

ENGLISH AND POLISH VERB PHRASES
OF THE STRUCTURE V+ADJ

MONIKA OSTASZEWSKA

Warsaw University

Both in English and in Polish adjectives¹ can be used either attributively or predicatively, for instance:

Eng. a big table, The table is big.
Pol. duży stół, Stół jest duży.²

Among sentences of the structure

NP+V+Adj

the verbal element is the appropriate form of BE in most cases. However, there are many instances of such sentences in which $V \neq BE$.

In this paper, a tentative analysis of certain types of such sentences is attempted, along with a suggested classification of these types into several groups. Since more types of Verb Phrases of this structure appear in English, the division would apply to English sentences in all cases, whereas in Polish in some instances equivalents must be looked for among other sentence structures. For the same reason the English language will be given first here, since no Polish sentence type not having an equivalent in an English adjectival sentence — that is, a sentence in which the adjective is used predicatively — has been observed.³

¹ For our purposes an adjective can be very informally defined as a word symbolizing "some attribute or quality possessed by the person or thing that a particular noun symbolizes" (Thomas 1965: 151). See also S. Jodłowski (1971: 153). No better definition serving our purposes has been found.

² Discussion of the problem: which adjectives in both languages can be used only in one of these positions has been omitted here. See Bolinger (1967) and also Smólska (1969).

³ In this paper, English phrases with preparatory *it* as well as English and Polish sentences with passive verb forms have been omitted. Only adjectives in the positive degree have been considered.

I. Grammarians do not agree on what syntactic value should be attached to the constituents of VPs in such sentences, nor according to what criteria such VPs should be classified.

As far as the English language is concerned, a variety of terms, suggesting various approaches, have been used.

O. Jespersen (1927: 355-404) distinguishes two basic kinds of predicatives (in our discussion we shall only consider predicative combinations consisting of a verb and an adjective, not for instance a noun etc.): predicatives of being and predicatives of becoming. Each of these groups can in turn be divided into quasi-predicatives and (real) predicatives, the basis for such division being the fact that sentences with real predicatives are wholly or nearly complete without the quasi-predicatives, whereas sentences with real predicatives are not complete without the predicatives, for instance: Predicatives of Being a) quasi-predicative: *She married young*; b) predicative: *She looks pale*; Predicatives of Becoming a) quasi-predicative: *She would grow up pretty*; b) predicative: *She turned pale*.⁴

T. Grzebieniowski (1964: 189 - 190) in a way follows Jespersen in his description, this time dividing VPs into three categories on the basis of the function played by the verbs: 1) VPs with linking verbs with their original meaning preserved: *He fell silent* (?); 2) VPs in which the predicate is both complemented and expanded: *He looks healthy*; 3) VPs in which the predicate is expanded: *He lived poor and he died poor*.

A. Reszkiewicz (1963: 7, 34, and 38) in defining Main Sentence Elements in Modern English makes use of two basic concepts: connotation and determination. Among twelve main sentence elements he discusses two particular types of adjectival PVs and applies the terms Secondary Subject Complement (P₂) to Adjs in sentences like *He seems/looks happy*, and Secondary Predicative Appositive (A₂) to Adjs in sentences like *She married young*.

A. S. Hornby (1956: 68 - 69 and 119 - 124) only discusses the so-called Subject x Verb x Subject Complement combinations (*He seemed much older*) and he distinguishes an entire group of VPs in which V=Inchoative Verb (*The leaves are turning brown*).

N. W. Francis (1958: 343 - 346 and 318) distinguishes VPs in which Adjectives complement verbs (referred to as Linking Verbs), as in *The man seemed hungry*, *The weather turned cold*, and VPs in which Adjs modify verbs, as in *The show fell flat*, *The children ran wild*.

