

THE PASSIVE CONSTRUCTION BYĆ/ZOSTAĆ + V-N-/-ON-/-T-  
IN POLISH :  
AN ASPECTUAL ANALYSIS

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The passive construction *być/zostać* + V-*n-/-on-/-t-*  
in Polish:  
An aspectual analysis

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MLitt in Language and Linguistics

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I hereby certify that this dissertation, which is 15,765 words in length (excluding appendices and bibliography), has been composed by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree. This project was conducted by me at the University of St Andrews from June 2012 to August 2012 towards fulfillment of the requirements of the University of St Andrews for the degree of MLitt in Language and Linguistics under the supervision of Dr Christopher Beedham

Date: 05/09/2012

Signature of candidate

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## 1. Introduction

The idea that passive sentences are equivalent in meaning to their active counterparts has raised numerous questions among linguists particularly for the last several decades. The main dilemma regarding this relationship concerns the very need for an alternative synonymous construction such as the passive. The focus has mostly been on issues concerning the preference for using passive sentences in certain types of discourse as well as the divergent liking for and frequency of using passive in different languages. However, apart from these concerns, there have gradually appeared questions and doubts related to the very nature and meaning of the passive. Many linguists have argued that the passive and its corresponding active are not synonymous (Ziff 1966: 226) and that “most sentences that are good in the active voice are just grotesque curiosities when put into the passive voice” (Allen 1974: 277). Moreover, some actives and passives do not have counterparts in the other voice (Davison 1981: 440). Not only has the semantic equivalence between passives and actives been questioned but also the syntactic correlation, which led linguists to search for new theories and put forward alternative hypotheses.

The following work aims to present one of the alternative approaches towards the passive. It is based on the aspectual analysis of the passive and the method of lexical exceptions advanced and applied to English, German, and Russian in Beedham (2005). In this dissertation the method of lexical exceptions will be implemented in an analysis of the passive in Polish and it will be shown that the voice analysis of the passive in Polish is misguided and an alternative aspectual analysis provides answers and explanations to inconsistencies associated with the generally accepted voice analysis of the Polish passive. The dissertation consists of three main parts, which discuss the theoretical background of the passive in general and in Polish; problems associated with the universal definition of passive and synchronic solutions based on an aspectual analysis; and issues concerning the Polish passive, with a presentation of a new alternative analysis of the *być/zostać* + V-n/-on/-t- construction.

Chapter 2 aims to present the most commonly accepted and approved definition of the passive, which is based on the voice analysis and which advocates a link between

the passive and the active in terms of syntax and semantics. It demonstrates the essential theories and arguments advocated by traditional and generative grammar as well as influences from various linguistic fields such as psycholinguistics and pragmatics. The discussion at this point is mainly based on the passive in English, with the focus on the 'be + participle' construction, for it is the equivalent construction formally speaking, i.e. Auxiliary + participle which is the focus of the analysis of the passive in Polish. A discussion of the Polish passive follows the presentation of the general characterization of the passive.

In chapter 3 the main principles governing the classification of the passive are put into question. Semantic, syntactic and pragmatic exceptions and inconsistencies are demonstrated. This is followed by a presentation of possible alternative explanations and the discussion concerning the aspectual analysis of passive advanced by Beedham.

Chapter 4, which is devoted to the Polish passive, examines inconsistencies related to the alleged link with the active, and certain other problems arising from the voice analysis of the *być/zostać + V-n/-on-/-t-* construction. Furthermore, it shows the possibility of applying the aspectual analysis of the passive to Polish and its relevance to answering several questions and doubts stemming from the voice analysis of passive. This discussion serves as the cornerstone of my hypothesis that the passive is an aspect in Polish. The arguments supporting my hypothesis are based on carefully selected data including non-passivizable transitive verbs and example sentences, partly adapted from a corpus (Saloni et al. 2007), consulting with native-speaker informants, illustrating the advantage of the aspectual analysis of the Polish passive over the voice analysis.

The conclusion of the dissertation presents concluding remarks concerned with the appropriateness and accuracy of applying the method of lexical exceptions to the Polish passive construction and analysing it as an aspect rather than a voice of the verb.

## **2. The passive: Theoretical Background**

### **2.1. General remarks on the passive**

#### ***2.1.1. Preliminary remarks on the passive***

The passive is considered to be a complex and diversified phenomenon in linguistics, for it covers a whole range of different constructions. Langacker and Munro argue that the passive should be defined in terms of a cluster of properties, “which include embedding to a stative-existential predicate, unspecified semantic subject, and topicalization (or at least 'foregrounding') of the underlying object (e.g. by virtue of its movement to surface subject position)” (Langacker and Munro 1975: 792). At the same time, they maintain that these properties are not essentially connected and while some constructions (prototypical passive constructions) may exhibit all the features, there are also semi-passives which possess only two of the typical characteristics (Langacker and Munro 1975: 792). Due to the complex nature of the passive voice and the abundance of passive-like constructions, I shall refrain from examining such concepts as the impersonal, middle passive or pseudo-passive, for that would require a much wider discussion not necessarily relevant to the focus of my dissertation. Accordingly, I shall confine my general discussion in this section concerning passive to the participial construction 'be + participle', focusing mainly on the English passive.

Whether in a school grammar or a linguistic treatise, the passive is generally defined by a set of consistent rules which are universally recognised among many nominative-accusative languages. These rules have been widely discussed and researched by linguists of different, often contrasting, schools, who, despite having individual approaches to the construction, agree for the most part on the basic assumption that passives are related to the actives, under the voice analysis. The most important features of the prototypical passive, which include functional, morpho-syntactic and morpho-semantic characteristics, are discussed below.

#### ***2.1.2. Characteristics of the passive***

In most descriptive approaches to the passive the relation to the active plays a significant role. It is often argued that passive sentences are semantically equivalent to their active counterparts and that the passive is merely a device which allows some

'flexibility in viewing thematic roles' (Saeed 2003: 164). According to Barber, it is a strategical tool whose function is to shift NPs within the sentence in order to topicalize the element of the sentence which is to be emphasised (Barber 1975: 16). As Toyota and Mustafović note, "the passive subject corresponds to the active object, and the oblique actor phrase of the passive corresponds to the active subject" (Toyota and Mustafović 2006: 194). Thus passive has been ascribed a communicative function strictly connected with the placement of logical subject. Originally in linguistics it was the initial subject position that was perceived as the focal point of the sentence. However, it has been argued recently that it is the object position at the end of the sentence that receives the greatest emphasis, because of the phonetic stress and introduction of the by-phrase<sup>1</sup> (Hupet and Le Bouedec 1975: 324). Yet the most important and convincing argument advocating the latter assumption is the theme and rheme distribution. This concept is part of the functional approach to passive which focuses on the communicative function of the structure and which discusses the distribution of the new and the old information conveyed in the sentence.

Apart from the relation to actives, passive voice is defined and characterized by the required presence of a transitive verb. As Siewierska notes, the terms *passive* and *transitivity* are often conjoined in linguistic literature. It is frequently argued that for a clause to be passivized it has to be transitive (Siewierska 1984: 8). Thus, the commonly accepted assumption (if not a rule) is that only transitive verbs can be used in the passive. Moreover, there should be no exception from the principle, which implies that each and every transitive verb should be able to appear in the passive voice. This is also connected with the fact that passive is reduced in valence. The verb which in the active sentence was bivalent becomes monovalent in the passive, ipso facto becoming an intransitive verb (Toyota and Mustafović 2006: 194).

The above presented features couple with the last important characteristic of the passive, which says that passives are derived from underlying actives. According to transformational grammar, passives are structurally derived from actives and the formation of passive sentences is based on transformational rules (Freidin 1975: 384).

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<sup>1</sup> The second argument, i.e. the introduction of the by-phrase, is relevant to the analysis of the passive in English. Also, the phonetic stress and intonation may vary from language to language. Thus, the arguments should not be treated as universally applied.

Within this framework, linguists following Chomsky's Passive Transformation theory advocate the regularities of language, one of which is the active-passive relation (Granger 1983: 12). Under this view, passives are derived from corresponding actives by means of transformational rules. The main reason for these rules is to avoid undesirable duplication which would take place if passives were included in phrase structure rules. Hence, Chomsky suggests introducing a passive transformation rule which prevents the problem of duplication (Granger 1983: 13). It must be, however, stressed that while the traditionalists' assumption that the relation between actives and passives is on a horizontal level, i.e. they are syntactically equal, the transformationalists' theory presents the relation vertically: the passive is derived from a corresponding active sentence (Granger 1983: 14). In other words, in the point of view of transformationalists there must exist an active sentence first in order to form a corresponding passive sentence. This dependency is not expressed by traditionalists. The reason for choosing the active as the kernel sentence in transformational grammar is that it seems less complex than going in the opposite direction (Svartvik 1966: 2). Moreover, actives are considered more central than passive because "the transformation which generates passives from actives is not reversible, as there is no way of identifying the prepositional phrase with *by* which contains the subject of the active (Lees 1957: 388). The following example illustrates the fact:

John was hurt by the bridge. → \*The bridge hurt John. (Lees 1957: 388)

### ***2.1.3. Function of the passive***

As noted previously, regardless of whether the assumption that passives and actives are synonymous is true or not, the passive is ascribed its unique function distinct from the active. It is evident that the passive is given preference in certain types of discourse. According to Calhoun, transformational grammar has failed to capture the relation between passives and actives, because it was based on form and structure rather than function. He believes it is the speaker's aim or context that motivates the choice between an active and a passive sentence (Calhoun, cited in Granger 1983: 40-41). Usually, the speaker's objective is to hide or omit the agent. This is mostly true in the case of agentless passives (Granger 1983: 8). If, however, the agent is present in the passive sentence, it is downgraded to the object position. Thus, whether the oblique

actor phrase is expressed or not, it is highly non-topical. This function of the passive is called the defocusing of the agent (Fox and Hopper 1994: xi, 16). Sledd argues that in the case of English, the passive is the only way to express an idea without revealing the agent, for the language lacks an indefinite personal pronoun which could fulfil the function (cited in Granger 1983: 9). Allen adds that it is for that reason that the passive plays such an important role in the English language, as opposed to other European languages, such as French, German or Polish, which prefer to use the indefinite pronoun or reflexives (Allen 1974: 265).

While the agent is suppressed, the patient of an active sentence is topicalized in the passive counterpart (Fox and Hopper 1994: xi, 16). There have been debates among linguists whether either of these functions prevails. Givón, for example, claims that the topicalization of the patient is merely a “default consequence of agent suppression” (Givón 2001: 125). However, if the function of the passive is to allow the speaker to rearrange the elements of the sentence in order to emphasise some of them, it is possible to hypothesise that the topicalization of the patient is done intentionally. According to Leuthold, it appears to be reasonable to include important information at the beginning of a sentence for it is highly likely that the listener will miss the information which appears closer to the end of it. He further notes that active sentences are preferred to passive sentences since it is easier to respond to them and a speaker is less likely to make semantic mistakes when answering them (Leuthold 2012: <http://www.esrc.ac.uk/news-and-events/press-releases/21923/getting-your-message-across.aspx>). This view accords with the general principle that governs the use of the passive. According to Allen, “when the main interest of the speaker or writer is on the verb activity itself rather than on the active subject, there is a desire to express the idea first” (Allen 1974: 270-271). Thus the sentence:

(1) English is spoken all over the world.

is preferred to the sentence:

(2) People speak English all over the world.

for the word order in sentence (2) puts too much weight on the vague subject *People*, while the real interest lies in ‘speaking English’ (Allen 1974: 271).

The last significant function of the passive is the stativisation of the event (Fox and Hopper 1994: xi, 16), which, according to Givón, is related to the usage of the auxiliary 'be' with non-finite verb forms in the process of passivisation (Toyota and Mustafović 2000: 192). This function, however, is not entirely convincing. There are certain Indo-European languages (e.g. German, Polish, Dutch) which, apart from using the typical 'be' auxiliary, construct the passive sentences by means of the auxiliary 'become'. Such passives are usually considered to express the dynamic aspect (Toyota and Mustafović 2006: 192-193) Furthermore, even in English, which expresses the passive only by means of the 'be' auxiliary, the interpretation may be two-fold i.e. actional or statal based on the context (Beedham 2005: 34). Thus, the sentence:

(3) The door was closed.

may either mean that “the door was closed by the janitor at 6.00 (actional passive)<sup>2</sup>, or the door was closed (shut, not open) when I walked past it at 6.00 (statal passive)” (Beedham 2005: 34). However, this ambiguity is only true for conclusive<sup>3</sup> verbs, i.e. “verbs in which the action is either confined to one single moment or implies a finite aim” (Jespersen, cited in Granger 1983: 87), examples of which are: *catch*, *surprise*, *make* or *bring*. The dichotomy discussed by Beedham is presented slightly differently by Granger, who points to the difference between so-called verbal passives and adjectival non-passives. The 'be + participle' is not solely used for constructing the passive voice. It is also used as a copular construction consisting of the same elements, where the participle is regarded as an adjective following the copular verb 'be'. Thus, the function of stativisation is questionable and is not considered crucial in the passive (Toyota and Mustafović 2006: 194).

