DERIVATION OF INFINITIVES IN ENGLISH AND POLISH[1]

Barbara Lewandowska

University of Łódź

Infinitivalization is one of the types of nominalization in which the sentential origin seems apparent. If paraphrase relations hold between different types of nominals, they can be captured by allowing alternative transformations to operate on the underlying structure with the identical semantic input [2], as in:

(1) That people shoot animals seems to be less than human — FACTIVE
(2) People's shooting animals seems to be less than human — GERUND-IAL
(3) For people to shoot animals seems to be less than human — INFI-NITIVAL

In the Polish equivalent sentences the overt subject of the nominals will be present only in the first two cases, while for the infinitival type it seems to be only covertly [+Anim, +Hum], with this feature specification occurring in the structure underlying the subject of the infinitive. Cf.:

(1a) To, że ludzie zabijają zwierzęta wydaje się nieludzkie
(2a) Zabijanie zwierząt przez ludzi pracy wydaje się nieludzkie
(3a) Zabijać zwierzęta wydaje się nieludzkie

[2] There are examples of constructions involving nominalizations whose semantic interpretation changes depending upon the type of nominalization (see ex. 45–49 in this paper). In such cases it is obvious that their underlying structures cannot be iden tical. The Kiparskys (1971 : 365) go still further observing that "there is good reason to posit a number of different base structures, each mapped by transformations into a syntactic paradigm of semantically equivalent surface structures".

In the present paper, conditions relevant for the derivation of some classes of infinitives in English and Polish will be discussed. The above examples would suffice to notice that the infinitival structures in both the languages could have a similar initial route of derivation, they are different, however, in respect of some further derivational constraints. It can be further observed that the description of the infinitive derivation concerns questions extracted from a whole set of interrelating problems connected with nominalizing processes, hence it would not be possible to exhaust all the subject in the present paper, as it involves many complex problems both on the level of syntax and semantics.

It is a well-known fact that finite predicates may be treated as a result of person and number agreement between subject and verb, while non-finite forms, infinitive among them, occur when agreement does not apply. The reasons for the lack of agreement, which will be pursued now, may be due to two phenomena in English (cf. the Kiparskys 1971: 356-7): either the subject of an embedded sentence is transformationally removed, i.e., deleted or raised, or it is placed into an oblique case.

There are two ways to perform *subject removing*, first, subject deletion under identity condition, and, second, subject raising (for details of derivation see Stockwell (1969: 527-624).

Subject deletion can occur both in English and Polish under the condition of identity between NP's in the matrix and constituent clauses followed by the erasure of the identical NP from the embedded clause with the simultaneous converting the verb in the constituent sentence into infinitive. In the structures underlying actual utterances employing this type of infinitive, actual subjects of the verbs are postulated, e.g.:

(4)   I decided to go — I decided+(I) go

(4a)   Zdecydowałem się pójść — ja zdecydowałem się+(ja) pójść

In the above couple of examples there are identical agents in the matrix and constituent clauses.

(5)   I allowed John to go — I allowed John+(John) go

(5a)   Pozwoliłem Janowi odejść — ja pozwoliłem Janowi+(Jan) odejść

In these examples the identity holds between the indirect objects of the matrix and the agents of the constituent clauses.

P. Rosenbaum (1965: 10, 29 ff.) proposed an erasure principle for English, which allows to delete the subject of the embedded sentence if it is identical to the nearest NP that neither dominates nor is dominated by the embedded sentence. Examples such as (6) and (6a) below contradict this principle. This has been noticed by R. Rothstein (1966: 38), who provides a number

of counter-examples in the Polish material, which suggest parallel counter-examples for English. Compare (4, 4a) and (5, 5a) with (6, 6a):

(6)   Jan obiecał Marii przyjść w niedzielę — Jan obiecał Marii+ (Jan) przyjść w niedzielę

(6a)   John promised Mary to come on Sunday — John promised Mary (John) come on Sunday

The co-referential nouns in (6, 6a) are not the nearest NP's in terms of a derivational tree, though both of them function as subjects of the respective sentences. Considering the matrix verb to be the main factor determining which NP is relevant to deletion, Rothstein (1966:42) proposes that an NP of a constituent sentence be deleted, if it is identical to the object of the verb dominating the complement, if that verb takes an object (understood very broadly), otherwise to the subject of that verb. Stockwell et al. (1969:579) further specify the NP's relevant to deletion. They state that "there are two classes of such coreferential nodes: the transformation of EQUI-NP-DEL must inspect a structure and determine whether the subject of the embedded sentence is identical with a dative, or if there is no dative then with an agent in the matrix sentence "(1969:579). The majority of the Polish constructions with infinitives seems to be derived, as will be seen in the discussion below, according to the similar procedure.