R. H. Zandvoort (1962: 197 - 198) talks only about predicative adjectives: *She kept very quiet*, *The dog went mad*.

M. Ganshina and N. Vasilevskaya (1953: 278 - 281) divide the whole bulk

⁴ In *Analytic Syntax* predicatives of becoming are called Predicatives of Result, i. e., treated like "objects of result" (Jespersen 1937: 38 - 39).

of such VPs into two major groups: VPs with linking verbs and VPs with Double Predicates. In the first group there are three subgroups, i.e., linking verbs of being, as in *He looked pale*, linking verbs of remaining (in a certain state), as in *He remained pale*, and modal linking verbs, as in *He seemed pale*. Double Predicates can be found in sentences such as *The moon rose red*.

O. Thomas (1965: 123 - 125) discusses only VPs with Copulative Verbs as one of the four possible types of verbs, i.e., transitive, intransitive, BE and copulative distinguishing in turn five possible groups: 1) verbs of the senses (*smell, taste, feel, ...*), 2) verbs of appearance (*appear, look, seem, ...*), 3) verbs of action (*grow, turn, ...*), 4) *become* and 5) *stay* and *remain*.

This short survey is representative in that all grammarians (among those who consider English VPs of the structure V+Adj) notice the difference between VPs such as in (1) *She seemed young* and in (2) *She married young*. Yet they fail to differentiate among the various phrase types within (1). If a classification is attempted, it is only a simple grouping of VPs according to verbs appearing in those VPs.

As far as the Polish language is concerned, the traditional approach seems to be favored by Z. Klemensiewicz (1939: 34 and 65) who in sentences such as *Pogoda zrobiła się ładna* claims the presence of *łącznik* (copula) and *orzecznik* (predicative), and in sentences such as *Wracam do domu ponury* the presence of verb and *przydawka orzekająca* (predicative attribute), or, using somewhat different terminology, *przydawka okolicznikowa* (adverbial attribute) (Doroszewski and Wieczorkiewicz 1961: 200).

K. Pisarkowa (1965) represents a totally different point of view, namely that the function of Adjs in VPs of the type discussed here has never been correctly defined and understood, since all the grammarians so far have failed to notice the completely unique internal structure of such clauses, in which Adjs do not function as any of the traditionally accepted sentence parts, i.e., subject, verb, object, modifier or adverbial. She distinguishes three main types of copula in such sentences: *łącznik klasyczny* (classical copula), as *stawać się*, *łącznik nieklasyczny* (non-classical copula), as *wydawać się*, and *pseudo-łącznik* (pseudo-copula), as *wracać*, *leżeć*. In sentences with copulas other than classical copulas adjectives do not function as predicate adjectives. K. Pisarkowa invents the term *określenie predykatywne* (predicative modifier) to account for adjectives (or NPs which may occupy the same syntactic position) appearings in such VPs and she claims the existence of a predicative non-clause-producing relationship, as secondary to the main clause-producing relationship of Subject and Verb, in sentences of the structure NP+V+Adj, where V is different from any classical copula.

Although this study reveals many interesting points about predicative constructions in Polish, it does not discuss in greater detail the differences among the various types of adjectival VPs with pseudo-copulas.

2. In this paper several general assumptions have been made to allow for the tentative classification of English and Polish sentences of the structure NP+V+Adj, where V is different from BE:

(1) Sentences of the structure NP+BE+Adj can be perceived as "neutral" or "unmarked", since they only carry the information that there is an NP such that this NP can be modified by an Adj. Any sentence of the structure NP+V+Adj, where V=BE is "coloured" or "marked" in that it carries some additional information concerning semantic and syntactic relations among these three elements in a sentence.

(2) Among all sentences of the structure discussed here two major types can be distinguished:

A. sentences which are basically one-predicate sentences.

B. sentences which in fact are two predicate sentences. They can always be paraphrased as sentences consisting of two clauses, one of them of the structure NP+BE+Adj or NP+BECOME+Adj.

(3) Any new information mentioned in (1) can be best accounted for in terms of the ways in which either sentences of (2) A are related to some contextual point of reference or clauses of (2) B are related to each other.