The above presented characteristics and functions of the passive are considered to be the most fundamental ones. They are, by and large, based on the voice analysis and they are acknowledged by most linguists regardless of whether they advocate traditional, generative or functional approaches to the passive. Therefore, the crucial

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<sup>2</sup> Actional passives and statal passives are also referred to as *passives of becoming* and *passives of being* respectively (Granger 1983:88).

<sup>3</sup> Conclusive verbs are opposed to non-conclusive verbs, which denote “feelings, states of mind etc.: the activity, if any such is implied, is not begun in order to be finished” (Jespersen in Granger 1983:87).

conclusion to be drawn is that under the voice analysis of passive one has to consider the semantic relation between passives and actives, the presence of transitive verbs, and the derivational nature of passives. Moreover, the three universally acknowledged functions of passive, i.e. topicalisation of the patient, defocusing of the agent, and stativisation of the event, must be taken into account as well. Even though the characteristics are mainly based on English, they hold true for most Indo-European languages which possess the 'be + participle' construction used for forming the passive. In the next section these features of the passive will be examined and compared with the linguistic theory behind the passive in Polish.

## 2.2. The Passive in Polish

### 2.2.1. *The typology of passive-like constructions in Polish*

Polish has a wide range of grammatical constructions which fall under the category of passive voice. However, there seems to exist a tendency among linguists to distinguish between the most typical passive construction, i.e. the participial passive, and other structures referred to as passive-like constructions (Kibort 2004). Kibort identifies the following passive-like constructions in Polish: a subjectless passive, various reflexive constructions, the *-no/-to* impersonal construction, impersonal clauses using default personal, i.e. 3sg. (neut) form of the verb., and the conventional use of 3pl. agreement in Polish, analogous to the use in English of the 3pl pronoun with unspecified reference (Kibort 2004: 10-14). I shall present a brief discussion of the above mentioned passive-like constructions as well as explain the difference between them and the participial *być/zostać + -n-, -on-, -t-* passive, which is the focus of my dissertation.

The first passive-like construction is the subjectless passive i.e. a construction which does not reveal the subject of the predicate.

#### 1. Subjectless passive

- (4) Wczoraj        było    sprzątane.  
 Yesterday      was    cleaned.  
 'they cleaned yesterday'

- (5) Tutaj    było    sprzątane.

Here was cleaned.  
'they cleaned here'

It can be inferred from the examples that what becomes the theme in the passive constructions presented above corresponds to the place and time adverbials in active counterparts respectively. The following pair illustrates the relation:

(6) Wczoraj było sprzątane.  
Yesterday was cleaned.  
'they cleaned yesterday'

(7) Ktoś sprzątał wczoraj.  
'somebody cleaned yesterday'

The sentences express the same idea, but, the stress is put on different elements. It is relevant to the functional sentence perspective or the theme-rheme distribution within the sentence (Granger 1983: 28). The choice between these two sentences is strictly connected with the information that is to be emphasized. It would be, however, difficult to discuss the relevance of the prototypical function of the passive which is the role of de-focusing of the agent or topicalization of the patient (Fox 1994: 16), since there is no mention of the object or patient that is affected by the action.

## 2. Reflexive constructions

The reflexive construction in Polish is composed of the personal or impersonal form of the verb and the reflexive morpheme *się*. Kibort compares them to a morphologically similar construction in Russian,<sup>4</sup> which is used for creating passives with imperfective verbs (Kibort 2004: 11). The following examples illustrate the affinity:

Russian:

(8) Most stroilsja izvestnym inženerom.

<sup>4</sup> "With the exceptions of Polish the periphrastic personal passive in the Slavic languages tends to be used with perfective verbs. Russian in fact employs the periphrastic personal passive exclusively with perfective verbs, while imperfective verbs occur in the reflexive passive" (Siewierska 1988:247).

Bridge            built-itself-IMPF      famous-INSTR      engineer-INSTR  
 'the bridge was built by a famous engineer' (Beedham 2005: 47)

Polish:

(9) Most            się            budował.  
 bridge            itself-REFL      built-IMPF  
 'the bridge was built'

However, it is rather uncommon to mention the agent in the reflexive construction in Polish. Thus, it would be ungrammatical to say:

(10)\*Most            się            budował      przez      sławnego      inżyniera.  
 Bridge            itself-REFL      built            by      famous-GEN      engineer-GEN  
 'the bridge was built by a famous engineer'

The reflexive *się* does not allow the use of the agentive 'by'-phrase in reflexive constructions, but it accepts in some instances the introduction of the agent<sup>5</sup> in the dative case.

Example:

(11) Szklanka            mi            się            zbiła.  
 Glass-NOM.FEM      me-DAT      itself-REFL      broke-3SG-FEM  
 'the glass broke (on me)'

The above situation is a result of a spontaneous action. As Shibatani notices:

“defocusing of an agent is highly germane to spontaneous events and states. An event predicated of an agent is basically causative; i.e. an event is brought about by an agent. But an event dissociated from an agent is one occurring spontaneously. Thus a sentence with a defocused agent may be utilized to describe a spontaneous event” (Shibatani 1985: 838).

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<sup>5</sup> The participant of the action does not necessarily have to be the agent; the introduction of the participant in the dative case indicates some sort of connection between the subject and the participant. The action influences the participant but the participant does not crucially have to be the agent/doer of the action.

Another reflexive construction with a semi-passive meaning is the reflexive impersonal construction. The difference between this construction and the reflexive personal construction is not easily detectable in the present tense but it can be observed in clauses put in the past form. Thus, while:

- (12) Dom                      się              buduje              łatwo.  
 House-NOM/ACC    itself-REFL    build-3SG    easily  
 ‘the house is building easily’/ ‘there are no problems in building of the house’

may be ambiguous, the following two examples illustrate the morphological difference between the above discussed constructions.

- (13) Dom              się              budował              łatwo.  
 House-NOM    itself-REFL    build-3SG-M    easily  
 ‘the house is building easily’

- (14) Dom              się              budowało              łatwo.  
 house-ACC    itself-REFL    build-3SG-N    easily  
 ‘there are no problems in building the house’  
 (Kibort 2004: 286)

It appears to me that the choice of the reflexive constructions is connected with intentionality. The following examples illustrate the difference.

- (15) Komputer              mi              się              zepsuł.  
 Computer-N-M    me-DAT    itself-REFL    broke-3SG-M  
 ‘the computer broke to me’

- (16) Książka              mi              się              zniszczyła.  
 Book-N-F    me-DAT    itself-REFL    break-AST-3SG-F  
 ‘the book got ruined to me’

(17) Szklanka mi się zbiła.  
 Glass-N-F me-DAT itself-REFL broke-3SG-F  
 ‘the glass broke to me’

(18) Drzwi mi się zepsuły.  
 Door-N-PL-F me-DAT itself-REFL broke-3PL-F  
 ‘the door broke to me’

In all the above examples the verb is in agreement with the subject which is in the nominative case,

whereas in the following examples, the subject is in the accusative case and does not agree with the verb form:

(19) Naczynia mi się myło  
 szybko.  
 Dishes-ACC me-Dat itself-REFL cleaned-3PS-NEUT  
 fast  
 ‘the dishes cleaned fast by me’

(20) Sok mi się piło szybko. (or: Szybko mi się  
 piło sok.)  
 juice-ACC me-Dat itself-REFL drank-3PS-NEUT  
 ‘the juice drank fast by me’

The difference between the personal reflexives and impersonal reflexives lies in the intentionality of the action (or at least the presence of an animate causer). While sentences with the personal reflexives accept that the situation described might be a result of a spontaneous, unintentional action, sentences with the impersonal reflexive require some sort of purpose on the part of the causer. Moreover, it would be ungrammatical to use the personal reflexive in cases of intentional actions.

Compare:

(21) Zbiłam szklankę. (unintentionally)

I broke a glass.

Szklanka (mi) się zbiła.

A glass broke (to me).

(22) Zbiłam dziecko. (intentionally)

I beat a child.

\*Dziecko (mi) się zbiło.

A child beat itself (to me). (A child got beaten.)

and

(23) Pościeliłem łóżko. (intentionally)

I made the bed.

(24) \*Łóżko się pościeliło.

The bed made itself.

(25) Zjadli kanapki. (intentionally)

They ate the sandwiches.

(26) \*Kanapki się zjadły.

The sandwiches ate themselves.

### 3. The *-no/-to* impersonal construction

The *-no/-to* impersonal construction has the function of the canonical passive, which implies that it can be considered to be a passive, despite not looking like a passive formally, i.e. *być/zostać + V-n-/-on-/-t-* (Kibort 2004: 13). The following examples illustrate the affinity:

(27) Bi-to                      Piotra.  
 Beat-IMPERS                Peter-M.ACC  
 'Peter was beaten'

(28) Piotr                      był                      bi-ty.  
 Peter-M-NOM                was-3SG.M    beat-PART  
 'Peter was beaten'

The main difference is that while the verb form in the canonical passive is marked for gender, the verb form in the *-no/-to* impersonal is not. An additional example of this construction is presented below:

(29) Tutaj sprzątano.  
 Here cleaned-IMPERS  
 'this area has been cleaned'

4. Impersonal clauses using default personal, i.e. 3sg. (neut), form of the verb.

The constructions which use the default personal form of the verb are often referred to as 'weather constructions' and 'adversity impersonals' (Kibort 2004: 14), for they are used to describe the weather and unpredictable, human-independent influences of external sources (usually from nature).

Examples:

(30) Pada/ Świta.  
 rains/dawns  
 'it is raining/dawning'

(31) Wyrzuciło                łódkę                      na                brzeg.  
 threw-3SG-NEUT    boat-FEM-ACC            on                shore-ACC  
 'boat got thrown out to the shore'

The problem with the first construction being considered passive under the voice analysis is that there is no undergoer/receptient of the action (in the first example). Furthermore, both constructions are structurally active, the action is presented from the perspective of the causer (*rain* in the first example, and *water* in the second one).

#### 5. The conventional use of 3pl. agreement in Polish.

This construction is considered to be another way of implying an unspecified agent.

Example:

- (32) Wybudowali we wsi nową szkołę.  
 (they) built in village new school  
 'they have built a new school in the village'

However, similarly to the impersonal clauses using default personal, i.e. 3sg. (neut), form of the verb, it is clearly in the active voice if we consider the rules which determine the active-passive distinction, i.e. the agent is in the subject position (the only difference being that it is not specified) and the object is in the object position, there is no alteration to the word order and no stativisation of the action. Thus, it seems unusual to call the construction passive only on the basis of the unspecified agent.

The passive-like construction presented above illustrate how complex the notion of the passive in Polish is. Due to this fact, I will confine myself to the participial passive, i.e. *być/zostać* + V-*n/-on-/-t-*, which is discussed in detail in the following section.

#### **2.2.2. The participial passive in Polish**

The Polish passive is defined in accordance with what has previously been stated about the fundamental principles of the passive in Indo-European languages. The periphrastic passive is constructed by means of the auxiliary verb *być* 'to be' or *zostać* 'remain/become' or, occasionally, the auxiliary *bywać*, which stresses the recurrence of an action (Brajerski 1972: 32) and the passive<sup>6</sup> participle: V-*n/-on-/-t-*.

Examples:

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<sup>6</sup> In Polish the participle is called *imię słów bierny*, which literally means 'passive participle', as opposed to *imię słów czynny*, which means 'active participle', which corresponds to the English present participle.

