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VOICE TYPOLOGY: A CASE OF POLISH ADJECTIVAL PASSIVE PARTICIPLES RELATED TO OBJECT EXPERIENCER VERBS IN ROZ-

Abstract: Passive participles constitute an interesting body of data from the morpho-syntactic point of view as they combine adjectival and verbal properties, and consequently have to be endowed with rich morpho-syntactic structures. In this text we research the system of passive participles in Polish, clearly delimiting their verbal and adjectival properties. Then we concentrate on resultative states as a category with most puzzling mixed characteristics. Focusing on the resultatives derived from Object Experiencer Verbs, we argue for Intransitive Voice Projection in their structure. Some morpho-syntactic problems presented by these participles are solved when we consider a possibility that they code event kinds, rather than event tokens. Finally, the morpho-syntax of participles is juxtaposed with that of unaccusatives. The results support the kind of voice typology in which verbal structures may contain the intransitive voice projection, or lack voice altogether.

Key words: voice, passive participles, voice modifiers, verbal participles, adjectival participles, Polish

1. Introduction

Participle formation has been given much attention in recent years within the limits of Distributed Morphology since participles share properties of adjectives and verbs to varying degrees, depending on their position in a sentence and a particular language system. Consequently, their dual nature has to find its reflex in multi-layered structures attributed to them. Likewise, different structures have to account for their diverse linguistic behaviour (see e.g. Bruening 2014; Alexiadou et al. 2014; Alexiadou et al. 2015; Bondaruk and Rozwadowska 2018).

We have chosen to analyse a class of participles related to Object Experiencer Verbs (OEVs henceforth) in Polish, i.e. the verbs whose valency includes an

object (sentient) argument affected by a mental change, while the subject argument evokes the change. These verbs differ from canonical transitive verbs, which appear with the external (sentient) subject arguments causing a change undergone by verbal objects (see Keenan 1976). Grafmiller (2013) describes OEVs as possessing two arguments: Experiencer, an argument that can experience emotions, and Stimulus, evoking these emotions in Experiencer. Stimulus can be animate or inanimate. Experiencer verbs are distinguished by a number of characteristics which differentiate them from other bi-argumental predicates (see e.g. Belletti and Rizzi 1988; Comrie and van den Berg 2006; Haspelmath 2001; Landau 2010). First of all, the assignment of arguments to syntactic positions in sentences containing Experiencer verbs is puzzling as their two sub-kinds, i.e. Subject and Object Experiencer Verbs, present mirror images of thematic role assignment, which runs against the assumptions concerning universal principles of argument assignment¹ to syntactic positions and case assignment laws (Belletti and Rizzi 1988). Experiencer Verbs show also perplexing patterns of passivization and other linguistic vagaries (see Arad 1998; Landau 2010). Especially baffling are OEVs (Arad 1998; Belletti and Rizzi 1998; Grimshaw 1990; Pesetsky 1995; Landau 2010; Grafmiller 2013; Rozwadowska and Willim 2006), and their allocation of the Experiencer role to the object argument violates assignment hierarchies proposed in the literature of the subject (Perlmutter and Postal 1984; Baker 1988).

OEVs do not form a uniform group; Grimshaw (1990) distinguishes two subclasses of OEVs, one of them agentive, the other non-agentive. Agentive verbs have volitional agents working as stimuli to evoke the emotional change in their Experiencer objects, while non-agentive ones take passive stimulus arguments, whose influence on the object Experiencer is less direct.

In this text we will concentrate on the latter type of verbs and their passive participles (Pass Ptcps henceforth) in particular, as the first sub-class shows properties of canonical transitive verbs (see Landau 2010) and does not present the same amount of challenge for a linguistic theory.

Non-agentive OEVs subsume two more subclasses: It has been proposed by Arad (1998) that eventive and stative OEVs should be differentiated as they have distinct semantics and morpho-syntax. Stative OEVs code the situation in which the Experiencer continues to be in a specific state as long as the stimulus and the state are co-extensive (see Arad 1998: 206). Grafmiller (2013: 19) adds that ‘with the stative Obj-Exp reading, the stimulus is said to trigger a mental state but not trigger a *change of state*’. Consequently, stative OEVs provide no scalar dimension to be associated with the state of their Experiencers. Stative OEVs disallow verbal passives (Grimshaw 1990; Pesetsky 1995; Landau 2010) altogether and their

¹ See Baker’s (1988: 46) *Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis* (UTAH) and Perlmutter and Postal’s (1984: 97) *Universal Alignment Hypothesis* (UAH).

participles show properties of adjectives. Eventive OEVs code a more complex cognitive structure (Landau 2010; Alexiadou et al. 2015): The Experienced stimulus brings about an event, which in turn produces a mental (scalar) change in the Experiencer. Consequently, the structures coding predications including such verbs have to be more complex. By the same token, the participles corresponding to such verbs are likely to possess layered structures, with additional projections coding verbal (eventive) properties, apart from the projections coding states. Thus eventive OEVs may have corresponding verbal participles, depending on the degree to which a verb is eventive and on the type of language.² Our perusal of eventive *roz-* OEVs in Polish seems to suggest that Polish belongs to such languages that allow the formation of both adjectival and verbal passives from OEVs. In this text we will devote ourselves to establishing which participles associated with OEVs are verbal and which are adjectival and how much, if any, verbal structure is associated with adjectival participles corresponding to *roz-* OEVs. From this analysis we will draw conclusions concerning voice types appearing in Polish against the background of existing theoretical proposals concerning voice realisations in various languages.

2. *Roz-* OEVs

The participles which we are going to discuss in this text correspond to OEVs produced with prefix *roz-*.³ They constitute a relatively uniform semantic group of predicates which code emotional states evoked in Experiencers, together with the onset events triggering the emotions. Szymanek (2010: 168) describes the verbs prefixed in this way as having ‘“evolutive’ reading, [...] combined with a tinge of inceptive meaning.’ The class of so prefixed verbs is quite extensive, and their number gives us an opportunity to draw reliable conclusions from their behaviour. Below we supply an extensive list of such predicates in Polish.

(1)

rozanielić ‘make one feel all-soft’, *rozbestwić* ‘make one feel all-potent’, *rozbudzić* ‘make one aware’, *rozzuchwalić* ‘make one reckless’, *rozckliwić* ‘make one feel susceptible’, *rozchwiać* ‘make one feel uncertain’, *rozczarować* ‘make one dissatisfied’, *rozczerść*

² Landau (2010: 46) divides languages into type A, in which only eventive OEVs have verbal passives, and type B, in which no OEVs can form verbal passives. Landau argues, similarly to Grimshaw (1990), that stative verbs like *depress* disallow verbal passives because they do not project external arguments. Stative OEVs are therefore unaccusative in Landau’s view.

³ The prefix is characterized by Szymanek (2010: 166) as having two allomorphic varieties: *roz-* and *roze-* (e.g. *roz-czarować* ‘make dissatisfied’ vs. *roze-rwać* ‘make one feel amused’) with uncertain limitations on their distribution. Since this issue seems to have no bearing on our discussion, we will disregard the allomorphy.

'make one feel tender', *rozdrażnić* 'make one feel on edge', *rozśmieszyć* 'make one feel like laughing', *rozentuzjasmować* 'make one feel enthusiastic', *rozerwać* 'make one feel amused', *rozżewnić* 'make one feel sentimental', *rozeźlić* 'make one feel angry', *rozniewać* 'make one feel angry', *rozgorączkować* 'make one feel frantic', *rozgrymasić* 'make one feel finicky', *rozhisteryzować* 'make one feel hysterical', *rozjątrzyć* 'make one feel angry', *rozjuszyc* 'make one feel frantic', *rozkapryścić* 'make one feel finicky', *rozkojarzyć* 'make one feel distracted', *rozkrochmalić* 'make one feel soft', *rozleniwic* 'make one feel lazy', *rozmarzyć* 'make one feel dreamy', *roznamiętnić* 'make one feel sexy', *rozochocić* 'make one feel playful', *rozpaskudzić* 'make one feel greedy', *rozpieścić* 'spoil', *rozpogodzić* 'unwind', *rozproszyc* 'make one feel distracted', *rozprężyc* 'make one feel relaxed', *rozpuścić* 'make one feel greedy', *rozzłościć* 'enfuriate', *rozżewnić* 'make one feel sentimental', *rozsierdzić* 'make one feel extremely furious', *rozśmieszyć* 'make one feel like laughing', *roztkliwić* 'make one feel tender', *rozweselić* 'make one feel joyful', *rozwścieczyć* 'make one feel furious', *rozzuchwalić* 'make one feel daring'.

The verbs are uniformly perfective due to the presence of perfectivizing *roz-*. Although the contribution of the prefix to the semantics of such Experiencer verbs is characterised in Szymanek (2010) as 'evolutive' or 'inceptive', it has to be noted that most of the verbs in the list do not appear in Polish in their unprefixed variants (see e.g. 2), and even if they do, their semantics is largely non-derivable from the meanings of the unprefixed verbs (see e.g. 3):

(2)

rozżewnić 'make one feel sentimental' - **żewnić*, *rozjuszyc* 'make one feel frantic' - **juszyc*, *roznamiętnić* 'make one feel sexy' - **namiętnić*

(3)

rozbudzić 'make aware' – *budzić* 'wake up', *rozpuścić* 'make one feel greedy' – *puścić* 'let go', *rozczarować* 'make dissappointed' – *czarować* 'practise magic'

In some cases a semantic relationship can be traced between prefixed and prefixless variants, e.g. *rozzłościć* 'enfuriate' – *złościć* 'make furious', *rozkapryścić* 'make one feel finicky' – *kapryścić* 'grumble', but mostly *roz-*prefixed verbs are semantically idiosyncratic. Consequently, the prefix included in them should be classified as one of lexical prefixes (Svenonius 2004; Jabłońska 2004; Łazorczyk 2010), i.e. such that interact with the semantics and argument structure of the base to which they attach. *Roz-* does not stack either, which is another characteristic of lexical prefixes.

