Case and Agreement in Polish Predicates

Adam Przepiórkowski
Ohio State Univesity and Polish Academy of Sciences
adamp@ling.ohio-state.edu

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The Aims:

- to point out a number of incorrect empirical generalizations and wrong empiricial predictions in Bailyn and Citko (1999);
- to provide an alternative analysis of constructions of the *uważać za*-type, which involve predicative AP/NP phrases being assigned case by the preposition, instead of receiving it via the general agreement or 'instrumental of predication' rules typical for predicative APs / NPs.

The Outline:

- §1 outlines Bailyn and Citko's (1999) analysis;
- §2 points out numerous empirical problems that this analysis faces;
- §3 provides an alternative analysis of constructions such as *uważać za*.

A more general analysis of case assignment and predication in Polish can be found in Przepiórkowski (1999).

1 Bailyn and Citko's (1999) Analysis

(1) **Universal A**: All NPs (including predicates) must have Case checked in an appropriate configuration.

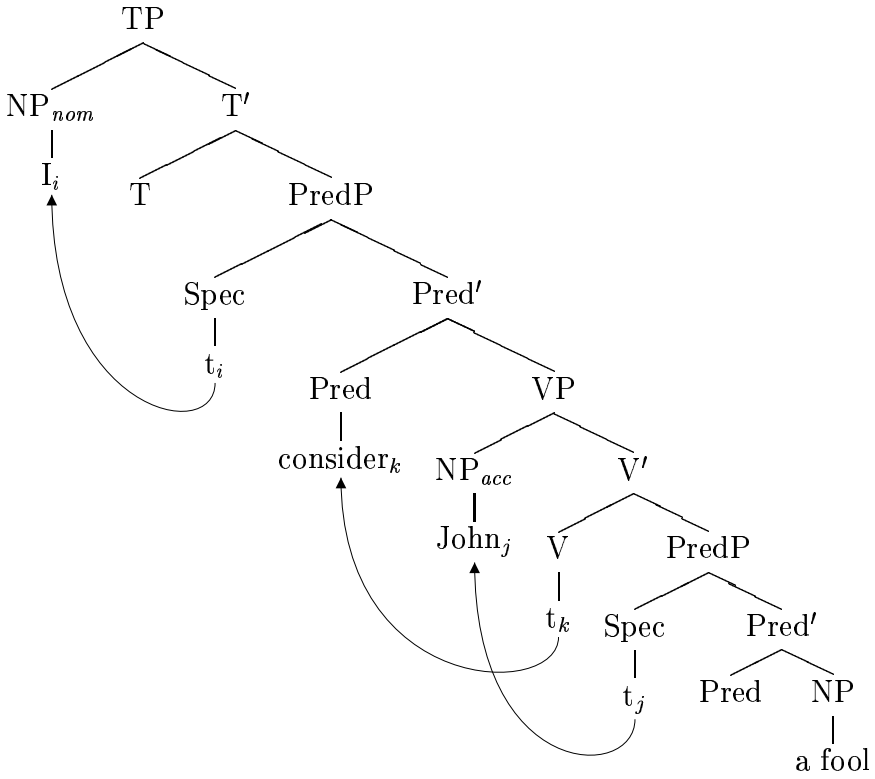
(2) **Universal B**: All APs (including predicates) must be in an agreement relation with an appropriate head.

(3) **Universal C**: Pred^0 has strong Case features (instrumental in Polish).

The last point presupposes Bowers's (1993) analysis of predication, in which, e.g., (4a) has the structure as in (4b).

(4) a. I consider John a fool.

b.



These universals explain the apparent contrast between (5) and (6).

(5) a. Janek jest studentem.
John$_{nom}$ is student$_{ins}$
'John is a student.'

b. Pamiętam go studentem.
I remember him$_{acc}$ student$_{ins}$
'I remember him as a student.'

(6) a. Janek jest pijany.
John$_{nom}$ is drunk$_{nom}$
'John is drunk.'

b. Pamiętam go pijanego.
I remember him$_{acc}$ drunk$_{acc}$
'I remember him (as) drunk.'

In (5), the NP must check the strong instrumental feature of the Pred, while in (6), both the NP (*Janek* and *go*, respectively) and the predicative AP raise to Spec positions of the same head (assuming multiple specifiers) for the purspose of agreement. A by-product of

the AP raising to such a Spec position is that it gets its case checked, just as the NP it agrees with gets its case checked.

Another important principle is (7):

(7) **Morphological Pred Rule**: Overt morphology in Pred^0 absorbs Instrumental Case.

This explains the apparent agreement between the nominal predicate introduced by *za*, presumably the overt Pred, and the NP in (8):

(8) Uważam go za studenta / *studentem.
I consider him$_{acc}$ as student$_{acc}$ / student$_{ins}$
'I consider him (as) a student.'

In such cases, since the strong instrumental feature of Pred is absorbed, the predicative NP *studenta* must raise higher to get its case, namely, to the [Spec, Agr$_O$P] position, where it gets the accusative case.

2 Problems with Bailyn and Citko's (1999) Analysis

The elegance of this analysis is tarnished by the fact that Bailyn and Citko's (1999) account requires at least three different Pred heads, and the Universal C in (3) above applies to just one of them:

(9) Three Pred heads:

- Pred with strong instrumental feature selecting an NP and being able to occur only in the lower (secondary) PredP (cf. (4)); this Pred surfaces in, e.g., (5) and (8), but not in (6);
- Pred without any Case features selecting an AP and occurring only in the secondary PredP; e.g., (6);
- the primary Pred, selecting [+V,±N] in Polish.

Bailyn and Citko (1999) also argue that, in Russian, the primary Pred selects [±V,±N] and, hence, makes sentences such as (10), without a verb or a secondary Pred, possible.

(10) Ivan — student.

