eggs soft
 ‘He boiled the eggs soft’
 (Hentschel 2009, 373)

- (1.61) *Depictive*
 Er mag die Eier_i weich_i
 he likes the eggs soft
 ‘He likes his eggs soft’

There is, however, no way to mark resultative meaning directly on the adjective in Polish. Also, as I have shown above, perfective aspect does not automatically trigger resultative meaning of the adjective. Instead, Polish developed an analytic way to mark secondary predicates as resultative through a preposition *do* ‘until, (up) to’, as shown in examples (1.62) and (1.63).

- (1.62) *pro*_i rozbierzmy się do naga_i!
pro undress.1.S.IMP REFL DO naked
 ‘Let’s undress until we’re naked’
 (NKJP: Wągrowski 2009, fiction)

- (1.63) Potem wytarł ją_i do sucha_i i zaczął żuć
 later he.wiped her DO dry and started chew.INF
 ‘After that he wiped it dry and started to chew’
 (NKJP: Brandys 1974, non-fiction literature)

It needs to be noted, however, that the prepositional secondary predication has not been developed solely to accommodate resultative meaning. There are also depictive prepositional secondary predicates:

(1.64) Taką pizzę; można z równym smakiem jeść na zimno; i
 such pizza one.can with equal taste eat.INF NA cold and
na ciepło;
 NA warm
 ‘Such pizza can be eaten equally well cold and warm’
 (NKJP: Grodecka 2007, guidebook)

(1.65) Koncert; transmitowany będzie na żywo;
 concert transmitted will.be NA live
 ‘The concert will be transmitted live.’
 (NKJP: *Nakielski Czas* 2003, press)

The pizza is either cold or warm while it is eaten, and the concert is happening at the moment of transmission. The temperature of the pizza does not result from eating. And in the case of a concert, resultative meaning would not even be logically possible.

Resultative secondary predicates can sometimes include nominal stems, as shown in example (1.66), but again the number of possibilities is restricted to several nouns, mainly color terms, such as *do białości* ‘until white’, *do czerwoności* ‘until red’, or *do zieloności* ‘until green’.

(1.66) Błyskawice rozjarzały niebo; niemal do białości;
 lightnings brightened sky almost DO whiteness
 ‘The lightnings brightened the sky until it almost became white.’
 (NKJP: Terakowska 1989, fiction)

1.3.3. Distinguishing between depictives and resultatives

Since the use of a preposition does not automatically result in resultative meaning, how do we know which reading should be applied in cases where both are logically possible? There is no one simple answer to this question. The first clue towards resultative rather than depictive meaning is provided by the presence of a preposition. As we have, however, seen it is also possible that prepositional secondary predicates are depictive. The next step, then, is to look at which preposition it is, as the prepositions’ basic semantics can serve as a clue. There is one preposition in Polish that always triggers resultative meaning, namely *do* ‘to, up to, until’, as shown in examples (1.62) and (1.63), and one preposition that can only trigger depictive meaning – *po*, as in the examples (1.67) and (1.68).

(1.67) Księża znajomi byli, ale *pro*; szli *po* cywilnemu;
 priests known were but *pro* went *po* civil
 ‘There were known priests but they went (dressed) in civil’
 (NKJP: Białoszewski 1973, fiction)

- (1.68) Zabił, PRO_i prowadząc po pijanemu;
 he.killed PRO driving PO drunk
 ‘He killed driving drunk’
 (NKJP: *Dziennik Łódzki* 2004, press)

Third preposition, *na* ‘on’, is problematic because it can go with either meaning. Compare resultative *na twardo* ‘until hard’ in example (1.53) and *na bialo* ‘until white’ in example (1.54) to *na zimno* ‘cold’ and *na ciepło* ‘warm’ in example (1.64) as well as *na żywo* ‘live’ in example (1.65). Interestingly, however, each adjective that combines with *na* has either depictive or resultative meaning, but never both.

The same distribution of prepositions works with nominal stems but only two prepositions are involved here: resultative *do*, as in *do czerwoności* ‘until red’ in (1.69) and depictive *po* as in *po pijaku* ‘drunk’ in (1.70).

- (1.69) Rumiana twarz_i rozgrzała się do czerwoności;
 ruddy face.NOM.S.F warmed.up REFL DO redness.GEN.S.F
 ‘Ruddy face warmed up until it became red.’
 (NKJP: Czubaj 2010, fiction)

- (1.70) mąż_i jej się zabił po pijaku;
 husband.NOM.S.M her REFL killed PO drunkard
 ‘Her husband killed himself drunk’
 (NKJP: Olszewski 2005, fiction)

1.3.4. Circumstantials

Although the opposition depictive vs resultative is in the main scope of this study, there is a third semantic type of predicative adjuncts that needs to be mentioned, which Nichols (1981) labels as circumstantials. In her definition, circumstantials provide a condition on the controller under which (or despite which) the verbal action of the primary predicate may occur. This is in contrast to depictives, which Nichols calls non-circumstantial free predicate nominals’, and which merely indicate a state or condition in which the controller was during the action denoted by the primary predicate. Consider following example from Nichols:

- (1.71) *Russian*
 On znal Mayakovskogo ešče rebenkom
 he knew Mayakovsky still child
 ‘He knew Mayakovsky as a child’
 (Nichols 1981, 134)

The underlined noun *rebenkom* ‘as a child’ serves here as an ancillary predicate defining a life phase of the subject during which he knew Mayakovski. There is a temporal

dependence on his being a child and his knowing Mayakovski. Nichols recognizes three types of circumstantials: temporal, concessive and conditional. Temporal circumstantials imply temporal coincidence between the primary predicate and the state denoted by the secondary predicate. An example of such relation is provided in (1.71). Concessives, in addition to asserting temporal coincidence between both predicates, serve as a logical basis, as in example (1.72). The predicative *spjaščuju* ‘sleeping’ not only temporally coincides with the act of holding, but it also concedes that despite of her (i.e. child’s) sleeping, it was pleasurable to Nastena to hold that child.

(1.72) *Russian*

Nastene i spjaščuju ee deržat’ dostavljalo udovol’stvie ...
 Nastena.DAT even sleeping her hold.INF it.gave pleasure
 ‘It gave Nastena pleasure to hold her even sleeping’
 (Nichols 1981, 136)

Finally, conditional predicates establish a logical, mostly causal, connection between the primary and secondary predicate. For that, Nichols provides the following example:

(1.73) *Russian*

Mrav ètogo medvedja dovol’no dobrodušnyj, poka ego ne
 nature that bear fairly good.natured when him NEG
 trogajut, no ranenyj on stanovitsja položitel’no užasen
 they.molest but wounded he becomes simply terrible
 ‘This bear is fairly good-natured while unmolested, but wounded it becomes simply terrible’
 (Nichols 1981, 136)

Here, the circumstantial *ranenyj* ‘wounded’ provides a condition for the bear’s bad behavior indicated by the primary predicate.

Judging from the examples above, regardless of the type of the circumstantial, the primary predication is always dependent on the secondary one. This is on contrast to depictives, where the connection between the primary predicate and depictive is loose and does not necessarily carry any codependence. Example (1.74) is symptomatic of that situation, since two mutually exclusive states are combined in the depictive secondary predication – *živym* ‘alive’ or *mertvym* ‘dead’, where merely the coincidence of either state and verbal action is asserted.

(1.74) *Russian*

Dostav’te ego živym ili mertvym
 deliver him alive or dead
 ‘Get him alive or dead’
 (Nichols 1981, 133)

The distinction between circumstantials and depictives (and of course resultatives) is not typical only to Russian, and can be found in other languages. Hentschel (2008) discusses the non-resultative predicative adjuncts based on the data from German, providing following examples for circumstantials, among others:

(1.75) *German*

Paul als Schwerverletzter liegt auf der Intensivstation
Paul as heavily.injured lay on the intensive.care
'Paul, heavily injured, is in intensive care.'
(Hentschel 2008, 101)

(1.76) *German*

Selbst als Digestif ist Whisky geeignet
even as digestive is Whisky appropriate
'Whisky is even appropriate as digestive'
(Hentschel 2008, 103)

Example (1.75) is a causal circumstantial that can be paraphrased in a following way: 'because Paul is heavily injured, he is in intensive care'. Example (1.76) is concessive: 'even if served as digestive, Whisky is appropriate.' These examples can be compared with the German depictive in (1.77), where we see no causative, concessive or temporal dependence of the primary predicate on the secondary one.

(1.77) *German*

a. Peter kehrte reumütig nach Hause zurück
Peter came remorseful to home back
'Peter returned home remorseful'
(Hentschel 2009, 369)

Examples similar to the Russian and German ones provided by Nichols (1981) and Hentschel (2008) can also be found in Polish. Here too, they have the three meanings indicted by Nichols (1981): temporal (examples (1.78) and (1.79)), concessive (examples (1.80) and (1.81)), and conditional (examples (1.82) and (1.83))

Temporal circumstantials

(1.78) Bawił się pan jako dziecko w piaskownicy?
played REFL sir as child in sandbox
'Did you play in a sandbox as a child?'
→ 'when you were a child'
(NKJP: Myśliwski 2007, fiction)

- (1.79) Jeszcze jako student spędził kilka miesięcy w Londynie ...
 still as student he.spent several months in London
 ‘As a student, he spent several months in London’
 → ‘when he was a student’
 (NKJP: Kowalska 2009, non-fiction literature)

Concessive circumstantials

- (1.80) To ona nawet jako pozwana może tak pokręcić zeznania,
 it she even as defendant can so muddle.up testimony.PL
 żebym nie dostał rozwodu
 in.order.to.1.S NEG received divorce
 ‘Even as a defendant, she can muddle up her testimony in such a way that I will not get the divorce’
 → ‘even if she is called as a defendant’
 (NKJP: Grynberg 1998, fiction)

- (1.81) Na Wielkanoc, nawet jako dzieci, „od zająca” nic nie
 on Easter even as children from bunny nothing NEG
 dostawaliśmy
 we.received
 ‘For Easter, even as children, we didn’t get anything from “the bunny”’
 → ‘even though we were children’
 (NKJP: Banaszak 2008, non-fiction literature)

Conditional circumstantials

- (1.82) Ja jako prezydent ustąpiłem
 I as president gave.in
 ‘I gave in as a president’
 → ‘because I was a president’
 (NKJP: Isakowicz-Zaleski 2008, non-fiction literature)
- (1.83) Heinz nerwowo przerzucał stacje z banalnymi piosenkami,
 Heinz nervously flipped.through stations with banal songs
 wreszcie zdeenerwowany wyłączył radio
 finally irritated turned.off radio
 ‘Heinz flipped nervously through radio stations with banal songs, finally irritated turned off the radio’
 → ‘because he was irritated’
 (NKJP: Czubaj 2010, fiction)

Apart from the particular semantic connection between circumstantials and primary predicates, they differ from depictives in the way they behave under general (i.e. non-logical) negation. According to Nichols (1981) working on Russian and Hentschel (2008)

working on German and Polish, only true depictives are within the scope of the general (non-local) negation. Compare following examples provided by Hentschel:

(1.84) *German – Depictive*

Er kehrte nicht als Held nach Moskau zurück
he came NEG as hero to Moscow back
'He did not return to Moscow as a hero'
(Hentschel 2008, 100)

(1.85) *German – Circumstantial*

Als Kind wohnte er nicht in Moskau
as child lived he NEG in Moscow
'He did not live in Moscow as a child'
(Hentschel 2008, 100)

General negation in example (1.84) has both predicates in scope, so the sentence can be paraphrased as *He did not return to Moscow and he was not a hero*. In example (1.85), on the other hand, the negation has only the matrix predicate in scope: *When he was a child he did not live in Moscow*. The same contrast is found in Polish:

(1.86) *Depictive*

A żeby w nowy rok pan Gienek nie wchodził na brudno,
and in.order.to in new year sir Gienek NEG entered NA dirty
namoczyła mu pomarańczowe paznokcie ...
she.soaked him orange fingernails
'For Gienek not to enter the new year dirty, she soaked his orange fingernails ...'
(NKJP: *Polityka* 2690, 2009, press)

(1.87) *Circumstantial (negated (1.78))*

Nie bawił się pan jako dziecko w piaskownicy?
NEG played REFL sir as child in sandbox
'Didn't you play in a sandbox as a child?'

General negation in example (1.86) negates both the matrix predicate *wchodził* 'entered' and the depictive *na brudno* 'dirty'. The sentence can be paraphrased as 'Mr. Gienek would not enter the new year, and he would not be dirty'. Negation in example (1.87) negates only the matrix predicate, not the circumstantial. Therefore the sentence can be paraphrased with only one negation: 'Didn't you play in the sandbox when you were a child?'

Different behavior under general negation indicates that there is not only a semantic difference between circumstantials and depictives (clear temporal, concessive or conditional dependence of the matrix predicate on the circumstantial vs. no such dependence in the presence of depictives) but also syntactic difference. Although circumstantials should be analyzed internally similarly to depictives and resultatives, i.e.

as small clauses, as I will argue in section 3.5.2, they must adjoin in a different position that will account for the fact that they do not fall under the scope of general negation.

1.4. Conclusions

This chapter has dealt with internal complexity of secondary predication. I have shown that lexically two major word classes – adjectives and nouns – are used instead of canonical predicators, i.e. verbs. What is more, due to a relatively recent development in Polish, secondary predication makes use not only of bare adjectives or nouns, but also has the option to use the so called bipartites. Bipartites have considerably expanded semantic functions of secondary predication, adding resultatives to the already existing depictives. In addition, there is a third semantic group – circumstantials, which, as I have shown, must be clearly distinguished from depictives and resultatives. Next chapter will deal with external characteristics of secondary predication, addressing its codependence on other clause elements.

2. Structural properties

This chapter concentrates on the status of secondary predication in clause structure. It explains why secondary predication belongs to adjuncts rather than complements. It also shows why secondary predicates should not be confused with other clausal entities, such as adverbial adjuncts, attributives, interjections and absolute constructions. The fact that secondary predicates are participant-oriented has its semantic and morphosyntactic consequences. The second part of this chapter explains what clause elements can be controllers of secondary predication and how they influence the morphosyntactic structure of secondary predication.

2.1. Secondary predicates as adjuncts

Adjuncthood is very important because it allows making a clear distinction between secondary predication and verbal complements. Let me give one example of such misinterpretation of a verbal complement as a secondary predicate by Bailyn and Citko (1999). In their explanation of case assignment in Russian and Polish predicates, they discuss the *za*-phrase appearing after the verb *uwagać* ‘to consider’ in length as a secondary predicate providing following examples for Polish:

- (2.1) Uważam go za głupca¹⁷
I.consider him.ACC.S.M ZA fool.ACC.S.M
‘I consider him (as) a fool’
(Bailyn et al. 1999, ex.5a)

¹⁷ The Russian equivalents are:

- (i) Russian
Ja sčitaju ego_i durakom_i / *duraka_i
I consider him.ACC.S.M fool.INS.S.M / fool.GEN.S.M
‘I consider him a fool’
(Bailyn and Citko 1999, ex.4a)
- (ii) Russian
Ja primumaju ego_i za duraka_i / *durakom_i
I take him.ACC.S.M as fool.ACC.S.M / fool.INS.S.M
‘I consider him a fool’
(Bailyn et al. 1999, ex.11)

- (2.2) Uważam go *głupcem
 I.consider him.ACC.S.M fool.INS.S.M
 (Bailyn et al. 1999, ex.5a)

- (2.3) [VP uważam [PrP [NP go] [Pr' [Pr0 za] [NP głupca]]]]

They argue against the treatment of *za* as a preposition, and offer a PrP analysis to this construction as well as other secondary predication constructions that they consider. Further, they explain mechanics of case assignment to the NP following *za*. There are two major problems in their analysis. Firstly, although they state in their introduction that they “focus on nonverbal primary and secondary predicates in Slavic” (Bailyn et al. 1999, 17), they actually never exactly define these two or even differentiate between them. Secondly, they analyze *go* ‘him’ in example (2.1) as the subject of the subordinated PrP but they neither give an explanation why (it is conceivable to also understand it as an accusative object of the main predicate) nor under what circumstances it receives the accusative case.

They also violate two points of the working definition of secondary predication that I adopted from Schulze-Berndt and Himmelmann (2004). According to Bailyn and Citko’s analysis, controller is a part of the secondary predicate and not of the main predicate. I have, however, already pointed out that secondary predicates are adjuncts which do not form a constituent with their controller, but rather are controlled distantly by one of the overt arguments of the main predicate. This is confirmed by constituency tests that do not work for the string containing both the controller and secondary predicate. It is best seen with movement and substitution. In case of movement, the controller and secondary predicate can be topicalized independently, but they cannot together (cf. examples (2.4) to (2.5)).

- (2.4) Widziałem Adama_i pijanego_i
 I.saw Adam.ACC.S.M drunk.ACC.S.M
 ‘I saw Adam drunk’

Topicalization

- (2.5) a. Pijanego_i, widziałem Adama_i
 drunk.ACC.S.M I.saw Adam.ACC.S.M
 ‘Drunk, I saw Adam’
- b. Adama_i widziałem pijanego_i
 Adam.ACC.S.M I.saw drunk.ACC.S.M
 ‘It was Adam whom I saw drunk’
- c. *Adama_i pijanego_i widziałem
 Adam.ACC.S.M drunk.ACC.S.M I.saw

When the sentence is passivized, only the controller can be moved to the subject position (cf. examples (2.4) to (2.6)). Secondary predicate must remain in situ. Once it is moved with the controller, the sentence becomes ungrammatical, as illustrated in (2.7).

Passivization

(2.6) Adam_i był widziany pijany_i.
 Adam.NOM.S.M was seen drunk.NOM.S.M
 ‘Adam was seen drunk’

(2.7) *Adam_i pijany_i był widziany
 Adam.NOM.S.M drunk.NOM.S.M was seen

The same situation is with substitution. Personal pronoun substitutes only for the controller, and not for both the controller and secondary predicate. That is why example (2.8) is grammatical with the secondary predicate still present. Example (2.9) makes it even clearer that the substituting pronoun does not include secondary predicate because its predication can easily be cancelled, as in example (2.9), where person B contradicts A.

Substitution

(2.8) Widziałem go_i pijanego_i
 I.saw him.ACC.S.M drunk.ACC.S.M
 ‘I saw him drunk’

(2.9) A: Widziałem Adama_i pijanego_i
 I.saw Adam.ACC.S.M drunk.ACC.S.M
 B: Ja też go widziałem, ale nie zauważyłem, żeby
 I also him.ACC.S.M saw but NEG I.noticed that
 był pijany
 he.was drunk
 ‘A: I saw Adam drunk.
 B: I saw him too, but I didn’t notice that he was drunk’

Similarly, one wh-word cannot be used for both the controller and the secondary predicate, as would be expected if the noun and predicative adjective were a constituent. Instead, each of them requires a separate wh-word as shown below:

Question formation

(2.10) Kogo_i widziałeś pijanego_i? Adama_i
 whom.ACC.S.M you.saw drunk.ACC.S.M Adam.ACC.S.M
 ‘Whom did you see drunk? Adam’

(2.11) Widziałeś kogo_i pijanego_i? Adama_i
 you.saw whom.ACC.S.M drunk.ACC.S.M Adam.ACC.S.M
 ‘You saw whom drunk? Adam’

(2.12) W jakim stanie widziałeś Adama? Pijanego;
 In what state you.saw Adam.ACC.S.M drunk.ACC.S.M
 ‘In what state did you see Adam? Drunk’

(2.13) Kogo; i w jakim stanie widziałeś?
 whom.ACC.S.M; and in what state you.saw
 Adama; – pijanego;
 Adam.ACC.S.M drunk.ACC.S.M
 ‘Whom and in what state did you see? Adam – drunk’

The constituent that Bailyn and Citko interpret as the secondary predicate (i.e. the PrP) is not an adjunct. It is an (obligatory) argument of the main predicate, yet again in the violation with my definition of secondary predication in section 0.3. For more on small clause complements see section 3.3.