Roz- verbs are made imperfective when additional suffixes are added to their stems.⁴ The suffixed imperfectives⁵ sound well-formed to the native ear and most

⁴ The presence of suffixed imperfectives is one more characteristic pointing to the lexical nature of the prefix.

of them are attested in the *National Corpus of Polish* (NCP henceforth).⁶ Some of the verbs, however, lack suffixal imperfectives: *?rozeźl-a-ć* (intended meaning: ‘make one feel repeatedly angry’) and *?rozchwiew-a-ć* (intended meaning: ‘make one feel repeatedly uncertain’) sound odd at best, while *rozzłościć* ‘make one feel irritated’ has the unprefixal and unsuffixal corresponding imperfective (*złościć* ‘make one feel repeatedly/continually irritated’).

As shown by (abridged) NCP examples⁷ in (4) below, *roz-* OEVs have inceptive meaning, which is important since inceptiveness points to their eventive (hence verbal) semantics:

(4)

<i>Gospodarz</i>	<i>wreszcie</i>	<i>się</i>	<i>odezwał,</i>	<i>rozczarował</i>
the host-NOM.S	finally	REFL	speak-3 rd S.PST	disappoint-3 rd S.PST

posła.
member.of.parliament-ACC.S
‘The host finally spoke [and he] disappointed the member of Parliament.’

<i>Wyższość</i>	<i>w tonie</i>	<i>Zebona</i>	<i>rozdrażniła</i>	<i>króla.</i>
superiority-NOM.S	in tone-LOC.S	Zebon-GEN	infuriate- 3 rd S.PST	king-Acc.S

<i>Znów poczuł</i>	<i>się</i>	<i>jak</i>	<i>uczeń.</i>
again feel-3 rd S.PST	REFL	like	pupil-NOM.S

‘Zebon’s tone of superiority infuriated the king. He felt like a pupil again.’

<i>Wziąłem</i>	<i>kolejną</i>	<i>porcję</i>	<i>kompotu,</i>	<i>który tym razem</i>
take-1 st S.PST	another	helping-ACC.S	compote-GEN.S	which this time

mnie rozleniwil.
me-ACC make.lazy-3rd S.PST
‘I took another helping of compote, which this time made me feel lazy.’

The situations coded by *roz-* OEVs are complex: The verbs indicate Experiencer’s going into a certain state and the target state itself. Thus the semantics associated with such predicates includes the event leading up to the consecutive state of Experiencer. Event-related modifiers,⁸ such as *szybko* ‘quickly’ or *powoli* ‘slowly’, which appear in clauses with *roz-* OEVs, substantiate this claim:

⁵ As the choice of imperfective-forming suffixes is conditioned by complex morpho-phonological and lexical features of verbal stems and it is not essential to the matter at hand, we will not discuss these issues here. For details see Jabłońska (2004), Łazarczyk (2010) and Bloch-Trojnar (2013).

⁶ The *Corpus* is entered in the references to the paper as Przepiórkowski et al. (2012).

⁷ In the text we will mark examples as excerpted from the NCP, but they will be given in abbreviated versions to save space.

⁸ For the choice of adverbs characteristic of events see e.g. Geuder (2002: 10).

(5)

<i>Wynik</i>	<i>szybko/powoli</i>	<i>rozczarował</i>	<i>dziewczynę.</i>
result-NOM.S	quickly/slowly	disappoint-3 rd S.PST	girl-ACC.S
'The result quickly/slowly disappointed the girl.'			

In contrast to *roz-* OEVs, stative OEVs cannot co-occur with such modifiers:

(6)

<i>Bezczynność</i>	<i>*szybko/*powoli</i>	<i>gnębiła</i>	<i>dziewczynę.</i>
idleness-NOM.S	quickly/slowly	depress-3 rd S.PST	girl-ACC.S
'Idleness depressed the girl.'			

As eventive predicates, *roz-* OEVs could, in principle, form verbal and adjectival passives, assuming that Polish belongs to Landau's (2010) A languages (see fn. 2). In the following section we will discuss the appearance of both types of passives, preceded by a presentation of their morphological make-up.

3. Morphological make-up of Pass Ptcps in Polish: Problems with distinguishing adjectival and verbal Pass Ptcps

Polish does not distinguish verbal and adjectival Pass Ptcps by morphological means, while such distinctions are made in some other languages (see Embick 2004; Landau 2010; Alexiadou et al. 2017 for English and German). The morphemes used to form Pass Ptcps include suffixal: *-t* (e.g. *zamknię-t-y* 'closed'), *-l* (e.g. *zbiela-t-y* 'whitened'), *-n* (e.g. *rozerwa-n-y* 'torn') and *-on* (e.g. *zmęcz-on-y* 'tired').⁹ Only the *-l* group can be identified as realising adjectival passives exclusively, due to the fact that *-l* attaches to unaccusatives alone (see Cetnarowska 2000, 2012), and unaccusatives are believed to be universally banned from forming verbal passives (see Bruening 2014; Alexiadou et al. 2015).

Roz- Pass Ptcps take *-n* and *-on* suffixal elements, never the *-l* suffix, exclusive to unaccusative adjectival Pass Ptcps, so, in principle, *roz-* participles can be verbal and/or adjectival in nature.

The differentiation between adjectival and verbal uses of participles in Polish cannot be easily tested since some of the tests well known from the literature devoted to the English participial system are not applicable to Polish. The progressive aspect test (see Grimshaw 1990:114; Grafmiller 2013: 88), which may constitute the grounds for establishing which participles are verbal in English, does not work for Polish as Polish does not differentiate grammatically

⁹ Zdziebko (2017) offers a very thorough account of passive participles in Polish regarding their morpho-phonology and morpho-syntax, including the distribution of particular morphemes and allomorphs with various verbal classes.

between progressive and non-progressive aspect. Similarly, the *un-* prefixation, which is believed to select adjectival passives in English (Levin and Rappaport 1986; Siegel 1973; cf. Bruening 2014), cannot be applied to Polish material with any certainty. For instance *-l* passives, although exclusively adjectival, form negated (prefixed with *nie-*) antonyms in a haphazard manner: *?niezgrubiały – zgrubiały* ‘thickened’, *?niewybujały – wybujały* ‘overgrown’, *?niezsiadły – zsiadły* ‘set’ vs. *niewytrwały* ‘irresolute’, *niedojrzały* ‘immature’, *nieosiadły* ‘migrant’. At the same time, some typically agentive verbs, which, in principle, could be expected to form verbal passive participles exclusively, appear with the negative prefix (e.g. *poskromić* ‘tame’ – *poskromiony* ‘tamed’ – *nieposkromiony* ‘wild’). Additionally, lexically simpler antonyms are selected in many cases over morphologically complex negated lexemes¹⁰ or clausal negation is selected. Thus it seems that the acceptability of the negatively prefixed Pass Ptcps in Polish is rather a lexical issue than a grammatical regularity from which we could derive the verbal-adjectival distinction. All in all, we conclude that negative prefixes are useless as a diagnostic of verbal or adjectival character of Pass Ptcps in Polish.

4. Diagnostic contexts for verbal and adjectival Pass Ptcps

Although morphology is not a good guide to the verbal or adjectival nature of (the majority of) Pass Ptcps in Polish, particular syntactic structures in which they appear supply such clues. Similarly to German and other Germanic languages (e.g. Gehrke 2011, 2015, Kratzer 1994, 2000; Rapp 1996; Maienborn 2007, Alexiadou et al. 2015), which have constructions with different auxiliary elements that distinguish verbal and adjectival passives, Polish is claimed to have also such constructions, although the distribution facts are a bit more complex than in Germanic languages.

Probably because of the lack of distinctive morphological marking, some sources from outside the structure-oriented approaches to morpho-syntax treat all Polish Pass Ptcps in a uniform way, as adjectives (see Saloni and Świdziński 2007: 102-103, Nagórko 1996: 105). This view is additionally prompted by the uniform behaviour of passives with respect to inflectional processes since Pass Ptcps show uniformly adjectival inflection (case, number and gender). Nevertheless, the distinction into verbal and adjectival (resultative-stative) uses in Polish has been noted for instance by Laskowski (1984: 138, 142) and this distinction is taken up by sources within the Distributed Morphology and construction-related approaches, such as Zdziebko (2017) and Bondaruk and Rozwadowska (2018).

¹⁰ For instance, instead of *?niezголоdny* ‘not hungry’ – *syty* ‘full’ is used; instead of *?nieociemniały* ‘not blind’ – *widzący* ‘sighted’; instead of *?niepoległy* ‘not dead’ – *żywy* ‘alive’, etc.