(33) Pojemnik na odpady był regularnie opróżniany.  
 Container for waste was regularly emptied-IMPF  
 'the container for waste materials was regularly emptied'

(34) Regulamin jest zawarty na ostatnich stronach dokumentu.  
 'regulations is included-PERF on last pages document'  
 'the regulations are included on the last pages of the document'

(35) Szkoła została zamknięta na czas ferii zimowych.  
 school became closed-PERF for time winter holiday  
 'the school has been closed for the winter holidays'

The *być* auxiliary can take both participles derived from imperfective and perfective verbs as demonstrated above, whilst *zostać* can form the passive only with participles deriving from perfective verbs. Moreover, while the *być* auxiliary can appear in all three tenses, i.e. past, present and future, *zostać* can appear only in the past and future tenses.<sup>7</sup>

The following characteristics of the Polish passive illustrate how the universally recognized features of the passive relate to Polish as well. The first feature concerns the synonymy between actives and passives. The passive sentence is considered to be the equivalent to an underlying active sentence. Thus the sentence:

(36) Student przeczytał książkę.  
 student read-PAST-3SG-MASC book-ACC  
 'the student read/has read the book'

is in close semantic affinity to the sentence:

(37) Książka została przeczytana przez studenta.

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<sup>7</sup> Both verbs also appear to form the passive in conditional and imperative clauses.

Book-N-FEM became/remained read-PAST.PERF.FEM by a student  
 'the book was read/has been read by the student'

Furthermore, passive sentences are derived from active sentences constructed with transitive verbs which govern the accusative and in some cases the instrumental and genitive cases (Kaleta 1995: 303). It is also argued by the majority of linguists that only sentences with transitive verbs can be turned into the passive (Bartnicka and Jaworski 1964: 96, Topolińska et al 1984: 33, Nagórko 140: 2007).

Moreover, the direct object in the active sentence becomes the subject of the passive sentence. The subject of the sentence in the active becomes the direct object of the sentence in the passive. It is introduced in the passive by means of the preposition *przez* 'by' (Kaleta 1995: 303-305).

Example:

(38) Dzieci ze szkoły numer 9 namalowały te obrazy.  
 children from school number 9 painted these pictures  
 'children from school number 9 painted the pictures'

(39) Te obrazy były/zostały namalowane przez dzieci ze szkoły  
 numer 9.  
 these pictures were painted by children from school  
 number 9.  
 'the pictures were painted by children from school number 9'

In addition to the general principles, there exists a rule which allows the omission of the auxiliary in the 3<sup>rd</sup> singular and plural forms (i.e. *jest* and *są*) as well as the deletion of the stem of the auxiliary in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> persons of both forms (i.e. *jest* in *jest-em*, *jest-eś* etc., where *-em* and *-eś* are the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular inflectional endings respectively) (Brajerski 1972:32). Thus, instead of saying:

(40) Widzę, iż wbrew intencjom księcia w niewoli jest tu  
 trzymana.

(I) see that in spite intentions prince's in captivity is here  
kept-FEM

'I see that in spite of the prince's intentions she is kept in captivity'

it can be said:

(41) Widzę, iż wbrew intencjom księcia w niewoli tu  
trzymana.

(I) see that in spite intentions prince's in captivity here  
kept-FEM

'I see that in spite of the prince's intentions she is kept in captivity'

Considering the characteristics of the *być/zostać + V-n-/-on-/-t-* construction in Polish, it can be observed that they do not differ particularly from the general definition of passive in Indo-European languages. Thus, it seems logical that the construction is included in the voice analysis under the label of passive. However, there are certain inconsistencies and exceptions which do not allow the construction to be considered a voice category. These discrepancies are crucial in determining the real grammatical category to which the passive construction belongs.

## 2.3. Voice and Aspect

### 2.3.1 Voice

Since the intention of the present discussion is to argue that the passive in Polish is an aspect rather than a voice category, it is essential, for a thorough understanding of the matter, that these two terms are explained and defined. Both voice and aspect are grammatical categories which allow the speaker to present a situation in various ways depending on the element that is to be emphasized. Voice is often said to be the feature of a clause which “enables us to view the action of a sentence in two ways without any change in the fact reported” (Quirk 1985: 159). Comrie and Polinsky define voice as “an inflectional category such that its grammemes specify such modifications of the basic diathesis of a lexical unit that do not affect its propositional meaning” (Comrie and Polinsky 1993: 11). Further, *Iriskulov* defines voice as “different grammatical ways



It might be concluded that aspect depends not only on some formalised structure but also on morphology and syntax in a given language. Hence, it is possible for a language to have more than one way of realizing aspect, which is illustrated by examples (40) and (42) taken from the English language. This observation, which is supported by Tobin who stresses the diversity of ways in which aspectuality can be expressed in English (Tobin 1993: 3-4), will prove to be significant for the present analysis of the Polish construction *być/zostać + V + -n-/-on-/-t-*.

### 3. The voice and the aspect analyses of the passive

#### 3.1. The voice analysis of the passive

The traditional approach to the passive is not advocated by the entire linguistic community. Exceptions and inconsistencies connected with the voice analysis led some scholars to search for alternative solutions to tackle the passive. Thus, there has recently been an increasing amount of work devoted to the exceptions of and possible solutions to the passive. As Siewierska notes, the problem has been approached from the point of view of syntax, semantics and pragmatics (Siewierska 1984: 186). The following section presents some of the most influential research conducted on the problem of exceptions and suggested alternative approaches.

##### 3.1.1. *The meaning of the passive*

The main quandary concerning the passive is its alleged synonymy with the active. Following the structuralist maxim that every form has its own meaning, the passive should not be assigned the same meaning as the active. Moreover, after analysing these structures in more detail, it can be concluded that there is neither structural nor semantic similarity between them. This problem is further connected with two other issues:

(i) the ambiguity of some actives/passives which cease to be equivalent when put in corresponding passive/active sentences (Ziff 1966: 226):

(45) No one is liked by his wife. (ambiguous)<sup>10</sup>

(46) His wife likes no one. (unambiguous)

(ii) the grotesque curiosities (Allen 1974: 277), i.e. odd passives, which are the result of direct voice transformations:

(47) John likes girls.

(48) \*Girls are liked by John. (Beedham 2005: 35-36)

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<sup>10</sup> *His* may refer to *no one* or to one particular person. Thus, the sentence may mean either that no husband is liked by his wife or that the wife of one particular man does not like anyone.

Additionally, there exists a conflict between the linguistic notions of the active and the passive and the semantics of certain verbs, which leads to inconsistencies in the definition of the passive; verbs such as *suffer* or *sleep* are semantically considered passive but formally appear in the active:

(49) He sleeps on the bed.

or

(50) The victims suffered minor cuts and bruises.

As Jespersen explains, “these ideas start from the erroneous conception that the distinction between the active and the passive in the linguistic sense is congruent with the distinction between bodily or mental activity and passivity” (Jespersen 1924: 165). He goes to say that it is the form of the verb that determines whether it is the active or the passive, and that it is possible to express the same idea using both a passive and an active; hence:

(51) A precedes B.

equals

(52) A is followed by B.

At the same time, sentences (x) and (xx) are both identical to sentence (xxx):

(53) B follows A

It is, however, essential to distinguish the notional passive and active from the syntactic passive and active, for they do not always agree with one another.

(54) He is selling the book.

and

(55) The book is selling well.

Hence, the above sentences are semantically active and passive, respectively, despite having the same verb form expressed in the active (Jespersen 1924: 165). Beedham also finds it puzzling that the passive may sometimes express a state while another times, it expresses an action. The main reason for this discrepancy stems from the structural similarity between the passive construction 'be + participle' and 'copula + adjective' which, similarly to participles, are “legitimate predicatives in English” (Dimitrova-Vulchanova 1999: 111). Thus, certain sentences may have both an adjectival as well as a verbal reading, as illustrated in the following example:

(56) The bottle was broken. (Huddleston 1984, cited in Dimitrova-Vulchanova 1999: 111)

This can be interpreted both as “a) the bottle was broken by somebody (the dynamic reading), or b) the bottle looked broken i.e. was in a broken state” (Dimitrova-Vulchanova 1999: 111). The same problem is discussed by Quirk et al. who try to distinguish between real passives and semi-passives by means of a 'passive gradient' which on one of the extremes, has a typical passive sentence but, at the other, has a sentence with a Copula + Adjective construction (Quirk et al. 1985: 167). Even though there are ways of distinguishing the adjectives after the copula from passive constructions - such as inserting the intensifier *very* (Beedham 2005: 38).

(57) She was very disappointed.

It is still not clear why one form, i.e. *be + V-ed* (in English) would have two meanings, i.e. stative and dynamic.

### 3.1.2. *The form of the passive*

Apart from the doubts concerning the synonymy of actives and passives and the semantic ambiguity of the latter, more problems seem to cast a shadow on the voice analysis of the passive. Beedham<sup>11</sup> points to the questionable syntactic transformation from active to passive involving five formal alterations (i.e. subject and the object

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<sup>11</sup> The analysis of the passive presented by Beedham (2005) concerns the construction *be + V-ed* in English, *werden + ge-V-t* in German, and *byt + V-n/-en-* in Russian

shifting, *be* and *by* introduction and verb alteration from finite to non-finite) with no apparent semantic change. The transformation can be avoided in instances of verbs which have antonymous counterparts, e.g. *precede* – *follow* or *overlie* – *underlie* (Owen 1911: 87); but, despite that fact, the 'be + participle' construction is very often preferred.

Furthermore, the claim that all and only transitive verbs can form the passive appears to be inconsistent with certain verbs. There are verbs such as *resemble* or *have* which, despite being transitive, do not appear in the passive construction; unless other elements of the sentence are altered in such a way that the final outcome is acceptable and grammatical (Beedham 2005: 26).

(58)\*The film was enjoyed by John.

This sentence, for example, is unacceptable but the same passive construction with an indefinite agent sounds natural:

(59)The film was enjoyed by everyone. (Beedham 2005: 36)

This example only shows that the *be* + *V-ed* construction in English is independent from any underlying active because, for some active sentences with certain transitive verbs there will be a corresponding passive and for others (with an altered direct object) there will not be. Therefore, the transformational theory appears to be inconsistent. It is also claimed that transitivity depends on passivizability; thus, a verb is categorised as transitive or intransitive on the basis of its ability to appear in the passive construction. Yet, as Beedham correctly asserts, claiming that *have*, *weigh*, *resemble* etc. are intransitive simply because they do not undergo passivization is incongruous. All these verbs are followed by a direct object, which is the condition for a verb to be classified as transitive. He is also right about calling the mutual dependency between passivizability and transitivity a vicious circle (Beedham 1982: 31). This also holds true for the passivizable 'V+ Prep' verbs. To claim that *talk* in *talk about* or *argue* in *argue against* are transitive verbs just because they can appear in a passive sentence seems somewhat cursory. If linguistics is to be considered a scientific field and if, as linguists, we want to

categorise elements of a language, we have to be precise and consistent. Therefore, the so-called pseudo-passives, which are formed with the participle derived from an intransitive verb and a preposition, should not be regarded as a proof that the verbs are after all transitive (Beedham 1982: 32). On the contrary, it simply demonstrates that the claim that only transitive verbs can form the passive is misguided and that passivizability does not depend on the verb but on the composition of the whole sentence.

Moreover, according to statistics, only twenty percent of passive sentences occur with the agentive *by*-phrase (Beedham 2005: 37-39). Thus, the agent of the underlying active is eliminated in most cases. Bearing this in mind, the universally acknowledged characterization of passivization, which is largely based on the concepts of preposing and postposing of arguments, fails to be true in many instances (Perlmutter and Postal 1977: 411).

### **3.1.3. The function of the passive**

In terms of pragmatics, “passives convey more than the syntactically corresponding actives; they have different conditions for use in discourse, or are associated with extra assumptions on the part of the speaker, or 'mean' something slightly different” (Davison 1980: 42). As has been pointed out previously, the passive is considered to perform the functions of topicalization of the patient, defocusing of the agent and stativisation of the event. Furthermore, it is suggested by some linguists that “passivization depends on considerations involving the notions: *activity*, *affect/result* and *volition*” (Siewierska 1984: 187). Siewierska discusses the concepts in terms of their relevance to the passive and concludes that the functional approach to the passive is no less inadequate and insufficient in explaining the exceptions than the previously discussed approaches, i.e. the semantic and syntactic approaches. As she notes, *activity*, *affect* and *volition* are very subjective terms and what one linguist would consider to be a stative verb, another will perceive as an active verb (e.g. *adore*, *believe*). Thus, Stein's claim that only verbs of active can be used in the passive fails to apply to such verbs as *escape* or *leave*, which are actional but do not form a passive (Stein, cited in Siewierska 1984: 189):

(60) John left the room.

(61) \*The room was left by John.

At the same time, she perceives verbs such as *think* or *love* as actional, because they can appear in the passive construction.

(62) John is loved by his family.