2.2. Distinguishing secondary predicates from other sentence parts

Delimiting secondary predicates from other adjuncts, such as attributives, adverbials, interjections or absolute constructions, is one of the major problems in every language because they often show the same morphosyntactic marking. In Polish, it might turn particularly tricky because often enough there is no fixed word and phrase order. This means that even though secondary predicates tend to be situated towards the right edge of the clause, and they always follow the primary predicate and the controller, these characteristics alone are not sufficient to recognize an adjective, noun or a combination of those with a preposition as a secondary predicate. Morphologically and syntactically similar constructions, such as adverbial adjuncts, small-clause complements, absolute construction, heavy APs and even attributive modifiers may be situated in the same position.

2.2.1. Adverbial adjuncts

Secondary predicates need to be clearly distinguished from other verb adjuncts and verbal complements, because semantically they are in a formal relation to one of the participants of the main predicate, and not with the predicate itself. In other words, they provide additional information about that participant. VP adjuncts do not refer to the participants, but to the main predicate itself. Compare for instance sentences in (2.14) and (2.15). Secondary predicate in example (2.14), adjective *zmęczona* ‘tired’, refers to the subject of the main clause, *Matylda*, providing additional information about her; namely, that she was tired upon her return. It does not provide any additional information on the predicate itself. The VP adjunct in (2.15), adverb *szybko*, on the other hand, refers solely to the main predicate, specifying in what manner *Matylda* returned – quickly.

(2.14) Matylda_i wróciła zmęczona_i
 Matilda.NOM.S.F returned tired.NOM.S.F
 ‘Matilda returned tired’

(2.15) Matylda wróciła szybko
 Matilda.NOM.S.F returned quickly
 ‘Matilda returned quickly’

This distinction is especially important for prepositional secondary predicates, which never change their form and can serve both as secondary predicates, illustrated in (2.16) – (2.17), and VP adjuncts illustrated in (2.18) – (2.19). For instance, *na żywo* in example (2.16) is participant-oriented: it tells us what type of concert was listened to – it was ‘live’ in opposition to a prerecorded one. Pragmatically, it is impossible to impose an event-oriented reading here. *Na żywo* in example (2.18), on the other hand, is rather event-oriented than participant-oriented in a meaning that the shooting was conducted spontaneously. That reading is further reinforced by the rest of the clause explaining that actors did not conduct any previous preparation.

Secondary predicate

(2.16) Słuchałem koncertu_i na żywo_i
 listen.1.S.M.PA concert.GEN.S.M ON live
 ‘I listened to the concert live’

(2.17) Obie_i sypiamy na płasko_i
 we.both.NOM.PL.F sleep NA flat
 ‘We both sleep on our backs (lit. ‘flat’)
 (NKJP: www, forum)

VP adjunct

(2.18) Kręciliśmy film na żywo, bez wcześniejszego przygotowania
 we.shot movie NA live without earlier preparation
 aktorów
 actors.GEN
 ‘We shot the film live, without any earlier preparation of the actors’

(2.19) (Pięści miał boksera, ale za biciem nie przepadał.)
 Jeżeli walił – to na płasko, w plecy
 if hit.3.S.M.PA – it NA flat in back.ACC.PL
 ‘(He had boxer’s fists but he didn’t like fighting.) If he hit [someone], he would slap them on the back’
 (NKJP: Borowa 1988, fiction)

Distinction between adverbial adjuncts that describe manner in which the event is carried out and secondary predicates that inform about the state of an event participant becomes evident when the same adjectival base is used.¹⁸ Compare sentences in (2.20) and (2.21) to (2.22). In both examples (2.20) and (2.21), secondary predicates *wesoły* and *na wesoło* ‘cheerful’ inform about the state of mind of the main event participant *Jacek*. They do not make any statement on how the action is carried out. *Jacek* might be as well working as usual, only in a better mood. There is no semantic difference between the bare and prepositional secondary predicate. In example (2.22), on the other hand, adverb *wesoło* ‘cheerfully’ describes manner in which *Jacek* is working, and not his mood.

(2.20) *Bare secondary predicate*

Jacek pracował wesoły
Jack worked cheerful

‘Jack worked cheerful [i.e. Jack worked and Jack was cheerful]’

(2.21) *Prepositional secondary predicate*

Jacek pracował na wesoło
Jack worked PR=na cheerful

‘Jack worked cheerful [i.e. Jack worked and Jack was cheerful]’

(2.22) *Adverbial modifier*

Jacek pracował wesoło
Jack worked cheerfully

‘Jack worked cheerfully [i.e. Jack worked in a cheerful manner]’

2.2.2. Attributives

Attributive modifiers, in contrast to adverbial adjuncts and secondary predicates, are not clause level elements but belong rather to the nominal phrase. Therefore, although secondary predicates depend on NP controllers, they must be clearly distinguished from attributive modifiers. This is not a straightforward task for several reasons. They retain the same semantics in both attributive and predicative function. As I have already pointed out, both require agreement with the controlling noun. Also the position in the clause is not always disambiguating. In the West Slavic languages, attributive modifiers are adjoined directly to NP, to its left edge specifically, as shown in example (2.23). This rule is more or less strictly obeyed depending on the language. Thus, for instance, in Czech, word order makes it clear if the adjective functions as an attributive modifier or secondary predicate (cf. example (2.24) to (2.25)) because modifiers are always to the left, whereas secondary predicates have tendency to linger towards the end of the clause, and definitely after the controller.

¹⁸ Morphologically, adjectives are more basic in Polish, and adverbs are derived through suffixation. Suffixes appearing on adjectives are inflectional in nature and not derivational.

(2.23) *Attributive – pre-nominal*

Adam pił [NP zimne_i piwo_i]
Adam drank cold.ACC.S.NG beer.ACC.S.NG
'Adam drank cold beer'

(2.24) *Attributive (Czech)*

Pil [NP studené_i pivo_i]
he.drank cold.ACC.S.NG beer.ACC.S.NG
'He drank cold beer'
(Hentschel 2009, 372)

(2.25) *Secondary predicate (Czech)*

[_{VP} [_{VP} Pil pivo_i] studené_i]
he.drank beer.ACC.S.NG cold.ACC.S.NG
'He drank the beer cold'
(Hentschel 2009, 372)

It is similar in Polish but the distinction is less clear here because there are exceptions to positioning adjectival modifiers to the left of the noun. Attributive-categorizing adjectives can be adjoined to the right edge of NP, as shown in example (2.26), so the linear order is not enough to distinguish between attributive and predicative uses.¹⁹

(2.26) *Attributive – post-nominal*

Zawsze piję herbatę indyjską.
always I.drink tea.ACC.S.F Indian.ACC.S.F
'I always drink Indian tea'

This type of adjectives, however, that typically follows the noun can never function as secondary predicates. There are also several diagnostic tests that can be used to distinguish between a postposed attributive modifier and a secondary predicate, based on the fact that the attributive adjective forms a constituent with the noun, whereas secondary predicate does not. Instead, it is an adjunct to the projection of the verbal phrase. Let me name three of them: separation, pronominalization and topicalization.

Separation. Under the assumption that attributive modifiers, such as adjectives, attach in Spec, NP position, as shown in example (2.27), they cannot be separated from the noun, regardless whether they are on the left or right edge of that NP, by adverbial modifiers that are external to NP. Compare examples (a) and (b) in (2.27). Secondary predicates, on the other hand, can be separated from the noun by such modifiers, as in the examples in (2.29), which indicates that they must be also external to NP.

¹⁹ On the position of attributive (and categorizing) APs in Polish see e.g. Fedorowicz-Bacz (1973), Topolińska (1981), Willim (2000).

(2.27)



(2.28) a. Spotkałem [NP kierownika [AP administracyjnego]]
I.met manager.ACC.S.M administrative.ACC.S.M
'I met the operational manager'

b. *Spotkałem [NP kierownika [PP w pubie] [AP administracyjnego]]
I.met manager.ACC.S.M in pub administrative.ACC.S.M
intended meaning: 'I met the operational manager in pub'

(2.29) a. Spotkałem [NP kierownika] [SP pijanego]
I.met manager.ACC.S.M drunk.ACC.S.M
'I met the manager drunk'

b. Spotkałem [NP kierownika] [PP w pubie] [SP pijanego]
I.met manager.ACC.S.M in pub.L.S.M drunk.ACC.S.M
'I met manager in pub drunk'

Pronominalization. Attributive modifiers are a part of the NP, whereas secondary predicates are not. Pronouns can maximally replace NP, but not an NP and the secondary predicate, and hence the sentence (a) in (2.30) is fine as a pronominalized version of (2.27), but (b) is not grammatical. Sentence (b) in (2.30) cannot be a pronominalized version of (2.29), but (c) can.

(2.30) a. Spotkałem go
I.met him
'I met him'

b. *Spotkałem go administracyjnego
*'I met him administrative'

c. Spotkałem go pijanego
'I met him drunk'

Topicalization. Finally, since only constituents can be topicalized, NP can move to the front with the attributive modifier, as shown in example (2.31) but not with the secondary predicate, as the ungrammaticality of example (2.32) indicates.

(2.31) Kierownika administracyjnego spotkałem
'The operational manager, I met'

(2.32) *Kierownika pijanego spotkałem
*'The manager drunk, I met'

2.2.3. Interjections and absolute construction

According to Moroz (2011, 180ff), interjection is any string consisting of at least one lexical element which is isolated from its host clause with articulation pauses on both ends, marked graphically with punctuation, and which can be freely removed from that clause. Since interjections can consist of any linguistic elements, it is possible that they include adjectives, nouns or bipartites:

(2.33) Marzy mi się obiad (bardzo wykwintny)
it.dreams me.DAT REFL dinner (very exquisite)
'I dream about a dinner (very exquisite one)'
(Moroz 2011, 181)

Interjections are much more detached from their hosting clauses than secondary predicates are. They are always marked with a pause before and after, orthographically marked with commas, dashes or brackets. Secondary predicates are not prosodically separated from the clause.

Absolute constructions, exemplified in (2.34), are also similar to secondary predication, and they involve adjuncts too, as illustrated in (2.35), but with a much freer distribution than secondary predicates (Stump 1985). In Polish, absolutes are adjuncts to TP, lined on its left edge. They are prosodically independent of the main clause, which is orthographically marked with a comma. This indicates that these APs are not subjects of the main clause, i.e. they are not in Spec, TP.

(2.34) Zamyślona, przesuwała palcem po tęczy
lost.in.thought.NOM.S.F she.shifted finger along rainbow
'Lost in thought, she moved her finger on the rainbow'
(NKJP: Downer 2008, fiction)

(2.35) [_{AP} Zamyślona] [_{TP} przesuwała palcem po tęczy]

The main difference between absolute constructions and secondary predication is obviously the positioning of the former ones on the left and the latter ones on the right edge of the clause. Further, absolute construction is never object controlled in Polish. There is also a considerable difference in focus. Absolute construction, occupying first position in the clause, is in strong focus, whereas secondary predicates is not. All these differences

clearly show that secondary predicates and absolutes must be treated as two separate constructions.

2.3. Modifiers of secondary predicates

Secondary predicates can be accompanied by adverbs that can modify both verbs and adjectives, as well as other verbal adjuncts, indicating location for instance. This is not surprising for bare adjectival secondary predicates which morphosyntactically behave like adjectives in other constructions. Here too, adverb precedes adjective immediately, as in the example (2.36). The whole string is a constituent. It cannot be split, as illustrated in (2.37), but it can be moved as a whole – see example (2.38).

(2.36) Stefan wrócił do domu nieprzyjemnie podniecony
 Stefan returned to home unpleasantly excited
 ‘Stefan returned home unpleasantly excited’
 (NKJP: Dołęga-Mostowicz 1989[1934], fiction)

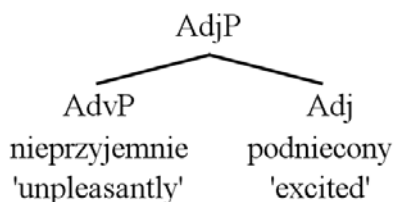
(2.37) *Stefan wrócił nieprzyjemnie do domu podniecony
 Stefan returned unpleasantly to home excited

Topicalization

(2.38) Nieprzyjemnie podniecony, wrócił Stefan do domu
 unpleasantly excited returned Stefan to home
 ‘Unpleasantly excited, Stefan returned home’

This confirms that the adverb here should also be analyzed as a specifier of the AdjP:

(2.39)

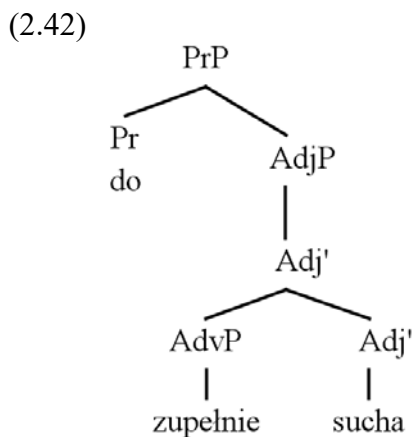


The situation is slightly more complex with prepositional secondary predicates that structurally consist of more than one syntactic unit. Corpus data confirms that prepositional secondary predicates can also be modified by adverbs but in a twofold manner. Adverb can either precede the whole secondary predicate, as in example (2.40), or come between the preposition and the adjective, as illustrated in (2.41), although having the adverb at the front is preferred (see discussion in 0.4.4).

(2.40) Smakowało mu, bo wylizał prawie do czysta
 it.tasted him because he.licked.out almost DO clean
 ‘He liked it because he licked [it] almost clean’
 (<http://forum.miau.pl/viewtopic.php?p=8555978>, forum)

(2.41) Spróbuj szybko i energicznie wycierać do zupełnie
 try.2.S.IMP quickly and energetically wipe.INF PR=do completely.ADV
 sucha
 dry.PRED
 ‘Try to wipe quickly and energetically until [it becomes] completely dry’
 (http://forum.gazeta.pl/forum/w,851,93333262,,5_m_cy.html?v=2, forum)

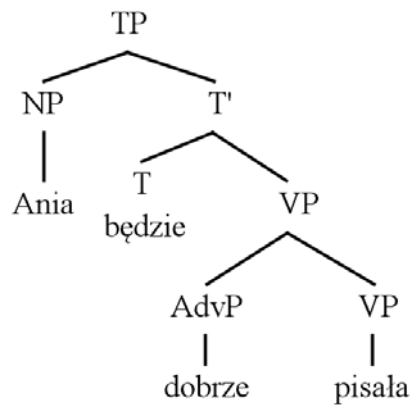
The fact that it has become possible to insert an adverb right in front of the adjective indicates again that prepositional secondary predicates should be considered complex syntactic structures rather than complex morphological structures. At least for some Polish speakers prepositional secondary predicates are composed of two syntactic elements, the second of which is an adjective. Hence, it is more natural for them to insert an adverb that in fact modifies the semantics of the adjective and not of the preposition, right in front of that adjective and not in front of the preposition. Following structure of the prepositional secondary predicate with the adverb inside (*do zupełnie sucha* ‘until completely dry’) emerges here:



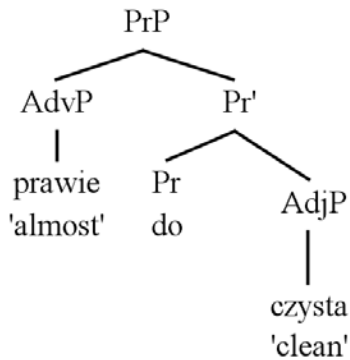
Adverb in front of the preposition cannot be interpreted as a direct modifier of the adjective in a specifier position. In such case, the adverb must occupy the adjunct position right above the whole PrP, a position that is freely accessible to any adverbial modifier of verbal and predicative phrases. Structures in (2.44) and (2.45) indicate similarity in positioning of the adverb in relation to VP and PrP.

(2.43) Ania będzie dobrze pisała
 Ania will.be well written.PA
 ‘Ania will be writing well’

(2.44)



(2.45)



In addition to adverbs, secondary predicates can have other, semantically and pragmatically suitable, adjuncts that right adjoin to them:

(2.46) a na każde kolejne spotkanie przychodził [[pijany] [jak bela]]
and on every next meeting he.came drunk like log
'and he would come blind drunk [lit. drunk like a thick beam] to each following meeting'
(NKJP: Kołodziejczak 2003, fiction)

Further, as I have already mentioned, secondary predicates can be accompanied by verbal adjuncts, indicating for instance location, as in example (2.47), where the phrase *na policzkach* 'on his cheeks' indicates the location of blushing.

- (2.47) Jesteśmy wyłącznie przyjaciółmi – rzucił chłopak trochę
 we.are exclusively friends – threw.in boy little
zaczerwieniony na policzkach
 blushing on cheeks
 ‘We are exclusively friends – the boy threw in blushing slightly on his cheeks’
 (<https://www.wattpad.com/117947261-cure-%E2%9C%94-rozdzia%C5%82-14>)

2.4. Relation with the controlling NP

The relationship between secondary predicate and event participant over which it predicates can be best described in terms of control. Control as a linguistic concept has been developed to explain coreference between a silent (understood) subject of the subordinated predicate and one of the arguments of the main predicate. It has mainly been concerned with subjects of infinitival VPs, such as PRO in example (2.48), where *Adam* is both the person who likes and the person who sings. In other words, *Adam* is said to control the subject of the complement VP, i.e. be its controller. In order to make this relation clearer, a notion of a silent subject (PRO) has been developed, and the control relation is notated by the coindexing of the controller (*Adam*) and the controlee (PRO).

- (2.48) Adam_i lubi [PRO_i śpiewać piosenki]
 Adam likes PRO sing.INF songs
 ‘Adam likes to sing the songs’

Extensive literature has been produced on control, splitting into several traditions. One of them argues for syntactic treatment of control (Rosenbaum (1967) and continued by Chomsky (1981), Koster (1984), Manzini (1983), Larson (1991), Hornstein (1999), Landau (2000), Manzini and Roussou (2000), and later others). Other approach stresses importance of semantics in control (e.g. Jackendoff (1972) and (1974), Bresnan (1982), Ružička (1983), Farkas (1988), Sag and Pollard (1991), Culicover and Jackendoff (2005)). The nature of the relation between a non-lexical subject (PRO) and its antecedent (its controller) has been difficult to explain to every theory of control. This issue is mainly due to the eclectic character of control, which in its fullness cannot be characterized only by syntactic properties but depends also on semantic and pragmatic ones. Until now there is no unified set of conditions for control. Again and again even the most widely held assumptions about its character are being questioned. Even the existence of PRO, the most fundamental element of control, has been challenged (see for instance Polinsky and Potsdam (2002) or Bowers (2008)), but at the same time it has been suggested that PRO appears not only in non-finite environments but also in finite T (e.g. Landau (2004) and Alexiadou et al. (2010)). Different versions and incarnations of control have been proposed, such as exhaustive vs. partial control, long-distance control, arbitrary control, even backwards control. Nowadays, the two most important predominantly syntactic approaches to control within the minimalist framework are the Movement Theory of Control, postulated mainly by Hornstein (1999, 2001, 2003) and Boeckx and Hornstein

(2004, 2006), and the Agree Theory of Control, postulated by Landau (2000, 2003, 2004, 2006). The Movement Theory of Control reduces control to an instance of A-movement. The Agree Theory of Control considers it to be a result of Agree operations in a sense of Chomsky (2000). In my analysis I follow the second approach that does not require any movement, but rather some kind of abstract agreement between the controller and the secondary predicate. Further, since they always have a strict subject or object interpretation, I assume that they instantiate obligatory control.