Since different sets of criteria have to be employed to account for one-predicate sentences and two-predicate sentences these two major groups will be discussed separately.

2.1. One-predicate sentences

Group I Type: Eng. She grew suspicious.

Pol. (Ona) zrobiła się podejrzliwa.

The only additional information — that is, different from the information that there is an NP such that this NP can be modified by an Adj — to be found in such sentences is that at some point in the past, present or future, referred to in the context, NP+BECOME+Adj, and that in the period prior to this point of reference NP+NOT BE+Adj. To J. Lyons (1968: 397) such sentences are instances of "a more general aspectual opposition which might be called static and dynamic". Thus, BE sentences are rendered as static and BECOME sentences as dynamic.

Examples both in English and in Polish are numerous. What is more interesting is the fact that while in both languages in some cases the choice either of the construction $V_{\text{become}} + \text{Adj}$ (for instance Eng. to *grow/become red*, Pol. *zrobić się czerwonym*) or $V = (\text{BECOME} + \text{Adj})$ (for instance Eng. to *redden*, Pol. *poczerwienić*) is possible, the English language prefers the adjectival construction, and the Polish language chooses its verbal counterpart. The choice often depends on style, for instance: Pol. *Posmutniał* but *Zrobił się (jakiś) smutny i zdenerwowany*.

The variety of verbs to be used in such sentences is also much greater in English (*grow, become, turn, get, come, go, fall, run, wear*) whereas in Polish only a few verbs are available (*stawać się, robić się, and stać się*). It must be remembered that selectional restrictions play an important part in these sentences. That applies mainly to English VPs, but even in English in some instances there is the possible choice of two or more verbs:

Eng. She became (grew, got) suspicious.

Summing up, we may say that the following list of equivalents in both languages can be suggested:

(1) $V_{\text{become}} + \text{Adj}$ only

Eng. She grew suspicious.

Pol. (Ona) zrobiła się podejrzliwa.

(2) $V_{\text{become}} + \text{Adj} / V = (\text{BECOME} + \text{Adj})$

Eng. The ink turns black when it dries.

The ink blackens when it dries.

Pol. Atrament robi się czarny, gdy schnie.

Atrament czernieje, gdy schnie.

(3) $V = (\text{BECOME} + \text{Adj})$ only

Eng. Fruit goes rotten/rots in hot weather.

Pol. Owoce psują się w czasie upału.

Group II Type: Eng. He remains poor.

Pol. (Jak był głupi, tak i) pozostał głupi.

The only additional information to be found in sentences of this type is that at some point in the past, present or future, referred to in the context, NP+CONTINUE TO BE+Adj, and that in the period prior to this moment of reference NP+BE+Adj.

Perhaps some additional information can be obtained here, namely that from the speaker's point of view there are reasons to believe that at the moment of reference NP+MIGHT NOT BE+Adj for instance: *Everything changed but she remained poor* (although there were reasons to believe that since all the other things, changed, her condition would change as well). Otherwise, if not for this underlying assumption, why not use the "neutral" or "unmarked" construction NP+BE+Adj?

Examples are far less numerous than in the previous group. In English only four verbs fit the pattern: *remain, stay, keep* and perhaps *continue*. In Polish only two such verbs have been well studied, i.e. *pozostawać/pozostać*; however, a different construction is generally preferred: NP+BE+Adverb+Adj, where Adverb: *nadal, ciągle*, for instance:

Eng. He (still) remains poor.

Pol. (On) jest nadal biedny/ubogi.

Other Polish equivalents of such English sentences are also possible. Some English sentences of the structure NP+BE+Adj have as their most frequent equivalents Polish sentences of the structure NP+V and the same applies to corresponding constructions with *stay* and *remain*, for instance:

Eng. She remained silent.
Pol. (Ona) nadal milczała.