She explains the ungrammaticality of sentence (61) by arguing that “the activity verbs have to produce a change in the extra-linguistic situation” (Stein, cited in Siewierska 1984:189). In other words, someone or something has to be affected by the action. Thus, while somebody who is loved is affected by being loved, a room is not affected by being left (Stein in Siewierska 1984: 189). This, however, seems slightly over-interpreted and far-fetched, for a room might be just as affected by being left by someone as much as a person might be unaware of being loved; hence, not affected great deal. The idea that an NP has to be affected by the action is supported by Bolinger and Davison, who also add that this depends on some additional factors such as size, significance of a person or thing in the object position, amount of usage or the possibility of an action occurring (Davison 1980:54).

(63) This porch was walked on by Teddy Roosevelt. (Davison 1980: 54)

The stairs have been run up so much that the carpet is threadbare. (Siewierska 1984: 191)

(64) The valley has been marched through in two hours. (Davison 1980: 54)

### **3.2. The aspect analysis of the passive**

The inconsistencies and problems presented above which derive from the voice analysis of the passive do not arise in the aspectual analysis of *be+V-ed* in English proposed by Beedham. In his attempt to tackle the exceptions and discrepancies concerned with the active-passive correlation, he suggests abandoning the voice analysis, which is mainly

based on meaning, and applying a more formal approach to examining the *be+V-ed* construction. His analysis of the passive is based on the claim that the passive is an aspect of the type auxiliary + participle (Beedham 1982: 83). It is also crucial at this point to explain that the term 'passive' is used by Beedham as a historical term, in order to avoid confusing the reader by introducing a new label for the construction *be+ V-ed*. However, it is not to be linked to the voice analysis, which named the form after its alleged meaning (Beedham 2005: 41-42).

### ***3.2.1. The meaning of the passive***

In terms of meaning, Beedham argues that the active and the passive are not synonymous. The idea is based on the structuralist assumption that every form has its unique meaning in the system, i.e. language. There is no place for a form outside the system nor is there a place for an extra form performing exactly the same function as a form already existing. Following this line of thought, the passive is semantically independent from any other construction in the system. As Beedham explains, “while an active sentence portrays the occurrence of an event, a passive sentence portrays both the occurrence of an event and the state which results from that event” (Beedham 1982: 45). Davison refers to the effect of Gricean Maxims as an explanation for the difference in meaning between passives and corresponding actives (Davison 1980: 43). As Saeed contends, the maxims can be interpreted as statements expressing the hearer's assumption about the speaker's intention in the communication process (Saeed 2003: 204). In brief, the four maxims require the contribution to be true, succinct, relevant and clear. Therefore, if the speaker's focus is on the result of a previously performed action, and he or she does not care about the action itself, there is a need for a form which would make the speaker's utterance as clear and relevant as possible. Thus, instead of asking:

(65) Did you put your shoes on?

the speaker would rather say:

(66) Have you put your shoes on?

This excludes the misinterpretation of having had the shoes on in the past but not continuing to have them still on. Similarly, if we consider a hypothetical situation in which one of the participants has just received a package containing a fragile item and made a very disappointed face upon opening it, the other speaker will most likely ask:

(67) Is it broken?

as opposed to:

(68) Did someone break it?

or

(69) Did it break?

This is because he or she is not interested in what has happened but in the result itself. Nor is it relevant whether it was somebody or something that led to the final result, so mentioning an agent would be simply a violation of the maxim of relevance. Here it can be observed that the meaning of the passive is strictly connected to its function and that the construction is not insignificant or subordinate to any other construction such as the active under the voice analysis.

### ***3.2.2. The form of the passive***

Having previously said that aspect is realised in three different ways, i.e. as 'Auxiliary +Participle', as lexical aspect (Aktionsart) and as compositional aspect, there is no reason to undermine or refute the assumption that the passive, which is realized by an auxiliary and a participle, can be recognised as an aspect from a formal point of view. The most problematic aspect of the form of the passive concerns the issue of transitivity, which regarded under the voice analysis as one of the main characteristics of the passive. The claim that all and only transitive verbs can be passivized was proved to be inconsistent, for there exist certain transitive verbs which do not form the passive and intransitive verbs in German which do form the passive. Categorising them as exceptions does not help to understand the notion of the passive. According to Beedham, such an inconsistent rule cannot be a solution to explaining the passive.

Under the aspect analysis, he argues that a verb has to be telic, i.e. it must have an inherent end-point, in order to appear in the passive construction (Beedham 2005: 44).

### 3.2.3. *The passive and the perfect*

As it was stressed at the beginning of the chapter, the aspect analysis of the passive regards the passive as an auxiliary + participle type of aspect. To support this claim, Beedham refers to two other auxiliary + participle constructions in English which belong to the category of aspect, i.e. the perfect and the progressive, and compares the passive to the perfect, which shares the past participle with it. The present perfect, which is realised by the verb *have* and the past participle and which links the past with the present, is considered to have two<sup>12</sup> different meanings depending on the lexical/compositional aspect of the verb. Thus, Beedham distinguishes between the continuous perfect:

(70) I have known him for years.

where the action presented by the verb continues from some point in the past to the present; and the perfect of result:

(71) He has broken his leg.

which denotes an action with a state resulting from it (Beedham 1982: 88). Beedham links the continuous and resultative meaning of the perfect to the lexical/compositional aspect of the verb. Thus, a durative verb put into the perfect results in a continuous meaning, while a perfective verb in the perfect gives a resultative meaning. Considering the meaning ascribed to the passive in 3.2.1., it does not seem surprising that Beedham draws a link between the perfect and the passive. Both constructions share the quality of connecting a previously performed event or action with a state resulting from it (Beedham 1982: 91). Apart from the formal and semantic similarities, the passive and the perfect share similar syntactic properties, which is the last argument in favour of the aspectual analysis of the passive in terms of comparing it to the perfect. The relevance

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<sup>12</sup> There are more than two meanings of the passive but Beedham (1982) restricts his discussion to the ones which are the most relevant to the passive.

of this argument to the claim that the passive is an aspect lies in the fact that “auxiliary + participle aspects are sensitive to lexical/compositional aspects and therefore display certain restrictions of co-occurrence with them” (Beedham 1982: 92). Hence, if the passive is an aspect similar in meaning to the perfect, the expectation would be that both construction would be subject to similar restrictions. Where a transitive verb cannot appear in the passive, it will most likely not appear in the resultative perfect either:

(72)\*36 books are contained by the suitcase. (Beedham 1982: 60)

(73)\*The suitcase has contained 36 books. (Beedham 1982: 93)

However, as has been shown previously, telicity proves to be the quality governing the passive in terms of lexical/syntactic properties. This is an additional point in favour of the theory concerning the passive-perfect correlation, since, as Beedham demonstrates by a list of example sentences, telicity applies equally to the passive and the resultative perfect; thus, confirming the assumption that the passive, like the perfect, is an aspect of the type auxiliary + participle.

## 4. The voice and the aspect analyses of the passive in Polish

### 4.1. Problems with the voice analysis of passive in Polish

If the structuralist slogan 'form determines meaning' is analogously applied to the Polish passive, it can provide a new and interesting insight into the nature of the structure. However, before discussing the problems of and solutions to the *być/zostać* + V-*n/-on-/-t-* construction in Polish, I would like to present an example of a case where two sentences are cognitively synonymous despite having different themes:

(74)(i) Dzieci Children-N 'children ate the dinner'	zjadły ate-PERF	obiad. Dinner-ACC
(75) Obiad Dinner-ACC 'he dinner was eaten by the children'	zjadły ate-PERF	dzieci. children-N

It can be inferred that these sentences do not differ syntactically: the S-V agreement is retained, the accusative case is not lost, no 'by-phrase' is applied, no additional verb is introduced and the main verb does not change its form. Apart from the word order, the sentences are equivalent. Despite the fact though, they are interpreted differently, for the word order alters the emphasis; thus, while in sentence (i) *Dzieci* is the known information (i.e. the theme of the clause) and *Obiad* the new one, in sentence (ii) the relation is reversed. *Obiad* undergoes the action of the verb performed by the agent (i.e. *Dzieci*). The perspective of the speaker is clearly shifted, for while in the first instance he views the action as performed by the agent, in the second example they observe the action from the point of view of the patient (*Dinner*). According to the broadly applied definition of voice, the above examples are an instance of voice shifting, for they present "the action of a sentence in two ways without any change in the fact reported" (Quirk 1985: 159). However, there is no syntactic nor morphological change, so this example would comply only with rule of functional sentence perspective (FSP), as proposed by the Linguistic School of Prague, which argue the importance of 'theme' and 'rheme' position in the sentence (Granger 1983: 27-28). In the case of *być/zostać* + V-*n/-on-/-t-* construction, the theme-rheme relation is not sufficient to explain the

difference, irrespective of how important this principle is in Polish (Siewierska 1993: 147). If it is true that the passive and the active in Polish are synonymous, one might wonder why a language would need two different constructions (one of which is much more complex) to express the same meaning or the same perception of an action? This question only helps to realise that, apart from the word order, the passive<sup>13</sup> differs from the underlying active considerably in terms of syntax, morphology, semantics and function.

The assumption of the present work is that the *być/zostać* + *V-n-/-on-/-t-* construction is not a transformationally derived passive structure based on an underlying active sentence which has the same meaning, but an independent construction with its own meaning distinct from the allegedly parallel active. Before presenting the arguments for that approach, it is essential that I list the inconsistencies and doubts that led me to consider an alternative way of analysing the passive in Polish.

#### **4.1.1. Semantic problems**

Just as was previously shown, the voice analysis of the passive presumes that the passive is equivalent in meaning with the underlying active. It is, however, to be demonstrated that it is not entirely true and that the passive has a meaning distinct from the active. The difference is well illustrated with an example provided by Fellerer who claims that it is not possible to find a corresponding active sentence to the passive clause:

(76) (Szpital)        jest        odnowiony.  
           hospital-N        is        refurbished-PERF  
           'the hospital is refurbished'

As he explains, if we convert mechanically, there are two possible sentences in the active that could be equated with the above passive sentence, i.e. (Fellerer 2009: 25):

(77) (Oni)                odnowią                (szpital).

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<sup>13</sup> Within this analysis of the Polish passive; the term passive refers to the construction *być/zostać* + *V-n-/-on-/-t-*

they refurbish-PR.PERF<sup>14</sup> hospital-ACC  
 'they will refurbish the hospital'

or

(78) (Oni) odnawiają (szpital).  
 they refurbish-PR-3PL-IMPF hospital-ACC  
 'they are refurbishing the hospital'  
 (Fellerer 2009: 25).

The reason why only these two sentences can be considered is that the tense needs to be retained; hence, even though the action was performed in the past, because we can see the result of the action of refurbishing of the hospital, the only options are sentences in the present due to the *być* 'to be' being in the present, i.e. *jest* 'is'. Without much explanation, it can be immediately noticed that neither of the active sentences express the same meaning as the passive sentence. As Fellerer notices, the passive sentence does not only have an altered hierarchy of arguments but it is also differently anchored in time (Fellerer 2009: 25). It expresses a past action/event, which is finished but it remains in connection to the present; thus, in this example, it expresses a state resulting from a previous action. At this point, he refers to Brajerski's (1972) claim that the passive has a resultative-stative meaning (Brajerski, discussed in Fellerer 2009: 25). On the other hand, sentence (77), which has the perfective form of the verb, is deprived of the stative meaning and sentence (78), which is constructed with the imperfective form of a verb, does not have the resultative meaning. Thus, it appears inadequate to equate the passive to the active, for there is no regular, categorial opposition between the two forms in terms of semantics (Fellerer 2009: 25).

I must, however, admit that I am not convinced by example (78) since the participle is derived from an imperfective verb; thus, the initial intention of sticking to the same form is abandoned, for the participle equivalent to *odnawiają* is (I) *odnawiany* not (II) *odnowiony*, where (I) is imperfective and (II) is perfective. Hence, the sentence in the passive voice would be:

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<sup>14</sup> A perfective verb in the present tense has a future meaning. It is impossible to use a perfective verb in the present tense referring to the present.

(79) Szpital jest odnawiany.  
 Hospital is refurbished-IMPF  
 ‘the hospital is being refurbished’

Therefore, if passives and actives are to be compared, it is essential that both the tense and the aspect of the verb are retained. Nevertheless, the closest in meaning to sentence (76) active sentence would be:

(80) Odnawili szpital.  
 refurbish-PS-3PL-PERF hospital-ACC  
 ‘they refurbished the hospital’

But in this case, there is no formal similarity, for the sentence is in the past, as opposed to the passive sentence in the present. In conclusion, no matter what adjustments are made to the underlying active, it does not express the same meaning as the passive.