2.4.1. Gradation of the controlling capacities

There are restrictions as to what types of event participants can control bare and prepositional secondary predicates, based on their morphosyntactic marking and syntactic function. In general, prepositional secondary predicates, as the non-agreeing ones, can be controlled by any arguments of the matrix predicate. This is not surprising because the major syntactic issue here is agreement of an often syntactically distant secondary predicate with its controller. Still, acceptability is not binary (yes or no, good vs. bad), but it rather spreads on a scale, from good, through acceptable and awkward down to unacceptable and ungrammatical. This is an important observation because purely syntactic treatments of secondary predication have tendency to work on binary values rather than scale, and to mark all less acceptable instances as ungrammatical. My contention is here that there is a downgrade in acceptability of bare secondary predicates depending on the distance of the controller from the canonical subject, i.e. a subject marked with a nominative case.

This downgrade does not necessarily result in the unavailability of secondary predication in general but rather in growing frequency of replacing agreeing bare secondary predicates with non-agreeing prepositional ones. The acceptability scale for bare secondary predicates is split on two levels: syntactic function and morphosyntactic marking, as shown in Table 2.1. The lower the controller is on the scale, the more difficult it is to agree with the secondary predicate, and the more likely it is that the secondary predicate will be a prepositional one.

Table 2.1 *Acceptability scale on the level of syntactic function*

1st argument: nominative subject
↓
2nd argument: accusative object
↓
3rd argument: indirect object
↓
no subject: impersonal
↓
dative subject

Following examples illustrate control relations listed in Table 2.1.

(2.49) *1st argument: nominative subject*

Anteki wrócił do domu radosny_i
Antek.NOM returned to home cheerful.NOM
'Antek returned home cheerful'
(NKJP: Niklewicz 2006, fiction)

(2.50) *2nd argument: accusative object*

Jak zwykle zostawiłem ją_i sama_i pod drzewem
how usual I.left her.ACC alone.ACC under tree
'As usual, I left her under the tree alone'
(NKJP: Grzegorzczak 2009, fiction)

(2.51) *3rd argument: indirect object*

Uwierzcie mi_i pijanemu_i
believe.IMP.2.PL me.DAT drunk.DAT
'Believe me drunk'

(2.52) *No subject: impersonal*

Nie wiem, jak naprawdę prowadzi się po pijanemu
NEG I.know how truly drives.3.SG REFL PR=po drunk
'I don't know how driving works when drunk'
(<http://sport.dziennik.pl/artykuly/365404,adam-malysz-jechal-po-pijaku.html>,
press)

(2.53) *Dative subject*

Źle mi_i się spało po pijanemu_i
badly me.DAT REFL slept.3.S.NG PR=po drunk
'I slept badly drunk'

The scale presented in Table 2.1 indicates not only the direction of deterioration of controlling capacities regarding bare secondary predicates, but also the gradual weakening of requirement to agree secondary predicate with its controller in case. Importantly, however, the tendency is to agree with the controller if possible. This is in contrast with Russian, where, as Landau (2008) and Bailyn (2012) write, non-agreeing case, which is also instrumental there, is always available and preferred in secondary predication, both with the subject and object control, as shown in examples (2.54) and (2.55). Only the quantifiers *sam* 'himself' and *odin* 'alone' prefer agreement over non-agreement, which in their case is dative, in Russian.

(2.54) *Russian*
 Taras prišel p'janym / ?p'janyj
 Taras.NOM came drunk.INS / ?drunk.NOM
 'Taras came drunk'
 (Landau 2008, 882)

(2.55) *Russian*
 Ja našel ego p'janym / ?p'janogo
 I.NOM found him.ACC drunk.INS / ?drunk.ACC
 'I found him drunk'
 (Landau 2008, 882)

This preference of a non-agreeing form is not found in Polish. Subject controlled secondary predicates must agree in the nominative case with the controlling NP, as shown in example (2.56). Object control allows both, accusative agreement and non-agreeing instrumental, as shown in example (2.57), but the non-agreeing forms are by no means preferred. In fact, although the non-agreeing form is acceptable with object control, the agreeing one is preferred.

(2.56) Taras przyszedł pijany / *pijanym
 Taras.NOM came drunk.NOM / *drunk.INS
 'Taras came drunk'

(2.57) Spotkałem go pijanego / pijanym
 I.met him.ACC drunk.ACC / drunk.INS
 'I met him drunk'

Hence, case transmission in Polish secondary predicates patterns in many respects with quantifiers *sam* 'himself' and *odin* 'alone', but not with Russian adjectives. Therefore, although Landau (2008) and Bailyn (2012) convincingly account for the dichotomy between agreeing and non-agreeing predicates in Russian in their respective framework, their analyses cannot be directly applied to Polish due to the just mentioned differences in distribution of agreeing and non-agreeing forms, as well as the fact that there is no C.

2.4.2. Controllers embedded in a PP

Object controllers embedded in a PP cannot control a secondary predicate. Example (2.58) shows clearly that a non-agreeing secondary predicate (*po pijanemu* 'drunk') can refer to the subject (*Adam*), but not to the person in PP (*Tomek*), even though the lack of agreement does not block it. Even getting the secondary predicate (*pijanego* 'drunk') to agree formally with *Tomek* in (2.59) cannot force the reading in which Tomek is drunk. The misplaced agreement makes the clause in (2.59) simply ungrammatical. The same holds even if the PP is a true argument of the primary predicate, as in example (2.60) where PP headed by *z* is the second argument of the verb *kpić* 'mock', and the secondary predicate fulfills all

syntactic, semantic and pragmatic requirements. Formally, there is nothing preventing *po pijanemu* ‘drunk’ to predicate on *Tomek*, except for the fact that it is embedded in a PP.

- (2.58) Adam_i często pracuje z Tomkiem_j po pijanemu_{i,*j}
 Adam.NOM.S.M often works with Tomek.INS.S.M PO drunk
 ‘Adam often works with Tomek drunk’
- (2.59) *Adam często pracuje z Tomkiem_i pijanym_i
 Adam.NOM.S.M often works with Tomek.INS.S.M drunk.INS.S.M
intended meaning: ‘Adam often works with Tomek when he (Tomek) is drunk’
- (2.60) Adam_i lubi kpić z Tomka_j po pijanemu_{i/*j}
 Adam.NOM.S.M likes mock.INF at Tomek.GEN.S.M PO drunk
 *‘Adam likes to mock Tomek when Tomek is drunk’
 ‘Adam likes to mock Tomek when Adam is drunk’²⁰

What follows is that only event participants marked directly with case, i.e. not embedded in a PP, can control secondary predicates. This is true for both bare and prepositional secondary predication.

2.4.3. Bare secondary predicates in finite clauses

The requirement that certain co-referential sentence elements agree with each other is very strong in Polish grammar. There are basically no exceptions to that condition in the subject – predicate relation, where the subject always dictates the value of the number and gender feature, if present, on the predicate or noun – adjectival modifier relation, where the adjective adopts case, number and gender from the noun.

- (2.61) a. Chłopiec przyszedł
 boy.NOM.S.M came.S.M.PA
- b. Chłopiec *przyszła
 boy.NOM.S.M came.S.F.PA
- c. Chłopiec *przyszli
 boy.NOM.S.M came.PL.M.PA
 ‘The boy came’

²⁰ The awkwardness of the English translation is intentional here in order to make clear the possible and impossible references.

- (2.62) a. Spotkałam smutnego chłopca
 I.met sad.ACC.S.M boy.ACC.S.M
- b. Spotkałam *smutną chłopca
 I.met sad.ACC.S.F boy.ACC.S.M
- c. Spotkałam *smutnych chłopca
 I.met sad.ACC.PL.M boy.ACC.S.M
 ‘I met a sad boy’

Although in principle, predicative adjectives follow this rule, secondary predication seems to sometimes defy it. Not all features mismatch controller’s features. Secondary predicate still agrees in number and gender. I have found no instances where these two features would mismatch, and also no constructed sentences with these mismatching features are accepted by native speakers. Only the case feature is allowed to mismatch but in very restricted environments. First of all, it is more than just a case mismatch, but rather a choice between the full agreement and the instrumental case on the secondary predicate. Further, the instrumental instead of agreement is acceptable in principle only in a few restricted instances.

As I have written in 2.4.2, there is a scale in controlling capabilities of arguments of the primary predicate, repeated with adjustments here in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2

1st argument: nominative subject
↑
2nd argument: accusative object
↑
3rd argument: indirect object
↑
no subject: impersonal
↑
dative subject

This scale also applies to the agreement or the lack thereof but it is reversed (note the reversed direction of the arrows). The more difficult it is for an argument to be a controller, the higher the chance that there will be no agreement in case. This is directly related to the syntactic location of the argument in the clause. As I will show in sections 3.5 and 3.6, agreement with the controller depends directly on the controller’s ability to c-command the secondary predicate. Once c-command is interrupted or non-existent (the latter in subjectless clauses), agreement fails, and it must be replaced by the emergency instrumental case or by a prepositional secondary predicate.

Instances of non-agreeing instrumental are found in finite clauses, but felt less natural than the agreeing ones. It is rather the domain of non-finite predicates that triggers the lack of agreement in case.

2.4.3.1. Subject controller

On the level of syntactic function, bare secondary predicates can in principle be freely controlled by the first argument of the primary predicate, i.e. the subject. Typically subjects in Polish are marked with the nominative case and they are the most common controllers of secondary predicates. Examples are provided in (2.63) – (2.67). Semantically, both animate and inanimate subjects can control them, as illustrated in (2.63) and (2.64). Bare secondary predicates always agree with the nominative subject in case, number and gender. Control is always exhaustive with simple and conjoined subjects. Compare the grammatical sentence in (2.65) to the ungrammatical ones in (2.66) where the agreement on the adjective tries to push for partial control of only one of the conjoined subjects.

(2.63) Cała ulica_i leżała w jesiennym słońcu pusta_i
 entire street.NOM.S.F lay.PA in autumn sun empty.NOM.S.F
 ‘The entire street lay empty in the autumn sun’
 (NKJP: Iwaszkiewicz 2006, fiction)

(2.64) Sąsiadka_i wróciła do domu załamana_i
 neighbor.NOM.S.F returned to home low.spirited.NOM.S.F
 ‘The neighbor returned home low-spirited’
 (NKJP: Sowuła 2007, fiction)

(2.65) [Pestka i Marian]_i nadal jednak stoją nieporuszeni_i
 [Pestka.NOM.S.F and Marian.NOM.S.M] still however stand still.NOM.PL.M
 ‘Pestka and Marian, however, stand still’
 (NKJP: Jurgielewiczowa 1990, fiction)²¹

(2.66) a. *Pestka_i i Marian nadal jednak stoją nieporuszona_i
 Pestka.NOM.S.F and Marian.NOM.S.M still however stand still.NOM.S.F
 b. *Pestka i Marian_i nadal jednak stoją nieporuszony_i
 Pestka.NOM.S.F and Marian.NOM.S.M still however stand still.NOM.S.M

The situation is slightly different with the comitative construction in the subject position.²² In example (2.67), subject is composed of two participants – *szczupak* and *pomocnik* and secondary predicate receives plural marking, just like the conjoined subjects above. Note

²¹ In Polish, multiple subjects of different genders require masculine gender in plural agreement if at least one of the subjects is masculine personal (see Corbett 1983, 190ff).

²² On comitative construction in Polish see Trawiński (2012).

that the case parallels the head noun in the subject position, i.e. nominative. It is, however, also possible to receive singular agreement on the secondary predicate, as in example (2.68). In such case, it can be controlled only by the subject participant in the nominative case, i.e. *szczupak*. It is impossible for the second event participant to be the sole controller of the secondary predicate, even if all features match, as illustrated (2.69). This follows the earlier observation that secondary predicates cannot be controlled by event participants embedded in PPs.

(2.67) [Szczupak z pomocnikiem]_i przyglądali się znalezisku
 [pike.NOM.S.M with helper] observed REFL finding
 uśmiechnięci;
 smiling.NOM.PL.M
 ‘The pike and its helper observed their finding smiling’
 (NKJP: Grzegorzcyk 2009, fiction)

(2.68) Szczupak_i z pomocnikiem_j przyglądał się znalezisku
 pike.NOM.S.M with helper.INS.S.M observed REFL finding
 uśmiechnięty_{i/*j}
 smiling.NOM.S.M

(2.69) *Szczupak z pomocnikiem_i przyglądał się znalezisku
 pike.NOM.S.M with helper.INS.S.M observed REFL finding
 uśmiechniętym_i
 smiling.INS.S.M

Note that the secondary predicate has always the same number value as the primary predicate. This is generally true when the subject is the controller. Although apparent mismatches in number are allowed between the subject and the matrix predicate (see the comitative construction above), depending on whether the predicate agrees with the syntactic number value or the semantic one, such mismatches are not allowed between the two predicates. Therefore, example (2.70) shows that it is impossible in the situation with the pike and its helper for the matrix verb to agree with the semantic number (i.e. plural) and the secondary predicate to agree with the syntactic number (i.e. singular). This shows that the agreement between the controller and the secondary predicate must be mediated by the primary predicate.

(2.70) *Szczupak_i z pomocnikiem_j przyglądali się znalezisku
 pike.NOM.S.M with helper.INS.S.M observed REFL finding
 uśmiechnięty_{i/*j}
 smiling.NOM.PL.M
 ‘The pike and its helper observed their finding smiling’

Controller of the secondary predicate does not actually have to be overtly expressed because the predicative relation does not hold between the secondary predicate and a

surface constituent of the clause, but between that predicate and a semantic participant of the primary predication. As Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann point out (2004, 72f), even in languages like English and German, where dropping an argument is rare, secondary predicates without overt controllers can be found, when the controller is for instance a participant of an infinitival construction like in the German example in (2.71).

(2.71) *German*

bitte gespült und mit Verschluss zurückgeben
 please rinsed and with lid give.back.INF
 [on a bottle:] ‘Please return rinsed and with (its) lid’
 (Schultze-Berndt et al. 2004, 73)

Therefore, subject does not have to be overtly present in the clause in order to control a secondary predicate. Polish is a language that allows dropping the subject if its reference is clear from the context. This does not hinder controlling of the secondary predicate, which in this case is in the agreement relation with the so called *pro* that is a place holder for the silent subject:

(2.72) I *pro*_i zwałił się na trawę śmiertelnie pijany_i
 and *pro* he.fell REFL on grass deadly drunk.NOM.S.M
 ‘And he fell on the grass dead drunk’
 (NKJP: Reymont 1918, fiction)

Although the very principle of control is based on the presupposition that there is an element that controls and an element that is controlled, it is possible to have a secondary predicate when the subject is actually absent, i.e. in impersonal clauses. What is meant here are true impersonal constructions, such as the reflexivization of the predicate, illustrated in (2.73), or the *-no/-to* forms, illustrated in (2.74). They are cases of arbitrary control in which the controller can be anybody and there is no syntactic place holder (such as *pro* for dropped subjects) for the controller:

(2.73) Chętnie śpiewa się po pijaku?
 willingly sings REFL PO drunk
 ‘One sings drunk with pleasure’

(2.74) Tego by nigdy nie powiedziano na trzeźwo?
 that COND never NEG said.0 NA sober
 ‘One would have never said it sober’

2.4.3.2. Object controller

Although slightly less common than subject controlled secondary predicates, object controlled ones are also well represented in the Polish language. Accusative arguments

require agreement on the controlled secondary predicates in person, number and gender, just like the subject controlled ones illustrated in (2.75) – (2.76).

(2.75) Częściej widzę cię [trzeźwego niż pijanego]_i
 more.often I.see you.ACC.S.M [sober.ACC.S.M than drunk.ACC.S.M]
 ‘I see you more often sober than drunk’
 (NKJP: Malicki 2006, diary)

(2.76) Zdarzało się nawet tak, że Piki, który przychodził zawsze
 it.happened REFL even so that Piki who came always
 pierwszy do klasy, znajdował go_i w ostatnich ławkach
 first to class found him.ACC.S.M in last benches
 pijanego_i i śpiącego_i
 [drunk.ACC.S.M and sleeping.ACC.S.M]
 ‘It used to happen that Piki, who always came first to the class, would always find him in the last row drunk and sleeping.’
 (NKJP: Miller 2009, fiction)

In Polish, accusative objects obligatorily change case to genitive under sentence negation.²³ Consequently, secondary predicates controlled by those arguments also surface in genitive, whereas retaining the accusative case would render an ungrammatical clause, as the examples in (2.77) show.

(2.77) a. nikt w Kisunach nie oglądał jej_i trzeźwej_i
 nobody in Kisuny NEG watched her.GEN.S.F sober.GEN.S.F
 (NKJP: Baniewicz 2008, fiction)

b. *nikt w Kisunach nie oglądał jej_i trzeźwą_i
 nobody in Kisuny NEG watched her.GEN.S.F sober.ACC.S.F
 ‘Nobody in Kisuny watched her sober’

Not only accusative objects can control secondary predicates. Although rare and often with broken agreement, i.e. instrumental case, examples with dative argument as a controller can be found, as the one in (2.78).

(2.78) uwierzcie mi_i pijanemu_i
 believe.2.PL.IMP me.DAT.S drunk.DAT.S.M
 ‘Believe me drunk’
 (www.mkl.art.pl/arch.news/11.doc, press)

²³ On genitive of negation in Polish see for instance Świdziński (1998, 2000), Kupść and Przepiórkowski (1999), Przepiórkowski and Kupść (1999), Richter and Sailer (1999, 2004), Przepiórkowski (1999, 2000), Błaszczak (2001), Witkoś (2003), Brown and Przepiórkowski (2006).

Similarly to subject controllers, accusative object controllers are also subjects to pro-drop when their reference is clear, and they do not have to be overtly present in the clause. Still, the same as the subject controllers, they can accommodate a secondary predicate, retaining implicit agreement with the accusative case:

- (2.79) Pożyczyłem Adamowi koszulę, a on oddał mi e_i następnego
 I.loaned Adam shirt.ACC.S.F and he returned me e next
 dnia poplamioną;
 day stained.ACC.S.F
 ‘I loaned a shirt to Adam, and he returned [it] the next day stained’

Importantly, *poplamioną* ‘stained’ is not an attributive modifier of the dropped object. It is possible to actually insert a pronoun instead of *pro* which does not form a constituent with the predicative adjective, as shown in example (2.80). The pronoun *ją* ‘her’ and the adjective *poplamioną* ‘stained’ are separated by an adjunct time expression *następnego dnia* ‘next day’ – a situation that is impossible for the string of a nominal and its modifier.