Below, I concentrate on empirical problems for Bailyn and Citko's (1999) analysis stemming from Polish; I ignore potential theoretical problems and potential problems from Russian.

Problem 1: NP[*nom*] Predicates with the Copula Bailyn and Citko (1999, p. 32, fn. 12) note a potential problem with their prediction that nominal predicates must be instrumental in absence of over Pred, cf. (11), but say that such cases are parallel to the Russian (10), i.e., that they involve primary Pred with a [+N] complement.

(11) Jan to student.
John$_{nom}$ Copula student$_{nom}$
'John is a student.'

This, however, contradicts the earlier claim that, in Polish, primary Pred heads select only [+V] complement (unless it were claimed that *student* is really [+V,+N], i.e., an adjective!).

A possible explanation: there is no primary Pred in (11); *to* is overt secondary Pred.

However, the problem is more general: the tensed copula *być* may occur with nominative NPs, e.g.:

(12) Jesteś osioł. (Klemensiewicz, 1927, p. 153)
you are ass$_{nom}$

(13) Jesteśmy dobrzy fachowcy. (Heinz, 1965, p. 68)
we are good$_{nom}$ professionals$_{nom}$

(14) My jesteśmy szlachta. (Saloni and Świdziński, 1985, p. 118)
we$_{nom}$ are gentry$_{nom}$

(15) a. Jesteś zwykły dureń!
you are mere$_{nom}$ fool$_{nom}$

b. Jesteś zwykłym durniem!
you are mere$_{ins}$ fool$_{ins}$

Problem 2: AP[*ins*] Predicates with the Copula Again, contrary to predictions of Bailyn and Citko's (1999) analysis, instrumental AP predicates may occur as complements of the copula.

Case 1: Impersonal forms allow *only* instrumental APs:

(16) Być miłym / *miły to być głupim / *głupi.
be$_{inf}$ nice$_{ins}$ / nice$_{ins}$ Copula be$_{inf}$ foolish$_{ins}$ / foolish$_{nom}$
'To be nice is to be foolish.'

(17) Bycie miłym / *miły ma sens.
being$_{grnd}$ nice$_{ins}$ / nice$_{nom}$ has sense
'Being nice makes sense.'

(18) Kiedyś było się miłym / *miły.
sometime was RM nice$_{ins}$ / nice$_{nom}$
'One used to be nice once.'

(19) Będąc miłym / ?*miły, Janek zrobił zakupy.
being$_{advp}$ nice$_{ins}$ / nice$_{nom}$
'Being nice, John did the shopping.'

A possible answer: the PRO subject of the copula is instrumental in Polish, so the cases above are really cases of *agreement*. But: there is a long tradition of analysing PRO in Russian and Polish as dative, on the basis of the behaviour of semi-predicatives (*samemu* in Polish), e.g., Comrie (1974), Neidle (1982, 1988), Laurençot (1997) and Babby (1998).

Case 2: Distance effects (Comrie's (1974) 'cohesion'):

(20) Jan jest szczęśliwy / (?)*szczęśliwym.
John$_{nom}$ is happy$_{nom}$ / happy$_{ins}$
'John is happy.'

(21) Jan chce być szczęśliwy / ?*szczęśliwym.
John$_{nom}$ wants be$_{inf}$ happy$_{nom}$ / happy$_{ins}$
'John wants to be happy.'

(22) Jan chce spróbować być szczęśliwy / ?szczęśliwym.
John$_{nom}$ wants try$_{inf}$ be$_{inf}$ happy$_{nom}$ / happy$_{ins}$
'John wants to try to be happy.'

(23) Jan bał się nawet chcieć spróbować być szczęsliwy / szczęśliwym.
John$_{nom}$ feared RM even want$_{inf}$ try$_{inf}$ be$_{inf}$ happy$_{nom}$ / happy$_{ins}$
'John was afraid to even want to try to be happy.'

Case 3: Numeral subjects:

(24) Wiele studentek jest szczęśliwych / ?szczęśliwe / ?*szczęśliwymi.
many$_{acc}$ students$_{gen,pl,fem}$ be$_{3rd,sg,neut}$ happy$_{gen}$ / happy$_{acc}$ / happy$_{ins}$
'Many students$_{fem}$ are happy.'

(25) Wiele studentek chce być szczęśliwych / ??szczęśliwe / ?szczęśliwymi.
many$_{acc}$ students$_{gen,pl,fem}$ want$_{3rd,sg,neut}$ be$_{inf}$ happy$_{gen}$ / happy$_{acc}$ / happy$_{ins}$
'Many students$_{fem}$ want to be happy.'

(26) Wiele studentek chce spróbować być ?szczęśliwych / ??szczęśliwe / szczęśliwymi.
many$_{acc}$ students$_{gen,pl,fem}$ want$_{3rd,sg,neut}$ try$_{inf}$ be$_{inf}$ happy$_{gen}$ / happy$_{acc}$ / happy$_{ins}$
'Many students$_{fem}$ want to try to be happy.'

(27) Wiele studentek bało się nawet chcieć spróbować być
many$_{acc}$ students$_{gen,pl,fem}$ feared$_{3rd,sg,neut}$ RM even want$_{inf}$ try$_{inf}$ be$_{inf}$
??szczęsliwych / ???szczęśliwe / szczęśliwymi.
happy$_{gen}$ / happy$_{acc}$ / happy$_{ins}$
'Many students$_{fem}$ were afraid to even want to try to be happy.'

See also the following contrast:

(28) Janek wydawał się ??*szczęśliwym / szczęśliwy.
John$_{nom}$ seemed RM happy$_{ins}$ / happy$_{nom}$
'John seemed happy.'

(29) Wiele studentek wydawało się ?szczęśliwymi / szczęśliwych / ?szczęśliwe.
many$_{acc}$ students$_{gen}$ seemed RM happy$_{ins}$ / happy$_{gen}$ / happy$_{acc}$
'Many students$_{fem}$ seemed happy.'