Another problem concerns the optional *zostać* verb for perfective verbs. Before addressing this matter, I would like to discuss the perfective-imperfective distinction in Polish. It is usually assumed that the difference between the perfective and imperfective lies in the lexical properties of the verbs. While perfective verbs show an action from outside, as a whole, imperfective verbs present the action from within referring to the internal temporal structure of the event (Comrie 1976: 24). Yet, again, linguistic notions are defined on the basis of their meaning. Maliszewska and Saloni suggest starting from the form of the verbs and from their syntactic properties. Otherwise, the perfective-imperfective distinction is treated just as badly as the passive under the voice analysis, for the form should be the starting point of defining a linguistic concept. A similar point is made below under the discussion of verbs in general, where it is argued that not only lexical/morphological properties but also syntax influences the aspect of a given verb. In the case of perfective and imperfective verbs in Polish, the formal method of distinguishing and categorising them lies in their ability to form tenses. Thus, the imperfective can appear in the present tense and future complex tense (czas przyszły złożony), i.e. future expressed by an auxiliary and a past form of a verb:

(81)(Oni) Będą sprzątaali mieszkanie.  
 they be-FUTURE cleaned flat-ACC  
 'they will be cleaning the flat'

while the perfective verb can form only the simple future and cannot be used in the present denoting the present (Maliszewska Saloni 1986: 124). Compare:

(82)Zrobię kawę.  
 make-PERF coffee-ACC  
 'I will make coffee'

(83)Robię kawę.  
 make-IMPF coffee-ACC  
 'I am making coffee/I make coffee'

Both forms appear in the past tense:

(84)Zrobiłam kawę.  
 make-PS-PERF coffee-ACC  
 'I made coffee./I have made coffee'

(85)Robiłam kawę.  
 make-PS-IMPF coffee-ACC  
 'I was making coffee'

This fact supports very well the belief expressed by most linguists that the notion of tense should be restricted to inflection on the verb (Quirk et al., discussed in Beedham 2005:19). Thus, similarly to English, where the future is expressed by means of a modal verb (*will*), Polish simple future tense is expressed by means of a perfective verb. Hence, there are two formally recognised tenses: the preterite and the present. This observation shows that the future is not considered as part of reality, for it has not

happened yet, whatever is planned is only hypothetical; hence, we can only speak with certainty of events that have already happened or those which are happening at the moment of speech. Reality and hypothetical situations are distinguished by language. Therefore, it appears logical that the perfective verb used in the present form of a verb (the inflection of the verb indicates the tense) cannot depict the present for it denotes a finished action and something happening in the present cannot be considered finished.

Having said that, it is now time to look at the instance of passives formed with the verb *zostać* 'become/remain'. As was pointed out before, *zostać* can appear only with participles derived from perfective verbs. If it is true that the meaning of the passive is equivalent to the meaning of the active, why would there be a need for two different verbs in the passive construction? If the answer to the question was connected with the perfective-imperfective distinction, then the assumption would have to be such that the form with *być* 'to be' forms passive only with imperfective verbs, as opposed to the *zostać* construction. But this is not the case, for the passive construction with *być* can take perfective and imperfective verbs. It is also often claimed that these two auxiliaries, combined with perfective verbs, can be used interchangeably with no change in meaning (after all they are presumed to mean the same as their active counterpart under the voice analysis). This, however, does not seem to be cogent, for it is highly unlikely that two forms would depict the exact same meaning.

#### **4.1.2. Structural/formal problems**

One of the problems concerning the Polish passive is the ambiguity between verbal passives and adjectival non-passives which was discussed with regards to English in the preceding part of my dissertation. It is difficult in some instances to separate these two constructions because they consist of the same elements, i.e. in English *be + V-ed*; but with a very different grammatical status for each of the two elements: *be* stands for an AUXILIARY verb in verbal passives and COPULA verb in adjectival non-passives, while the *V-ed* represents a form of VERB in the verbal passive, but in adjectival non-passives it fulfils the role of an ADJECTIVE. Poutsma refers to the context as the way of distinguishing the constructions in English. This might be, however, problematic if the context is not clear of if it is insufficient (Poutsma in Granger 1983: 82-83). Haegeman argues that auxiliaries manifest special properties which are not common for lexical

verbs. According to her, they behave differently in negative and interrogative sentences (Haegeman 1994: 66).

Example:

(86) John eats chocolate.

\*John eatsn't chocolate.

John doesn't eat chocolate.

(87) John has eaten chocolate.

\*John doesn't have eaten chocolate.

John hasn't eaten chocolate. (Haegeman 1994: 66)

Unfortunately, this rule can not be applied to the passive construction in English. It is, however, possible to determine the constructions formally in Polish. The passive participle (*imiestów bierny*) which has the meaning of an adjective is distinguished from a passive participle with a verbal meaning by a morpho-syntactic rule concerning the formation of the negative form i.e. while the former is written together with the prefix *nie-*, the latter is written separately.<sup>15</sup>

Examples:

(88) Koszule były niewyprasowane.

The shirts were not ironed.

(89) Koszule nie były wyprasowane.

The shirts were not ironed.

Where *niewyprasowane* is an adjective and *nie wyprasowane* is a participle. The spelling rule distinguishing the adjectival and verbal participle ceased to exist in the Polish language after 1998 when it was changed by resolution passed by the Rada Języka Polskiego<sup>16</sup>. According to the new principle, both adjectival and verbal participles are

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<sup>15</sup> This rule appears to be very convincing for it shows that based on the position of the negative prefix, the negation refers either to the action of the verb or the property of the adjective. Thus, the following English sentences: *It is not specified.* and *It is unspecified,* despite looking identical may, surprisingly, have different meanings, i.e., the former stresses lack of an action, while the latter stresses lack of a property, which again could explain the illogicality and ungrammaticality of some assumedly synonymous pairs such as: *He was not killed* vs. *\*He was unkilld.* (For more test for distinguishing verbal and adjectival properties see Allan 2009: 37-38)

<sup>16</sup> Main official body governing the rules and norms of the Polish language.

written together with the prefix *nie-*. Nevertheless, while the second sentence allows the presence of the agent i.e. *Koszule nie były wyprasowane przeze mnie* 'The shirts were not ironed by me', the first sentence does not. It might be inferred from this example that even without the spelling rule governing the formation of negative forms, the (im)possibility of introducing the agent can be a determining factor in distinguishing between these two forms. In this connection, Beedham makes a crucial point in his attempt to explain the odd passives. As he observes, these passives “can be made grammatical with some tinkering and some ingenuity” (Beedham 2005: 45), because aspect is not only lexical but also compositional (Beedham 2005: 45). The same conclusion is made by Maliszewska and Saloni, who claim that it is not sufficient to point to morphological differences between words. Their ability to connect with other elements of the system is important. Thus, neither the simple morphological rule governing the gender of the nouns i.e. nouns ending in *-a* are feminine, those ending with a consonant are masculine, and those ending with an *-o* are neuter nor the semantic value of the nouns stemming from the sex of the animate object suffice to determine the gender of a noun, for there are words such as *noc* 'night' which, despite ending in a consonant, is feminine due to its syntactic properties i.e. the ability to bond with specific forms of adjectives (Maliszewska and Saloni 1986: 119).

One of the most prominent examples of linguistic entities that is part of several different forms and whose linguistic meaning can be discovered only by its place in the system is the English *-ing* form of a verb. When it realizes the function of a noun, it is referred to as gerund:

(90) Eating fruit and vegetables is good for your health.

when it is part of an auxiliary + *-ing* form, it is called the present participle, verbal participle or adjectival participle:

(91) He is eating breakfast.

(92) The book is (very) interesting.

when it precedes a noun it denotes an adjective:

(93) She needs to use a walking stick.

and when it is used as an adverbial modifier, it is labelled: adverbial participles:

(94) Holding each others' hands, they crossed the street.

Though the examples do not relate directly to the concept of aspect discussed by Beedham; they, nevertheless, support the structuralist dictum that every element of the system is defined by its place in it. Hence, by form it should not only be understood the morphological realization of a construction but also its syntactic features. At this point, it seems crucial to note that every language is a unique system, separate from other languages, and the significance of the syntactic properties differs from one language to another; thus, while English is mainly governed by syntax, Polish, like other Slav languages, is more flexible in terms of word order, because it is mainly based on morphology (Kortmann and van der Auwera 2011: 102-104).

Furthermore, it is generally acknowledged that all and only transitive verbs can form passive sentences in Polish (Bartnicka and Jaworski 1964: 96, Topolińska et al 1984: 33, Nagórko 140: 2007). However, similarly to English, this condition can be refuted, for there are instances of transitive verbs which do not form the passive. This claim is based on the results of data collected for the purpose of this dissertation.<sup>17</sup>

Examples:

(95) Spotkałam      wczoraj      twoją siostrę      w      mieście.  
 (I) met-PERF    yesterday      your sister-ACC      in      the town  
 I met your sister yesterday in the town.

(96)\*Twoja siostra      była    spotkana      przeze      mnie  
 wczoraj.  
 Your sister              was    met-PERF-PARTICIPLE    by me

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<sup>17</sup> For detailed description of the data see section 4.3.1.

yesterday

‘your sister was met yesterday by me in the town’

or:

(97) Mój ojciec dostał piękny zegarek na urodziny.  
 My father received-PERF beautiful watch for birthday  
 ‘my father received a beautiful watch for his birthday’

(98) \*Piękny zegarek był dostany na urodziny<sup>18</sup>  
 beautiful watch was received-PERF for birthday  
 ‘a beautiful watch was received by my father fro his birthday’

The examples presented above concern direct objects in the accusative case, but, as it was said previously, the passive in Polish can also be formed with direct objects in the instrumental and genitive cases. Yet, only in some instances. Thus, a question concerning the conditions for that rule arises. When and why do some active sentences with direct object in instrumental and genitive cases form the passive?

In addition to this quandary, there are also so-called bi-aspectual verbs which belong both to the categories of perfective as well as imperfective verbs: *aresztować* ‘arrest’, *ofiarować* ‘offer/sacrifice’, *aprobować* ‘approve’, *promować* ‘promote’ (Grzegorzczkowska 1979: 78). Brajerski also mentions the confusion caused by passive participles with somewhat adjectival meaning derived from intransitive perfective verbs (Brajerski 1972: 31). Participles such as *opuchnięty* ‘puffed’, *wypoczęty* ‘rested/relaxed’, *wychudzony* ‘emaciated’ or *osłabionym* ‘weakened’ appear with the *być* verb; thus, the construction resembles the passive.

(99) Wazon był pęknięty.  
 Vase was broken

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<sup>18</sup> For more examples see Appendix 1.

‘the vase was broken’

This statement is, however, inconsistent with the generally accepted view that only transitive verbs can form passive participles in Polish (Bartnicka and Jaworski 1964: 96, Topolińska et al 1984: 33, Nagórko 140: 2007).

## 4.2. Aspect in Polish

Polish is a highly inflectional language which uses morphology for many grammatical and lexical purposes (Kortmann and van der Auwera 2011: 102-104). Thus, there is a tendency in Polish grammar to use affixes and inflections to create new forms with new meanings. Due to its rich morphology Polish is not an SVO language. It is the functional sentence perspective that is principal for Polish; hence, the theme and rheme play a significant role in the way sentence elements are distributed.

### 4.2.1. *Perfective versus Imperfective*

According to what has been already stated about the morphology of the Polish language, it is evident that aspect is realized by means of affixes. Thus, the distinction between the perfective and the imperfective lies in various prefixes attached to the imperfective form of a verb creating a perfective counterpart.

Examples:

<i>robić – zrobić</i>	‘make’
<i>jechać – pojechać</i>	‘go’
<i>pisać – napisać</i>	‘write’

It is also possible to create imperfective verbs from perfective forms, which, again, can be turned into perfective:

Drink: *pić* (Imper.) – *wypić* (Perf) – *wypijać* (Inperf. frequentative habitual, iterative) – *powypijać* (Perf. frequentative habitual).