Summing up we may say that these two types of sentences differ from BE sentences only in one respect: ATTRIBUTE is perceived as a feature of marked duration, i.e. it can either start being an NP's feature, or it can continue being an NP's feature. Although syntactically the sentence pattern remains unchanged, a different set of verbs has to be used. Actually, these verbs are only dynamic variants of BE.

In all such sentences the presence of an adjective is obligatory.⁵

2.2. Two-predicate sentences

Such sentences must be analysed in terms of the relationship between two clauses appearing in the deep structure;

(1) all such sentences must be analysed as consisting in fact of two clauses: VERB clause: VERB clause and ADJECTIVE clause.

(2) the VERB clause can have either the structure:

- A. NP+V+NP/IT or
- B. NP+V

(3) the ADJECTIVE clause can have either the structure:

- A. NP+BE+Adj or
- B. NP+BECOME+Adj

(4) in some sentences analysed into verb clause of the structure NP+V+NP/IT and ADJECTIVE clause different NPs appear as subjects of the two clauses. In other sentences the same NP appears as subjects.

(5) in all sentences with two different NPs as subjects of the clauses, VERB clause verbs differ from verbs appearing in the surface structure of the sentences.

(6) in all sentences analysed into VERB clause of the structure NP+V+NP/IT and ADJECTIVE clause the VERB clause NP must be marked as "human"/"animal".

⁵ Because of the limited scope of the paper discussion of the problem which of the traditional parts of speech can occupy this syntactic position has been omitted.

As for optional as opposed to obligatory appearance of the third sentence element (besides NP and V) in such sentences, see O. Jespersen (1927: 358), A. Reszkiewicz (1963: 34 and 38) and K. Pisarkowa (1965: 98).

(7) all the sentences of (6) have the obligatory structure NP+V+Adj; in other sentences the presence of Adj is optional.

Group III Type: Eng. He plays dead.
Pol. (On) udaje nieżywego.

Structure:

NP₁+V | IT=NP₁+BE+Adj

Description:

- (1) In both clauses, the same NP appears as subjects.
- (2) The NP must be marked as "human"/"animal".⁶
- (3) Both clauses have the same temporal conditions.
- (4) The same verb appears in the VERB clause, as in the surface structure of the sentence:

He plays ("IT") that he is dead.
On udaje ("TO"), że jest nieżywy.

In order to account for the surface structure of the sentence, one of the identical NPs is deleted, "IT" is deleted, and any function that can be played by BE is taken over by the V. Therefore, we get:

NP ₁	+ V	+ IT	:	NP ₁	+ BE	+ Adj
He	plays			dead		
On	udaje			nieżywego		

English verbs to appear in such sentences are *play*, *sham* and *feel*, while in Polish we find, for instance, *udawać*, *pozować* (*na*), *uważać* (*się*) (*za*), *czuć* (*się*) etc., in such constructions.

But another problem arises: Polish *się* may suggest that these sentences are actually equal to sentences of quite a different surface structure, i.e., NP₁+V+NP₂+Adj where the second NP is a reflexive pronoun corresponding to the first NP, as in Eng. *He considers/counts himself unlucky*.

Therefore, the only Polish sentences in which there is no trace of the deleted NP in the surface structure are sentences with *udawać* and *pozować*: Pol. *On udaje nieszczęśliwego/pozuje na naiwnego*.

Since Polish examples seem more numerous here, the English equivalents must be looked for. On the whole, in English we either get equivalent adjectival constructions, for instance:

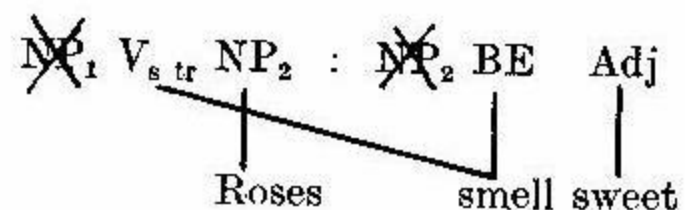
Pol. (On) czuje się nieszczęśliwy.
Eng. He feels miserable.