Problem 3: AP[*ins*] Secondary Predicates Contrary to the predictions of Bailyn and Citko's (1999) analysis, also secondary AP predicates may occur in the instrumental:

(30) Pamiętam go miłym / miłego.
remember$_{1sg}$ him$_{acc}$ nice$_{ins}$ / nice$_{acc}$
'I remember him as nice.'

(31) Znam go takim / takiego od dawna. (Czapiga, 1994, p. 91)
know$_{1sg}$ him$_{acc}$ such$_{ins}$ / such$_{acc}$ since long
'I've known him like that for a long time.'

(32) Wyobrażam go sobie pijanego / pijanym.
imagine$_{1sg}$ him$_{acc}$ Self$_{dat}$ drunk$_{acc}$ / drunk$_{ins}$
'I imagine him drunk.'

(33) Zastałem go pijanego / pijanym.
found$_{1st,sg,masc}$ him$_{acc}$ drunk$_{acc}$ / drunk$_{ins}$
'I found him drunk.'

(34) Widzę / rodzę / budzę go smutnego / smutnym. (Pisarkowa, 1965, p. 21)
see$_{1sg}$ / bear$_{1sg}$ / wake up$_{1sg}$ him$_{acc}$ sad$_{acc}$ / sad$_{ins}$
'I see him / give birth to him / wake him up sad.'

(35) Lubiłem Janka trzeźwego / trzeźwym.
liked$_{1st,sg,masc}$ John$_{acc}$ sober$_{acc}$ / sober$_{ins}$
'I liked John (when he was) sober.'

(36) Nienawidziłem go pijanego / ?pijanym.
hated$_{1st,sg,masc}$ him$_{gen}$ drunk$_{gen}$ / drunk$_{ins}$
'I hated him (when he was) drunk.'

Problem 4: Verb-less Constructions with Nominal Predicates Bailyn and Citko's (1999) analysis predicts that Polish does not allow verb-less predicative constructions involving [+N] predicates, such as (10), allowed in Russian. This prediction is false.

Case 1: Appositions:

(37) Wałęsa, w końcu prezydent dużego państwa,
Wałęsa$_{nom}$, in end president$_{nom}$ large$_{gen}$ state$_{gen}$
(nie powinien wygadywać takich bzdur.)
(shouldn't talk such nonsense)
'Wałęsa, after all the president of a large country, shouldn't talk such nonsense.'

(38) Szofer, stary blondyn w siatkowej koszulce, (wysiadł sprawdzić motor.)
chauffeur$_{nom}$ old$_{nom}$ blonde$_{nom}$ in laced shirt (got out to check the engine)
(Pisarkowa, 1965, p. 123)
'The chauffeur, an old blonde in a laced shirt, got out to check the engine.'

Such constructions are problematic for their analysis also because they involve *agreeing* NPs without any overt Pred.

Case 2: Instrumental NPs in exclamative constructions:

(39) Wałęsa prezydentem! (Zwariować można!)
Wałęsa$_{nom}$ president$_{ins}$ (It's crazy!)

(40) Polak Papieżem!
Pole$_{nom}$ pope$_{ins}$

Case 3: Limited possibility of agreeing (nominative) predicative NPs:

(41) On głupiec. / Starość nie radość. / Ja biedak, a ty pan.
he$_{nom}$ fool$_{nom}$ / Old age$_{nom}$ not joy$_{nom}$ / I$_{nom}$ pauper$_{nom}$ and you$_{nom}$ master$_{nom}$
(Klemensiewicz, 1937, p. 105)

Problem 5: Apparent Overt Preds do Assign the Accusative Bailyn and Citko (1999) argue that *za* in (8), repeated below, is *not* a preposition, but rather an overt realization of Pred, absorbing the instrumental case and, hence, forcing the predicate to agree with its 'antecedent'.

(8) Uważam go za studenta / *studentem.
I consider him$_{acc}$ as student$_{acc}$ / student$_{ins}$
'I consider him (as) a student.'

Similarly, predicative the AP in (42) is supposed to agree in case with its antecedent.

(42) Uważam go za zdolnego.
I consider him$_{acc}$ as gifted$_{acc}$
'I consider him as gifted.'

This cannot be the case for at least the following reasons.

Reason 1: Genitive of Negation:

(43) Nie uważam jej za studentkę / *studentki / zdolną / *zdolnej.
NM I consider her$_{gen}$ as student$_{acc}$ / student$_{gen}$ / gifted$_{acc}$ / gifted$_{gen}$
'I don't consider her (as) a student / gifted.'

Reason 2: Agreement with Numeral Phrases:

(44) Pięć kobiet było zdolnych / ?zdolne.
five$_{acc}$ women$_{gen}$ was gifted$_{gen}$ / gifted$_{acc}$
'Five women were gifted.'

(45) Uważam tych pięć kobiet za bardzo zdolne / *zdolnych.
I consider these$_{gen}$ five$_{acc}$ women$_{gen}$ as very gifted$_{acc}$ / gifted$_{gen}$
'I consider these five women as very gifted.'

Reason 3: Passivization:

(46) Ona jest uważana za studentkę / *studentka / zdolną / *zdolna.
she$_{nom}$ is considered as student$_{acc}$ / student$_{nom}$ / gifted$_{acc}$ / gifted$_{nom}$
'She is considered (as) a student / gifted.'

Reason 4: Similar constructions with subject antecedents:

(47) Janek uchodził za studenta / *student / zdolnego / *zdolny.
John$_{nom}$ was taken as student$_{acc}$ / student / gifted$_{acc}$ / gifted$_{nom}$
'John was taken as a student / gifted.'

Another similar verb: *wyglądać na* 'look like, appear to be'.