However, as Beedham notes: “usually an expression does not have an aspect in isolation. i.e. in the lexicon, it only displays an aspect in combination with other words and expressions” (Beedham 1982: 88). Therefore, it can be expected that the perfective and imperfective verbs will behave differently in different environments; hence, a

perfective verb is not to be seen with time phrases such as *for hours*, for it has no durative meaning:

(100) Budowali      ten      kościół                      latami.  
       built-IMPF    this    church-ACC                      for years  
       ‘they built the church for years’

(101) \*Zbudowali    ten      kościół                      latami.  
       built-PERF    this    church-ACC                      for years  
       ‘they built the church for years’

Let us hypothesise that, apart from lexical and compositional aspect in Polish, there exist aspect realized via auxiliaries and participles. Considering that 'to be' and 'to have' are the most typical auxiliary verbs in Indo-European languages, it is reasonable to look for the same auxiliaries in Polish. The passive is evidently a construction consisting of a verb and participle, and if the verb functions as an auxiliary, all the more reason to consider it an aspect of the type auxiliary + participle. In order to test this hypothesis, another construction of this type has to be recognised, so they can be compared in terms of their aspectual compatibility. Whilst it is somewhat difficult to find literature on the topic concerning Polish, I want to propose a construction which, despite not being recognised nor discussed in the linguistic literature, is used in spoken Polish on a large scale, i.e. the construction *mieć* + V-*n/-on/-t-*.

#### 4.2.2. The verb *mieć* 'to have' as an auxiliary.

The construction *mieć* + V-*n/-on/-t-*, which is not formally recognised or discussed in grammar books, is commonly used in formal and colloquial spoken Polish. Due to the fact that the construction is not described in grammar books and cannot be supported by any relevant and reliable source, it must be noted that the following ideas are my own ideas based on data analysis.<sup>19</sup>

The verb *mieć*, whose lexical meaning is 'to have', belongs to the group of verbs which in many European languages<sup>20</sup> are used additionally as auxiliary verbs allowing

<sup>19</sup> For detailed description of the data see section 4.3.1.

<sup>20</sup> Examples are *have* in English and *haben* in German used as auxiliaries for expressing the perfect aspect of the verb.

the formation of new structures expressing divergent meanings. The construction that is to be analysed and discussed consist of the verb *mieć* and passive participle V-*n-/-on-/-t-*. According to the results of a limited data analysis, i.e. a sample of around two hundred transitive verbs), both participles derived from perfective and imperfective verbs can collocate with the verb *mieć*.<sup>21</sup> However, usually it is more common to use the construction with perfective verbs:

(102) Masz            umyte            zęby?  
          have-2SG    cleaned            teeth  
          ‘have you brushed your teeth? Are your teeth brushed?’

(103) Nie    mamy            jeszcze            zrobionych    zakupów.  
          Not    have-1PL    yet            done            shopping-GEN  
          ‘we have not done the shopping yet’

(104) Masz            rozpięty            rozporek.  
          have-2SG    undone            flies-ACC  
          ‘your flies are undone’

(105) Ten    dom    ma            wybite            okna.  
          this    house    has    broken            windows-ACC  
          ‘this house has broken windows’

(106) Masz            już            zarezerwowany    pokój    w hotelu?  
          Have-2SG    already            booked            room    in hotel  
          ‘have you got a room booked already?’/ ‘have you booked a room already?’

The speaker is not interested in the past but the present state resulting from a past action (booking). If the form with preterite:

(107) Zarezerwowałeś            pokój?

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<sup>21</sup> For the examples see table 2



(109) Okna            na    poddaszu    mamy        myte        dwa razy w  
roku.  
Windows        on    attic            have-PR-1PL cleaned        two times in  
year  
'we have the attic windows cleaned twice a year'

(110) Gdzie            masz            leczone        zęby?  
where            have-2SG        checked        teeth  
'where do you have your teeth checked'

Another reason to consider the verb *mieć* an auxiliary is its use in one other construction where it appears to have the role of an auxiliary verb. The construction to which I refer is 'mieć + infinitive' used to express previously made plans or some sort of obligation:

(111) Miałam        wysłać        list            ale    poczta        była  
zamknięta.  
(I) had-1SG    send-INF        letter-ACC    but    post office    was    closed  
I was (supposed) to send a card but the post office was closed.

(112) Mam            kupić mleko        i            chleb.  
(I) have-1SG    buy    milk-ACC    and    bread-ACC  
'I am (supposed) to buy milk and bread'

(113) Mam            jutro            przemawiać    przed        grupą naukowców z  
Amsterdamu.  
(I) have-1SG    tomorrow    speak        in front of    group scientists from  
Amsterdam  
'I am to give a speech to a group of scientists from Amsterdam'

If the above presented arguments are considered sufficiently reliable for the present work, it can be concluded that the verb *mieć* can indeed be recognised as an auxiliary.

Having said that, it appears reasonable and justifiable to compare the *mieć* + V-*n/-on/-t-* construction to the *być* + V-*n/-on/-t-*. However, first it is necessary to examine the passive under the aspect analysis proposed by Beedham.

### 4.3. An alternative approach: the passive as an aspect

In my attempt to prove my hypothesis that the passive in Polish is an aspect of the type auxiliary + participle, I will discuss and present the data collected for this work, analyse the form and the meaning of the passive as well as observe its syntactic behaviour. Additionally, I will examine previously discussed problems which appear under the voice analysis and check whether they can be explained and solved under the aspect analysis.

#### 4.3.1. The data

In order to examine the syntactic behaviour of the participial passive construction and to test its compatibility with transitive verbs, I extracted over 6.500 transitive verbs out of over 40.000 verbs from *Indeks a tergo do Słownika języka polskiego pod redakcją Witolda Doroszewskiego* (Wołosz 1995: <http://eprints.wbl.klf.uw.edu.pl/15/>).<sup>22</sup> The list of the transitive verbs included 18 non-passivizable verbs. Apart from examining the list for the purpose of testing the passive construction, the list was also used to compare the *być/zostać* + V-*n/-on/-t-* with *mieć* + V-*n/-on/-t-* construction. The data is presented in appendix , table 1 and table 2, while the results are discussed in relevant sections.

#### 4.3.2. Explanations to inconsistencies

In the previous section, I discussed certain problems and inconsistencies stemming from the voice analysis of the passive in Polish. In this part, I will present solutions to these problems by analysing the *być/zostać* + V-*n/-on/-t-* construction as an aspect.

The first problem I would like to address is the alleged cognitive similarity between active and passive sentences. It was demonstrated in the preceding section that the passive does not have the same meaning as the active, for the passive has an altered hierarchy of arguments and is differently anchored in time (Fellerer 2009: 25). While the active expresses an action:

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<sup>22</sup> A tergo index of the Polish Dictionary

(114) Odbudowali dom.  
 (they) rebuilt house  
 'they rebuilt the house'

The passive expresses a state resulting from the action:

(115) Dom jest odbudowany.  
 house is rebuilt  
 'the house is rebuilt'

This illustrates that the passive not only expresses an action but it also has resultative-stative meaning as well (Brajerski 1972: 39). Hence, it is not synonymous with the active. If, however, the assigned meaning of the *być/zostać* + V-*n/-on/-t-* construction, i.e. 'action + state', is compared to the meaning of the *mieć* + V-*n/-on/-t-* construction, i.e. action + result', it might be inferred that both constructions are aspects of the type auxiliary + participle. This point will be discussed in due course.

Another issue regarding the voice analysis of the passive in Polish is the claim that all and only transitive verbs form the passive (Bartnicka and Jaworski 1964: 96, Topolińska et al 1984: 33, Nagórko 140: 2007). This argument was refuted by examples of active sentences which, despite having a transitive verb, were ungrammatical in the passive.<sup>23</sup> While it is possible to argue that it is telic verbs that are required in English, it is more difficult to put forward the same hypothesis for the Polish passive, for it can be formed both with perfective and imperfective verbs and it would be most unnatural to claim that imperfective verbs have an inherent end point. It seems, however, that those verbs that do not passivize have some properties which do not allow them to express the meaning 'action + state'. For example, the verb *spotkać* 'meet' cannot leave a trace on the object, so there is no state resulting from an action; thus, the passive cannot be created.

(116) Spotkałam wczoraj twoją siostrę w mieście.  
 (I) met yesterday your sister in town  
 I met your sister in the town yesterday.

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<sup>23</sup> For examples see appendix 1

- (117) \*Twoja siostra była spotkana przeze mnie wczoraj.  
 Your sister was met by me yesterday  
 'your sister was met by me in the town yesterday'

Nevertheless, the passive constructed by means of participles deriving from perfective verbs is restricted to telic verbs, for those which do not passivize but are transitive do not have an inherent end point, as is illustrated by sentence (117).

Another problem concerns the ambiguity between verbal passives and adjectival non-passives. It used to be easily solved before the reformulation of the morpho-syntactic rule concerning the formation of the negative form in 1998.<sup>24</sup> After the reform, it is only possible to distinguish these forms by means of compositional alterations. This shows that *być/zostać* + V-*n/-on/-t* is compatible with compositional aspect, hence the passive in Polish is an aspectual construction with the auxiliary *być/zostać* as opposed to the copula *być* in non-passives.

Last but not least, the problem of odd passives can be explained by the aspectual analysis as well. When analysing ungrammatical or peculiar passive sentences, it can be noticed that by deindividualising the agent or by applying an indefinite noun phrase, such sentences can become grammatically correct.

- (118) ?Łzy były ronione przez nią nad grobem męża.  
 tears were shed-IMPF by her over grave-LOC husband  
 'tears were shed by her over her husband's grave'

- (119) Wiele łez było ronionych nad grobem nieznanego  
 żołnierza.  
 many tears were shed-IMPF over grave-LOC unknown soldier  
 'many tears has been shed over the grave of the unknown soldier'

#### 4.3.3. *The form of the passive*

Since there is no auxiliary + participle construction recognised as aspect in Polish, it is difficult to validate the hypothesis on the basis of the form itself. However, if the *mieć*

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<sup>24</sup> Discussed in section 4.1.3.

+ *V-n/-on-/-t-* construction can be considered an aspect of the above type, it seems sufficient to hypothesize that it is not accidental that two constructions with typical auxiliary verbs followed by the same passive participles appear in the system. Thus, I propose regarding *być/zostać* + *V-n/-on-/-t-* construction as an aspect of the type auxiliary + participle.

#### 4.3.4. *The meaning of the passive*

Taking into account the fact that the passive in Polish is realized by means of two auxiliaries, i.e. *być* and *zostać*, it must be considered that there is a slight difference in meaning between these two forms. Before deciding on the semantic characteristic of the *być/zostać* + *V-n/-on-/-t-* construction, I wish to discuss the meaning of the passive in German, for, similarly to Polish, it is realized by two auxiliaries, i.e. *sein* 'be' and *werden* 'become'. According to Beedham, these auxiliaries distinguish statal passives from actional passives (Beedham 2005: 48-49):

(120) Die Tür wurde geschlossen.  
 the door became closed  
 'the door was closed'

(121) Die Tür war geschlossen.  
 the door was closed  
 'the door was closed'

Beedham draws attention to the lexical meaning of the verb *werden* which when used as a full verb means a change of state. Similarly, *zostać* 'to become' in Polish as a full lexical verb expresses a change of state. Apart from that, it also means 'to remain', so the receiver of the action remains in the state which resulted from the action. Thus, it supports the aspectual analysis under which the passive expresses the meaning 'action + state'. Formal realization of the actional meaning lies in the meaning of the verb the passive participle is derived from, while the state parts of the 'action + state' in the Polish participial passive are: the occurrence of the participle after *być*, and the presence of adjective endings on the passive participle.

Returning to the distinction between the actional and the statal passive in German, the same distinction can be drawn between *być* + *V-n-/-on-/-t-* / and *zostać* + *V-n-/-on-/-t-*. While the former is used to express the statal passive, the latter is used to express the actional passive. However, it must be noted that this distinction applies only to passive sentences with participles derived from perfective verbs which are telic.

(122) Drzwi są otwarte.  
 door are opened-PERF  
 'the door is opened'

(123) Drzwi zostały otwarte.  
 door became/remained opened-PERF  
 'the door was opened'

The main difference lies in the fact that in example (123) there is an element of intentionality, and while sentence (122) stresses the resultant state, sentence (123) emphasizes the action. As regards the passive with imperfective verbs, it seems to express a slightly different meaning, i.e. 'action + effect in progress'. The object is affected by the action but it does not necessarily reach a certain state:

(124) Bank jest otwierany codziennie o ósmej.  
 bank is opened-IMPF every day at eight.  
 'the bank opens every day at eight'

(125) Ulotki są właśnie roznoszone.  
 leaflets are just distributed-IMPF  
 'the leaflets are being distributed'

Hence, the passive with imperfective verb forms expresses either a regular/habitual action (e.g. *bank* in (123)) or an ongoing/continuous action affecting the patient (e.g. *ulotki* in (124)).