According to the latter sources, distinct verbal and adjectival properties of Pass Ptcps result in separate types of syntactic environments in which the two groups can appear. Verbal passives are marked by the presence of auxiliary *być* ‘to be’ and the imperfective passive participle (Imp Pass Ptcp), or by auxiliary *zostać* ‘to become’ and the perfectly marked passive participle (Prf Pass Ptcp), while the adjectival passives appear with the auxiliary *być* ‘to be’ plus Prf Pass Ptcp, as illustrated by the examples below:

(7)

<i>Galqż</i>	<i>była</i>	<i>lamana.</i> (verbal use)
branch-NOM.S	be-3 rd S.PST	broken-NOM.S.IMP
‘The branch was being broken.’		

(8)

<i>Galqż</i>	<i>została</i>	<i>zlamana.</i> (verbal use)
branch-NOM.S	become-3 rd S.PST	broken-NOM.S.PRF
‘The branch got broken.’		

(9)

<i>Galqż</i>	<i>była</i>	<i>zlamana.</i> (adjectival use)
branch-NOM.S	be-3 rd S.PST	broken-NOM.S.PRF
‘The branch was broken.’		

The verbal/adjectival distinction might be suggested by the more eventive (7, 8) and more resultative-stative (9) meanings of the respective sentences, but as semantic judgments alone can be questionable, some additional evidence in favour of this distinction should be quoted. The verbal context in (8) can be verified as a diagnostic for verbal Pass Ptcps since it disallows the occurrence of Pass Ptcps formed from unaccusatives (which are universally adjectival). Examples in (10) below illustrate this regularity:

(10)

* <i>Galqż</i>	<i>została</i>	<i>zzieleniała.</i>
branch-NOM.S	become-3 rd S.PST	get.green-NOM.S.PRF
‘The branch became green.’		

Consequently, we will treat the grammaticality of a perfective Pass Ptcp with *zostać* as symptomatic of its verbal nature. By extension, the Pass Ptcps which cannot appear in this structure may be adjectival. The data in (11) below show that Prf Pass Ptcps of *roz-* verbs are ungrammatical in this context, which may suggests that they have an adjectival projection in their morpho-syntax:

(11)

<i>Skrzydłata</i>	<i>była/</i>	<i>*została</i>	<i>rozczulona.</i> ¹¹
Skrzydłata-NOM.S	be-3 rd S.PST/	*become-3 rd S.PST	feel.tender-PASS.PTCP.NOM.PRF
'Skrzydłata felt affectionate.'			

The same reasoning cannot be extended to *być* + Imp Pass Ptcp construction (7 above). The insertion of imperfective *-l* participles into this structure should give ungrammatical results. This, however, is impossible since Pass Ptcps related to the unaccusative verbs are always resultative in Polish and they are marked with the perfectivizing morphology. Consequently, they do not have imperfective forms to be tested. Other participles can be, in theory, verbal or adjectival, so we have no independent means to verify the usability of the *być* + Imp Pass Ptcp construction as a testing ground for the verbal characteristics of Imp Pass Ptcps. Accordingly, other factors must be considered to confirm the verbal nature of imperfective participles. Below we will propose to employ chosen modifiers as markers of verbal uses.

A distinction between verbal and adjectival participles can be drawn when *stale* 'permanently, repeatedly' is used in their clauses. Structures with *być* + perfective/imperfective participle differ in the participial elements exclusively (see 7, 9 above), but *stale* 'repeatedly, permanently' is interpreted differently in both constructions. In the *być*+ Imp Pass Ptcp construction, *stale* has the iterative (evetive modifier) meaning (12), while with Prf Pass Ptcp, *stale* points to the permanence of a state, so it is a state modifier (13):

(12)

<i>Galqż</i>	<i>była</i>	<i>stale</i>	<i>lamana.</i> (repeatedly)
branch-NOM.S	be-3 rd S.PST	repeatedly	broken-NOM.S.IMP
'The branch was repeatedly broken.'			

(13)

<i>Galqż</i>	<i>była</i>	<i>stale</i>	<i>zlamana.</i> (permanently).
branch-NOM.S	be-3 rd S.PST	permanently	broken-NOM.S.PRF
'The branch was broken for good.'			

Thus the structures in (12, 13) can be used as diagnostics for the verbal (12) and adjectival (13) nature of passive participles when two distinct meanings of *stale* are considered.¹²

¹¹ The grammatical example comes from the *NCP*.

¹² Some other tests, involving co-ordination and disjoint reference effects (see fn. 14), can be found in Bondaruk and Rozwadowska (2018). We, however, do not treat the results of co-ordination tests as very reliable, as co-ordination of clearly adjectival passive participles (from unaccusative verbs) and active (verbal) participles seems to be absolutely grammatical in Polish. See e.g.:

Polish Imp Ptcps, apart from the fact that they can appear with *stale* in the meaning of ‘repeatedly’, co-occur freely with voice modifiers, such as agent-oriented adverbs, instruments, *by* phrases (*przez* phrases in Polish), spatiotemporal modifiers and they can introduce purpose clauses, i.e. they answer positively to the majority of tests applicable to verbal participles in other languages (see Bruening 2014, Alexiadou et al. 2015). We will illustrate these properties on the basis of Imp Ptcps of *roz-* verbs to introduce the material useful in our following analyses. Wherever possible, we will use examples excerpted from the *NCP*.

(14) (agent-oriented adverb modification) (NCP)

Oczywiście, że spory były celowo
 obviously that arguments-NOM be-3rdP.PST deliberately
rozbudzane przez wspólnych wrogów.
 incite-NOM.PASS.PTCP.IMP by common-ACC enemy-ACC.P
 ‘Obviously, arguments were deliberately incited by the common enemy.’

(15) (agentive *przez* ‘by’ phrase) (NCP)

Długo rozmawiali o dziewczynce rozpieszczanej przez
 long talk-3rdP.PST about girl-LOC.S spoil-LOC.PASS.PTCP.IMP by
wszystkich.
 everyone-ACC
 ‘They talked long about the girl spoiled by everyone.’

Nawet żyjąc w biedzie, były rozpuszczane
 even living in poverty-LOC.S be-3rdP.PST spoil-NOM.PASS.PTCP.IMP
przez starszych w rodzinie.
 by elder-ACC.P in family-LOC
 ‘Even living in poverty, they were spoiled by family elders.’

(16) (instrumental phrase) (NCP)

Kierowcy nie rozpraszeni rozmową.
 driver-NOM.P not distract-NOM.PASS.PTCP.IMP talk-INS.S
 ‘Drivers not distracted by talking.’

(17) (purpose clause)

Był rozmieszany aby poprawić mu
 be-3rdS.PST amuse-NOM.PASS.PTCP.IMP in.order.to improve-INF he-DAT
nastrój.
 mood-ACC.S

Dzieci były wychudłe i siakające nosem.
 children-NOM.P be-3rdP.PST malnourished-PTCP.PAS. and sniffle-PTCP.ACT nose-INST.S
 ‘Children were malnourished and sniffing.’

As active participles have probably a fair amount of verbal structure and they can be co-ordinated with adjectival passive participles, the co-ordination test becomes suspicious as a reliable means to distinguish lexical items with some adjectival and some verbal properties.

‘He was being amused in order to improve his mood.’

(18) (temporal modification) (NCP)

<i>Od</i>	<i>samego</i>	<i>początku</i>	<i>byłem</i>	<i>rozpaskudzany.</i>
From	very	beginning-GEN.S	be-1 st S	spoilt-NOM.PASS.PTCP.IMP
‘I was being spoilt from the very beginning.’				

The environments illustrated above suggest clearly that Polish Imp Ptcps show verbal characteristics.

Distinct syntactic environments in which Pass Ptcps can appear in Polish demonstrate that they do not constitute a uniform group and that in fact they manifest verbal (imperfective participles) and adjectival (perfective participles) characteristics in different morpho-syntactic surroundings.

In the next section we will discuss some additional tests that help to delimit the class of Pass Ptcps with verbal behaviour and we will test *roz-* passive participles in this light.

5. Testing imperfective and perfective *roz-* Pass Ptcps

Not all the tests proposed for English verbal passive participles are applicable to Polish in general¹³ and to *roz-* formations in particular. The categorial status of Pass Ptcps cannot be read off their inflectional properties because all Pass Ptcps are inflected in the same way in Polish. Similarly, the results of the disjoint reference test¹⁴ are conclusive for naturally reflexive verbs only: *Roz-* verbs do not belong to this category of predicates.

By the same token, the principle that only adjectival participles can be formed from unaccusative verbs has no bearing on the material at hand since *roz-*verbs are not unaccusatives according to the criteria proposed for unaccusativity in Polish (see Cetnarowska 2002, cf. Landau 2010).

One test, however, modeled on the discussion in Bruening (2014), may be of import for differentiating both types of Pass Ptcps. As discussed by Bruening for English, only adjectival participles take part in further word formation processes

¹³ Some tests proposed e.g. by Bruening (2014) are inapplicable not for language specific, but for theory specific reasons, as they are directed at the lexical vs. syntactic nature of passive participles, and in the approach we subscribe to no such distinction finds theoretical bases at all.