- (2.80) Pożyczyłem Adamowi koszulę, a on oddał mi ją
 I.loaned Adam shirt.ACC.S.F and he returned me her.ACC.S.F
 następnego dnia poplamioną;
 next day stained.ACC.S.F
 ‘I loaned a shirt to Adam, and he returned it the next day stained’

Secondary predicates seem to be a solution to the problem that personal pronouns cannot be directly modified by attributive adjectives. Adjective that would otherwise serve as a modifier inside NP is embedded in an adjunct secondary predicate controlled by the pronoun. This is supported by data in the corpus. I have observed that most of the accusative controllers are in fact personal pronouns, as in examples (2.81) and (2.84). For instance, example (2.81) would be just fine with an attributive modifier, if the pronoun *ją* ‘her’ were replaced by a noun, such as *córka* ‘daughter’, as shown in example (2.82). Such combination is impossible with a pronoun, as illustrated in (2.83).

- (2.81) Hildegard urodziła ją; martwą;
 Hildegard gave.birth her.ACC.S.F dead.ACC.S.F
 ‘Hildegard gave birth to her dead’
 (NKJP: Kujawska 2007, fiction)

(2.82) Hildegard urodziła [_{NP} martwą córkę].

(2.83) *Hildegard urodziła [_{NP} martwą ją].

- (2.84) nigdy nie widziałem go_i smutnego_i
 never NEG I.saw him.ACC.S.M sad.ACC.S.M
 ‘I have never seen him sad’
 (NKJP: Stasiuk 1955, fiction)

Returning to the controlling scale, there is a reason why object controlled secondary predicates are lower. There are some instances where the adjective surfaces in instrumental even though it is adjoined to the finite predicate, as in example (a) in (2.85). There is no syntactic explanation for that behavior because the clause would also be grammatical with an agreeing predicate, as in (b) of (2.85).

- (2.85) a. Czemuż jednak widzę ich_i wciąż jeszcze
 why however I.see them.ACC.PL.M still still
 podległymi?
 subordinate.INS.PL.M
- b. Czemuż jednak widzę ich_i wciąż jeszcze
 why however I.see them.ACC.PL.M still still
 podległych?
 subordinate.ACC.PL.M
 ‘Why then I still see them subordinate?’
 (NKJP: Kruczkowski 1932, fiction)

2.4.4. Bare secondary predicates in non-finite clauses

In clauses where the predicate is non-finite, situation is slightly different than in the finite ones. We need to differentiate here between two instances: secondary predicate can be controlled either inside or outside the clause to which it is adjoined. The first one is called local control and the second one non-local control. The appearance of the instrumental case on predicative adjectives instead of the same case is much more common and natural when they refer to a non-local participant, i.e. one from the matrix clause.

2.4.4.1. Local control

Local control, i.e. the relation between two clause mates, mainly expressed in coreference, in non-finite clauses is very similar to control in the main clause. The question of agreement is resolved by the scale of the control strength. Hence, the accusative objects both in the original accusative case and in the genitive after negation, for instance, can either agree with the controller or surface in instrumental, as illustrated in (2.86) – (2.87).

(2.86) od wielu, bardzo wielu już lat nie udało się
 from many very many already years NEG succeeded.0.PA REFL
 zobaczyć go_i trzeźwego_i
 see.INF him.ACC.S.M sober.ACC.S.M
 ‘For so many years it has been impossible to see him sober’
 (NKJP: Sarwa 2006, fiction)

(2.87) a. Modłę się, [_{CP} żeby nie zobaczyć go_i rannego_i
 I REFL COMP NEG see.INF him.GEN.S.M wounded.GEN.S.M
 b. Modłę się, [_{CP} żeby nie zobaczyć go_i rannymi_i]
 I REFL COMP NEG see.INF him.GEN.S.M wounded.INS.S.M
 ‘I pray that I won’t see him wounded’

In example (2.88), secondary predicate *wesołymi* ‘cheerful’ is adjoined to the non-finite VP headed by the verb *widzieć* ‘to see’. It is controlled by that verb’s accusative object (*ich* ‘them’), but it does not agree with it in the accusative case but rather it holds the instrumental case.

(2.88) Jaka to była przyjemność [widzieć ich_i wesołymi_i]
 how it was pleasure see.INF them.ACC.PL.M cheerful.INS.PL.M
 ‘What pleasure it was to see them cheerful’
 (NKJP: Kowalska 2009, non-fiction literature)

Example (2.89) is similar. Here again, secondary predicate *żywymi* ‘alive’ is adjoined to a non-finite VP headed by the verb *odnaleźć* ‘to find’. Although it is controlled by an accusative argument *bliskich* ‘close relatives’, it is not in accusative but in instrumental.

(2.89) aby mógł [swoich bliskich_i odnaleźć żywymi_i]
 in.order.to he.could his.own close.relative.ACC.PL.M find.INF alive.INS.PL.M
 i [dom_j, który opuścił, e uratowany_j od zagłady]
 and house which he.left find.INF saved.ACC.S from destruction
 ‘so that he could find his close relatives alive, and the house that he left saved from destruction’
 (NKJP: Andrzejewski 2001, fiction)

Interestingly, the other secondary predicate present in the second conjoined non-finite clause – *uratowany* ‘saved’ agrees in case with its controller – *dom* ‘house’. They both are in accusative case. The question arises, why is there a difference in agreement between the first and the second secondary predicate. The explanation draws back to the controlling scale in Table 2.2 and case syncretism. The form of the second controller *dom* ‘house’ and the second secondary predicate *uratowany* ‘saved’ is syncretic with nominative, the case that always triggers agreement between the controller and controlee. The accusative case

form of the first controller, on the other hand, is syncretic with genitive, a case that is much less prone to agree.

According to the controlling scale, constructions lacking clear subject are expected to fail to agree. This is true also in non-finite constructions, such as verbal nouns. In example (2.90), secondary predicate *niepełnymi* ‘incomplete’ is adjoined to a verbal noun that does not have any clear subject in the clause. The subject is represented by an undefined group of all people that will be born in the future, and it can be inferred only pragmatically. Still it is able to control the secondary predicate, but agreement in this case is impossible.

- (2.90) Dlatego też z miłą chęcią zapłacimy datek jaki
 that.is.why also with nice pleasure we.will.pay contribution some
 na rzecz walki z kalectwem i całkowitym zakazem
 on thing fight with disability and full ban
 rodzenia się niepełnymi
 being.born.VN REFL incomplete.INS.PL.M
 ‘That is why, with great pleasure, we will pay a contribution for the fight against
 disability and a full prohibition of being born incomplete
 (NKJP: Chutnik 2009, fiction)

2.4.4.2. Non-local control

There are five types of non-finite constructions that need to be considered here, in which secondary predicates are controlled by the subject of the matrix (finite) predicate: complements of modal verbs, illustrated in (2.91) – (2.92), complements of other verbs, illustrated in (2.93), non-finite CPs headed by *żeby/aby/by* ‘in order to’, illustrated in (2.94), non-finite CPs headed by an interrogative complementizer, illustrated in (2.95), and verbal nouns, illustrated in (2.96).

Complements of modal verbs

- (2.91) a. ... człowiek_i ... może [przyjść do domu całkiem pijany_i],
 ... man.NOM.S.M ... can return.INF to home totally drunk.NOM.S.M
 (NKJP: Vogler/Bartz 1999, guidebook)

- b. ... człowiek_i ... może [przyjść do domu całkiem *pijany_i],
 ... man.NOM.S.M ... can return.INF to home totally drunk.INS.S.M
 ‘... a man ... can return home totally drunk,’

- (2.92) Mogę [się z tego najwyżej naśmiewać, pijana czy trzeźwa]
 I.can REFL from it mostly laugh.INF drunk or sober
 ‘I can mostly laugh at it either drunk or sober’
 (NKJP: Hajnicz 1996, fiction)

Complements of other verbs

(2.93) a. ... kiedy *pro*_i idę [spać trzeźwy_i],
when *pro* I.go sleep.INF sober.NOM.S.M
(NKJP: Krajewski 2005, fiction)

b. ... kiedy *pro*_i idę [spać *trzeźwym_i],
when *pro* I.go sleep.INF sober.I.S.M
'... when I go to bed sober'

Regardless whether the main predicate is a modal or a content verb, the subject controller located in the main clause triggers agreement on the secondary predicate adjoined to subordinated non-finite TP (see examples (2.91) and (2.93)). Instrumental is ungrammatical in this configuration (cf. examples (2.91)(b) and (2.93)(b)). Situation becomes different when the subordinated non-finite verb is introduced by a complementizer. Non-finite restrictive clauses, headed by the complement *żeby/aby/by*, allow both instrumental case and agreement, as shown in (2.94).

Non-finite CPs headed by 'żeby'/'aby'/'by'

(2.94) a. Rej_i ... się zaciągnął, [by za chwilę poczuć się
Rej.NOM.S.M ... REFL inhaled COMP in moment feel.INF
REFL pijanym_i]
drunk.INS.S.M
(NKJP: Smektała 2006, fiction)

b. Rej_i ... się zaciągnął, [by za chwilę poczuć się
Rej.NOM.S.M ... REFL inhaled COMP in moment feel.INF REFL
pijany_i]
drunk.NOM.S.M
'Rej ... inhaled (cigarette smoke) to start feeling drunk in just a moment,'

But another type of non-finite complement clauses, headed by any of the interrogative complementizers, does not allow for agreement between the controlling subject of the main clause and the controlled secondary predicate adjoined to the non-finite TP (compare sentences in (2.95)). The same happens with externally controlled secondary predicates adjoined to verbal nouns. Here too, instrumental is the correct form and agreement is ungrammatical (compare examples in (2.96)).

Non-finite CPs headed by an interrogative complementizer

(2.95) a. Jan_i zastanawiał się, [po co wracać trzeźwym_i]
Jan.NOM.S.M wondered REFL for what return.INF sober.INS.S.M

b. Jan_i zastanawiał się, [po co wracać *trzeźwy_i]
Jan.NOM.S.M wondered REFL for what return.INF sober.NOM.S.M
'Jan wondered why he should return sober'

Verbal nouns

- (2.96) a. Kasi_i zależy na życiu trzeźwą_i
 Kasia.DAT.S.F cares on living.VN sober.INS.S.F
- b. Kasi_i zależy na życiu *trzeźwej_i
 Kasia.DAT.S.F cares on living.VN sober.DAT.S.F²⁴
 ‘Kasia cares to live sober’

Table 2.3, summarizing surface case forms of secondary predicates adjoined to non-finite predicates, shows that there is a continuum in transition from agreement to the lack thereof. The tendency is clear: the more complex the non-finite predicate phrase is, the harder it is to agree. In cases 1 and 2, the non-finite predicate is merged directly with the main predicate. Cases 3 and 4 involve complementizers. In case 3, the complementizer is only functional, it has no lexical content. In case 4, the interrogative complementizers involve content question words. Finally, verbal nouns have a complex internal structure involving two phrasal shells – the verb is embedded in a nominal phrase.

Table 2.3 *Case pattern in subject controlled secondary predicates*

		AGREEING FORM	INVARIANT FORM (INSTRUMENTAL)
CASE 1	Complements of modal verbs	✓	
CASE 2	Infinitival complements of other verbs	✓	
CASE 3	Non-finite CPs with Comp <i>żeby</i> /'aby'/'by'	✓	✓
CASE 4	Non-finite CPs with interrogative Comp		✓
CASE 5	Verbal nouns		✓

Non-nominative subjects as non-local controllers are yet another case of the failure to agree. This confirms again the quite low position of these subjects on the controlling scale. Example (2.97) has a dative pronoun *nam* ‘us’ in the main clause that controls the secondary predicate *żywym* ‘alive’ adjoined to the infinitive, which must surface in instrumental.

²⁴ The form *trzeźwej* can be either dative, as I indicated, or genitive. It is impossible to say in this situation which one it is and in principle irrelevant because both are ungrammatical here. Dative is the agreeing case of the overt controller in the main clause. Genitive would be the agreeing case of the local controller – subjects in verbal nouns surface in genitive.

- (2.97) Po 12 latach udaje nam_i się [wyjść żywymi z
 after 12 years manages we.DAT.PL REFL exit.INF alive.INS.PL from
 samochodu]
 car
 ‘After 12 years, we manage to leave the car alive’
 (NKJP: onet.pl, *Rozmowy* 2002, journalism)

2.4.5. Prepositional secondary predicates

Prepositional secondary predicates need to be discussed differently than the bare ones because they do not agree with their controllers. Here the lack of agreement means exactly that the adjective has a surface form that has no case, number or gender value. On the formal side, it makes things simpler because there is no question of whether the secondary predicate should or can agree with the controller or not. For that reason, there is also no difference between the local and non-local control, and these two environments will not be discussed separately. On the other hand, however, the lack of any agreement creates ambiguity, as in example (2.98).

- (2.98) On_i jej łykał na sucho_{i/j}, a potem zaczerpnął wody
 he them swallowed NA dry, and later he.took water
 ‘He swallowed them dry, and then he took some water’
 (NKJP: Żurkowski 1995, fiction)

Na sucho ‘dry’ can either depict subject (‘*He* swallowed them without drinking’) or object (‘*He* swallowed *them* in a dry state.’). In such cases, only verb semantics or general context can help disambiguate. For instance, the verb *wytrzeć* ‘wipe’ in example (2.99) makes it clear that the resultative *do sucha* ‘until dry’ must refer to the object and not the subject of the main clause.

- (2.99) Błagam cię, wytrzyj mnie_i teraz do sucha_i i schowaj dobrze
 I.beg you wipe.IMP me now DO dry and hide.IMP well
 ‘I beg you, wipe me dry now and hide me well’
 (NKJP: Krüger 1959, fiction)

Further, prepositional secondary predicates can be easily controlled not only by canonical subjects, i.e. those marked with nominative, but also by the non-canonical ones, such as subjects headed by a numeral phrase (where the noun is in genitive), as in example (2.100), or dative subject in example (2.101).

- (2.100) Kilku sędziów_i jechało po pijanemu_i [...]
 several judges.GEN drove PO drunk
 ‘Several judges drove drunk, [...]’
 (NKJP: *Polityka* 2005, press)

- (2.101) Nie brakuje mi; jej i po trzeźwemu;
 NEG misses me.DAT her and PO sober
 ‘I don’t miss her even when I’m sober’
 (NKJP: Nurowska 2009, fiction)

What is more, prepositional secondary predicates do not necessarily have to be controlled by a clear syntactic element. They can be controlled by implicit silent subjects and objects, as shown in example (2.102).

- (2.102) Smakowało mu, bo wylizał prawie do czysta
 it.tasted him because licked.out almost DO clean
 ‘He liked it because he licked (it) almost clean’
 (<http://forum.miau.pl/viewtopic.php?p=8555978>, forum)

They also freely appear in impersonal clauses, where they refer to generic/indefinite subjects, as illustrated in (2.103) – (2.105).

- (2.103) a w ogóle miesza się w głowie i po trzeźwemu
 and in general mixes REFL in head and PO sober
 ‘and, anyway, one can get confused sober [too]’
 (NKJP: Iwaszkiewicz 2006, fiction)

- (2.104) Powierzchni nie powinno się wycierać do sucha
 surface.GEN NEG should.0.PRT REFL wipe.INF DO dry
 ‘The surface should not be wiped dry’
 (NKJP: *Praca i Zdrowie* 2009, journalism)

- (2.105) Tego nie da się słuchać na trzeźwo!
 that NEG gives REFL listen.INF NA sober
 ‘It’s impossible to listen to that sober!’
 (NKJP: Matuszkiewicz 2009, fiction)

Similarly, prepositional secondary predicates can be controlled by absent adjunct subjects in passive constructions which is impossible for the bare ones (compare sentences in (2.106)).

- (2.106) a. Nasze prawo_i jest napisane po pijanemu*_i
 our law is written PO drunk
 (http://www.forumprawne.net/prawo_karne/zniewazenie_i_pomowienia_w_internecie_36401.html, forum)
- b. Nasze prawo jest napisane *pijanym
 our law is written drunk.INS.S.M
 ‘Our law is written drunk’

2.5. Conclusions

This chapter has dealt with the status of secondary predication in the clause as well as its interaction with other clausal elements. Evidence from topicalization, passivization, substitution, and question formation clearly shows that both depictive and resultative secondary predicates are adjuncts, and not complements. Further they need to be clearly distinguished from adverbial adjuncts which are event-oriented, rather than participant-oriented as secondary predicates. Depictives and resultatives are also not to be confused with attributive modifiers, mainly because they are not a part of NP. Finally, secondary predication is different to the absolute construction in several aspects, most importantly the attachment site (absolutes are left edge adjuncts of TP, whereas secondary predicates are right edge lower adjuncts). Another important aspect of secondary predication is its relation with the controller. As I have shown, only NPs that are arguments of the primary predicate can control secondary predicates. And although different types of subjects and objects are allowed to control them, there is a clear acceptability scale. This scale is co-related with secondary predicate’s ability to agree with the controller. There is also a clear difference between local and non-local control. Although secondary predicates can have non-local controllers, agreement with that controller depends not only on the structural relation between the controller and contreee but also on whether there are any intervening phases or not.

3. Syntax

The exact syntactic structure and position of secondary predicates has been a matter of controversy in linguistics. The general consent is that explanation is needed how a non-verbal element, such as adjective or noun, can function as a predicate. Different descriptions of the structure of such predicates in various constructions have been developed around the question of how complex the structure of non-verbal predicative elements actually is. In Polish, for instance, what we see on the surface is only an adjective or a combination of a preposition and adjective. The complex relation, however, of that adjective with the main predicate and the controller suggests that there might be more complexity than just an adjectival or prepositional phrase. The question then is, whether non-verbal predicates are really just that what is seen on the surface – an adjectival adjunct phrase in case of bare secondary predicates or a prepositional adjunct phrase in case of prepositional ones, or is there additional non-overt structure? Although aiming for a minimally small structure might seem desirable, it quickly runs, for instance, into selection problems that need to be somehow explained. Under what conditions, for instance, are adjectives allowed to function as adjuncts to verbal phrases? In Polish, adjectives can occupy only two syntactic positions: modifier of a nominal phrase or complement of a copula clause. Importantly, in second case, adjectives may merge only with an overt verbal copula. However, when a predicate should be attributed some property, adjectives must be changed into adverbs.

Another issue concerns prepositional secondary predicates. Although in general prepositional phrases can be VP or CP adjuncts, explanation is needed, why prepositions are allowed to select an adjective (without a noun) in secondary predication and not otherwise. What is so special about secondary predicates? Moreover, such host - adjunct configuration assumes that these adjuncts modify the head of that phrase, i.e. the predicate or the whole event. This is, however, not true in case of secondary predicates which actually predicate on one of the event participants, and not on the event itself. Another approach to non-verbal predicates that will be followed here proposes the so called small clause analysis. It has already been proposed and briefly sketched for prepositional secondary predication in Polish in Szajbel-Keck (2014). That publication has been an impulse to look both more closely and with a wider scope at secondary predication in Polish, in order to arrive at a general syntactic analysis of secondary predication applicable to all types. The general concept of the small clause theory as well as its application to secondary predication will be discussed in following sections. In view of a more general data, the analysis developed here differs in many important aspects from Szajbel-Keck (2014), and should be viewed as a new look at the construction, rather than a development of the previously proposed analysis.