#### 4.3.5. *The passive and the mieć + V-n-/-on-/-t- construction: a syntactic proof*

At this point, there are two constructions similar in form and meaning; hence, it is time to compare their syntactic behaviour. If, following Beedham's reasoning concerning aspect compatibility (Beedham 1982: 88), the *mieć + V-n-/-on-/-t-* and the *być/zostać + V-n-/-on-/-t-* constructions behave in a similar way in relation to certain groups of verbs and sentence structures, and if they display the same restriction with respect to lexical/compositional aspect, it can be inferred that they are both aspects of the type 'auxiliary + participle' with a similar meaning, i.e. 'action + result/state'. Therefore, the next step is to juxtapose these two constructions in similar environments.

The first step is to test whether these constructions display similar restrictions with respect to lexical/compositional aspect when they appear with transitive verbs. If we look at table 2, which presents the ability of some transitive verbs to appear with *mieć + V-n-/-on-/-t-* and *być/zostać + V-n-/-on-/-t-*, it is evident that the majority of transitive verbs are grammatical for both constructions.

(126) Pokój jest posprzątany  
 room is cleaned  
 'the room is cleaned'

(127) Pokój mamy posprzątany  
 room (we) have cleaned.  
 'the room has been cleaned'

The crucial point, however, is that transitive verbs which do not form grammatical sentences with *mieć + V-n-/-on-/-t-* are ungrammatical with *zostać + V-n-/-on-/-t-*. This observation is not surprising if we take into consideration what has been stated before about the resultative meaning of *zostać + V-n-/-on-/-t-*. Similarly, *mieć + V-n-/-on-/-t-* expresses a resultative meaning when it is formed with perfective verbs. This being true for the perfective verbs, let us examine the case of imperfective verbs.

(128) Wyniki wyborów są przewidywane na kilka dni przed elekcją.

‘the results of the polls are predicted several days before the election’

(129) ?Wyniki wyborów mamy przewidywane na kilka dni przed elekcja.

‘we have the results of the polls predicted several days before the election’

Sentence (129) is not ungrammatical but it is somewhat uncommon and unnatural to use it in any context. The *mieć* + V-*n/-on/-t* with imperfective verbs is much less typical than with perfective verbs, and in most cases it expresses a result of an action performed by an external source.

The next step is to observe the behaviour of the constructions with non-passivizable transitive verbs. The analysis shows that *mieć* + V-*n/-on/-t* behaves in a similar way to *być/zostać* + V-*n/-on/-t* in the presence of a non-passivizable transitive verb. The following examples demonstrate the point:

(130) \*Więcej wrażeń jest pragnionych.  
 more sensations-GEN was-NEUT craved-IMPF  
 ‘more sensations were craved/desired’

(131) \*Więcej wrażeń mamy pragnionych.  
 more sensations-GEN (we) have craved-IMPF  
 ‘more sensations are craved/desired’

(132) \*Zabawa jest psuta przez przelotne opady deszczu.  
 fun is spoiled by occasional showers  
 ‘fun is spoiled by occasional showers’

(133) \*Zabawę mamy psutą przez przelotne opady deszczu.  
 fun (we)have spoiled by occasional showers  
 ‘fun is spoiled by occasional showers’

The examples show that both constructions display similar restrictions of co-occurrence with certain verbs. It may now be concluded that *mieć* + V-*n/-on/-t*

behaves in a similar way to *zostać* + V-*n/-on/-t*. Thus the hypothesis regarding their aspectual status is confirmed.

## 5. Conclusion

The purpose of this dissertation was to test the hypothesis that the *być/zostać* + V-*n/-on-/-t-* participial passive in Polish is an aspect of the type ‘auxiliary + participle’. In order to examine and test this hypothesis, I discussed the aspectual analysis of the passive conducted for English, German and Russian (Beedham 1982, 2005); analysed the inconsistencies related to the voice analysis of the passive in Polish, and compared the construction to *mieć* + V-*n/-on-/-t-*. These were the most crucial steps in arguing in favour of the aspectual analysis of the passive in Polish.

The discussion concerning Beedham’s investigation in the aspectual nature of the passive in three different languages provided me with a comprehensive insight into the topic. The analyses of Russian and German were additionally advantageous, for they helped me to understand the passive and aspect in Slav languages as well as comprehend the slight difference between *być* + V-*n/-on-/-t-* and *zostać* + V-*n/-on-/-t-*.

The inconsistencies concerned with the voice analysis provided me with a basis for arguing against the voice analysis. Problems with the alleged similarity between the form and meaning of the passive and the active appeared to be easily solved under the aspectual analysis. Accordingly, the participial passive is not cognitively synonymous with the active but it has its unique meaning, ‘action + state’, where the statal meaning is formally realized by means of the passive participle occurring after *być* and the adjectival endings on the attributive participle.

In order to test the hypothesis formally I had to compare it with another aspectual category which would display similar syntactic behaviour. After examining the *mieć* + V-*n/-on-/-t-* construction, I discovered that it expresses a similar meaning to the passive, i.e. ‘action + result’. Moreover, both constructions are similar in form, for they consist of an auxiliary verb and a passive participle. This fact was sufficient to hypothesise that the forms will behave similarly in combination with certain lexical and compositional aspects. The hypothesis was confirmed by the results of testing both constructions for similar restrictions with respect to lexical/compositional aspect.

Therefore, it is evident that the participial passive in Polish is an aspect of the type 'auxiliary + participle', with its own 'action + state' meaning. Rather like the passive in German the choice of the auxiliary allows a distinction to be made between a statal and a resultative meaning. Apart from that, it has been demonstrated that the *mieć* + V-*n/-on/-t-* construction in spoken Polish displays a similar meaning to the passive, 'action + result', and also shows all the signs of being an aspect of the type 'auxiliary + participle'.

## Appendix 1: Non-passivizable transitive verbs

### *dać* 'give'

In the active:

Dziadek      dał      wnukom                      konia na biegunach.  
grandpa-N    gave   grandchildren-DAT   rocking horse-ACC  
'grandpa gave a rocking horse to his grandchildren'

In the passive:

?Koń na biegunach    był    dany                      wnukom                      przez    dziadka.  
rocking horse-N      was    given                      grandchildren-DAT    by      grandpa  
'a rocking horse was given to grandchildren by their grandpa'

### *dawać* – 'give' (impf)

In the active:

Model            nie    pasował      do    danych, a      próby            ulepszenia  
                  go    nie    dawały rezultatów.  
model            not    fit            to    data            attempts        improvement  
                  it    not    gave    results

'the model did not fit with the data, and the results were not given by means of improvement'

In the passive:

\*Model            nie    pasował      do    danych, a      rezultaty nie    były  
                  dawane<sup>25</sup>    próbami      ulepszenia    go.  
model            not    fit            to    data            results not      were  
                  given      attempts      improvement    it

'the model did not fit with the data, and the results were not given by means of improvement'

### *dostać* 'receive' (perf)

In the active:

Mój ojciec      dostał            piękny            zegarek      na    urodziny.  
my father      received      beautiful      watch-ACC    for    birthday  
'my father received a beautiful watch for his birthday'

In the passive:

\*Piękny            zegarek            był    dostany<sup>26</sup>      przez    mojego tatę            na  
urodziny.

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<sup>25</sup> This participle is created for the purpose of forming a passive sentence. It does not exist in the lexicon, for there is not a passive participle derived from the verb *dawać* 'give'.

beautiful watch-N was received by my father-GEN for  
birthday  
'a beautiful watch was received by my father for his birthday'

### ***mieć* – 'have'**

In the active:

Moi znajomi mają czworo dzieci.  
my friends have four children  
'my friends have four children'

In the passive:

\*Czworo dzieci jest mianych<sup>27</sup> przez moich znajomych.  
Four children are had by my friends  
'four children are had by my friends'

### ***pragnąć* - 'crave'/'desire'**

In the active:

Pragnęłam więcej wrażeń.  
(I) craved-FEM-IMPF more sensations-ACC  
'I craved/desired more sensations'

In the passive:

\*Więcej wrażeń było pragnionych.  
more sensations-GEN was-NEUT craved-IMPF  
'more sensations were craved/desired'

### ***psuć* – 'ruin'/'spoil' (impf)**

In the active:

Zabawę psuły nam przelotne opady deszczu.  
fun-ACC spoiled us occasional showers  
'occasional showers spoiled the fun'

In the passive:

Zabawa była psuta przez przelotne opady deszczu.  
'fun was spoiled by occasional showers-ACC  
'fun was spoiled by occasional showers'

### ***ronić* - 'shed' (tears) (impf)**

In the active:

Roniła łzy nad grobem męża.  
(She)shed tears over grave husband-GEN

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<sup>26</sup> This participle is created for the purpose of forming a passive sentence. It does not exist in the lexicon, for there is not a passive participle derived from the verb *dostać* 'receive'.

<sup>27</sup> This participle is created for the purpose of forming a passive sentence. It does not exist in the lexicon, for there is not a passive participle derived from the verb *mieć* 'have'.

‘she shed tears over her husband’s grave’

In the passive:

?Łzy były roniłone przez nią nad grobem męża.  
tears were shed-IMPF by her over grave-LOC husband  
'tears were shed by her over her husband’s grave'

### **spotkać – meet (perf)**

In the active:

Spotkałam wczoraj twoją siostrę w mieście.  
(I) met yesterday your sister in town  
'I met your sister in the town yesterday'

In the passive:

\*Twoja siostra była spotkana przeze mnie wczoraj.  
your sister was met by me yesterday  
'your sister was met by me in the town yesterday'

### **sprawiać – causa (impf)**

In the active:

To dziecko sprawia same kłopoty.  
this child cause-3SG only troubles  
'this child is causing only trouble'

In the passive:

\*Same kłopoty są sprawiane przez to dziecko.  
Only troubles are caused by this child-ACC  
'Only trouble is caused by the child'

### **szczyżyć (zęby) bare one’s teeth (impf)**

In the active:

Bogdan zawsze szczyżył zęby na jej widok.  
Bogdan always bore teeth on her sight  
Bogdan always grinned when he saw her.

In the passive:

\*Zęby były szczyżone przez Bogdana na jej widok.  
Teeth-N were borne by Bogdan on her sight  
'teeth were grinned by Bogdan when he saw her'

### **szczyżyć –spread (impf)**

In the active:

Szerzą wieści o podbojach Napoleona.  
(they)spread news about conquests Napoleon-GEV

‘(they)spread news about Napoleon’s conquests’

In the passive:

?Wieści o podbojach Napoleona są szerzone.  
news about conquests Napoleon-GEN are spread  
‘news about Napoleon’s conquests are spread’

### **szpecić – ‘blemish’(impf)**

In the active:

Blizna po wypadku szpeciła jej młodą twarz.  
scar after accident -INSTR blemished her young-ACC face  
‘the scar from the accident blemished her young face’

In the passive:

\*Jej młoda twarz była szpecona blizną po wypadku.  
her young face was blemished scar-INSTR after accident-INSTR  
‘her young face was blemished by a scar from an accident’

### **woleć - ‘prefer’ (impf)**

In the active:

Większość mężczyzn woli blondynki.  
most men prefer blonds  
‘most men prefer blonds’

In the passive:

\*Blondynki są wolone przez większość mężczyzn.  
blonds are preferred by most men  
‘blonds are preferred by most men’

Dzieci wolą słodyczne.

In the active:

Dzieci wolą słodyczne od warzyw.  
children prefer sweets from vegetables  
‘children prefer sweets to vegetables’

In the passive:

\*Słodyczne są wolone (od warzyw).  
sweets are preferred (to vegetables)  
‘sweets are preferred to vegetables’

### **zwiać – blow off (perf)**

In the active:

Wiatr zwał mi kapelusz z głowy.  
wind blew me hat from head  
‘the wind blew the hat off my head’

In the passive:

\*Kapelusz był mi zwany z głowy przez wiatr.  
hat was me blown from head by wind  
'the hat got blown off from my head'

**zyskać – -gain' (perf)**

In the active:

Aktor zyskał sławę po ostatnim filmie, który okazał się  
hitem.  
actor gained popularity after last movie which showed itself  
success.

'the actor gained popularity after the last movie which turned out to be a success

In the passive:

?Sława była zyskana przez aktora po ostatnim filmie.  
popularity was gained by actor after last movie  
'popularity was gained by the actor after the last movie'

## Appendix 2: Tables

### Table 1. Grammaticality judgements

Informants were asked to mark the sentences on a scale of grammaticality from 1 to 5, where 1 is definitely ungrammatical, 5 is definitely grammatical, and 2, 3 and 4 represent differing degrees of borderline grammaticality. The numbers in the cells of the table are the numbers of informants giving the judgements.