Reason 5: *uważać* without the accusative:

(48) Kto uważa za właściwe nadal spierać się za mną?
who$_{nom}$ considers as appropriate$_{acc}$ still disagree$_{inf}$ with me
'Who considers it appropriate to still disagree with me?'

Here, *uważać* occurs with a VP[*inf*] instead of the NP[*ins*], so it is not clear how the AP *właściwe* could get its accusative case via agreement.

Possible Solutions Technically, Problems 1–4 can be solved within Bailyn and Citko's (1999) set of assumptions by imposing on Polish their analysis of Russian:

- **Problem 1**: copula + NP[*ins*] (e.g., (15b)) involves two PredPs, while copula + NP[*nom*] (e.g., (15a)) does not involve the secondary (lower) PredP;[1]
- **Problems 2 and 3**: AP predicates may be optionally analysed as NP predicates with the head of such an NP empty;[2]
- **Problem 4**: primary Preds select [±V,±N] also in Polish.

What is fatal for Bailyn and Citko's (1999) account, though, is **Problem 5**: while the Genitive of Negation problem could perhaps be dealt with by playing with the scope of relative case assignments of the accusative and the genitive of negation, I can see no possible explanation (within Bailyn and Citko's (1999) set of assumptions) for the difference between (44)–(45). Perhaps even more seriously, (46)–(48) do not involve any overt accusative NP that the predicate could agree with, and — at least in case of (46) — it is clear that there is no covert (phonologically empty) such an NP (because passive morphology is assumed to absorb the accusative case).

3 An Alternative Analysis of *Uważać Za*

Constructions such as *uważać za*, *brać za*, *uchodzić za*, *wyglądać na*, etc., are interesting because they violate what seems to be an often assumed generalization, namely:[3]

(49) **Case Assignment and Case Agreement** (imprecise):

- case-bearing (i.e., nominal or adjectival) **predicative** phrases receive their case either via agreement with their antecedents or via the 'instrumental of predication' rule;
- case-bearing **non-predicative** phrases receive their case via general case assignment rules (e.g., 'accusative of prepositional complement', 'nominative of sentential subjects', 'genitive of negation', etc.), or idiosyncratically (so-called inherent or lexical case, e.g., *pomagać* 'help' + dative).

Contrary to this generalization, the predicative argument of the preposition *za* in, e.g., (8) receives its case via the 'non-predicative' rule which says that (structural) arguments of prepositions are accusative.

[1] But it would still need to be explained why there is no difference in meaning between (15a–b), that Bailyn and Citko's (1999) analysis would predict.

[2] This move would also be problematic, though, because Bailyn and Citko's (1999) link the availability of such empty heads in a given language to the availability of the (productive) distinction between Short Form and Long Form adjectives.

[3] I ignore here case agreement between attributive APs and the noun they modify, as well as semantic case assignment.

So where is the dividing line between 'predicative' case marking (via agreement or instrumental) and 'non-predicative' case marking?

The hypothesis:

(50) **Case Assignment and Case Agreement** (CACA; alternative):

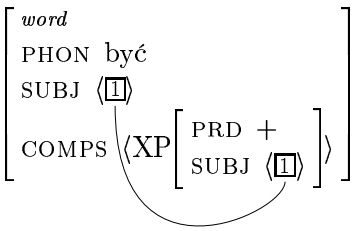
- case-bearing phrases, whose **subject is raised to the immediately higher (i.e., selecting) head (if there is one)** receive the predicative (agreeing / instrumental) case;
- **other** case-bearing phrases receive case via general syntactic rules (e.g., 'genitive of negation') or idiosyncratically (e.g., *pomagać* 'help' + dative).

The rest of the discussion might not make a lot of sense in all frameworks, but it does make sense in HPSG (Pollard and Sag, 1994).

3.1 Examining the Hypothesis

Copula

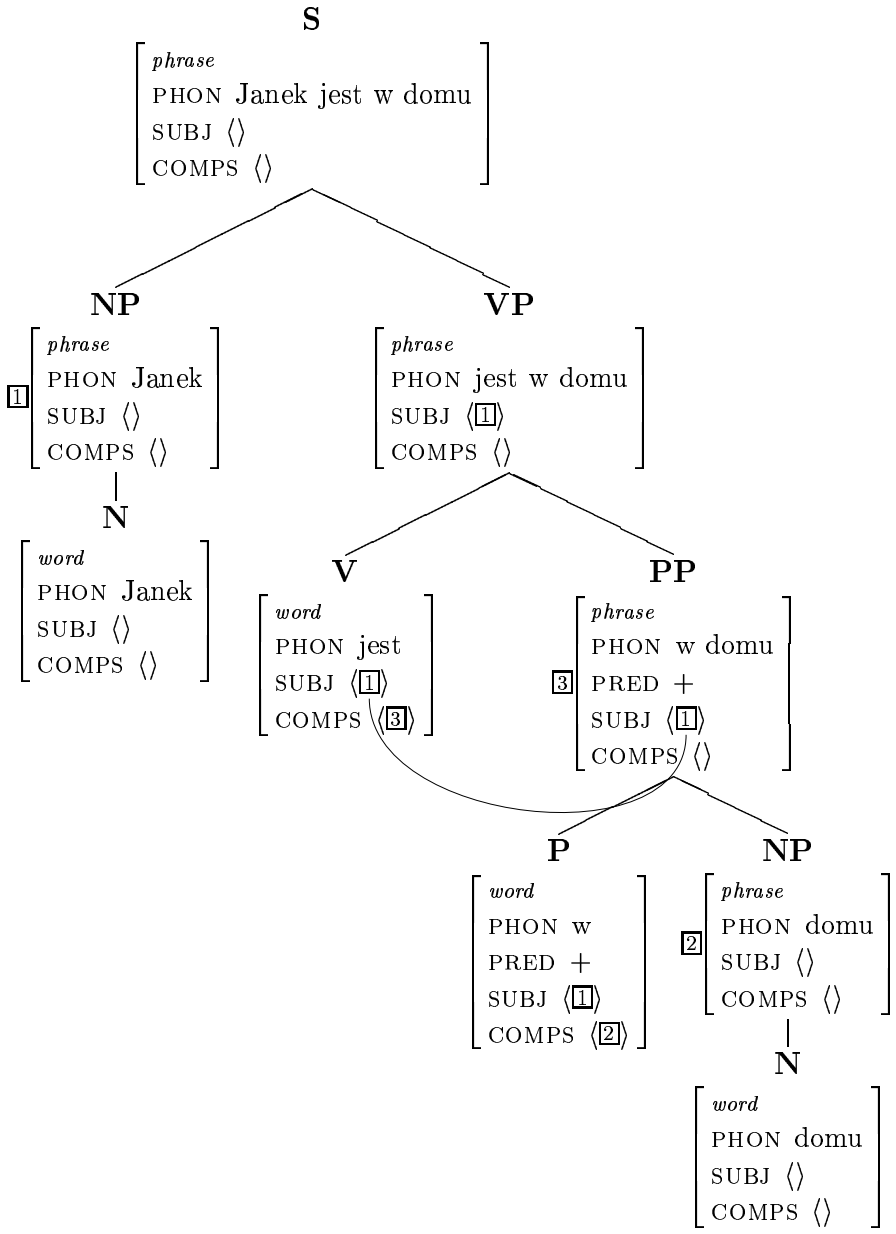
(51) The predicative copula *być* (schematic and simplified):