3.1. Theoretical background

For syntactic description, I adopt basic framework of minimalism as formulated in Chomsky (1995), reformulated in Chomsky (2000, 2001), and further developed by others. Language is assumed here to consist of a Lexicon and a computational system. Syntactic structures are derived from lexical items in series of cycles, rather than all at once according to the Derivation by Phase framework. Each cycle constitutes a phase that is completed after all its uninterpretable features have been valued. Uninterpretable features are those properties of lexical items that have no semantic meaning. Features relevant to this study are case feature and ϕ -features, i.e. person, number and gender, combined in one compound feature. Under the minimalist theory, uninterpretable features enter derivation from the Lexicon unvalued and must be valued and deleted, or checked in the case of privative uninterpretable features, through the Agree relation, which matches the unvalued features of the goal to the corresponding valued features of the probe. There are two types of phases: phase is defined as weak if its defining head does not have a complete set of ϕ -features or fails to project an external argument, depending on an account. Otherwise the phase is strong. Only the domain of weak phases is ‘visible’ to elements higher in the structure. I assume that the whole system is driven by the economy principle requiring that derivations are in some sense minimal and avoid redundancies.

3.2. Small clauses

Important ground work for the small clause theory has been laid by Chomsky (1981), Hoekstra (1988), Stowell (1982/83), and Winkler (1997), among others. It has been developed out of concern how to, for instance, analyze syntactically complements in clauses such as example (3.1). Since it has been observed that the clause in (3.1) can be paraphrased with a full complement clause, as illustrated in example (3.2), the proposal was made to treat both instances in a uniform manner as clauses. Example (3.1) then would contain a small clause, as shown in example (3.3) that lacks some elements generally contained in a full clause.

(3.1) We found John friendly
(Hoekstra 1992, 126)

(3.2) We found that John was friendly
(Hoekstra 1992, 126)

(3.3) We found [_{sc}John friendly]
(Hoekstra 1992, 126)

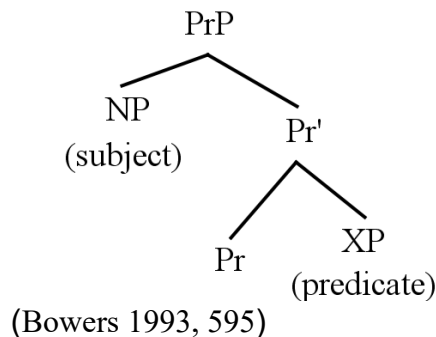
The example above is concerned with a complement of a predicate, more closely discussed in section 3.3. The main concern here is with adjuncts, as illustrated in (3.4). They are not selected by the verb, but still they are similar to small clause complements, and they will be analyzed as small clause adjuncts.

(3.4) John returned tired.

Small clause analysis opts for a much more complex structure than just an adjunct adjectival phrase or adjunct nominal phrase. Under that analysis, secondary predicate is a separate subordinate clause with an empty category, called PRO, as its subject, and a predicative head that may but must not be overtly filled, and which is usually defect in some way. Small clause is adjoined to the primary predicate.²⁵ This approach has been explored for Slavic for instance by Franks (1995b) and Bailyn and Citko (1999), and recently restated again for Russian by Bailyn (2012). Also my own observations support this line of understanding secondary predication which I will show in the following sections.

Bowers (1993) proposes a functional-category analysis of predication. Following Chomsky (1975) and other literature on the syntax of small clauses, he postulates that all types of predication are based in syntax on a functional projection that he calls predication phrase (PrP). PrP serves in principle the same role as vP does in VP-shell analysis, such as Chomsky (1995) and Larson (1988), hosting the external argument, but Bowers considers Pr and v as distinct. I leave aside justification of PrP as a complement of TP. Here, it is only relevant that Bowers includes small clauses in his analysis, and argues that the subject is generated here in Spec, PrP, whereas the predicate occupies the complement position.²⁶ Hence, the predication in small clauses is represented in the following way:

(3.5)



²⁵ On arguments against treating predicative adjectives as small clauses see for instance Williams (1980, 1983).

²⁶ The structure proposed by Bowers is asymmetric, following general assumptions of derivation. It has also however been proposed that small clauses are symmetric in form [_{SC} subject predicate]. For arguments against symmetric small clauses see especially Bowers (1993), Chomsky (1995), Contreras (1995), Gueron and Hoekstra (1995), Bailyn (2001), Harves (2002), Adger and Ramchand (2003), and den Dikken (2006).

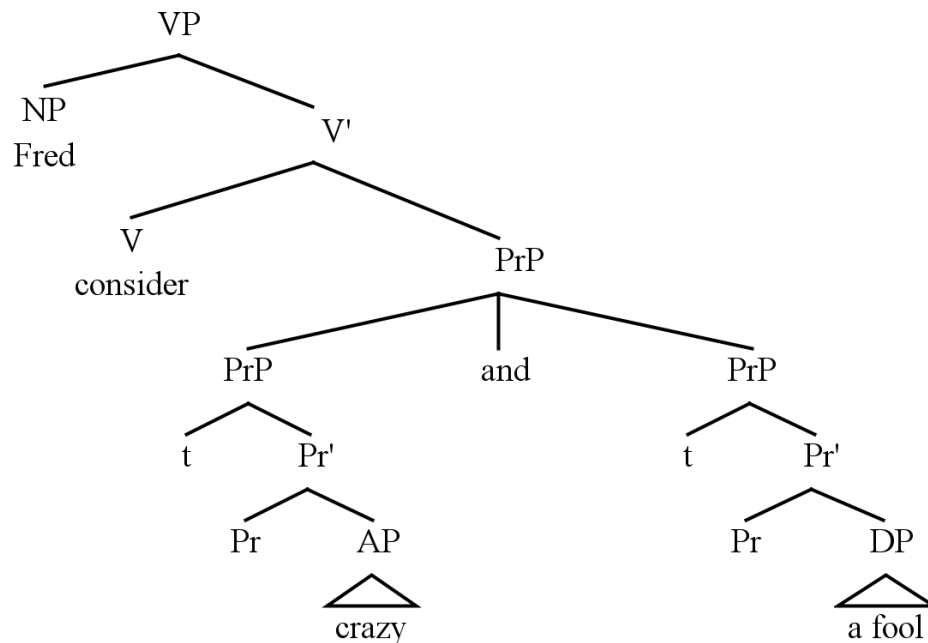
Bowers indicates that XP can be headed by a verb (V), adjective (A), noun (N) or preposition (P). The Pr head encodes also the predication relation in semantics because it turns “a property expression of type π assigned to the constituent XP into a propositional function (an unsaturated expression) of type $\langle e,p \rangle$, whose argument position is then saturated by the entity expression assigned to the NP in [Spec, Pr]” (Bowers 2001, 302).

Such analysis of predication assumes the Locality of Predication, i.e. that the predicator Pr accommodates a predicate and a subject in its minimal domain. The minimal domain is understood here as defined in Chomsky (1995) as a set of nodes comprising the complement position and the specifier of one head, in this case Pr.

The main argument in favor of the existence of Pr is the unlike category coordination which violates the rule that only identical constituents can be coordinated. Bowers shows that it is possible to coordinate AP with DP, as in example (3.6), but that examples like that are only apparent counterexamples to the identical category coordination.

- (3.6) a. *English*
 I consider Fred [AP crazy] and [DP a fool]
 (Bowers 2001, 307)

- b. I consider Fred_i [PrP t_i [AP crazy]] and [PrP t_i [DP a fool]]



(Bondaruk 2013b, ex.10)

According to Bowers, both bracketed phrases in (3.6) are PrP with a specifier filled with a trace of the small clause subject that is moved higher in the structure to serve as the subject

of the main clause. Hence what is indeed coordinated in (3.6) are two identical categories, as shown in the (b) structure.

Importantly, Bowers claims that predicators can be covert or overt, an issue that is relevant to the analysis of secondary predication in Polish, and will be discussed in detail in following sections.

3.3. Small clause adjuncts vs. small clause complements

Chomsky (1981) distinguishes between two types of small clauses: adjunct small clauses which include secondary predicates, such as the one in example (3.7), and small clause complements, as the one in example (3.8). Bondaruk (2013b) recognizes three types of small clause complements in Polish according to the prepositions appearing there: *za* ‘as’, *na* ‘for’ and *w* ‘in’: *uważać za* ‘consider’, *uchodzić za* ‘pass for’, *mianować na* ‘appoint’, *powołać na* ‘appoint as’, *iść w* ‘run for’, etc.

(3.7) Facet spał pijany z głową na barze
guy slept drunk with head on bar
‘The guy slept drunk with his head on the bar top’
(NKJP: Górniak 2009, fiction)

(3.8) Rozmowę uważał za skończoną
conversation he.considered ZA finished
‘He considered the conversation *(to be finished)’

There are two essential differences between these constructions. Firstly, secondary predicates are facultative, non-obligatory, adjunct clauses, whereas small clause complements are obligatory arguments of the main verb. Note the grammaticality of examples (3.9) – (3.11), even if the secondary predicates are removed, and the ungrammaticality of example (3.12).

(3.9) Nie, facet_i spał (pijany_i) z głową na barze
no guy slept (drunk) with head on bar
‘The guy slept (drunk) with his head on the bar top’
(NKJP: Górniak 2009, fiction)

(3.10) Żona umyła męża_i (pijanego_i od niedzieli)
wife washed husband.ACC.S.M drunk.ACC.S.M since Sunday
‘The wife washed her husband, drunk since Sunday’

(3.11) Ala wytarła stół_i (do czysta_i)
Ala wiped table.ACC.S.M DO clean
‘Ala wiped the table clean’

- (3.12) Rozmowę uważał *(za skończoną)
 conversation he.considered ZA finished
 ‘He considered the conversation *(to be finished)’

The so called ‘*do so* test’ allows us also to distinguish exactly between adjuncts and arguments of the main predicate, where the main predicate and its object are replaced by a dynamic verb ‘do’ plus the anaphoric ‘so’, and in case of less agentive verbs, it is possible to use the verb ‘happen’.²⁷ This test can also be applied in Polish with the anaphoric *zrobić to*, and it does not include adjunctive secondary predicates in its reference (see examples (3.13) and (3.14)), as it does with complements (see example (3.15)).

- (3.13) a. Facet spał pijany z głową na barze
 guy slept drunk with head on bar
 ‘The guy slept drunk with his head on the bar top’
 (NKJP: Górnjak 2009, fiction)

- b. Zawsze robił to pijany
 always he.did it drunk
 ‘He always did it drunk’

- (3.14) a. Anna musiała prowadzić samochód na trzeźwo
 Anna must.PA drive.INF car NA sober
 ‘Anna must have driven the car sober’

- b. Ona to robi tylko na trzeźwo
 she it does only NA sober
 ‘She does it only sober’

- (3.15) a. Prezydent Lech Kaczyński powołał na ministra finansów Zytę
 president Lech Kaczyński appointed as minister finance Zyta
 Gilowską
 Gilowska
 ‘The president Lech Kaczyński appointed Zyta Gilowska as a finance minister’
 (NKJP: *Dziennik Zachodni* 2006, press)

- b. Zrobił to wczoraj rano
 he.did it yesterday morning
 ‘He did it yesterday morning’

²⁷ On *do so* construction see for instance Culicover and Jackendoff (2005), Fu, Roeper, and Borer (2001), Kehler and Ward (1999), Lakoff and Ross (1976), Lopez-Carretero (1995), Stroik (2001).

Further, secondary predicate does not generate its own subject but rather PRO that needs to find a referent in the main clause. A small clause complement, on the contrary, generates its own subject, which is concomitantly shared with the main clause containing raising verb which does not base generate a subject itself:

(3.16) *Facet_i [VP spał] [SC PRO_i pijany_i]*
 guy.NOM.S.M slept PRO drunk.NOM.S.M
 ‘The guy slept drunk’

(3.17) *Rozmowę_i [uważał [SC rozmowę_i za skończoną_i]]*
 conversation he.considered ~~conversation~~ ZA finished
 ‘He considered the conversation to be finished’
 (NKJP: Krajewski 2009, fiction)

(3.18) **Uważał PRO za skończoną*
 he.considered PRO as finished
intended meaning: ‘He considered finished’

There has been some disagreement in whether or not small clause complements should be considered secondary predicates too. As I already mentioned, Bailyn and Citko (1999), for instance, consider both to be secondary predicates. This is probably due to their much broader understanding of secondary predication, in which they allow arguments as long as they do not contain a ‘true verb’.²⁸ In my definition, supported for instance by Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann (2004) and Hentschel (2009), the adjunct status is one of the defining features, and it makes a clear cut between secondary predicates, which are always non-verbal in nature, and small clause complements, which typically contain a verb but do not contain PRO and are subject to control and ECM phenomena instead. Also Chachulska (2008) includes both small clause adjuncts and complements in her study of case marking in secondary predicates in Polish. She admits, however, in her conclusions that the status of small clause complements as secondary predicates is doubtful but she does not provide any reasons for that (Chachulska 2008, 66).

Another argument against including small clause complements to secondary predication is that there is actually no true additional predication in the case of small clause complements. The paraphrase test in (3.19) – (3.20) shows clearly that, whereas secondary predicates clearly add another predication to the event, it is problematic to speak about two coincidental predications in case of small clause complements.

²⁸ They do not provide any definition of secondary predication that they subscribe to.

(3.19) Facet_i spał pijany_i
 guy.NOM slept drunk.NOM
 ‘The guy slept drunk’
 » Facet spał i był pijany
 ‘The guy slept and he was drunk’

(3.20) Rozmowę_i uważam za skończoną_i
 conversation.ACC I.consider ZA finished.ACC
 ‘I consider the conversation finished’
 » *Rozmowę uważam i jest skończona
 ‘I consider the conversation and it is finished’

Moreover, the form of small clause complements is clearly specified in the primary verb’s Lexicon entry, whereas secondary predicates have their own internal rules, independent of the primary predicate.

Another piece of evidence that these two constructions do not follow the same syntactic patterns comes from the genitive of negation. In Polish accusative case marked complements turn into genitive under clausal negation. If negation is applied to the clause with a small clause complement, only the accusative object changes case. The small clause complement remains unchanged, as in example (3.21) (compare it with not negated example (3.20)).

(3.21) Rozmowy nie uważam za skończoną
 conversation.GEN NEG I.consider ZA finished.ACC
 ‘I do not consider the conversation finished’

When the clause containing an adjunct secondary predicate agreeing with the accusative argument is negated, both the object and the secondary predicate are in genitive, as in example (3.22).

(3.22) a. Widziałem ją_i pijaną_i
 I.saw her.ACC drunk.ACC
 ‘I saw her drunk’
 b. Nie widziałem jej_i pijanej_i
 NEG I.saw her.GEN drunk.GEN
 ‘I didn’t see her drunk’

Interestingly, however, although all small clause complements discussed above are headed by a preposition functioning as a predicator, some of them allow only NP marked for the instrumental case (compare the alternation in (3.23)). According to Bondaruk (2013b), this is possible with selected small clause complements headed by predicators *za* and *na*, but not *w*.

- (3.23) a. Uznali go za swojego przyjaciela
 they.recognized him.ACC ZA their friend.ACC
 ‘They recognized him as their friend’
- b. Uznali go swoim przyjacielem
 they.recognized him.ACC their friend.INS
 ‘They recognized him as their friend’
 (Bondaruk 2013b, ex.4)

This parallels the behavior of secondary predicates in two aspects: the complement comes either with or without a preposition; if the complement is without a preposition it receives instrumental.

3.4. Pr head and predicators

The Pr head can either be covert, as in example (3.6), or overt as in the multiple examples below.²⁹ When it is overt, its realization is usually non-verbal, and in most cases requires justification because the lexical elements appearing here have non-predicative functions otherwise. As the following examples show, there is no one single lexical category that can fill the Pr head, and it is a rather a case by case discussion. Bowers (2001) postulates, for instance, that the English particle *as*, found in small clauses like (3.24), is a lexical realization of Pr. He points to the similar behavior of the Norwegian *som* and German *als*, following Eide and Åfarli (1997), as well as Welsh particle *yn*.

- (3.24) *English*
 I regard Fred as insane
 (Bowers 2001, 310)

The same applies to the Russian equivalents of English *as*: *kak* and *za*, exemplified in (3.25), called by Bailyn (2002, 2012) overt predicators.

- (3.25) *Russian*
- a. On vygljadit kak durak
 he looks PR=kak fool
 ‘He looks like a fool’
- b. My sčitaem ego za svoego
 we consider him PR=za self’s
 ‘We consider him (as) one of us’
 (Bailyn 2012, 192)

²⁹ Several labels for basically the same concept have been used in works on predication: Pr, Pred, π. Not subscribing fully to any single one analysis, I chose Pr simply for its brevity.

Finally, Bondaruk (2013b) follows exactly the same path analyzing Polish prepositions *na* ‘at’, *za* ‘for’, and *w* ‘in’ that act as predicators in following examples:

(3.26) Uważamy go za naszego przyjaciela
 we.consider him PR=za our friend
 ‘We consider him our friend’
 (Bondaruk 2013b, ex.1)

(3.27) Wybraliśmy go na naszego przywódcę
 we.chose him PR=na our leader
 ‘We chose him our leader’
 (Bondaruk 2013b, ex.2)

(3.28) Poszedł w posły
 he.went PR=w MP.PL
 ‘He decided to run for an MP’
 (Bondaruk 2013b, ex.3)

Den Dikken (2006) analyses English *as*, *for*, *like*, French *à*, and Italian *da* in examples (3.29) – (3.32) in a similar manner, showing that they serve as lexicalizations of the relator.

(3.29) *English*
 a. We have an idiot for a doctor
 [RP [DP an idiot] [R’ RELATOR=for [DP a doctor]]]
 b. He is a madman as a driver
 [RP [DP a madman] [R’ RELATOR=as [DP a driver]]]
 (den Dikken 2006, 37)

(3.30) *English*
 Imogen treats Brian like a fool
 (den Dikken 2006, 35)

(3.31) *French*
 je laisse/fais embrasser Brian à Imogen
 I let/make kiss Brian PR=à Imogen
 ‘I let/make Imogen kiss Brian’
 (den Dikken 2006, 45)

(3.32) *Italian*

Imogen fa mangiare le mele da Brian
Imogen makes eat the apples PR=da Brian
'Imogen makes Brian eat apples.'
(den Dikken 2006, 51) [my translation]

In den Dikken's approach, predication relationship is syntactically represented as a structure in which "the constituents denoting the predicate and the subject are dependents of a connective or relator that establishes the connection – both the syntactic link and the semantic one – between the two constituents" (den Dikken 2006, 11). Semantically, it is an intersective relationship between two sets, one denoting a property ascribed to the other. Although den Dikken uses different terminology, his approach is very similar to Bailyn, Bowers and Bondaruk referenced above. However, in his interpretation, a relator is just an abstract functional head. It is not accidental that he writes RELATOR in small-caps. As he explains in a footnote, this notation "is meant to bring out the idea that the term is a cover for anything that may be used to connect a predicate to its subject" (den Dikken 2006, 251). Hence, the predicator is not a novel lexical category, but rather a placeholder for any functional head able to mediate a predication relation between two terms. This agrees with the observation that all predicators cited above are primarily labelled as categories other than Pr, such as preposition. I follow this approach here, treating Polish *do*, *na*, and *po* as placeholders rather than independent functional categories. Accordingly, when the example is provided, I do not translate them in glosses.