Description:

- (1) Each clause has a different NP as a subject.
- (2) The NP₁ of the VERB clause must be marked as "human"/"animal".
- (3) Both clauses have the same temporal conditions.
- (4) The verb in the VERB clause is different from the verb appearing in the surface structure of the sentence in that it is the transitive counterpart of the corresponding intransitive verb of the senses:

smell ₁ (intransitive)	→	smell ₂ (transitive)	
look ¹⁰	→	see	„
sound	→	hear	„
feel ₁	→	feel ₂	„
taste ₁	→	taste ₂	„

In order to account for the surface structure of these sentences, the NP of the VERB clause is deleted; one of the two identical NPs is deleted and the remaining NP becomes the surface subject of the sentence. Any function that can be played by BE is taken over by the transitive V of the senses, which then becomes the intransitive V of the senses. Therefore, we get:



When compared to BE sentences, they differ in that the additional information they convey is which of the five human/animal senses has been employed to obtain the knowledge of NP+BE+Adj. This should not be taken literally, since for instance *The sentence sounds interesting* does not necessarily mean that the sentence has actually been uttered or heard.

In Polish, whenever a corresponding intransitive verb of the senses is available (i.e. *pachnieć, wyglądać, brzmieć*) English sentences are rendered as sentences of the structure NP+V+Adverb, for instance:

Pol. Róże pachną słodko.
Wyglądasz pięknie.
Pańskie pytanie brzmi interesująco.

Those adverbs are probably those manner adverbials which can be traced back to descriptive adjectives in a derivation (cf. Thomas 1965: 169 and 174).

Otherwise, when no equivalent intransitive verb of the senses is available,

¹⁰ *Feel* and *look* of this group are different from *feel* and *look* of Groups III and IV respectively.

equivalent Polish sentences have the surface structure NP+BE+Adj+w+N, for instance:

Pol. Jedwab jest gładki w dotyku.
Cukier jest słodki w smaku.

NS must be treated as Nouns generated from corresponding transitive verbs of the senses.

Ending our discussion of sentences of Groups III, IV, and V, we must again point out that the presence of adjectives in all these sentences is obligatory.

In the remaining Groups VI and VII, the presence of adjectives is optional.

Group VI Type: Eng. He came (home) sick.
Pol. (On) wrócił chory.

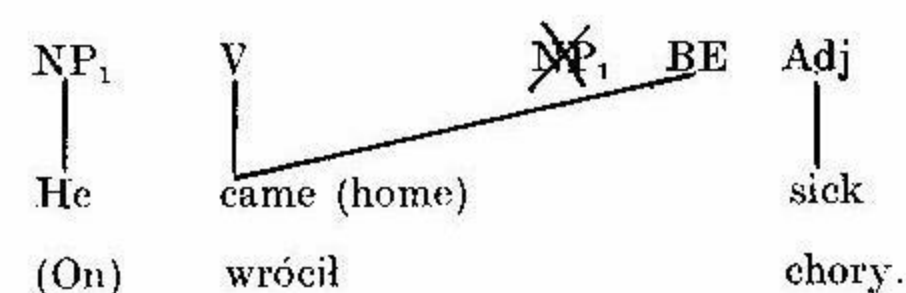
Structure:

NP₁-V (and) NP₁-BE+Adj

Description:

- (1) The same NP appears as subjects of these two clauses.
- (2) Both clauses have the same temporal conditions.
- (3) The same verb appears in the VERB clause as in the surface structure of the sentence; it can be practically any verb of action or state.

In order to account for the surface structure of the sentence, one of the two identical NPs is deleted and the remaining NP becomes the surface structure of the sentence. Any function that can be played by BE is taken over by the V. Therefore, we get:



Such sentences differ greatly from BE sentences in that apart from informing that NP+BE+Adj, they also supply information as to what NP is doing or what is happening to NP.