For example, (52a) has the constituent structure as schematically shown in (52b).

(52) a. Janek jest w domu.
John is at home

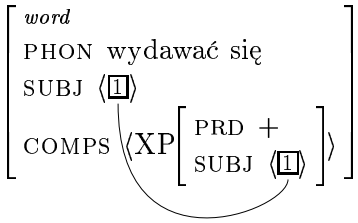
b.



The subject of a predicative argument of the copula (here, *w domu*) is raised to (or rather, is structure-shared with) the subject of the copula. Thus, according to the hypothesis CACA (50), the predicative argument is case marked either via agreement with the subject (e.g., (6a), (12)–(14), (15a) above, possibly also (11)), or with the instrumental (e.g., (5a), (15b), (16)–(19), (23), (27) above), if it only bears case at all (in (52) it doesn't).

Other Verbs with Predicative Arguments Cases such as, e.g., (29) (repeated below), involving a different verb than the copula, are fully analogous to the copula cases.

(29) Wiele studentek wydawało się ?szczęśliwymi / szczęśliwych / ?szczęśliwe.
many$_{acc}$ students$_{gen}$ seemed RM happy$_{ins}$ / happy$_{gen}$ / happy$_{acc}$

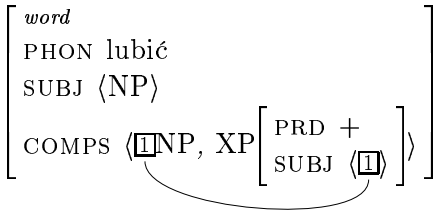
(53)


Adjunct Predicates

(35) Lubiłem Janka trzeźwego / trzeźwym.
liked$_{1st,sg,masc}$ John$_{acc}$ sober$_{acc}$ / sober$_{ins}$
'I liked John (when he was) sober.'

There is a body of work within HPSG arguing for treating (at least some) adjuncts as arguments, at least from the point of view of argument / constituent structure.[4]

This means that *lubić*, as used in (35), will be as in (54).

(54)


Thus, here again the subject of the predicate is structure-shared with ('raised to') an argument position (here, object) of the immediately higher head.

Verb-less Predicative Constructions The constructions above reflected the '*whose subject is raised to the immediately higher (i.e., selecting) head*' part of the first clause of the CACA hypothesis (50). The environments exemplified under the 'Problem 4' heading (p. 7) reflect the '*(if there is one)*' part.

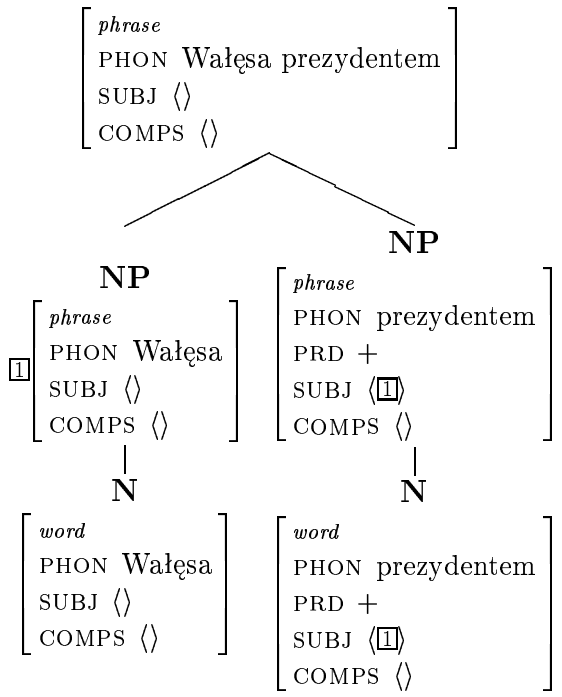
I assume that constructions such as (39) or (41), repeated below, do not involve any empty copula, their constituent structure will look as in (55).

(39) Wałęsa prezydentem! (Zwariować można!)
Wałęsa$_{nom}$ president$_{ins}$

(41) On głupiec. / Starość nie radość. / Ja biedak, a ty pan. (Klehe$_{nom}$ fool$_{nom}$ / old age$_{nom}$ not joy$_{nom}$ / I$_{nom}$ pauper$_{nom}$ and you$_{nom}$ master$_{nom}$ mensiewicz, 1937, p. 105)

[4] See, e.g., Miller (1992), van Noord and Bouma (1994), Przepiórkowski (1997) and Bouma *et al.* (1999), and references therein.