Although most of the examples above, especially the Russian and Polish ones, are actually instances of small clause complements, the analysis can well be extended to small clause adjuncts, such as secondary predicates. Here too, prepositions *do*, *na*, and *po* take a role of (overt) predicators in examples (3.33) to (3.35).³⁰

³⁰ There has been some discussion on whether the verb *być* 'be', the commonest marker of predication relation in Polish, is a Pr or not. Stalmaszczyk (1999) assumes that it originates in Pr, so does Citko (2008), although Bailyn and Citko (1999) opted earlier for two distinct positions V and Pr. Bondaruk (2013b) calls for a uniform account and a single origin position for *być*, arguing herself against the Pr origin. Her main argument against it is the insufficient similarity to other commonly accepted Pr heads in Polish. Most importantly, *być* never appears overtly in small clauses, regardless if they are complements or adjuncts:

- (i) Uznaliśmy go (*być) prezydentem
we.recognized him be.INF president.INS
'We recognized him as president'
(Bondaruk 2013b, ex.67)
- (ii) Jedliśmy makaron (*być) suchy
we.ate noodles be.INF dry.NOM
'We ate the noodles dry'

and it would highly uneconomical to stipulate that there is a null copula *być* that can never be overt in small clauses. Furthermore, an additional explanation would be necessary why the same covert copula would value

(3.33) Umyłem ręce_i do czysta_i
 I.washed hands PR=do clean
 ‘I washed my hands clean’

(3.34) Tego nie da się czytać na trzeźwo
 it.GEN NEG gives REFL read.INF PR=na sober
 ‘One cannot read that sober’

(3.35) *pro*_i jechał po pijanemu_i
pro he.drove PR=po drunk
 ‘He drove drunk’

Following Bailyn and Citko (1999) and Citko (2008), two types of Pr head are distinguished here, a complete non-defective head, with a full set of ϕ -features and a case to assign, and a defective head, with no ϕ -features and no case to assign. These two types of Pr head allow to account for differences in case in secondary predication.

3.5. Attachment site

3.5.1. Depictives and resultatives

As it has been repeatedly pointed out, subject and object controlled bare secondary predicates are generally required to agree with their controller in case, number and gender. I will argue here that the controller and predicative adjective enter into Agree relation. This operation, initiated by one of these two elements, a probe, results in feature checking between the probe and the goal at a distance without actual movement. As a result, the controller and secondary predicate share both ϕ -features and an unvalued case feature that will be valued later in derivation. For the Agree to take place, the goal, i.e. AP, must be in the c-command domain of the probe, i.e. the controlling NP. To assure proper Agree configuration, I postulate two different attachment sites, depending on the position of the controller and regardless of the internal structure of the secondary predicate itself:

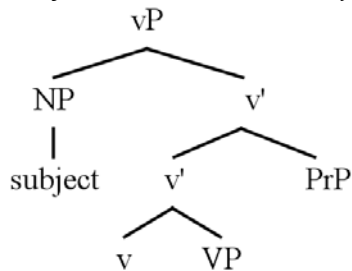
- (3.36) a. Subject Control – adjunction at v' (higher in the VP domain);
 b. Object Control – adjunction at V' (lower in the VP domain).³¹

instrumental in (i) but nominative in (ii). The problem becomes irrelevant if *być* is located outside PrP, e.g. in v because then it is never expected to occur in small clause (Bondaruk 2013b).

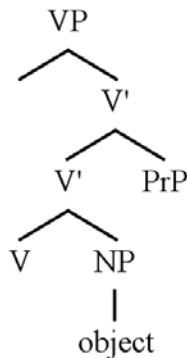
³¹ This is one of the crucial points in which current analysis differs from Szajbel-Keck (2014), where N' is proposed as an attachment site of the object controlled prepositional secondary predicate. This analysis turns out to be untenable in the face of bigger data sample that shows that object controlled secondary predicates do not form a constituent with their controller – an unavoidable result of merging secondary predicate inside NP. Crucially, the argument that object controlled secondary predicates are subject to object ellipsis is not

Functionally, secondary predicates are most similar to manner adjuncts. Whereas manner adjuncts inform how events are carried out, secondary predicates inform in what state one of the event participants is. Drawing from this similarity, as well as the necessity to attach secondary predicate in the c-command domain of the controller, I follow Bowers (1993) in the assumption that secondary predicates are X' adjuncts. Subject oriented secondary predicates are adjuncts to v', as presented in (3.37), whereas the object oriented ones are adjuncts to V', as shown in (3.38).

(3.37) *Subject oriented secondary predicate*



(3.38) *Object oriented secondary predicate*



In contrast to small clause complements, although rare, it is possible to have more than one secondary predicate in the clause. When both the subject and object oriented secondary predicates are present in the same clause, their linear ordering is fixed in that the object oriented one always precedes the subject oriented, as in examples (3.39) and (3.41). When the order of predicates is reversed, as in examples (3.40) and (3.42), sentences become ungrammatical.

- (3.39) Adam_i pije herbatę_j [na zimno_j] tylko [po pijaku_i]
 Adam.NOM drinks tea.ACC PR=na cold only PR=po drunk
 'Adam drinks the tea cold only [when he is] drunk'

strong enough. As it turns out, the concomitant ellipsis of the secondary predicate is mostly optional. The attachment site for subject controlled secondary predicates is kept the same.

(3.40) *Adam_i pije herbatę_j [po pijaku_i] tylko [na zimno_j]

(3.41) Adam_i wytarł psa_j [do sucha_j] [rozweselony_i sytuacją]
Adam.NOM wiped dog.ACC PR=do dry cheerful.NOM situation
'Adam wiped the dog dry cheered up by the situation'

(3.42) *Adam_i wytarł psa_j [rozweselony_i sytuacją] [do sucha_j]

It is necessary to note that it is not the separation of the secondary predicate from its object controller that renders the sentence ungrammatical. It is well possible to separate these two with another VP adjunct, for instance with adverbs *tylko* 'only' in example (3.43) or *nigdy* 'never' in example (3.44).

(3.43) Piję mleko_i tylko zimne_i
I.drink milk.ACC only cold.ACC
'I drink milk only cold'

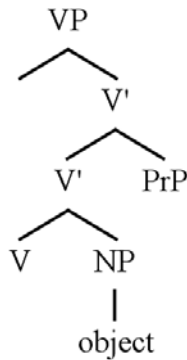
(3.44) Nie widziałam go_i nigdy pijanego_i
NEG I.saw him.GEN never drunk.GEN
'I have never seen him drunk'

This also shows that object controlled secondary predicates are not attached inside NP, an issue that has already been addressed in section 2.2.2.

This evidence speaks in favor of two distinct positions where secondary predicates are attached. If they were adjuncts to the same projection, say *v'*, their linear ordering should be reversible because there is no principled ordering of adjuncts to the same verbal projection.

Proper location of object controlled secondary predicates is more problematic. They must adjoin lower in the structure because if they are combined with subject controlled secondary predicates, they always precede it, as shown in examples (3.39) – (3.42). The next lower possible adjunction level is *V'*. As far as case assignment is concerned, it is low enough because *v*, responsible for valuing object's *ucase* feature with accusative is right above it, and closer than T with case:nominative. In this position, however, PrP is not in the *c*-command domain of the controlling object that merged into the structure as complement of V, as shown in (3.38), repeated here in (3.45).

(3.45) *Object controlled secondary predicate*



There is a general consensus among linguists researching the structure of vP that object carrying the role of Benefactor c-commands the position of the object carrying the role Theme (Chomsky 1995; Collins 1997; Hale et al. 1993; Larson 1988, among others), and that the base ordering of verb arguments is as given in (3.46).

(3.46) [_{VP} NP_{SUBJ} V [_{VP} NP_{IO} V NP_{DO}]]

As Witkoś (2007) writes, there is no compelling reason why Polish nominal objects should not follow this pattern. We could in fact assume that this arrangement is provided universally in Universal Grammar and that further rearrangements are due to language specific movements. In his article, Witkoś discusses evidence from the ordering of clitics and *wh*-words, as well as from idioms, all of which support the base order in (3.46). Although reversing the ordering of the VP internal arguments would seem to be the simplest solution to the c-command issue here, the argument is not compelling enough to revolutionize the internal structure of vP, and it would require additional stipulations to explain the reversed ordering of clitics for instance. Therefore, proper c-command relation must be achieved differently.

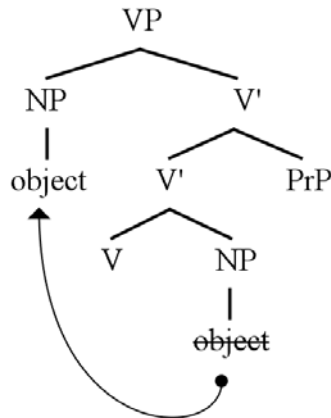
In order to account for the reversed accusative - dative argument order as well as proper binding of reflexive anaphors, as shown in example (3.47), Witkoś (2007) postulates scrambling the direct object to a Spec, vP position. This is possible under the assumption of Equidistance, i.e. that direct and indirect objects are equidistant from the position of Spec, vP because they are both attached within the domain of the same V head. In result, either one can move to Spec, vP position.

- (3.47) Piotr pokazał [każdego wykładowcę] [jego nowym studentom]
Piotr showed every lecturer.ACC his new students.DAT
'Piotr showed every lecturer to his new students'
(Witkoś 2007, 459)

- (3.48) Piotr pokazał [dziewczyny] [sobie (nawzajem)] w lustrze.
 Piotr showed girls.ACC self/each.other.DAT in mirror
 ‘Piotr showed the girls to himself/each other in the mirror’
 (Witkoś 2007, 458)

According to Witkoś, this movement is optional, and as any optional operation, it is licensed only if it has effect on the outcome. In his case, the reversed order of objects justifies the movement. Returning to secondary predication, movement of the accusative object to a higher position is also postulated here, but in order to explain feature matching, it is only relevant that it moves to a Spec, VP position, as presented in (3.49).³² I follow here Koizumi (1995), Lasnik (1999), Chomsky (2005), and Witkoś et al. (2011) for Polish, among others, who postulated such movement in order to establish proper configuration for feature-valuation. This movement has added advantage here in that it expands the c-commanding domain of the object NP.

- (3.49) *Object controlled secondary predicate (NP movement)*



In this position, the probing domain of the object NP expands and it can probe AP inside PrP, as well as properly control PRO subject of PrP.

3.5.2. Circumstantials

As I have shown in section 1.3.4, circumstantials differ from depictives and resultatives not only semantically, but also syntactically. Not only they do not fall under the scope of general negation, as shown in example (1.87), repeated here in (3.50), whereas depictives and resultatives do, as shown in example (1.86), repeated here in (3.51), and in (3.52), but they are also much closer to the controller.

³² I leave aside a question, whether the object moves subsequently to Spec, vP or not as irrelevant for the current discussion.

(3.50) *Circumstantial*

Nie bawił się pan jako dziecko w piaskownicy?
NEG played REFL sir as child in sandbox
'Didn't you play in the sandbox as a child?'
→ 'Didn't you play in the sandbox when you were a child?'

(3.51) *Depictive*

A żeby w nowy rok pan Gienek nie wchodził na brudno,
and in.order.to in new year sir Gienek NEG entered NA dirty
namoczyła mu pomarańczowe paznokcie ...
she.soaked him orange fingernails
'For Gienek not to enter the new year dirty, she soaked his orange fingernails ...'
→ 'Gienek should not enter the new year and he should not be dirty'
(NKJP: *Polityka* 2690, 2009, press)

(3.52) *Resultative*

Nie wytarł stołu do czysta
NEG wiped table PR=do clean
'He did not wipe the table clean'
→ 'He did not wipe the table and the table did not become clean'

The closeness to the controller is expressed in the fact that they are rarely separated from their controller. In example (3.50), the circumstantial *jako dziecko* 'as a child' directly follows the controlling *pan* 'sir', and it cannot switch with the adverbial modifier *w piaskownicy* 'in sandbox', as shown in example (3.53), which is possible for depictives, illustrated in (3.54).

(3.53) *Nie bawił się pan [w piaskownicy] [jako dziecko]?

(3.54) a. Naprawdę siedział Adam [smutny] [w domu]?
really sat Adam sad in home
'Did Adam really stay sad home?'

b. Naprawdę siedział Adam [w domu] [smutny]?

Further, when controlling subject precedes verb, circumstantial still remains close to it. Consider examples below:

(3.55) Adam_i jako student_i często wracał do domu pijany_i

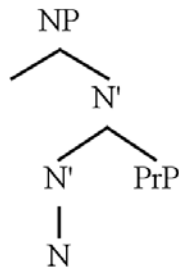
(3.56) a. *Adam często wracał jako student do domu pijany
b. *Adam często wracał do domu jako student pijany
c. *Adam często wracał do domu pijany jako student

Whereas example (3.55) with the circumstantial directly following the controller is fine, any movement of that circumstantial in examples in (3.56) further from the controller and into a position that I determined for depictives and resultatives in section 3.5.1, results in ungrammaticality. Note that depictives cannot adjoin in the position that the circumstantial did – compare for that example (3.57) to (3.55). Example (3.57) is at best questionable, and can be accepted only if *Adam* and *pijany* ‘drunk’ are interpreted disjointly, both in separate focus positions at the front.

(3.57) ??*Adam pijany często wracał do domu*
 ‘Adam, he often returned home *drunk*.’

All these examples show clearly that whereas the position of depictives and resultatives is relative to the primary predicate, the position of circumstantials is relative to the controller. This suggests that they must adjoin to the nominal phrase, and not verbal phrase as depictives and resultatives do. Keeping the analysis uniform, I posit that they adjoin at the N’ level, as shown in (3.58), and any non-adjacent positions must be explained as movement out of the NP after the adjunction.

(3.58) *Circumstantial*



3.6. Subject of PrP

Secondary predicates have never their own overt subjects. Instead, they always have a strict subject or object interpretation, instantiating obligatory control. Structurally, it means that the subject of PrP is occupied by PRO that is coreferential with the controlling NP. As Landau (2008) writes, there are two routes in which this obligatory control can proceed – C-control and PRO-control. The functional head, acting as a probe for the controlling NP, agrees additionally either directly with PRO or this agreement is mediated by complementizer that can also contain an Agree-bundle (=φ). Since small clauses contain no complementizer (C), only direct route available to secondary predicates in Polish.

Merging PrP as v’ adjunct assures also proper reference. It is determined by control meeting the Minimal Distance Principle, as defined in (3.59).

(3.59) *Minimal Distance Principle*

PRO is controlled by the nearest c-commanding potential antecedent.
(Bailyn 2001)

Consider example (3.65) again, repeated here in (3.60). As has been already established, adjoining PrP [PRO Pr *smutny*] to v' assures that the controlling subject of the primary predicate merged in Spec, vP c-commands PrP, and hence PRO subject is inside the controlling domain of *Adam*.

(3.60) Adam_i szedł smutny_i
Adam.NOM.S.M walked sad.NOM.S.M
...[vP Adam [v' [v' szedł] [PrP PRO Pr smutny]]]
'Adam walked sad'

The same applies to object controlled secondary predicates.

(3.61) Widziałem_i go smutnego_i
I.saw him.ACC.S.M sad.ACC.S.M
... [vP go [v' [v' widziałem] [PrP smutnego]]]
'I saw him sad'

Assuring proper control of PRO for bare secondary predicates might seem secondary, as the agreement marking on the controller and controlee makes it already clear which argument is the actual controller. This, however, is not the case with prepositional secondary predicates that have no overt agreement marking pointing towards the proper controller. Consider the situation in example (3.62).

(3.62) Adam_i spotkał Michała_j po cywilnemu_{i/j}
Adam.NOM met Michał.ACC PR=po civil
'Adam met Michał as a civilian (i.e. dressed in civilian clothing, not in uniform)'

There is no overt agreement in features between the secondary predicate *po cywilnemu* 'civil' and any of the potential controllers, either the subject *Adam* or the object *Michał* because the overt realization of Pr head blocks Agree between them. As a result, the situation is ambiguous because either person can be considered as being on leave from his military service at the time of meeting.

This ambiguity of interpretation can be explained with the two proposed merge positions, presented in (3.63) and (3.64) which result in different c-command relations. In (3.63), the only c-commanding antecedent of PRO is *Adam*, under the already presented Bondaruk's assumption that maximal projections are also allowed to probe. In (3.64), both the subject *Adam* and the object *Michał* are c-commanding antecedents of PRO. In this case the Minimal Distance Principle rules out *Adam* as more distant from PRO than *Michał*.

3.7. Case marking and ϕ -feature sharing

3.7.1. Bare secondary predicates

Once the adjunction site for secondary predicates has been established, we can explain mechanics of case and ϕ -features assignment.

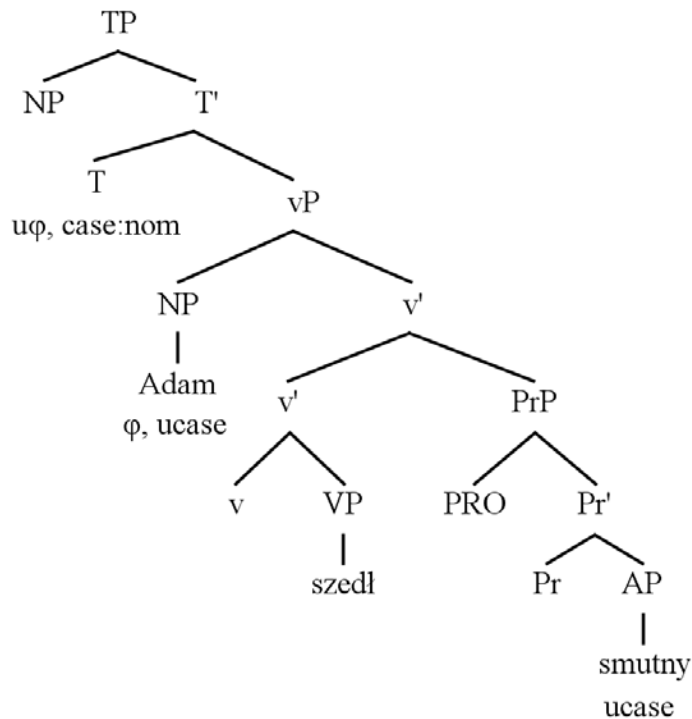
Bare secondary predicates, as shown in sections 1.2.1 and 2.4.2, contain a covert Pr head that has no influence on case marking of the adjectival predicate. Its case results from case agreement with the controller, as shown in examples (3.65) and (3.66).

(3.65) Adam_i szedł smutny_i
Adam.NOM.S.M walked sad.NOM.S.M
'Adam walked sad'

(3.66) Widziałem go_i smutnego_i
I.saw him.ACC.S.M sad.ACC.S.M
'I saw him sad'

Since Pr head plays no role in feature assignment to the predicative adjective, it is justified to assume that the secondary predicate contains here a defective Pr with no ϕ -features and no case to assign. The structure of example (3.65) is presented in (3.67). Assuming that adjectives are case-bearing elements in Polish, the only mechanism that remains is agreement.

(3.67)



In order to account for agreement between the adjective *smutny* ‘sad’ and its controller *Adam*, I adopt the mechanism of case agreement proposed by Bondaruk (2013a). Her proposal is based on two main mechanisms: feature sharing and probing by maximal projection.