¹⁴ Verbal passives show disjoint reference of the arguments involved in the predication, while adjectival passives allow the reflexive interpretation as well (see Bruening 2014; Alexiadou et al. 2015). Disjoint reference tests used as diagnostics of verbal nature of passive participles are criticised in the literature of the subject (see extensive criticism of the test in English in Bruening 2014: 381-383, see also McIntyre 2012) as it seems that the results of the tests depend mostly on the self-reflexive and non-self-reflexive properties of the predicates involved, and not on the verbal or adjectival nature of passive participles whose disjoint reference is supposedly tested.

(in particular *un-* prefixation). This test in Bruening's (2014) system is to show that adjectival participles accept additional word-formational morphology, unlike verbal participles. As we have mentioned earlier, negative prefixation in Polish is not a good testing material. Below we propose to show different morphology of imperfective and perfective participles, although the results will be opposite to those obtained for English, i.e. verbal participles seem to take additional morphemes, but not the adjectival ones.¹⁵

Polish imperfective (verbal) and perfective (adjectival) *roz-* participles differ as to their availability for further prefixations. They show distinct behaviour concerning the attachment of the few Polish prefixes that allow stacking.¹⁶ Prefixation seems to work with imperfective passives, but not with perfectives.

The stacking prefix that we will use here as an example is *po-* (see Szymanek 2010: 155).¹⁷ According to Szymanek, the prefix codes 'a repetitive action affecting several objects of a certain kind/group'. *Po-* appears with Imp Pass Ptcps (19), but it never appears with adjectives (20), nor with Prf Pass Ptcp (21). The explanation, important for our reasoning, may lie in the fact that *po-* has to access directly the event present in the semantic representation of participles, but it cannot access events merged deeper, below adjectival projection in Pass Ptcps (see 41 below). Consequently, although *po-* attachment demonstrates that imperfectives may enter further morphological operations (19), at the same time it does not speak in favor of their adjectival properties; quite to the contrary – it demonstrates that imperfectives code easily accessible events and in one area of their morphology they are unlike adjectives (21). None of these conclusions applies to Prf Pass Ptcps (22).¹⁸

(19)

<i>Dziewczyny</i>	<i>były</i>	<i>porozanielane/porozśmieszane/porozleniwiane</i> . ¹⁹
girl-NOM.P	be-3 rd P.PST	all-soft.NOM. PASS.PTCP.IMP /like-laughing-NOM.
PASS.PTCP.IMP /lazy-NOM.PASS.PTCP.IMP		
'Girls felt all-soft/ like laughing/lazy.'		

¹⁵ This result argues against Bruening's (2014) assumption that adjectival participles are lexical and thus they can take part in further morphological operations, unlike verbal participles, which are syntactic in nature.

¹⁶ The prefixes that stack outside other prefixes are superlexical prefixes. For details see e.g. Romanova (2004); Svenonius (2004); Łazarczyk (2010).

¹⁷ In a recent paper Zdziebko (2017) analyses *po-* as an aspectual prefix realising the higher of two aspectual layers in Polish passive structures.

¹⁸ Another explanation of this behavior may be offered as well. *Po-* may require the imperfective form of the stem because it is distributive, i.e. it has to code a repeated event and in Polish it is a function of imperfective aspect to code iterative and habitual events (see Willim 2006: 200; Bloch-Trojnar 2013: 226).

¹⁹ *Roz-* Imp Pass Ptcps prefixed with *po-* are not attested in the *NCP* but they are possible derivatives. Their absence in the corpus may be due to their highly specialised meaning and complex morphology.

vs.

(20)

<i>Potrawy</i>	<i>były</i>	<i>zimne/</i>	<i>*pozimne.</i>
dish-NOM	be-3 rd P.PST	cold-NOM/	*po+cold
'Dishes were cold.'			

(21)

<i>Dziewczyny</i>	<i>były</i>	<i>*porozanielone.</i>
girl-NOM.P	be-3 rd P.PST	all-soft PASS.PTCP.PRF

In sections 4 and 5 we have argued that *roz-* Imp Pass Ptcps are verbal. In the next section we will concentrate on the adjectival nature of Prf Pass Ptcps with *roz-* and in the following sections we will discuss subclasses of these participles (target or resultant, simple state or resultative).

6. Properties of *roz-* Prf Pass Ptcps

Roz- Prf Pass Ptcps corresponding to OEVs can be confirmed to be adjectival when we place them in the diagnostic construction presented in (11) above: They are grammatical in *być*+ Prf Pass Ptcp construction and *stale* selects the meaning 'permanently' (see 22). In examples from the *NCP* *roz-* Prf Pass Ptcps appear with state modifiers, such as e.g. *wyraźnie* 'clearly' in (23):

(22)

<i>Skrzydłata</i>	<i>była</i>	<i>stale</i>	<i>rozczulona.</i>
Skrzydłata-NOM	be-3 rd S.PST	permanently	feel.tender-NOM. PASS.PTCP.PRF
'Skrzydłata felt affectionate.'			

(23)

<i>Mizera</i>	<i>był</i>	<i>wyraźnie</i>	<i>rozczarowany.</i> (NCP)
Mizera-NOM	be-3 rd S.PST	clearly	disappointed-NOM.PASS.PTCP.PRF
'Mizera was clearly disappointed.'			

At the same time, *roz-* Prf Pass Ptcps are ungrammatical in the *zostać*+ Pass Ptcps construction (see 11 above), which suggests that they do not belong to the class of verbal passive participles. It has to be stressed that no data in the *NCP* testify to the grammaticality of such constructions with *roz-* Prf Pass Ptcp. Consequently, we have to draw the conclusion that passive participles corresponding to *roz-* OEVs in Polish belong to the class of adjectival participles. The next step in the direction of establishing their morpho-syntactic structure is to

decide what subclass of adjectival passives they represent as adjectival Pass Ptcps do not constitute a uniform group (see Kratzer 1994, Embick 2004).

7. Target or resultant state participles

Kratzer (2000) has identified an important distinction between target state and resultant state participles, which differ in semantic properties and morpho-syntactic requirements. As far as their state semantics is concerned, target states are potentially reversible and transient, while resultant states are treated by grammar as permanent. The difference becomes visible when certain types of state modifiers are introduced into a clause: permanent states (resultant states) do not tolerate *immer noch* ‘still’ modification while target states do.²⁰

The Polish equivalent of this test seems to work best with the modifier *jeszcze*²¹ and results in the classification of *roz-* Pass Ptcps as target states:

²⁰ The distinction was originally drawn on the basis of German data, hence the German name of the modifier – see also Alexiadou et al. (2015).

²¹ Bondaruk and Rozwadowska (2018: 445) propose the use of *wciąż* ‘still, again and again’ as a Polish equivalent of German *immer noch* with target state passives. However, *wciąż* sounds fine with many resultant state participles, including their own example:

<i>Ten</i>	<i>dokument</i>	<i>jest</i>	<i>wciąż</i>	<i>zniszczony</i> .
this-NOM	document-NOM	is	(*still)	destroyed-PRF

‘This document is still destroyed.’

We believe that it happens because of the second meaning of *wciąż*, i.e. ‘again and again’, which coerces resultant state participles into the iterative reading. Note that *wciąż* may appear with iterated activities very easily:

<i>Ona</i>	<i>wciąż</i>	<i>powtarza</i>	<i>tę</i>	<i>samą</i>	<i>piosenkę</i> .
she-NOM	still	repeat	this-ACC	same-ACC	song-ACC

‘She repeats the same song again and again.’

Jeszcze ‘still’ does not seem to have the same intension, as shown by the sentence:

<i>Ona</i>	<i>jeszcze</i>	<i>powtarza</i>	<i>tę</i>	<i>samą</i>	<i>piosenkę</i> .
she-NOM	still	repeat	this-ACC	same-ACC	song-ACC

which, in spite of the repetition signaled by the lexical verb reads as: ‘She is still singing the song.’ Consequently, we prefer *jeszcze* over *wciąż* as the diagnostic modifier for target state participles.

We also abstain from using the *na* phrase test offered in the same source as it does not seem to effectively diagnose just target state participles (cf. Bondaruk and Rozwadowska 2018, fn. 7). The phrase fails to occur with the participles under our scrutiny, whether perfective or imperfective:

<i>Skrzydłata</i>	<i>była</i>	<i>rozczulona/rozczulana</i>	(*na dwa lata).
Skrzydłata-NOM	be-3 rd S.PST	feel.tender-NOM.PASS.PTCP.PRF/IMP	(*on two years)

‘Skrzydłata felt affectionate for two years.’

The failure of this test may have something to do with a very restricted use of *na* phrase in Polish nowadays. Our search through the *NCP* shows that the phrase is currently used almost exclusively in a limited number of collocations: *na chwilę* ‘for a moment’, *na godzinę* ‘for an hour’, *na tydzień* ‘for a week’, and a few others.

(24)

<i>Mizera</i>	<i>był</i>	<i>jeszcze</i>	<i>wyraźnie</i>	<i>rozczarowany.</i>
Mizera-NOM	be-3 rd S.PST	still	clearly	disappointed-PASS.PTCP.NOM

‘Mizera was still clearly disappointed.’

<i>Skrzydłata</i>	<i>była</i>	<i>jeszcze</i>	<i>rozczulona.</i>
Skrzydłata-NOM	be-3 rd S.PST	still	feel.tender- NOM. PASS.PTCP.PRF

‘Skrzydłata still felt affectionate.’