(55)

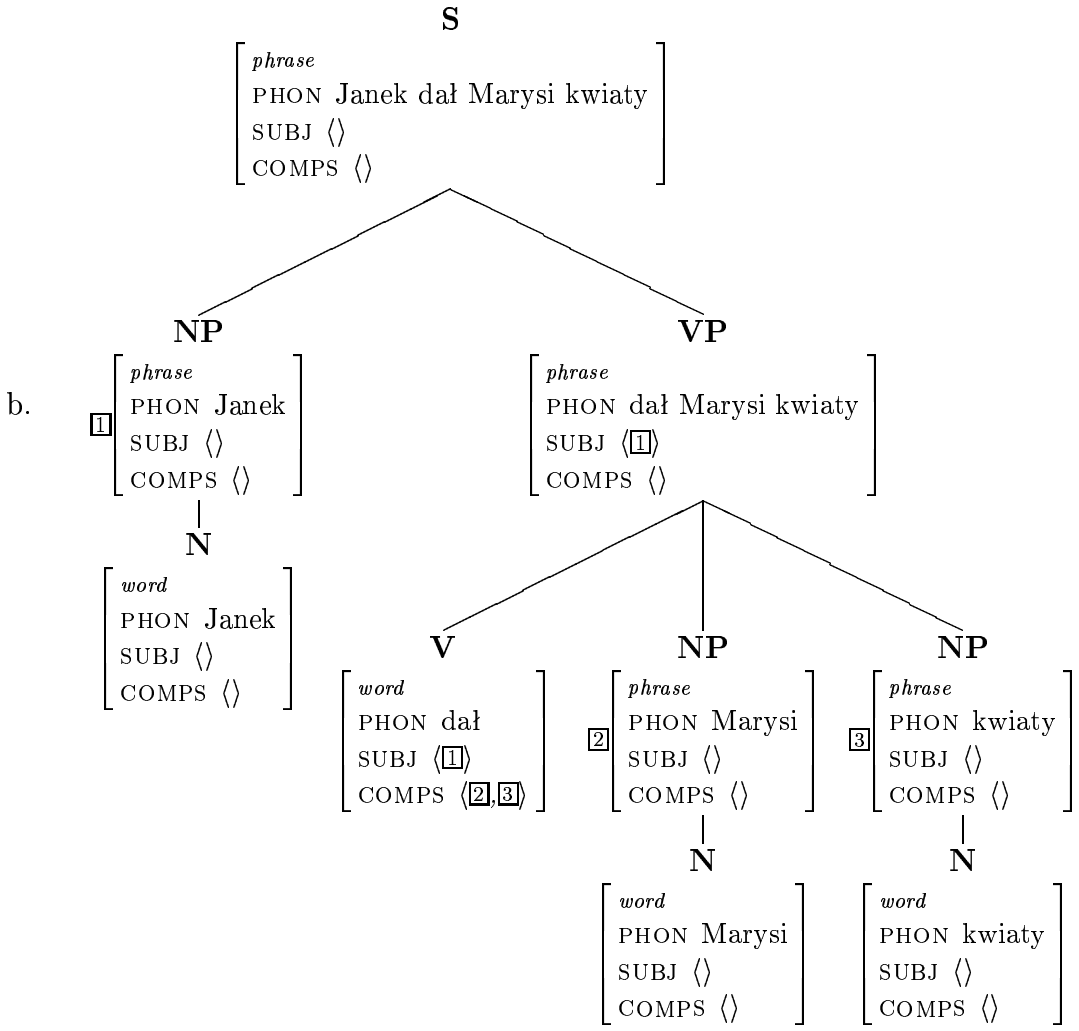


Since there is no higher head, the predicate in (55) is subject to the first clause of CACA (50) and may be case-marked either via agreement with its subject (as in (41)) or via the 'instrumental of predication' (as in (39)).

No Raising The most typical situation where the 'otherwise' clause of CACA (50) comes into play, i.e., where there is no raising to the immediately higher head is when there is no raising at all. For example, in (56), all case-bearing elements are full NPs, which receive case via general case assignment rules (assign nominative to the subject, assign accusative to the object (of a non-negated verb), assign dative to the benefactive NP, etc.).

(56) a. Janek dał Marysi kwiaty.
John$_{nom}$ gave Mary$_{dat}$ flowers$_{acc}$

b.