Following Pesetsky and Torrego (2007), Bondaruk assumes that the operation Agree additionally involves feature sharing. Definition given by Pesetsky and Torrego is following:

(3.68) *Agree*

- (i) An unvalued feature F (a probe) on a head H at syntactic location α ($F\alpha$) probes its c-command domain for another instance of F (a goal) at location β ($F\beta$) with which to agree.
- (ii) Replace $F\alpha$ with $F\beta$, so that the same feature is present in both locations.
(Pesetsky et al. 2007, 4)

Pesetsky and Torrego claim that such understanding of Agree is able to account for situations where the same feature is shared by more than two elements. They propose that if probe with an unvalued feature F finds a goal with an unvalued corresponding feature F , then both features become instances of the same feature F . This is possible provided that they ultimately get valued with an element with a valued feature. For their model to hold, Pesetsky and Torrego also postulate separation of valuation from interpretability, and they

allow Agree between two unvalued features, rejecting Chomsky's valuation/interpretability biconditional stating that "a feature F is uninterpretable iff F is unvalued" (Chomsky 2001, 5). According to them, Agree between two unvalued features is not vacuous because the resulting structure contains only one occurrence of F with two instances, instead of two occurrences of $F\alpha$ and $F\beta$.

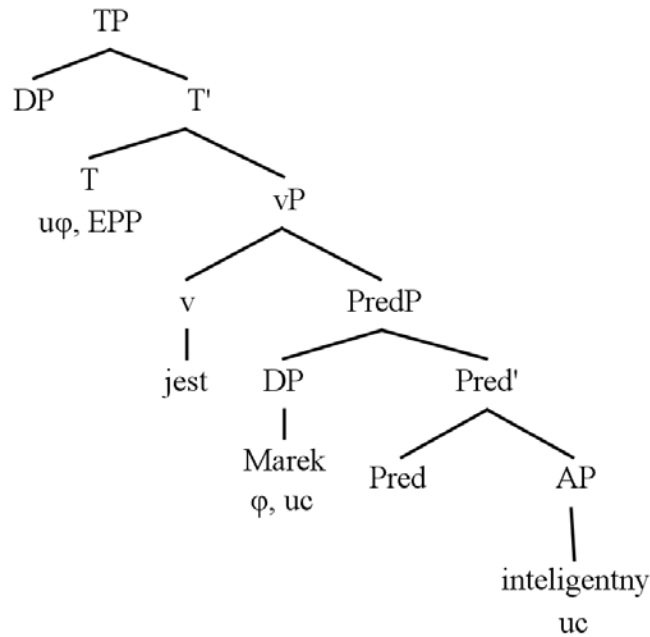
For that model to work for all copular clauses in Polish, Bondaruk (2013a), makes two modifications. She allows not only for tense but also ϕ -feature valuation in the probe-goal relation between T and subject. Further, she proposes a modification to the inventory of probes. Pesetsky and Torrego (2007), following Chomsky (2000, 2001), take probes to be heads. Bondaruk needs to allow maximal projections to be probes as well, as long as they have an unvalued feature. As a result, Bondaruk is able to account for different feature valuation in examples like:

(3.69) Ci trzej mężczyźni są inteligentni
 these three men.NOM are intelligent.NOM
 'These three men are intelligent'
 (Bondaruk 2013a, 200)

(3.70) Tych trzech mężczyzn jest inteligentnych
 these three men.ACC is intelligent.ACC
 'These three men are intelligent'
 (Bondaruk 2013a, 200)

She starts with an observation that both copula clauses illustrated in (3.69) and (3.70) must contain a defective Pr head, i.e. without any case and ϕ -features, because there is no good explanation why it would value two different cases, nominative in example (3.69) and accusative in example (3.70). Instead, she proposes the structure in (3.71) for example (3.69), and argues that feature sharing is responsible for the proper case distribution.

(3.71)

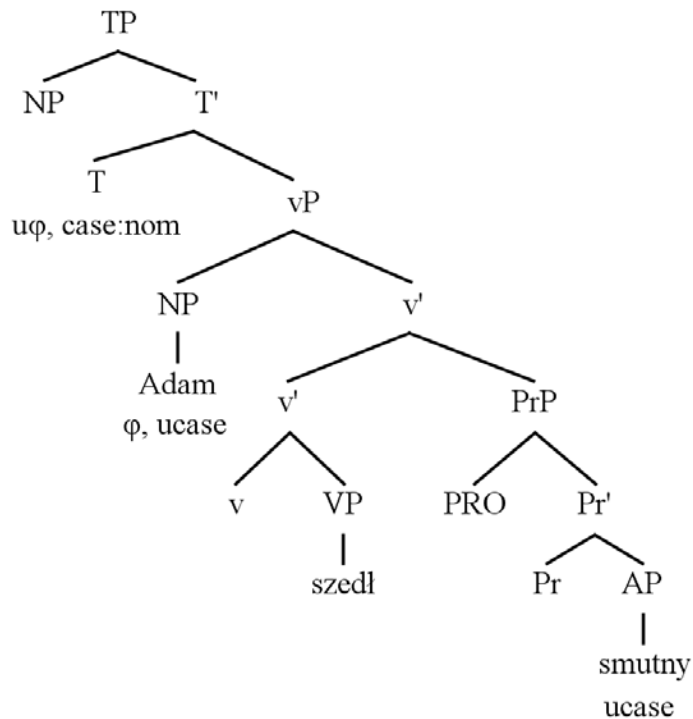


Since Pred [Pr in my nomenclature] in (3.71) is defective and cannot function as a probe for AP *inteligentny* ‘intelligent’, DP *Marek* becomes the first element that can be a probe for the goal AP. It has unvalued features and Bondaruk has allowed maximal projections to probe. DP and AP agree and the unvalued case feature is shared between them. As the next step, DP is probed by T with unvalued ϕ -features, which results in valuing the case feature shared by DP and AP as nominative.

This line of analysis is also adopted here for secondary predication, allowing for uniformity in the analysis of Polish small clauses regardless of their structural function: copular clauses (Bondaruk 2013a), small clause complements (Bondaruk 2013b), and here secondary predicates.

Let us return to the structure in (3.67), repeated here in (3.72), where Pr cannot function as a probe for the AP *smutny* ‘sad’ with an unvalued case feature because Pr is defective, and it has no features.

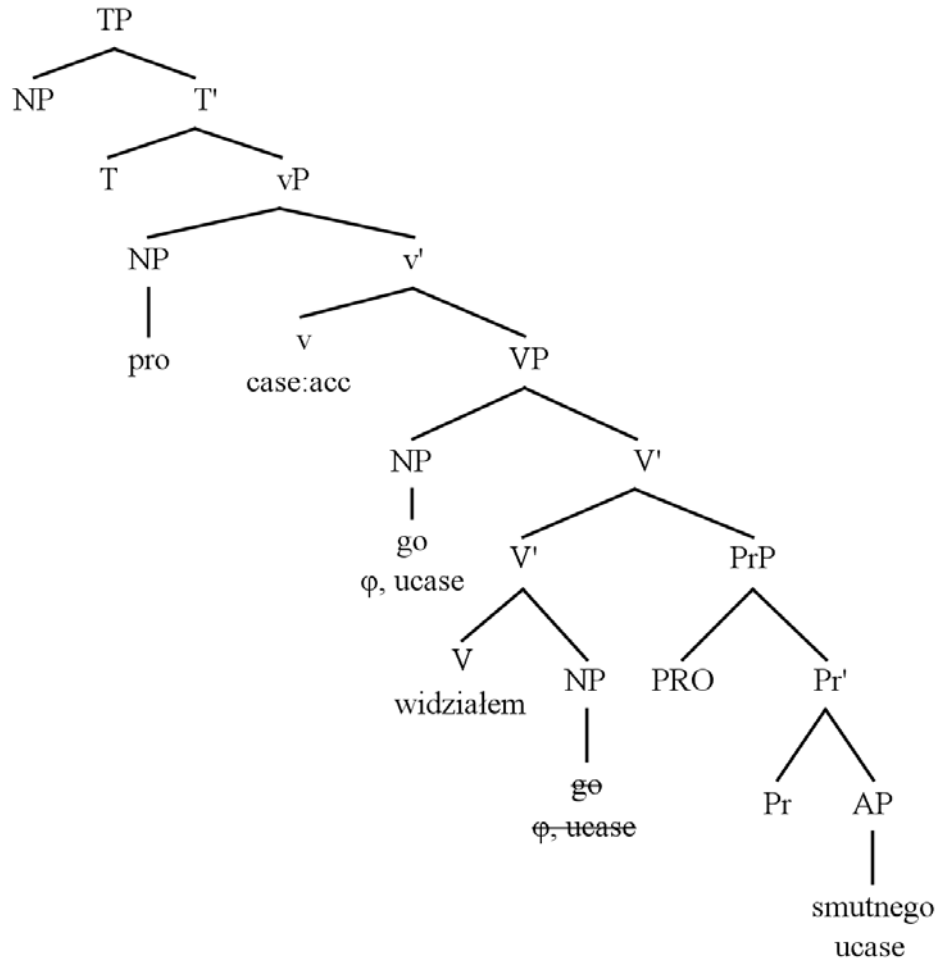
(3.72)



First element that has unvalued features and can act as a probe is the subject NP *Adam* in its original position Spec, vP. Agreement based on feature sharing takes place between the probe *Adam* and the goal *smutny* 'sad'. NP shares its ϕ -features, as well as the unvalued case feature, meaning that both the subject and the predicate have the same unvalued case feature. Successively, T with unvalued ϕ -features probes its domain and the closest goal is NP *Adam*. Agree between T and *Adam* results in valuation of the ϕ -features of T, and the case feature of NP is valued as nominative. At the same time, because of the already established feature sharing between NP *Adam* and AP *smutny*, the case feature on AP is also valued nominative.

Object controlled secondary predicates receive their case and ϕ -features in the same manner. Let us return to example (3.66), repeated here in (3.73).

- (3.73) Widziałem go_i smutnego_i
 I.saw him.ACC.S.M sad.ACC.S.M
 'I saw him sad'



Once the predicative adjective *smutny* 'sad' creates PrP, the whole PrP attaches to V' as an adjunct. The object NP *go* 'him' is merged inside VP, as a complement of V, and has an unvalued case feature. From that position, it cannot probe inside PrP, but it moves into Spec, VP. Its probing domain extends that way to the whole VP and it is able to probe the AP *smutnego* that also has an unvalued case feature inside PrP. Since the NP *go* is the closest element that can enter into Agree with the AP *smutnego*, it shares its features with AP, and as a result both have the same unvalued case feature, as well as ϕ -features. When VP merges with v, v probes for a goal with unvalued case feature and finds NP *go* 'him'. The case feature both on NP and AP receives the accusative value.

3.7.2. Circumstantials

Circumstantials work similarly to bare secondary predicates in agreement structure. If they involve adjectives, they must agree with the controller both in case and ϕ -features, as shown in example (3.74). Pr head is defective, and it remains empty. The agreement with the controller is assured through feature sharing, as described in section 3.7.1.

- (3.74) Heinz_i nerwowo przerzucił stacje z banalnymi
Heinz.NOM.S.M nervously flipped.through stations with banal
piosenkami, wreszcie *pro*_i zdeenerwowany_i wyłączył radio
songs, finally *pro* irritated.NOM.S.M turned.off radio
'Heinz flipped nervously through radio stations with banal songs, finally irritated
turned off the radio'
(NKJP: Czubaj 2010, fiction)

Although circumstantials employing nouns have an overt Pr head, as shown in example (3.75), this head does not assign case features to the predicative noun.

- (3.75) Jeszcze jako student spędził kilka miesięcy w Londynie ...
still as student he.spent several months in London
'As a student, he spent several months in London'
(NKJP: Kowalska 2009, non-fiction literature)

Similarly to the adjective, case is determined by the controller. In such case, I must posit that here Pr head is also defective, allowing for feature sharing with the controller. The only difference is that nouns have their own ϕ -features, and thus the controller shares only case feature.

3.8. Complete overt Pr on prepositional secondary predicates

Syntactically prepositional secondary predicates have the same structure as the bare ones discussed above. Their adjunction site is the same, depending on the status of the controller. The major structural difference is that prepositional secondary predicates have a complete and overt Pr head, in place of the defective and covert one. As I have already indicated in section 3.3, I adopt here Citko's (2008) proposal for the analysis of small clauses in copula clauses, supported with some modifications by Bondaruk (2013a). Bondaruk (2013b) later adopts this line of analysis for small clause complements whose semantics and function in the clause is very similar to secondary predication, in that they provide additional information on one of the event participants. The major difference is that small clause complements are exactly that – complements of the primary verb, lexically selected by that verb, i.e. Pr head is predefined by the selecting verb. Compare sentences in (3.76), where (b) is ungrammatical because the small clause complement is headed by *na*, whereas the verb *uznać* 'recognize' selects only complements headed by *za*, as in example (a).

(3.76) a. Uznaliśmy go za prezydenta
we.recognized him PR=za president
(Bondaruk 2013b, 68)

b. *Uznaliśmy go na prezydenta
we.recognized him PR=na president
'We recognized him as president'

Secondary predicates are adjuncts. They are not selected syntactically by the primary predicate, and so secondary predicates with different Pr heads can attach to the same verb, as shown in examples (3.77) – (3.79).

(3.77) Adam pracował wesoły
Adam worked cheerful
'Adam worked cheerful'

(3.78) Adam pracował do upadłego
Adam worked PR=do fallen
'Adam worked until he got exhausted'

(3.79) Adam pracował na wesoło
Adam worked PR=na cheerful
'Adam worked cheerful'

The only selective restriction is semantic one, where the meaning of the secondary predicate must be pragmatically coherent with the event and event participants. In this case we speak in terms of felicitous versus infelicitous sentences, and not grammatical versus ungrammatical ones. Sentence in (3.80) is grammatical because all elements are properly merged and features are properly distributed. It is however pragmatically infelicitous (in a world without zombies) because dead people are unable to run.

(3.80) Kasia biegła martwa
Kasia.NOM.S.F ran dead.NOM.S.F
'Kasia ran dead'

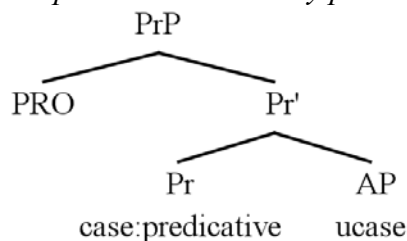
Despite difference in their syntactic status, complement versus adjunct, secondary predicates can be analyzed in a manner proposed by Citko and Bondaruk. The only difference is the adjunction site. While copula clauses are instances of the use of PrP in matrix clauses, small clause complements, as proposed by Bondaruk (2013b), are complements of the matrix verb, secondary predicates are V' or v' adjuncts.

All three instances of small clause application make use of the notion of complete and defective Pr heads. As I have already discussed in sections 3.3 and 3.5.2, bare secondary predicates are headed by a defective Pr head that has no features. As a result, it is unable

to value case feature on the complement AP. An alternative mechanism of feature sharing through Agree operation between AP and controlling NP has to be developed in order to account for case and ϕ -features on the predicative AP. Prepositional secondary predicates are headed by a complete and overt Pr head that has both ϕ -features and case feature, and it can value features of its complement. Since the complete Pr head must be lexically spelled out, it is overtly realized by one of the predicators discussed in section 3.3, such as *do*, *na*, or *po*. Choice of a predicator is not accidental, as each of them carries weak leftover semantics of the preposition from which it originated, as discussed in section 1.2.2. In general, *do* renders resultative meaning, whereas *na* and *po* depictive.

Although predicators of secondary predication have been able to keep case feature, following the line of bleaching the meaning and degrading properties, the value of that feature has also been reduced. What is meant here is that it does not value any particular case, as prepositions or other predicators do. Instead, its value is simply [predicative]. The Pr head does not have any unvalued features itself, such as for instance $u\phi$ on T.

(3.81) *Prepositional secondary predicate*



The case:predicative feature is strong and must be checked on Merge with the complement, in accordance with the Check on Merge rule, assumed in the Minimalist theory, and spelled out for primary and secondary predicates in Slavic (mainly Russian) by Bailyn and Citko (1999, 21), among others:

(3.82) *Check on Merge*³³

Strong inherent Case features must be checked at Merge.
(Bailyn et al. 1999, 21)

Since the *ucase* feature on the predicative AP is valued once it merges with Pr, it does not enter into agreement with the controller. As a result, there is no overlap in case between the controller NP and the predicative AP. What is more, since NP does not share its features with AP, AP also does not receive ϕ -features. Hence, APs in secondary predications with an overt predicator are not marked for number and gender. Consequently, predicative APs never change their surface form. Consider following examples:

³³ Checking features and valuing features refers to the same operation, in which the probe having a strong feature probes its domain looking for a goal that has an unvalued feature of the same type. Once the probe has found an appropriate goal, it values its ufeature.

(3.83) On_i golił się na ślepo_i
 he.NOM.S.M shaved REFL PR=na blind.PRED
 ‘He shaved blind’

(3.84) On_i golili się na ślepo_i
 they.NOM.PL.M shaved REFL PR=na blind.PRED
 ‘They shaved blind’

They both deal with the same situation where someone does not see while he or she is shaving due to darkness or lack of a mirror. In first situation (3.83), it is just one male, whereas there are several males (or possibly a mixed group of males and females) in the second one (3.84). Still, the AP *ślepo* ‘blind’ does not change although the ϕ -features of the controller change, which would automatically trigger feature adjustment on bare secondary predicates.

3.9. Conclusions

Although typically consisting of no more than two lexical items, secondary predicates have a complex internal structure that is needed to account for their morphosyntactic properties. They are best described as small clauses headed by a functional Pr head. This head plays an important role in the assignment of case and ϕ -features to the predicative element of the secondary predicate. Following Citko (2008) and Bondaruk (2013a, 2013b), I have shown that in order to account for differences in agreement, two types of Pr head are necessary. The complete Pr head has a full set of features, ability to value case on its complement, and is always overt (these are the cases where the secondary predicate neither agrees with the controller nor has instrumental case). The defective Pr head has no features and thus it is unable to value features of its complement. In this situation, controller shares its features with it, and the whole process results in agreement between the controller and the secondary predicate. Defective head is typically covert, but sometimes it can be also overt, as in case of circumstantials. Also in this case it has no ability to value case feature, so the process of feature sharing with the controller takes place.

In order to assure proper control, I have postulated different attachment sites for the subject and object controlled secondary predicates. Subject controlled ones adjoin to v' , whereas the object controlled ones attach lower, at the V' level. Circumstantials form a special case here. Their very close connection with the controller indicates that they must be merged inside NP, at the N' level.

4. Special cases

4.1. Secondary predicates in impersonal clauses

The fact that controlling NPs do not need to share their features with the predicative AP explains why prepositional secondary predicates are preferred, and in some cases the only choice, when there is no clear syntactic controller, as for instance in impersonal clauses. The matrix verb *mieszać* in example (4.1) has a reflexive impersonal form with no syntactically expressed subject. Nevertheless, it is possible to adjoin a subject oriented secondary predicate to *v'*, but only the non-agreeing prepositional one *po trzeźwemu* that takes care of case assignment inside PrP and does not require ϕ -features on the complement AP.

- (4.1) ... miesza się w głowie i po trzeźwemu
 mixes REFL in head and PR=po sober.PRED
 ‘... [it all] gets mixed up in the head sober [too].’
(NKJP: Iwaszkiewicz 2006, fiction)

It is impossible to attach a bare secondary predicate instead because there is no syntactic controller that could enter into agreement with it and share its *ucase* and ϕ -features:

- (4.2) ... *miesza się w głowie i trzeźwy / trzeźwym / ??
 mixes REFL in head and sober.NOM/INS/?