<i>Był</i>	<i>jeszcze</i>	<i>tak</i>	<i>rozkojarzony,</i>	<i>że</i>
be-3 rd S.PST	still	so	distract- NOM.PASS.PTCP.PRF	that

<i>nie mógł</i>	<i>się</i>	<i>skupić.</i>
not could-3 rd S.PST	REFL	concentrate-INF

‘He was still so distracted that he could not concentrate.’

The results of the test show that Prf Pass Ptcps of *roz-* OEVs belong to the class of target states. What should be decided now is whether they are simple states or resultatives (see Embick 2004) in order to establish whether they denote states caused by prior events (resultative states) or whether they are thoroughly adjectival (simple states). If they turn out to be simple states, then looking for their verbal projections could be a futile task. As we will show in the next section, the Pass Ptcps under analysis are resultatives and they display some verbal properties.

8. Simple states or resultative states

Embick (2004) presents arguments in favour of dividing English adjectival passives into two groups, i.e. simple states (which, nevertheless, may be expressed by morphologically complex words) and resultative passives, which, apart from specific states, also code events leading up to these states. The second group is especially interesting from the morpho-syntactic point of view as their complex semantics mirrors complex morpho-syntactic structure. *Roz-* Prf Pass Ptcps have some properties attributed to resultatives in English, but not all of them. Below we will analyse these properties in detail.

The test for the resultative nature of Pass Ptcps which may be applied successfully in Polish involves the formation of resultative secondary predicates and it reveals that resultatives cannot appear in constructions as secondary predicates. Without going into theoretical intricacies of Embick’s (2004: 379) explanation of this state of affairs, his analysis confirms that resultative states have too complex structures to serve as secondary predicates in English. The same seems to hold true for Polish data. Secondary predication with various adjectives as secondary predicates can be found in the *NCP* easily (25), but passive participles are absent:

(25) (NCP)

<i>Jasne</i>	<i>światło</i>	<i>nocą</i>	<i>czyni</i>	<i>ludzi</i>
bright-NOM	light-NOM.S	night-INS.S	make-3 rd S.PRS	people-ACC.P

bezbronnymi.

defenceless-INS.P

‘Bright light at night makes people defenceless.’

<i>Reumatyzm</i>	<i>uczynił</i>	<i>ręce</i>	<i>niezgrabnymi.</i>
rheumatism-NOM.S	make-3 rd S.PST	hand-ACC.P	clumsy-INS.P

‘Rheumatism made hands clumsy.’

<i>Życzliwość</i>	<i>czyni</i>	<i>ludzi</i>	<i>szczęśliwymi.</i>
helpfulness-NOM	make-3 rd S.PRS	people-ACC.P	happy-INS.P

‘Helpfulness makes people happy.’

The results of the application of this test to our material demonstrate that *roz-* perfective passives are not fully grammatical in these structures (see 26),²² which makes them resultative participles, rather than simple states:

(26)

<i>?Jasne</i>	<i>światło</i>	<i>nocą</i>	<i>czyni</i>	<i>ludzi</i>
bright-NOM	light-NOM.S	night-INS.S	make-3 rd S.PRS	people-ACC.P

rozkojarzonymi.

distracted-INS.PASS. PTCP.P

‘Bright light at night makes people distracted.’

<i>?Życzliwość</i>	<i>czyni</i>	<i>ludzi</i>	<i>rozleniwionymi.</i>
helpfulness-NOM.S	make-3 rd S.PRS	people-ACC.P	lazy-INS.PASS.PTCP.P

‘Helpfulness makes people lazy.’

The sentences with passive participles in (26), if not outright ungrammatical, are certainly felt to be very awkward. Thus it seems that *roz-* participles are not mere adjectives/simple states but their structure resembles English resultative participles, containing in their semantics the eventive element, beside the resultant state.

Event implication introduced by *roz-* Prf Pass Ptcps can also be tested (see Alexiadou and Agnostopoulou 2008) with the use of *again* (*znowu* in Polish).

²² In fact, we have found a single example of the passive participle used in the secondary predication of the type represented in the text. However, the relevant expression which appears in this sentence, i.e. *napięta cisza* ‘tense silence’ constitutes an idiom, literally: ‘braced silence’ and we may speculate that as a result of lexicalization the passive participle in the expression has been re-analyzed as an adjective:

<i>Jego autorytet (...)</i>	<i>czynił</i>	<i>ciszę</i>	<i>napięta.</i>
his authority-NOM	make-3 rd S.PST	silence-ACC	tense-INS.PASS.PTCP

‘His authority made the silence tense.’

Sentences so modified have the restitutive meaning with statives, while sentences with event implication show repetitive meaning. Polish sentences containing *roz-* Prf Pass Ptcps are clearly repetitive (27), not restitutive (28), which means that they imply an event culminating in the resultant state:

(27) (repetitive)

<i>Mizera</i>	<i>był</i>	<i>znowu</i>	<i>wyraźnie</i>	<i>rozczarowany.</i>
Mizera-NOM	be-3 rd S.PST	again	clearly	disappointed-NOM. PASS.PTCP.PRF

‘Mizera was again clearly disappointed.’

vs.

(28) (restitutive)

<i>Już</i>	<i>po</i>	<i>chwili</i>	<i>stała</i>	<i>się</i>	<i>znowu</i>
already	after	moment-GEN	become-3rdS.PST	REFL	again
<i>niechętna</i>		<i>i</i>	<i>uparta.</i>		
unwilling-NOM		and	stubborn-NOM		

‘After a moment she became again unwilling and stubborn.’

Another test mentioned by Embick (2004) concerns the possibility of modifying the resultative participles with manner adverbials. Such modification appears in Polish as well, although the inventory of adverbials is limited. The equivalents (*ostrożnie, uważnie*) of the adverb testing for resultatives in English (*carefully*), as used by Embick (2004: 357), are clearly inadmissible in Polish with *roz-* Pass Ptcps:

(29)

<i>*Dziewczyna</i>	<i>była</i>	<i>ostrożnie/uważnie</i>	<i>rozczarowana.</i>
girl-NOM.S	be-3 rd S.PST	carefully	disappointed-PASS.PTCP.PRF

*‘The girl was carefully disappointed.’

However, these adverbs belong to the category of agent-oriented adverbs, and consequently their presence is expected in structures with overt or implicit agents. OEVs are non-agentive in character,²³ hence there are no good grounds to expect that their Pass Ptcps should involve an implicit agent, though the presence of other argument types are not excluded (see Section 9 below).

The manner adverbials which can co-occur with *roz-* Prf Pass Ptcps are of the types that can be expected if the participles have in their semantics the specification of both state and event. For the data under our analysis, the admissible adverbs specify the perception of the state (30) and its intensity (31):

²³ In fact, as we will show in Section 9 that some of them are agentive, and these can appear with agent-oriented adverbs. However, such Experiencer verbs behave in fact like regular canonical transitive verbs (see the discussion in Section 9), so they fall outside the scope of our interest here.

(30)

<i>Chłopak</i>	<i>był</i>	<i>skrycie/jawnie</i>	<i>rozczarowany.</i>
boy-NOM	be-3 rd S.PST	clearly	disappointed-NOM.PASS.PTCP.PRF

‘The boy was still clearly disappointed.’

(31)

<i>Powiedziałem</i>	<i>trochę</i>	<i>rozczulony.</i> (NCP)
say-1 st S.PST	a bit	feel.tender- NOM.PASS.PTCP.PRF

‘I said feeling a bit tender.’

<i>Byłem</i>	<i>strasznie</i>	<i>rozczarowany.</i> (NCP)
be-1 st S.PST	awfully	disappointed- NOM.PASS.PTCP.PRF

‘I was awfully disappointed.’

<i>Była</i>	<i>bardzo</i>	<i>rozczarowana.</i> (NCP)
be-3 rd S.PST	very	disappointed- NOM.PASS.PTCP.PRF

‘She was very disappointed.’

<i>Szmaciak</i>	<i>na pół</i>	<i>rozbudzony</i>	<i>przykłada</i>
Szmaciak-NOM	by half	aware-NOM.PASS.PTCP.PRF	put-3 rd S.PRES

<i>sluchawkę</i>	<i>do ucha.</i> (NCP)
receiver-INS	to ear-GEN

‘Szmaciak, partly awake, is holding the receiver to his ear.’

The appearance of such adverbs does not testify to the eventive nature of Prf Pass Ptcp. The manner adverbs that can accompany these participles are state modifiers (30) and these in (31), belonging to the second group, can easily modify simple states as well (*bardzo zielony* ‘very green’, *bardzo dobry* ‘very good’, etc.).

However, the presence of event modifiers reveals the necessity of the eventive projection in structures with Prf Pass Ptcps. Event modifiers are not very frequent in the data from the *NCP*, nevertheless their presence is attested and the sentences in (32) sound perfectly grammatical.

(32) (NCP)

<i>Ku</i>	<i>niemu</i>	<i>kierowała</i>	<i>spojrzenie -</i>	<i>najczęściej</i>	<i>pospieszne</i>
at	him-DAT	direct-3 rd S.PST	gaze-ACC.S	most.frequently	quick-ACC

<i>i</i>	<i>nieważne,</i>	<i>czasem</i>	<i>rozszluczone.</i>
and	dispracted-ACC	sometimes	infuriated-ACC. PASS.PTCP.PRF.