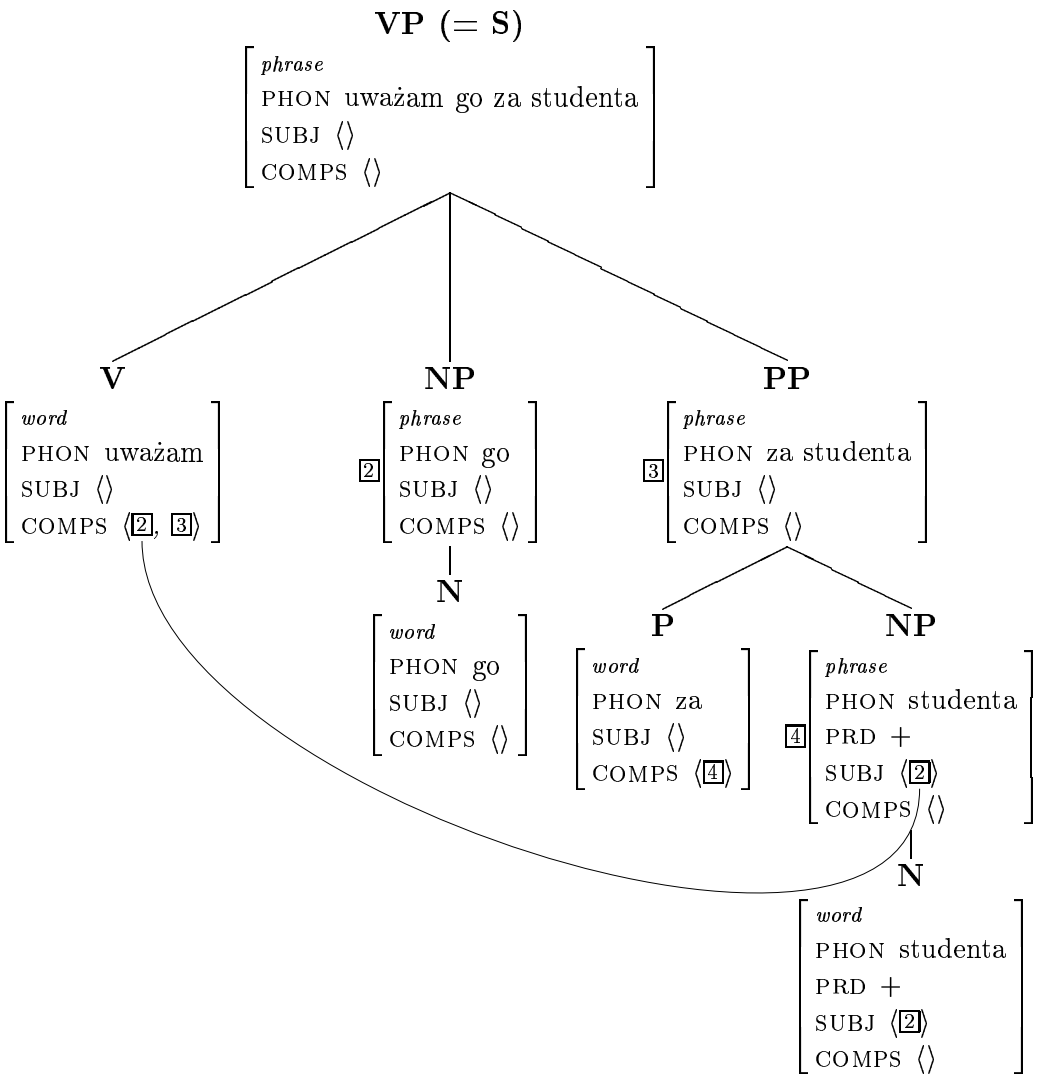
Long Raising I claim that predicative phrases in constructions such as *uważać za* also satisfy the second clause of CACA (50), but not because they don't involving raising at all, but because they involve long raising over the immediately higher head (i.e., across *za*) straight to the second higher head (i.e., to *uważać*).

For example, I claim that (8) (repeated below) has the structure as in (57) and *not* the structure in (58).[5]

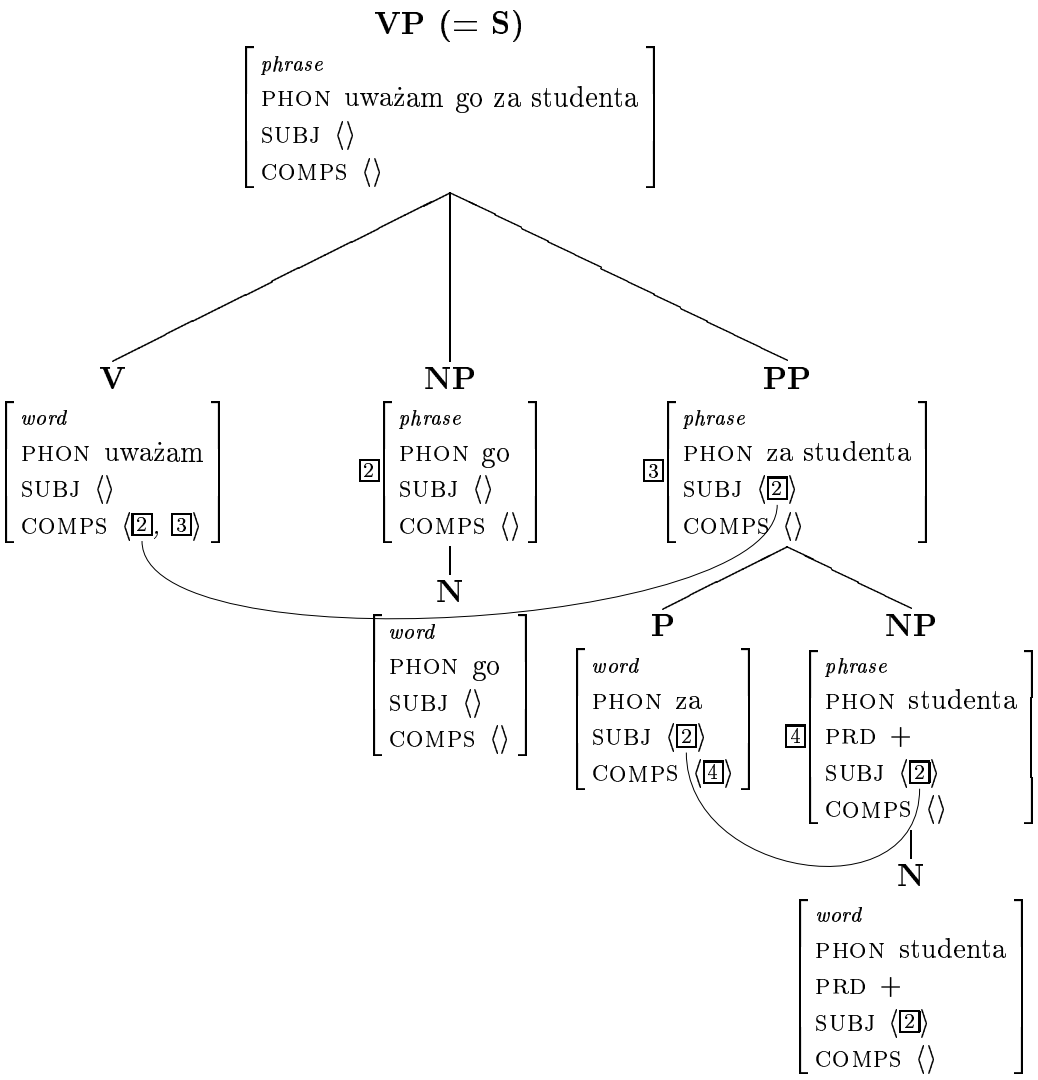
(8) Uważam go za studenta / *studentem.
I consider him$_{acc}$ as student$_{acc}$ / student$_{ins}$