	1	2	3	4	5
Bogdan zawsze szczyrzył zęby na jej widok					3
Zęby były szczyrzone przez Bogdana.		2	1		
Nikt nie przeczuł zbliżającej się nawałnicy					3
Strach na widok nauczyciela matematyki był odczuwany przez wszystkich uczniów.			1	2	
Jej młoda twarz była szpeczona blizną po wypadku.		1			
Zbliżająca się nawałnica była przeczuta.	2				
Przeczuwam zmianę pogody na lepszą.		1	2		
Mruknął coś pod nosem i odwrócił się na pięcie.					3
Roniła łzy nad grobem męża.	3				3
Słodycze są wolone (od warzyw).					
Zmiana pogody na lepszą jest przeze mnie przeczuwana.		1	1	1	
Strach na widok nauczyciela matematyki był odczuty przez wszystkich uczniów.		2	1		
Coś było mruknięte pod nosem.			1	2	
Blizna po wypadku szpeciła jej młodą twarz.					3
Dzieci wolą słodycze.					3
Wszyscy uczniowie odczuli strach na widok nauczyciela matematyki.					3
Dzieci były rozleniwione dzisiejszą pogodą.					3
Zabawę psuły nam przelotne opady deszczu.					3
Ani jedna łza nie była uroniona.			1		2
Wszyscy uczniowie odczuwali strach na widok nauczyciela matematyki.					3
Nie uronił nawet jednej łzy.					3
Wszyscy uczniowie czuli strach na widok nauczyciela matematyki.					3
Łzy były ronione przez nią nad grobem męża.		2	1		
Zabawa była psuta przez przelotne opady deszczu.			1		2
Wyjąkał kilka słów.					3

Karolina była ucieszona tą wiadomością.				1	2
Kilka słów było wyjąkanych.			1		2
Więcej wrażeń było pragnionych.	1	1	1		
Dzisiejsza pogoda rozleniwiła dzieci.					3
Strach na widok nauczyciela matematyki był czuty przez wszystkich uczniów.	2		1		
Dzieci zostały rozleniwione dzisiejszą pogodą.	2	1			
Wieści o podbojach Napoleona są szerzone.		1	2		
Pragnęłam więcej wrażeń.					3
Zapach czosnku mdlił Pawła.					3
Zemdlił mnie widok zdychających ryb.					3
Czas licznie przybyłym mieszkańcom <i>umilił</i> występ zespołu cheerleaderek, działający					3
Paweł był mdlony zapachem czosnku.	1	2			
Widok powracającego taty ucieszył nas.					3
Zostałam przygnębiona wiadomością i śmierci mojego psa.	2		1		
Jestem przygnębiona wiadomością o śmierci mojego psa.					3
Ta wiadomość ucieszyła Karolinę.					3
Szerzą wieści o podbojach Napoleona.					3
Zostałam zdumiona jego wiadomością.	2	1			
Większość mężczyzn woli blondynki.					3
Koń na biegunach był dany wnukom przez dziadka.	2	1			
wyrośla na gruncie filozofii Augusta Cieszkowskiego idea Polski jest uosabiana przez		2	1		
Wyniki wyborów są już znane.					3
Mój ojciec dostał piękny zegarek na urodziny.					3
Moja mama nie zna moich przyjaciół.					3
Moi przyjaciele nie są znani przez moją mamę.	2		1		
Arsenał został ubiegnięty przez Nerazzurri.	1	2			
Dziadek dał wnukom konia na biegunach.					3
Aktor zyskał sławę po ostatnim filmie, który okazał się hitem.					3
Piękny zegarek był dostany na urodziny.	3				
Moi przyjaciele nie są znani mojej mamie.				2	1
Kapelusz był mi zwiany z głowy przez wiatr.		2	1		
Czas był umilony występem zespołu cheerleaderek, działający przy Gminnym		1	2		
Wiatr zwał mi kapelusz z głowy.					3
Sława była zyskana przez aktora po ostatnim filmie.		1	1	1	

Zostaliśmy ucieszeni widokiem powracającego taty.		2	1		
To dziecko sprawia same kłopoty.					3
Kasię zemdlili widok zdychających ryb					3
Byliśmy ucieszeni widokiem powracającego taty.			2	1	
Same kłopoty są sprawiane przez to dziecko.		2	1		
Blondynki są wolone przez większość mężczyzn.	3				
Byłam zemdlona widokiem zdychających ryb.	3				

**Table 2 Compatibility of participles derived from transitive verbs with *mieć* + V-n/-on-/-t, *być* + V-n/-on-/-t and *zostać* + V-n/-on-/-t**

Transitive verb	<i>Mieć</i>	<i>Być</i>	<i>Zostać</i>
	+ V-n/-on-/-t	+ V-n/-on-/-t	+ V-n/-on-/-t
<i>Rozciągać</i> 'stretch' (imperfective)	?	+	-
<i>Wystrugać</i> 'carve' (perfective)	+	+	+
<i>Uszczelniać</i> 'seal' (imperfective)	+	+	-
<i>odstawiać</i> 'put away' (imperfective)	?	+	-
<i>Opróżniać</i> 'empty' (imperfective)	+	+	-
<i>Ułatwiać</i> 'facilitate' (imperfective)	-	+	-
<i>powybijać</i> 'break off' (perfective)	+	+	+
<i>siekać</i> 'chop' (imperfective)	-	+	-
<i>zsyłać</i> 'send into exile' (imperfective)	?	+	-
<i>Ostrzelać</i> 'shoot' (perfective)	+	+	+
<i>Trzymać</i> 'hold' (imperfective)	-	+	-
<i>Kapać</i> 'bathe' (imperfective)	?	+	-
<i>Dokonać</i> 'accomplish' (perfective)	+	+	+
<i>Zabierać</i> 'take with' (imperfective)	-	+	-
<i>Pamiętać</i> 'remember' (imperfective)	-	?	-
<i>Pozamiatać</i> 'sweep' (perfective)	+	+	+
<i>Ssać</i> 'suck' (imperfective)	-	-/+	-
<i>Wyprzątać</i> 'clean up' (perfective)	+	+	+
<i>Dodawać</i> 'add' (imperfective)	?	+	-

<b>Wlewać 'pour' (imperfective)</b>	?	+	-
Zameldować 'report' (perfective)	+	+	+
Wypakować 'unpack' (perfective)	+	+	+
Zabudować 'build on' (perfective)	+	+	+
<b>Odejmować 'extract' (imperfective)</b>	?	+	-
<b>Kolekcjonować 'collect' (imperfective)</b>	-	+	-
Uratować 'rescue' (perfective)	?	+	+
Skasować 'cancel' (perfective)	+	+	+
Dostosować 'adjust' (perfective)	+	+	+
Zarezerwować 'reserve' (perfective)	+	+	+
Rezerwować 'reserve' (imperfective)	+	+	-
Przykuwać 'pin' (imperfective)	+	-	-
<b>Falszować 'falsify' (imperfective)</b>	-	+	-
<b>Formalizować 'formalise' (imperfective)</b>	-	+	-
<b>Przewidywać 'predict' (imperfective)</b>	?	+	-
<b>Podrywać 'pick up' (imperfective)</b>	-	+	-
Wstrzymywać 'restrain/delay' (imperfective)	+	+	+
Zmazać 'erase' (perfective)	+	+	+
<b>Ukazywać 'depict' (imperfective)</b>	-	+	-
Wyładowywać 'unload' (imperfective)	+	+	+
<b>Zahamowywać 'stop' (imperfective)</b>	-	-	-
<b>Obszywać 'hem/sew round' (imperfective)</b>	-	+	-

Przekraczać 'cross' (imperfective)	+	+	+
Zaznaczać 'mark' (imperfective)	+	+	+
Przyłączać 'attach' (imperfective)	+	+	-
Przekazać 'pass/hand over' (perfective)	+	+	+
<b>Posądzać 'judge' (imperfective)</b>	-	+	-
Ograniczać 'limit' (perfective)	+	+	+
<b>Napędzać 'propel' (imperfective)</b>	?	+	-
Zatwierdzać 'approve' (perfective)	+	+	+
Odkurzać 'vacuum' (perfective)	+	+	+
Sprawdzać 'check' (perfective)	+	+	+
Zanudzać 'bore' (imperfective)	?	+	+
<b>Wzruszać 'touch/move' (imperfective)</b>	-	+	-
Obsmażać 'fry' (imperfective)	+	+	+
<b>Uderzać 'hit' (imperfective)</b>	-	+	-
<b>Upokarzać 'humiliate' (imperfective)</b>	?	+	-
<b>Zauważać 'notice' (imperfective)</b>	?	+	-
Popchnąć 'push' (perfective)	-	+	+
Obciąć 'cut' (perfective)	+	+	+
Przewinać 'rewound' (perfective)	+	+	+
Przesunąć 'move' (perfective)	+	+	+
Odgadnąć 'guess' (perfective)	+	+	+
Zdjąć 'take off' (perfective)	+	+	+

Wynająć 'rent/hire' (perfective)	+	+	+
<b>Robić 'make/do' (imperfective)</b>	<b>?</b>	+	-
Ozdobić 'decorate' (perfective)	+	+	+
Opowiedzieć 'tell' (perfective)	+	+	+
Wspomnieć 'mention' (perfective)	-	+	+
Przekształcić 'change/alter' (perfective)	+	+	+
Wyczyścić 'clean' (perfective)	+	+	+
Opuścić 'leave' (perfective)	+	+	+
Zagubić 'lose' (perfective)	+	+	+
<b>Palić 'burn' (imperfective)</b>	<b>-</b>	+	-
Podszkolić 'teach' (perfective)	+	+	+
Rozpalić 'light' (perfective)	+	+	+
Obmyślić 'think over' (perfective)	+	+	+
Uwierzytelnić 'authenticate' (perfective)	+	+	+
Zamienić 'change' (perfective)	+	+	+
Wymienić 'exchange' (perfective)	+	+	+
Przechylić 'tilt' (perfective)	+	+	+
Zwalić 'knock down' (perfective)	+	+	+
Przesiedlić 'resettle' (perfective)	+	+	+
Pokroić 'cut' (perfective)	+	+	+
Odsłonić 'uncover' (perfective)	+	+	+
<b>Gonić 'chase' (imperfective)</b>	<b>-</b>	+	-
Uspokoić 'calm down' (perfective)	+	+	+

<b>Dusić 'suffocate' (imperfective)</b>	<b>?</b>	<b>+</b>	<b>-</b>
Przetrawić 'digest' (perfective)	+	+	+
Wyjaśnić 'explain' (perfective)	+	+	+
<b>Zadziwić 'astonish' (perfective)</b>	<b>?</b>	<b>+</b>	<b>-</b>
Zgasić 'extinguish' (perfective)	+	+	+
Upoważnić 'authorise' (perfective)	+	+	+
Ogłosić 'announce' (perfective)	+	+	+
Donieść 'bring' (perfective)	+	+	+
Wystudzić 'cool down' (perfective)	+	+	+
<b>Śledzić 'spy' (perfective)</b>	<b>?</b>	<b>+</b>	<b>-</b>
<b>Mrozić 'freeze' (imperfective)</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>+</b>	<b>-</b>
Zatruć 'poison' (perfective)	+	+	+
Przeoczyć 'overlook/miss'	+	+	+
Zmyć 'wash off' (perfective)	+	+	+
Wypożyczyć 'borrow/lend' (perfective)	+	+	+
Zaparzyć 'brew' (perfective)	+	+	+
Wybaczyć 'forgive' (perfective)	+	+	+
Osuszyć 'dry' (perfective)	+	+	+
<b>Tworzyć 'create' (imperfective)</b>	<b>?</b>	<b>+</b>	<b>-</b>
Stworzyć 'create' (perfective)	+	+	+
Pomniejszyć 'diminish/reduce' (perfective)	+	+	+
Znaleźć 'find' (perfective)	+	+	+
Zmrużyć 'squint' (perfective)	+	+	+

Opatrzyć 'dress' (wound) (perfective)	+	+	+
Smażyć 'fry' (imperfective)	+	+	-
Dołączyć 'attach' (perfective)	+	+	+
Zdobyć 'gain/acquire' (perfective)	+	+	+
Odkryć 'discover' (perfective)	+	+	+
Policzyć 'count' (perfective)	+	+	+
Haftować 'embroider'	+	+	-

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