‘She directed her gaze at him – most frequently quick and distracted, sometimes infuriated.’

<i>Prawie</i>	<i>własczyła</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>na wzniesienie,</i>	<i>naprawdę już</i>
almost	drag-3 rd S.PST	him-ACC	on hillock-ACC	seriously already

rozsierdzona.
furious-PASS.PTCP.NOM

‘She dragged him onto a hillock, already seriously furious.’

Smok *uniósł* *głowę,* *nagle* *rozbudzony*
 dragon-NOM raise-3rdS.PST head suddenly aware-PASS.PTCP.NOM
i *zirytowany.*
 and irritated-PASS.PTCP.NOM
 ‘The dragon raised its head, suddenly fully aware and irritated.’

Notice, however, that these modifiers refer to the type of event, and not to event tokens (see Gehrke 2011), and they do not situate the event implied by the participle in spatiotemporal circumstances. Spatiotemporal modification of the event evoking emotions is not acceptable with *roz-* Pass Ptcps, which becomes visible if we try to situate the event implied in the participle in a different time frame than the time frame of the sentence itself:

(33)

**Janek* *jest* *wczoraj* *rozczarowany.*²⁴
 Janek-NOM be-3rdS.PRS yesterday disappoint-PASS.PTCP.PRF
 ‘Janek is disappointed yesterday.’

The same holds for locative modification, which is inadmissible either:

(34)

**Janek* *był* *rozczarowany* *w swoim mieszkaniu.*
 Janek-NOM be-3rdS.PST disappoint-PASS.PTCP.PRF in his-LOC apartment-LOC
 ‘Janek is disappointed in his apartment.’

The modification with event-related modifiers and with adverbial modifiers as such bears witness to the verbal side of *roz-* Pass Ptcps. Although adverbial modifiers can occasionally occur with other categories than verbs, e.g. with various types of derived de-verbal nominals (for a thorough discussion see Bloch-Trojnar 2013), in the majority of such cases we may suspect that the modified word also possesses in its structure a verbal projection. Event modifiers do not sound well as simple state modifications: **już/*nagle/*czasem zielony kolor* ‘already/suddenly/occasionally green colour’.

Some other tests concerning different morphological build-up of simple states and resultative participles proposed by Embick (2004) cannot be applied to Polish data. As we have discussed previously, the negative prefixation test is not reliable in Polish. The construction of other tests showing morphological

²⁴ Compare with:

Siano *jest* *wczoraj* *suszone.*
 Hay be-3rdS.PRS yesterday dry-IMP.PASS.PTCP

which translates literally as: ‘Hay is dried yesterday.’ This structure contains a verbal participle and consequently it is fully grammatical since Imp Pass Ptcps can code event tokens, and not necessarily event kinds. See the discussion in Section 9.

differences in the behaviour of simple states and resultative passives with respect to prefixation is problematic because prefixed forms containing verbal stems do not stack prefixes easily in Polish. In other words, because *roz-* Prf Pass Ptcps already contain one prefix in their structure, we would not expect them to take any other prefixes appearing with simple state adjectives anyway (see e.g. *bez+senny* ‘sleepless’, *bez+duszny* ‘soulless’, *bez+cenny* ‘priceless’, but not **bez+rozczarowany* ‘disappointed’).

9. Types of modifiers appearing with *roz-* Prf Pass Ptcps vis á vis voice phenomena

The fact that not all adverbial modifiers can appear with *roz-* Prf Pass Ptcps has been pre-viewed in Section 8, but in this section we will discuss the modification data in detail. This analysis will allow us to show that, apart from being target resultative passives, *roz-* perfective passives code event kinds rather than event tokens (see Gehrke 2011). We will also establish what additional information can be gleaned from the types of modifiers present in Polish: The inadmissibility of agent-oriented modifiers with *roz-* passives will suggest that the type of voice head present in the morpho-syntactic structure of *roz-* Pass Ptcps is not identical with the voice head(s) appearing with canonical transitive verbs and their passives (Transitive Voice Head or Passive Voice Head - see Bruening 2014, Alexiadou et al. 2015). In particular, we will investigate the semantic and voice properties of *roz-* resultative participles²⁵ and compare the results with Alexiadou’s et al. (2015) discussion of modifiers appearing with adjectival participles in German, Greek, English and Hebrew and their classification of types of modification characteristic of particular voice heads (see also McIntyre 2013, Bruening 2014). Our analysis will contribute the Polish angle to the research of voice phenomena.

It has been shown that adjectival participles in various languages manifest the presence of the voice projection (for various approaches to the problem see Kratzer 1994, 1996, 2000, von Stechow 2002, Anagnostopoulou 2003). While the active/passive voice heads make room for external arguments, agents including, as manifested by the appearance of agent-oriented modifiers, *by* phrases, both agentive and instrumental, or co-occurrence with purpose clauses, as exemplified on the basis of Greek *–menos* adjectival participles and verbal participles in German or English, the limited possibilities of such modification with other adjectival participles seem to suggest that the voice projection present in their structure must be of a different kind. Limitations on voice related modifications have been described by e.g. Rapp (1996), Meltzer-Asscher (2011), McIntyre (2013) for German, Hebrew and English. The

²⁵ Simple states are not headed by voice at all – see Alexiadou et al. (2015 : 153).

admissible kinds of modifiers appearing with adjectival passives in these languages modify only the visible resultant states described by the participle (see Rapp 1996 for German), or the modifiers name a referent responsible for the continuation of the state (see Rapp 1996, Meltzer-Asscher 2011, McIntyre 2013) by means of *by* phrases and instrument phrases.

It seems that Polish adjectival Pass Ptcps can be modified according to this later pattern. The modifiers that we have presented in (30) above obviously concern the resultant state, more precisely – its vividness. The modifiers in (31), on the other hand, specify the properties of events leading up-to the resultant states, so, less directly, they also bear on the resultant states and code the sub-categories of events, spelling out their mode of occurrence. Spatiotemporal modification is excluded, and this is the type of modification that would suggest the coding of event tokens and not of event types.

What remains to be investigated are the *by* phrases and instruments which can occur with *roz-* Pass Ptcps. If they spell out external arguments, then *roz-* Prf Pass Ptcps may have passive voice heads in their morpho-syntactic structures. If, however, *by* phrases and instruments spell out the participants whose existence is essential to the continuation of a state coded by the participle, then a different voice head should be sought. The *NCP* supplies us with numerous examples of instruments involved in the state coded by passive participles. It seems that sortal properties²⁶ of such instrumental modifiers are crucial if they are to occur with *roz-* adjectival Pass Ptcps. These sortal properties directly contribute to the states identified by the participles (see Alexiadou et al. 2015). The *NCP* examples in (35) below illustrate this interesting property of predications with sortal instrumental phrases: for example *zuchwałstwo* ‘nerve’ is by its very nature enflaming (35a), as is *fochy* ‘grumpiness’ (35b); *litość* ‘compassion’ (35c), *dobroć* ‘goodness’ (35d) or *dziecięce zauroczenie* ‘child-like infatuation’ (35d) evoke the feeling of tenderness; *ciepło* ‘warmth’ may make one feel dreamy (35f), and *drzemka* ‘slumber’ – lazy (35g):

(35) (NCP)

- a. *Tymczasem zezowaty, rozzłoszczony zuchwałstwem*
 but cross-eyed-NOM infuriated- PASS.PTCP.PRF.NOM nerve-INS
smarkacza, wstaje.
 brat-GEN rise-3rdS.PRS
 ‘But cross-eyed and infuriated by the brat’s nerve, he is getting up.’

²⁶ Sortal concepts, according to Trautwein (1970: 73) ‘are not mental one-to-one mappings of the world. Rather they transport identifying conditions [...]. [W]e need only a few conditions in order to identify a structure within a continuum, and these conditions are provided by sortal concepts. Sorts, however, are not able to identify individuals by themselves since the information they transport is too unspecific. But they reduce the set of possible referents drastically [...]’

- b. *Klaczka, którą rozłoszczony jej*
 filly-NOM which-ACC infuriated-PASS.PTCP.PRF.NOM her-GEN
fochami Geralt obiecywał wymienić.
 grumpiness-INS.P Geralt-NOM promise-3rdS.PST exchange-INF
 ‘The filly, which Geralt, infuriated by her grumpiness, promised to exchange.’
- c. *On – rozczulony litością, zły*
 he-NOM feeling.tender-PASS.PTCP.PRF.NOM compassion-INS angry-NOM
na siebie, pragnący spokoju.
 with himself-ACC desiring-NOM peace-GEN
 ‘He – feeling tender with compassion, angry with himself, desiring peace.’
- d. *Tak był rozkliwiony dobrocią*
 so be-3rdS.PST feeling.tender- PASS.PTCP.PRF.NOM goodness-INS
Naczelnika, że łzy błyskały mu w oczach.
 Commander-GEN that tear-NOM.P shine-3rdP.PST him in eye-LOC.P
 ‘The was feeling so tender because of the Commander’s goodness that tiers shone in his eyes.’
- e. *Trochę rozczulony jej dziecięcym*
 a.bit feeling.tender-PASS.PTCP.PRF.NOM her-GEN child-like-INS
zauroczeniem.
 infatuation-INS
 ‘Feeling a bit tender because of her child-like infatuation.’
- f. *Rozmarzony ciepłem pieca,*
 dreamy-PASS.PTCP.PRF.NOM warmth-INS oven-GEN
opierał się o ramię towarzysza.
 lean.on-3rdS.PST REFL on arm-ACC companion-GEN
 ‘Dreamy with the warmth of an oven, he leaned on his companion’s arm.’
- g. *Kot rozleniwiony drzemką w ciepłym kącie.*
 cat-NOM lazy-PASS.PTCP.PRF.NOM slumber-INS in warm-LOC corner-LOC
 ‘The cat, lazy from the slumber in a warm corner.’