[5]I assume that the *pro*-dropped subject does not appear on the SUBJ list (but appears on the ARG-ST list, not shown or discussed here).

(57) **The structure of (8)**:



(58) ***Not* the structure of (8)**:



3.2 Long Raising in *Uważać Za*

Are there independent empirical arguments for (57) and against (58)? There are at least two such arguments.

Subjects of Prepositions and Binding There is a binding contrast between 2-argument prepositions, such as predicative prepositions (e.g., locational), cf. (59), and 1-argument 'case marking' prepositions, cf. (60):

(59) Nie można przecież położyć książki$_i$ na sobie$_{?i}$ samej / na niej$_{??i}$ samej.
NM may but lay book$_{fem}$ on Self Emph$_{fem}$ / on her Emph
'But it is impossible to lay a book on itself.'

(60) Mówiłem jej$_i$ o sobie$_{*i}$ samej / o niej$_i$ samej.
talk$_{1st,sg,masc}$ her about Self Emph / about her Emph

'I talked to her about herself.'

Although the judgments in (59) are not very clear, the contrast between binding across a predicative preposition (59) and across a 'case marking' preposition (60) is clear: since in Polish only subjects can be binders, binding by the object in (60) is impossible, while binding by the object (59) is apparently acceptable, but only because the object controls the subject of the predicative preposition, which is the actual binder.

Now, the preposition *za* in (8) clearly patterns with the 'case marking' prepositions, such as *o* in (60), and not with predicative prepositions such as *na* in (59).

(61) (Nie pomyliłem się,) uważałem go$_i$ za siebie$_{*i}$ / za niego$_i$ samego.
(I didn't make a mistake,) considered$_{1st,sg,masc}$ him$_{acc}$ for himself / for him Emph
'(I didn't make a mistake,) I really considered him for himself.'

This is the first argument that *za*, as used in (8), is a 1-argument preposition.

PP[*za*] is not Predicative All prepositions seem to be partitioned into two classes: the class of 2-argument predicative prepositions and the class 1-argument 'case-marking' prepositions. If so, then, classifying *za* as a 2-argument preposition would amount to classifying it as a predicative preposition. In that case, the whole phrase *za studenta* in (8) would be predicative.

But there are good arguments that the PP '*za* + NP/AP' cannot be predicative; if it were predicative, it should be able to appear in other predicative environments, especially in those environments which do not posit particular constraints on the categorial makeup of the predicative phrase, such the complement of the copula, or exclamations. (62)–(63) show that this prediction is false:

(62) Janek jest szczery / prezydentem / w domu... / *za szczerego.
John$_{nom}$ is sincere$_{nom}$ / president$_{ins}$ / at home... / as sincere
'John is sincere / the president / at home... / *as sincere.'

(63) Janek szczery! / Wałęsa prezydentem! / Krokodyl w klatce! / Obiad o dziesiątej! / *Janek za szczerego! (Też pomysł!)
John sincere$_{nom}$ / Wałęsa president$_{ins}$ / crocodile in cage / dinner at ten / John as sincere also idea
'John (being) sincere! / Wałęsa (as) the president! / A crocodile in a cage! / Dinner at 10! *John as sincere! What an idea!

Although the copula in (62) could, in principle, impose an idiosyncratic constraint to the effect that its complement cannot be marked with *za*, such a constraint would violate the otherwise overwhelming generalization that the copula may combine with any predicative complement. Moreover, it is not clear that such a constraint could be imposed in case of (63), where there is no overt copula and no obvious reason to posit a phonologically empty one.

Thus, the PP '*za* + NP/AP' should not be analysed as predicative and, hence, *za* should not be analysed as a 2-argument preposition.

4 Summary

To summarize:

- I have shown that Bailyn and Citko's (1999) analysis suffers from a number of empirical problems, at least one of which, to do with constructions such as *uażać za*, is really fatal;
- I have re-examined the dichotomy between case marking of predicative phrases and case marking of non-predicative phrases;
- I have proposed that it is not exactly predicative APs/NPs that are 'predicatively' case marked (i.e., that agree in case with their antecedent or are marked with instrumental case), but rather those APs/NPs, whose subject is raised to (structure-shared with) the immediately higher head;
- I have shown that this hypothesis explains the whole range of facts, including the troublesome *uważać za* construction.

See Przepiórkowski (1999) for a (fully formalized) HPSG analysis of case assignment and predication in Polish based on the hypothesis CACA (50).

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Electronic versions of some of my works (including Przepiórkowski (1999)) can be found here: `http://www.ipipan.waw.pl/mmgroup/ap-papers.html`.

Ohio State University
Department of Linguistics
222 Oxley Hall
1712 Neil Ave.
Columbus OH 43210

and

Polish Academy of Sciences
Institute of Computer Science
ul. Ordona 21
01-237 Warszawa
Poland

email: adamp@ling.ohio-state.edu
URL: http://www.ipipan.waw.pl/mmgroup/ap.html