4.2. Non-finite clauses

There are many more instances of the lack of agreement between the controller and the secondary predicate when it is attached to a non-finite predicate. They surface much more often in the instrumental case, which is considered to be an ‘emergency’ case when proper case assignment fails. The notion of emergency case, also called default case, is not new. It has long been observed not only in Polish but also other Slavic languages that in certain situations when the proper case assignment fails, case feature is valued with instrumental, saving the whole derivation from crashing (Franks 1995a; Witkoś et al. 2011, among others). As I have shown in 2.4.4, the appearance of instrumental is not accidental or free choice in most cases. It is mainly the question of a distance between the secondary predicate and its controller. When the secondary predicate is embedded in a non-finite construction and controlled non-locally by a participant of the matrix predicate it might become invisible

to that controller. Agreement (or the lack thereof) depends directly on that visibility that has been explained through introduction of the so called phases. The general intuition behind phases is that from certain distance syntactic objects become invisible to further syntactic operations (as conceptualized by Chomsky (2001) and further developed by Chomsky (2004, 2005), and others). Syntactic derivation proceeds in cycles and each of these cycles is closed by a phase. If the phase is strong (as opposed to weak one), the syntactic structure below it becomes invisible to following operations, in accordance with the Phase Impenetrability Condition (Chomsky 2001):

(4.3) *Phase Impenetrability Condition*

[In the structure [ZP Z ... [HP α [H YP]]], with H and Z the heads of phases], the domain of H is not accessible to operations at ZP; only H and its edge are accessible to such operations

Several loci in the syntactic structure have been identified as phases, most prominently CP and vP, where C represents the so called “left periphery” region, and v is the functional head above the full argument structure (Chomsky 2004). Similarities between CP and DP, explored by Svenonius (2004), Hiraiwa (2005) and Boeckx (2009), among others, suggest that DP is also a phase. Evidence from the agreement behavior of secondary predicates indicates following regarding these phases:

- (4.4) a. non-finite verbal projections are not strong phases;
 b. although finite CP is a strong phase in Polish, non-finite CP is ambivalent;
 c. DP is a strong phase.

This is in accordance with previous observations on phases regarding control operations in general in Polish by Witkoś et al. (2011).

4.2.1. Infinitival complements

Secondary predicates adjoined to bare infinitives always agree with their controllers even if they are outside the verbal domain to which they adjoin, as illustrated in (4.5) – (4.7).

- (4.5) Czy ty_i raz nie możesz przyjechać niezapowiedziany_i,
 Q.COMP you once NEG can arrive.INF unannounced.NOM.S.M
 czy pro_j raz nie możesz przyjść pijany_j o północy
 Q.COMP pro once NEG can come.INF drunk.NOM.S.M at midnight
 ‘Can’t you ever come unannounced; can’t you ever come drunk at midnight?’
 (NKJP: Żor 2009, fiction)

- (4.6) pro_i muszę zbierać wszystkie siły i mówić sam
 pro I.must gather.INF all strength and speak.INF alone.NOM.S.M
 ‘I need to gather all my strength and speak by myself’
 (NKJP: Kapuściński 2008, non-fiction literature)

- (4.7) ... kiedy *pro*_i idę spać trzeźwy_i,
 when *pro* I.go sleep.INF sober.NOM.S.M
 ‘... when I go to bed sober,’
 (NKJP: Krajewski 2005, fiction)

Since in all of the examples above secondary predicate is subject controlled, it is attached to the v’ projection of the non-finite complement:

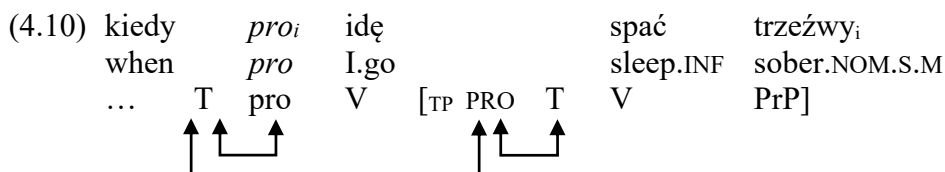
- (4.8) *Attachment site of PrP in (4.7)*
 [PRO [v’ [v’ spać] [PrP trzeźwy]]]

The predicative AP enters in feature sharing relation with the controlling subject PRO. Once PRO inherits features from the higher controller, thanks to the bundle of the agreement operations explained below, it shares these features with the predicative AP.

Following Bošković (1997c), Witkoś (1998) and Bondaruk (2004), I assume that bare infinitives are projections smaller than CP. In Polish, infinitival complements merge with the selecting verb as non-finite TPs, i.e. TPs whose subject is an anaphoric PRO and the head T has anaphoric agreement features.

- (4.9) a. *Structure of (4.5)*
 Czy ty_i raz nie możesz [TP PRO przyjechać niezapowiedziany_i]
- b. *Structure of (4.6)*
*pro*_i muszę [TP PRO zbierać wszystkie siły] i [TP PRO mówić sam_i]
- c. *Structure of (4.7)*
 kiedy *pro*_i idę [TP PRO spać trzeźwy_i]

According to Bondaruk (2004, 2006), who relies on proposals presented in Landau (2000), there are three Agree relations that happen in such configuration and are responsible for the proper distribution of features, as presented in (4.10).



One Agree relation is between matrix subject and matrix T. Similarly, PRO enters into Agree relation with non-finite T. These two agreements happen locally and are of no concern. The last Agree, however, needs to happen across the non-finite T, between the matrix T and PRO. This means that non-finite T is not a strong phase, and it allows the matrix finite T to probe inside. As a result of these three Agree relations, PRO inherits all

relevant features from its controller, and the non-finite T inherits agreement features from the matrix T.

Once PRO receives ϕ -features and the case:nominative feature, it transfers them further to the predicative AP via the already established feature sharing.

The lack of an intervening strong phase does not make the use of an agreeing bare secondary predicate obligatory. Since prepositional secondary predicates are freed from the necessity to agree with the controller they are free to be used in all clause types regardless of the presence or absence of intervening phases. (4.11) is an example of a prepositional secondary predicate in a non-finite TP.

- (4.11) Potrafię odgadnąć wszystkie kolory życia i po trzeźwemu ...
 I.can guess.INF all colors life and PR=po sober.PRED
 ‘I can guess all colors of life even when I’m sober ...’
 (NKJP: Nurowska 2009, fiction)

4.2.2. Non-finite CP

Situation is more complicated with CP complements because CP is not consistently either a strong or a weak phase in Polish (see section 2.4.4.2). Only finite complementizers are always strong phases, whereas non-finite complementizers are not pre-defined as such (Witkoś et al. 2011, 147). They enter derivation undefined, and the speaker needs to decide how to treat them at Spell-Out. As Witkoś et al. show, and my own observations confirm, this decision is neither context nor speaker based. Sentences in (4.12) and (4.13) may be equally fine to the same speaker.

- (4.12) a. Spędziłem wakacje nad morzem, żeby wrócić opalony
 I.spent vacation over sea COMP return.INF tanned.NOM.S.M
 b. Spędziłem wakacje nad morzem, żeby wrócić opalonym
 I.spent vacation over sea COMP return.INF tanned.INS.S.M
 ‘I spend my vacation at the seashore, in order to return tanned’
- (4.13) a. Upił się, żeby znów poczuć się szczęśliwy
 he.got.drunk REFL COMP again feel.INF REFL happy.NOM.S.M
 b. Upił się, żeby znów poczuć się szczęśliwym
 he.got.drunk REFL COMP again feel.INF REFL happy.INS.S.M
 ‘He got drunk to feel happy again’

Interrogative non-finite complementizers are the only exception to this rule because they are predefined as a strong phase, the same as finite complementizers. Hence, only example (4.14) where the predicative adjective is in instrumental is possible, whereas when the

adjective agrees with the controlling NP, as in example (4.15), sentence becomes ungrammatical.

(4.14) *pro*_i nie wiem, po co przychodzić przygotowanymi_i na te zajęcia?
pro NEG I.know, for what come.INF prepared.INS.S.M on that class
 ‘I don’t know why I should come prepared to this class’

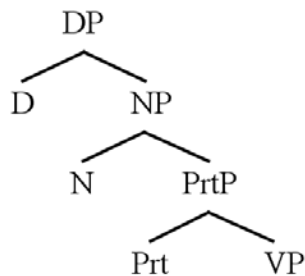
(4.15) *pro*_i nie wiem, po co przychodzić *przygotowani_i
pro NEG I.know for what come.INF prepared.NOM.S.M

Again, this is because PrP is attached to the non-finite CP headed by an interrogative complementizer. Such CPs are strong phases and do not allow any higher probes to probe inside. As a result, PRO subject of the complement clause is not properly controlled by *pro* subject of the matrix predicate, and it cannot inherit *pro*’s features. Consecutively, since PRO does not inherit any features, it cannot share them with AP from PrP. In this case, to prevent the clause from crashing at Spell-Out, the emergency instrumental case is employed.

4.3. Verbal nouns

The appearance of secondary predicates attached to verbal nouns constitutes a special case for several reasons. Firstly, secondary predicates attach inside a nominal domain which can easily be explained if we assume that verbal nouns are a special case of complex nominals which are double layered phrases containing VP embedded in DP. Following Rappaport (2001), I assume the structure of verbal nouns as presented in (4.16).

(4.16) *Structure of a verbal noun*



Verbal nouns, or process nominals in Rappaport’s terminology, are derived in Polish from PrtP (participial phrase) that contains VP, and not vP. According to Rappaport, this is supported by the fact that verbal nominals in Polish have only one structural case marker, a one that is not found in clauses – genitive that is applied to possessors in nominal phrases located in D in (4.16). The fact that event participants that would otherwise be valued with

the structural accusative case receive genitive under verbal nouns, as presented in examples in (4.17), validates the absence of the vP projection responsible for accusative case.

- (4.17) a. Kupił samochód
 he.bought car.ACC
 ‘He bought a car’
- b. kupienie samochodu
 buying.VN car.GEN
 ‘buying a car’

The presence of the participial phrase (PrtP) is supported by derivational morphology, and the covert nominalizing category N is necessary to distinguish PrtP in clausal passive from the verbal noun. Apart from morphology, there are several other arguments that speak in favor of the layered analysis of verbal nouns, such as retained distinctions in aspect and voice (e.g. imperfective *pisanie* vs perfective *napisanie* ‘writing’, or *mycie* ‘washing’ vs *bycie umyтым* ‘being washed’), regularly admitted negation (e.g. *niejedzenie* ‘not eating’, *niespanie* ‘not sleeping’, *niejeżdżenie* ‘not driving’), retention of the reflexive particle *się* (e.g. *banie się* ‘being afraid’, *śmianie się* ‘laughing’, *mycie się* ‘washing oneself’), widespread use of adverbial modifiers instead of attributive adjectives (e.g. *spotykanie się często* ‘meeting often.ADV’ or *jeżdżenie szybko* ‘driving fast.ADV’).

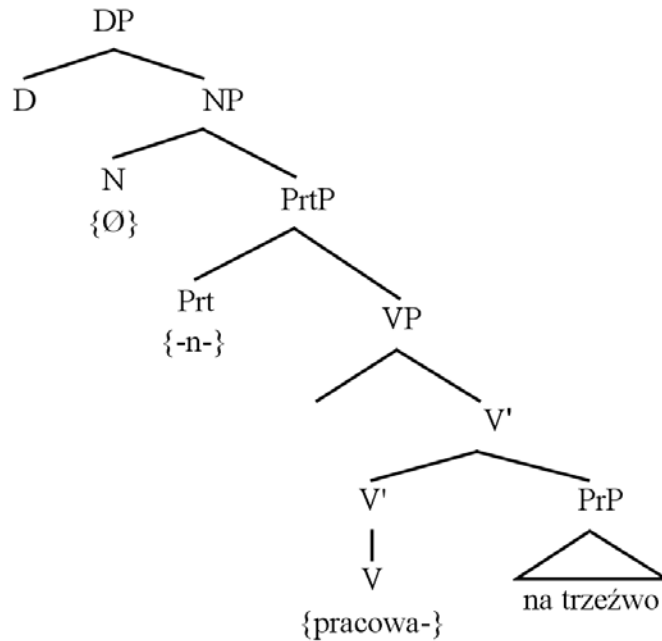
Assuming that secondary predicates are adjuncts either to v’ or V’, it should be possible to have one ‘inside’ a verbal noun. This prediction proves to be true as the examples in (4.18) and (4.19) show.

- (4.18) Jan_i planuje pracowanie na trzeźwo_i
 Jan plans working.VN PR=na sober.PRED
 ‘Jan plans to work sober’

- (4.19) Stracił je właśnie za prowadzenie auta po pijanemu
 he.lost it exactly for driving.VN car PR=po drunk.PRED
 ‘He lost it exactly because of driving drunk’
 (NKJP: *Super Express* 2006, press)

There is only one adjunction site that is available to secondary predicates inside verbal nouns. That is V’, as shown in (4.20).

(4.20)



The availability of only V' does not restrict secondary predicates only to object control, as we might suspect. On the contrary, both subject and object control are still possible, but the secondary predicate is always ambiguous as to which of them is actually controlling it. Consider the sentence in (4.21) where both the subject *Jan* and the object *Piotr* of the verbal noun are potentially coreferent with the secondary predicate *na goło* 'naked' attached to that verbal noun, but not simultaneously.

- (4.21) Spotkanie Piotra na goło nie było dla mnie przyjemne
meeting.VN Piotr.GEN PR=na naked.PRED NEG was for me pleasant
'Meeting Piotr naked was not pleasant for me'
Subject control: I was naked when we met
Object control: Piotr was naked when we met
**Simultaneous subject and object control: We both were naked*

This ambiguity may be explained by the availability of only one adjunction site for the secondary predicate, and so there is no structural disambiguation, only a contextual one.

Another non-expected characteristic is that prepositional secondary predicates are the only possible type of secondary predication here. Replacing them with a bare secondary predicate results in ungrammaticality, regardless the case. Neither nominative nor instrumental works, as shown in example (4.22).

- (4.22) a. * Jan_i planuje pracowanie trzeźwy_i
 Jan.NOM.S.M plans working.VN sober.NOM.S.M
- b. * Jan_i planuje pracowanie trzeźwym_i
 Jan.NOM.S.M plans working.VN sober.INS.S.M
 ‘Jan plans to work sober’³⁴

That the agreeing form, as in example (4.22), is excluded is to be expected under the assumption that DP is a strong phase, as it has been independently argued for by Boeckx (2009), Chomsky (2007), and Svenonius (2004), not only for Slavic, but also other languages. It is however, surprising, that the bare adjective in instrumental case is out too. In light of what I have written so far, the emergency instrumental case and predicate with an overt predicator should be equally available when a strong phase blocks agreement with the controller. As of now, I see no good syntactic explanation, why the non-agreeing secondary predicates are excluded.

4.4. Conclusions

This chapter has discussed several intriguing cases of non-local control of secondary predicates, such as non-finite complement clauses, non-finite TP complements and verbal nouns. I have shown that the feature valuation proceeds in non-local control in the same manner as it does in the local control. The only difference, accounting for the apparent differences, is the presence or absence of intervening strong phases as well as the availability of the appropriate attachment site.

³⁴ Note that verbal nouns are often used where infinitival complements appear in English translation. This discrimination against infinitives in Polish, resulting in more frequent use of verbal nouns is discussed in Dziwirek (2000).

5. Final conclusions

Despite its relative infrequency in the Polish language, secondary predication is a very compelling object of study due to its complexity. On the semantic level secondary predicates are depictives or resultatives that provide additional information about the state of the event participants. Structurally, secondary predication involves either bare adjectives, or a combination of a preposition and an adjective. The latter one is especially intriguing because it involves an illicit combination – prepositions are not allowed to select adjectives in Polish. This issue as well as the complexity of agreement between the controller and the secondary predicate suggest that the covert syntax of secondary predication is much more complex than its overt realization. Small clause analysis is postulated here, which is based on the assumption that secondary predicates are actually predicative phrases. This analysis is in line with proposals made for similar constructions in Polish, such as copula clauses and small clause complements. Consequently, we have right now a unified analysis of several similar syntactic phenomena based in the same assumptions and principles. All three constructions are small clauses headed by either covert or overt predicator. This explains the coexistence of bare and prepositional secondary predicates with the same adjunction site, dependent solely on the choice of controller and not on the internal structure of the secondary predicate. This is a desired outcome because it results in a lower number of necessary stipulations. Two distinct adjunction sites explain why secondary predicates are always strictly controlled by one event participant. When secondary predicate adjoins at the lower V' level it is obligatorily controlled by the object due to the Minimal Distance Principle. When it adjoins at the higher v' level, it must be controlled by the subject. Agreement between the controller and secondary predicate is explained in terms of Agree operation which allows maximal projections to be probes, and which results not only in feature valuation but also in feature sharing. Failure to Agree is caused by intervening strong phases (DP and some instances of non-finite CPs, most significantly the ones headed by interrogative complementizers) in case of bare secondary predicates, and by the presence of an overt predicative head in case of prepositional secondary predicates. The overt Pr head is complete, which means that it has case feature that can value the ucase feature of the complement AP locally. Since AP does not have to enter into Agree relation with its controller in such case, the controller does not share its ϕ -features. As a result, APs in prepositional secondary predication are not marked for number or gender. Interestingly enough, the bigger the structural distance between the controller and the secondary predicate the more frequent is the use of prepositional secondary predicates instead of bare ones. This is also true for the type of the controller. The more uncanonical it is, the less probable is the use of the agreeing bare secondary predicate. It is possible, for instance, to have subject oriented secondary predicates in sentences with *pro* subjects and dative subjects, but they need to be

prepositional ones. Also, impersonal clauses are able to host subject oriented secondary predicates, but again they must be headed by an overt predicator. All that indicates that prepositional secondary predication has been developed as an emergency mechanism to be applied when agreement is at best difficult or confused, if not impossible. It is also the only option for the resultative meaning. The fact that prepositional secondary predicates are able to take care of all features internally is a great advantage in computation because the speaker does not have to worry about unvalued features left behind once he moves further in derivation. That is why prepositional secondary predication has been increasingly more popular once it has been reanalyzed in the language into an active and productive structure.

This study, of course, does not exhaust the topic of secondary predication in Polish. Throughout my description, I have repeatedly only hinted to the fact that secondary predication in Polish seems to be in flux. It is definitely worth pursuing a diachronic study to see how it has developed over centuries, and whether I am right that it is shifting to an analytic and non-agreeing construction, i.e. prepositional predication, where the coreference with the controller is just a semantic issue (the same referent), much easier to get across than the syntactic one, which requires full agreement. If that were true, naturally the next step would be to see if that is specifically a development of Polish or maybe it is a part of wider (Slavic or West Slavic only?) tendency.

Transliteration

All examples keep the original orthography except Bulgarian and Russian for which I use the scholarly transliteration is used. See the chart below:

<i>Cyrillic</i>	<i>Romanization</i>	<i>Cyrillic</i>	<i>Romanization</i>
а	a	п	p
б	b	р	r
в	v	с	s
г	g	т	t
д	d	у	u
е	e	ф	f
ё	ë	х	x
ж	ž	ц	c
з	z	ч	č
и	i	ш	š
й	j	щ	šč
к	k	ю	ju
л	l	я	ja
м	m	ъ	‘
н	n	ь	’
о	o	э	è

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