All these modifiers describe properties important for the state to occur or persist, and not specific instruments. Consequently, they are kind modifiers (see Gehrke 2011).

Apart from such instrument phrases, marked grammatically with the instrumental case, as in the examples above, there are also *by* phrases, in Polish introduced by the preposition *przez* and containing an NP in the accusative case, which clearly reveal sortal properties important for the persistence of the resultant state:

(36) (NCP)

Umysły rozpogodzone przez filozofię.
 mind-NOM.P unwound-PASS.PTCP.PRF.NOM.P by philosophy-ACC
 ‘Minds unwound by philosophy.’

Mamy rozjątrzone przez historię uczucie
have-1st.P fester-PASS.PTCP.PRF.NOM by history-ACC feeling-ACC
narodowe.
national-ACC
‘We have national feelings festered by history.’

Jestem rozkojarzony przez to wszystko.
be-1stS.PRS distracted-PASS.PTCP.PRF.NOM by this-ACC all-ACC
‘Sorry - said he – I am distracted by all this.’

Occasionally, there are personal *by* phrases, resembling agents, modifying adjectival passive participles with *roz-*, but the alleged agents named in them in fact stand for sortal properties, and do not represent individuals as such, i.e. their sortal properties are involved with the state specified by the participle:

(37)

Nieustanna czujność, rozbudzona
unrelenting-NOM watchfullness-NOM awoken-PASS.PTCP.PRF.NOM
przez spowiednika.
by confessor-ACC
‘Unrelenting watchfullness awoken by the confessor.’

Są spalone i rozbastwione
be-3rdP.PRS fattened-NOM.P and spoilt-PASS.PTCP.PRF.NOM
przez ludzi.
by people-ACC
‘They are exceptionally fat and spoilt by people.’

Przeciwstawiają się zdaniu roznamiętionej
oppose-3rd.PPRS REFL opinion-DAT feeling.sexy-PASS.PTCP.PRF.GEN
przez demagogów większości.
by populist-ACC.P majority-GEN
‘They oppose the opinion of the majority made hysterical by populists.’

Such apparent agents which appear with adjectival Pass Ptcps of the relevant type stand for specific qualities, and not for individuals (e.g. populists strive to incite intense emotions, humans spoil their pets, etc.).

Occasionally, agentive names of individuals can be found in *by* phrases as well:

(38) (NCP)

- a. *Rozweseleni przez Stefana muzykanci*
joyful-PAS.PTCP.PRF.NOM by Stephen-ACC musician-NOM.P
śmiali się z nich.
laugh-3rdP.PST REFL from them-GEN
‘The musicians made joyful by Stephen laughed at them.’

- b. *Emocje* *rozbudzone* *przez* *Closterkeller*
emotion-ACC.P awoken -PAS.PTCP.PRF.NOM by Closterkeller-ACC
ostudził *koncert* *FlyKiller*.
cool.down-3rdS.PST concert-NOM FlyKiller
‘FlyKiller’s concert cooled down the emotions awoken by Closterkeller.’
- c. *Jest* *wierny* *zainteresowaniom* *rozbudzonym*
be-3rdS.PRS faithful-NOM interest-DAT.P awoken-PAS.PTCP.PRF.DAT
przez profesora *Erazma* *Majewskiego*.
by professor-ACC Erazm-ACC Majewski-ACC
‘He is faithful to interests awoken by professor Erazm Majewski.’
- d. *Zachowywał się jak starszy pan,*
behave-3rdS.PST REFL as older-NOM gentleman-NOM
rozpieszczony *przez Janeczkę*.
spoil-PAS.PTCP.PRF.NOM by Janeczka-ACC
‘He behaved as an older gentleman spoiled by Janeczka.’

Only a limited inventory of *roz-* passives is modified in this way. We will claim that the passives present in the above examples are in fact verbal passives of agentive uses of Experiencer Verbs (Grimshaw 1990), and as such they share properties with other transitive agentive verbs. They appear with agent-oriented adverbs: *celowo rozpieszczony* ‘spoilt on purpose’, are grammatical in *zostać*+ Prf Pass Ptcp structure: *został rozpieszczony* ‘became spoilt’, appear with purpose clauses: *Został rozpieszczony, aby móc go łatwo kontrolować* ‘He became spoilt in order that somebody could control him easily.’; They also shows disjoint reference effect: *był rozpieszczony* (by someone else, not by himself), etc. Moreover, this solution is supported by the fact that the arguments in examples (38 b, c) are not real experiencers, but non-sentient themes and the phrases used are established metaphorical collocations in Polish: *rozbudzić zainteresowania* ‘awaken one’s interest’, and *rozbudzić emocje* ‘stir emotions’. As such they may behave differently from what is expected in productive patterns.

Locative and temporal modifies do not occur in clauses of the relevant type (see 33, 34 above). Consequently, as suggested by Gehrke (2011: 246) for German, we are not dealing here with particular events and particular states, but rather with event kinds and state kinds.

The analysis of events and states as representing kinds in structures with *roz-* Prf Pass Ptcps is additionally strengthened by the results of another test proposed by Landman and Mokrzycki (2003) for German. They argue that (adverbial) *so* ‘so’ functions as an anaphor of event kinds, and not of particular events. Consequently, *so* (in Polish – *tak*) can be used as an anaphor of event kinds. This observation seems to be relevant for a variety of structures in Polish (see Malicka-Kleparska 2018, 2019), including the predications with *roz-* Prf Pass Ptcps:

(39)

<i>Bylem</i>	<i>tak</i>	<i>rozczarowany</i>		<i>(jak</i>	<i>Maria).</i>
be-1 st S.PST	so	disappointed-PASS.PTCP.PRF.NOM	as	Mary-NOM	

‘I was as disappointed as Mary was.’

On the strength of the evidence presented in Sections 8 and 9, we conclude that Prf Pass Ptcp in *roz-* spell out event kinds in Polish (just like adjectival passives do in German).

To sum up, resultative target state participles of *roz-* OEVs have complex morpho-syntactic layered structure. They contain the state projection that can be accompanied by modifiers relating directly to the state, or by the phrases whose sortal properties directly contribute to the state. Consequently, the participles represent event kinds and state kinds. The *by* phrases that appear with them have instrumental, rather than truly agentive function – and as such are also interpreted as modifying event kinds (see Alexiadou et al. 2015:187). The participles cannot appear with agent oriented adverbs (which is explained by their Experiencer semantics) and in those cases in which they occur with agentive *by* phrases, we are dealing with truly agentive predicates and their participles, and not with participles of OEVs.

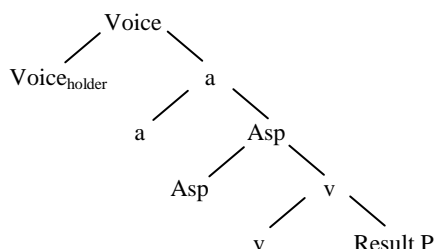
10. Types of voice

Complex structures underlying *roz-* Prf Pass Ptcp, as evidenced by their eventive implications and various types of modifiers admissible with them, contain some type of voice projection. According to Alexiadou et al. (2015) the presence of voice derives from event implications evoked by a structure, and is also supported by theoretical conclusions drawn from some Hebrew data and extrapolated onto morpho-syntax of other languages, lacking similar evidence (see Alexiadou et al. 2015: 188-190). What remains to be established is the specific type of voice associated with *roz-* Prf Pass Ptcp.

The head introducing this voice projection cannot be identical with Passive Voice Head because of inadmissibility of purpose clauses, agent oriented modifiers, disjoint reference effects or truly agentive *by* phrases with individual referential agent arguments. Consequently, the Voice Head that builds *roz-* Prf Pass Ptcp must be of a different kind. It must be a Voice Head which does not introduce an external (explicit or implicit) argument as its presence is not detectable in phrases with target states of the relevant type. Thus, it has to be an Intransitive Voice Head. At the same time the structures with this head allow modifiers amending kinds of events and states, so the stativizing element (adjectival projection) has to be included below this head. Otherwise, the only modifiers available would be those characteristic of adjectives and voice

modifiers would be inadmissible. One more thing is certain: There is just one kind of argument introduced by this head, i.e. the holder of a state (Experiencer for our data) since all modifiers have to relate to the state predicated of the holder, and to event-kinds leading up to the state. A proposal introducing such head was put forward in Alexiadou et al. (2015: 197) for target state participles in other languages. Target state participles are assigned the structure quoted below after Alexiadou et al. (2015):

(40)

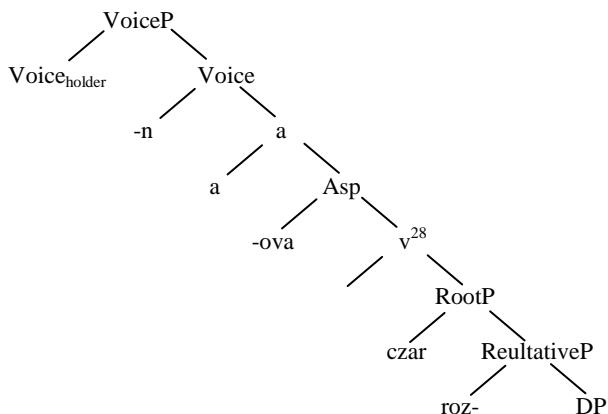


Because the passive participles that we have analysed in this text are morphologically complex, it seems reasonable to specify functions of their particular morphological elements.