In Polish, some sentences of this type are rendered by sentences with adjectives only:

Eng. He came (home) sick.
Pol. (On) wrócił (do domu) chory.

some by sentences with either adjectives or adverbs:

Eng. He sat motionless.

Pol. (On) siedział nieruchomy/nieruchomo (or even *bez ruchu*);

and some by sentences with adverbs only:

Eng. She died young.

Pol. (Ona) umarła młodo.

It seems that any adverb appearing here may be traced back to a descriptive adjective in a derivation¹¹.

Group VII Type: Eng. The fire has burnt low.
She will grow up pretty.
Pol. — (no Polish adjectival sentence of this structure in this group)

Structure:

NP₁+V (so that) NP₁+BECOME+Adj

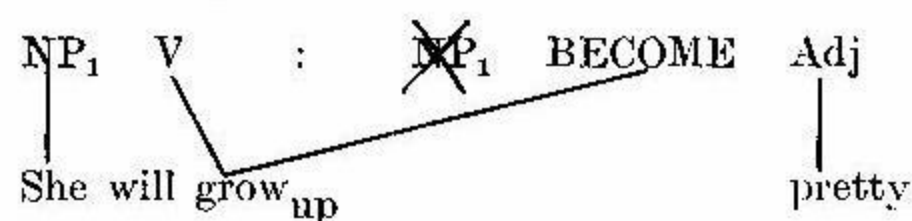
Description:

(1) The same NP appears as subjects of these two clauses.

(2) The time factor is important here: the VERB clause action begins at a moment earlier than that at which NP+BECOME+Adj. Thus, the VERB clauses are "causative" in that such sentences mean as much as: NP+BECOME+Adj+by+V-ing, for instance *The fire has become low by burning* (cf. Jespersen 1927: 388).

(3) The same verb appears in the VERB clause as in the surface structure of the sentence. It is one of the limited number of verbs naming processes capable of producing changes in ATTRIBUTE of the subject, for instance *She will grow up pretty — but she is not pretty now, she is plain*.

In order to account for the surface structure of such sentences, one of the identical NPs is deleted and the remaining NP becomes the surface subject of the sentence. Any function that can be played by BECOME is taken over by the V. Therefore, we get:



¹¹ R. Grzegorzczkova (1970: 211) distinguishes two kinds of the so-called *przydawka predykatywna* (predicative attribute) and claims that whenever this predicative attribute modifies both the subject and the verb, it can also appear as an adverb (*mieszka bezpiecznie — mieszka bezpiecznie*), but when it modifies the subject only, it can never appear as an adverb (*wrócił zły/*źle*).

In Polish, such sentences are usually translated as sentences of the surface structure NP+V(=BECOME+Adj) +Pr. Participle (of the V equivalent to the Eng. V), for instance:

Eng. The fire has burnt low.

Pol. Ogień obniżył się/zmniejszył się płonąć.

But there are cases in which a Polish adjectival equivalent of the English adjective appears in the translation, namely when the Polish adjective is one of the constituents of an NP occupying the corresponding position in the Polish sentence, as Adjective alone does in the English sentence, for instance:

Eng. She will grow up pretty.

Pol. /Ona/ wyrośnie na ładną dziewczynę.

3. Concluding remarks

Among English and Polish sentences of the structure NP+V+Adj, where V≠BE, two major groups of sentences can be distinguished on the basis of these sentences being analysed either as one- or two-predicate sentences.

The one-predicate sentences can in turn be analysed in terms of the relationship between the sentences themselves and some contextual point of reference. On the other hand the two-predicate sentences can be analysed in terms of the way in which the two embedded clauses are related.

Altogether, seven different types of sentences have been distinguished. Sentences of Group V and Group VI appear only in English. The remaining five sentence types appear in both languages, although equivalents must sometimes be looked for among other constructions different from the V+Adj pattern. Since these equivalents are to be found among adverbs and verbs as well (and perhaps also among nouns), it seems that the feature ATTRIBUTE must be considered not as an inherent feature of adjectives only, but of those other parts of speech as well.

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