After most general guidelines from Svenonius (2004 :245) and, most recently, after Zdziebko (2017) for Polish, we will supply a modified and simplified structure for *roz-* Prf Pass Ptcp *rozczarowany* ‘disappointed’. The prefix (*roz-*) realises the head of Resultative Phrase, while *-n* spells out the head introducing the voice phrase,²⁷ with the voice holder argument in its specifier. *Roz-* is introduced very low in the structure of the participle as it is a lexical prefix, which appears closest to the root and combines with the root to form stems of idiosyncratic semantics (see 2, 3 above) and specific argument assigning properties. After Zdziebko (2017) we will assume that *-ova* (spelled *-owa*) belongs to the aspectual layer of the structure:

²⁷ This suffix probably also spells out the adjectivising projection in the structure.

(41)



As this text is devoted to the investigation of voice properties of Polish passives, we have to ponder over the nature of the head involved in the structure. In particular we will consider similarities and dissimilarities of this head and voice projection to apparently voiceless structures in Polish in order to see whether there are some additional grounds to single out this head as introducing the voice holder argument. The comparative material that we have in mind consists of unaccusative verbs without overt unaccusative morphological marking,²⁹ which are analysed by Alexiadou et al. (2015) as having no voice projection in their structure. If so, such unaccusatives should have different sets of modifiers than *roz-* Prf Pass Ptcps, were types of modifiers indeed something to go by to establish the type of voice projection in morphologically complex forms.

11. Comparison of *roz-* Prf Pass Ptcp with unaccusatives in relation to voice projections

Morphologically unmarked unaccusatives, according to Alexiadou et al. (2015), have no voice projection. Consequently, we would expect them to appear with a different set of modifiers to those possible with *roz-* Pass Ptcps. At first glance, however, these expectations are thwarted. In many respects unmarked unaccusatives are like *roz-* Prf Pass Ptcp: they do not appear with purpose

²⁸ Zdziebko (2017: 569) proposes that *-ova* spells out both the verbal and aspectual projection in the relevant passives. Such analyses are admissible within nano-syntactic approaches to language – see e.g. Starke (2007), Caha (2009).

²⁹ Unmarked unaccusatives do not possess either reflexive-like morphology associated with them or morphology marking passives or middles in a given language. It does not mean that unmarked unaccusatives have to be morphologically simple.

clauses (42), or with genuine agentive *by* phrases (43), or with agent-oriented adverbs (44). They can be modified by event modifiers (44). The relevant data are illustrated for unmarked unaccusatives in the examples below:

(42) (purpose clauses)

<i>??Marek</i>	<i>utonął</i>	<i>aby</i>	<i>wyłudzić</i>	<i>pieniądze.</i>
Marek-NOM.S	drown-3 rd S.PST	in.order.to	embezzle-INF	money-ACC.P

‘Mark drowned in order to embezzle money.’

(43) (agentive *by* phrases and agent-oriented adverbs)

<i>Apetyt</i>	<i>rósł</i>	<i>*przez Janka</i> ³⁰ / <i>*celowo.</i>
appetite-NOM.S	grow-3 rd S.PST	*by Janek.ACC/*on purpose

‘However, the appetite grew fast *by John/*on purpose.’

(44) (event manner modifiers)

<i>Apetyt</i>	<i>rósł</i>	<i>jednak</i>	<i>szybko.</i>
appetite-NOM.S	grow-PST.3 rd .SG	however	quickly

‘However, the appetite grew fast.’

The above modes of modification suggest that *roz-* Pass Ptcps do not differ significantly from unaccusatives, and consequently ascribing to them different properties as far as voice is concerned need not be correct.

However, once we come to instrumental phrases, also identifying the voice type associated with a given structure, we may notice a disparity. Namely, unaccusatives in Polish take *from* phrases (*od* phrases in Polish) as the regular markers of instruments:

(45) (NCP)

<i>Czerwieniał</i>	<i>od</i>	<i>niewyladowanego</i>	<i>gniewu.</i>
reddden-3 rd S.PST	from	suppressed-GEN.S	anger-GEN.S

‘He reddened from suppressed anger’

<i>Mokną</i>	<i>od</i>	<i>deszczów.</i>
wet-3 rd P.PST	from	rain-GEN.P

‘They get wet from the rain’

<i>Potnieli</i>	<i>od</i>	<i>upalu.</i>
sweat-3 rd P.PST	from	heat-GEN.S

‘They sweated from the heat’

At the same time, *roz-* Prf Pass Ptcps are ungrammatical with *od* phrases:³¹

³⁰ The sentence with the *by* phrase is grammatical, but only under the interpretation that *Janek* is not an agent, but an indirect cause of the event. The agentive interpretation is decidedly out.

³¹ In fact, we have found a single phrase with this modification in the *NCP*:

(46)

*Janek był rozsierdzony od niepowodzenia.
 Janek.NOM be-3rdS.PST furious-PASS.PTCP.PRF.NOM from failure-ACC.S
 ‘Janek was furious because of his failure.’

In turn, instrumental *by* phrases, perfectly grammatical with Prf Pass Ptcps, are impossible with unaccusatives: if present, they express indirect causation only:

(47)

Skóra cierpła na grzbiecie przez upał.
 skin.NOM.SG grow.numb-PST.3rd.SG on back-LOC.S from heat-GEN.S
 ‘The skin grew numb on [his] back because of the hot weather.’

Phrases realised as instrumental NPs have still a different meaning with unaccusatives as they stand for tangible manifestations of the state expressed by the verb. In fact, if modified by an instrumental NP, the verb ceases to be an unaccusative and has to be interpreted as a stative verb coding a given state, not a change of state. The NP has the meaning of a cognate object:

(48)

Czerwieniał nieśmiałym rumieńcem.
 reddened-3rdS.PST shy-INS.S red.cheek-ACC.S
 ‘His cheeks were red.’

As this modification may be realised with verbs describing clearly visible states, only a limited inventory of forms may take instrumental phrases. Unaccusatives coding visible changes of states may be coerced into becoming stative verbs and such statives can be modified. Unaccusatives as such cannot appear with instrument-denoting NPs.

Thus, in the sphere of instrumental modifiers, there is a significant distinction between Prf Pass Ptcp and unaccusatives. While *roz-* Prf Pass Ptcps can appear with instrumental modifiers as long as they are kind modifiers, unaccusatives take phrases coding indirect causation only. Indirect causation, in turn, is not attributed to the presence of any voice projection (see Alexiadou et al. 2015), but is pragmatic in nature.

rozmarzonymi od trunku oczami
 dreamy-INS.PASS.PTCP.PRF.P from drink-GEN.S eye-INS.P
 ‘with his eyes dreamy from the drink’

In this case we may not be dealing with the derivation form the object experiencer verb, but that from a reflexively marked subject experiencer verb: *rozmarzyć się* ‘become dreamy’.

Another difference between unmarked unaccusatives and Prf Pass Ptcps can be spotted when we consider spatiotemporal modification. Unaccusatives appear with spatiotemporal modifiers easily enough:

(49) (NCP)

<i>Skóra</i>	<i>cierpła</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>grzbiecie.</i>
skin.NOM.SG	grow.numb-PST.3 rd .SG	on	back-LOC.SG
‘The skin grew numb on [his] back.’			

<i>Zakwitną</i>	<i>wiosenne</i>	<i>kwiaty,</i>	<i>które</i>	<i>zwiędną,</i>
bloom-3 rd P.FUT	spring-NOM.P	flower-NOM.P	which	wilt-3 rd P.FUT
<i>nim</i>	<i>nadejdzie</i>	<i>wieczór.</i>		
before	come-3 rd S.FUT	evening-NOM.S		
‘Spring flowers will bloom and they will wilt before the evening comes.’				

Consequently, we may conclude that unlike *roz-* Prf Pass Ptcps, unaccusatives in Polish do not have to code event kinds, but may code event tokens as well, and if they possess an intransitive head in their structure, it is not the same intransitive head as in the case of passive participles. Thus, although both *roz-* Prf Pass Ptcps and unaccusatives possess in their structure event and state projections, they differ in the type of voice projections or possibly in the presence vs. absence of voice.

12. Conclusion

The analysis of voice properties of Polish *roz-* Prf Pass Ptcps supports the conclusions presented by Alexiadou et al. (2015) and concerning voice typology in language. Polish *roz-* Prf Pass Ptcps manifest voice-related phenomena that lead us to the conclusion that, although adjectival in certain aspects of their morpho-syntax, they also possess verbal projections in their structure, including a specific voice projection, introduced by an Intransitive Voice Head. These structures differ in their morpho-syntactic properties from other intransitive structures (unaccusatives in particular) in a way that suggests that the latter are not associated with voice projections at all.

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