Some of the above infinitives can be derived from the structures identical to those underlying gerundial nominals preceded by prepositions: compare (4, 4a) to (7, 7a) and (5, 5a) to (8, 8a):

(7)   I decided on going

(7a)   Zdecydowałem się na pójście

(8)   I allowed John for smoking

(8a)   Pozwoliłem Jankowi na palenie papierosów

These infinitival gerunds, however, have only their surface form in common with factive nominals in English and Polish, being otherwise different both in their origin and their derivational history (the Kiparskys 1971:357). Cf. (7)–(8a) with the following:

(9)   His smoking gets on my nerves — (The fact) that he smokes gets on my nerves

(9a)   Jego palenie działa mi na nerwy — (Fakt), że on pali działa mi na nerwy[3]

Subject raising

This group of infinitives is distinguished in English, basing their derivation on the criterion of factivity (the Kiparskys 1971). If a sentence carries

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[3] The subject was partly discussed in B. Lewandowska (1975).

with it *the presupposition* that the embedded sentence expresses a true pro-position, the predicate of the matrix is considered to be factive. If it is not the presupposition but *assertion* of the truth of the proposition expressed in the clause, the predicate of the matrix is non-factive. Cf.:

FACTIVE

(10)   It is *significant* that he has been found guilty
(10a)   Jest *istotne*, że dowiedziono mu winę

with the grammatical equivalent:

(10₁)   The fact that he has been found guilty is significant
(10a₁)   Fakt, że dowiedziono mu winę jest istotny

vs. NON-FACTIVE

(11)   It is *likely* that he has been found guilty
(11a)   Jest *prawdopodobne*, że dowiedziono mu winę

and ungrammatical

(11₁)   *The fact that he has been found guilty is likely
(11a₁)   *Fakt, że dowiedziono mu winę, jest prawdopodobny

The semantic distinction between factives and non-factives, then, exists both in English and Polish. In English, however, it has some further reaching consequences on the syntactic level than in Polish. In both the languages the factives can have as their objects the noun *fact/(fakt)* with a *that/(że)* - clause (10₁, 10a₁), or gerund[4].

(10₂)   (The fact of) his having been found guilty...
(10a₂)   (Fakt) dowiedzenia mu winy...

In English, however, there is a distinctive class of infinitival constructions permissible essentially with non-factive predicates. They are derived through shifting (raising) the subject of the embedded sentence to the position of either the subject (12), or object (13, acc-cum-inf), converting simultaneously the verb phrase of the constituent clause into an infinitival phrase. In Polish, on the other hand, the operation of subject raising is extremely rare (see the footnote[5]).

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[4] A comparison between some grammatical categories that can be expressed by gerundial and action nominalizations in Polish and English has been presented in B. Lewandowska (1975).

[5] There is only one verb I could think of, allowing subject raising to subject in Polish. It is the verb *wydawać się* (seem):

1. Wydaje się, że *chłopiec* rozumie
   Chłopiec wydaje się rozumieć

(12)   It is sure that John will get up early —
        John is sure to get up early
(13)   Non-factive
        I believe that Glenda is an artist —
        I believe Glenda to be an artist
(14)   Factive
        I regret that Glenda is an artist —
        *I regret Glenda to be an artist

The Polish language, as a rule, will not employ infinitives in such cases, while similarly to English, sentential objects introduced by *że*- complementizer may be used in all corresponding sentences, no matter whether the predicate in the matrix is factive or not:

(12a)   Jest pewne, że Janek wstanie wcześnie
(13a)   Wierzę, że Glenda jest artystką
(14a)   Żałuję, że Glenda jest artystką

Placing the subject of an embedded clause into the oblique case

P. Rosenbaum (1965) proposed that in the process of generating infini-tivals in English, *for-to* complementizers be placed before the embedded clause, triggered by the presence of the idiosyncratic item *for* on the head of sentential components. The Kiparskys (1971) claim that this item depends on the presence of the feature [+EMOTIVE] on the head item. Their definition of emotivity reads as follows: "Emotive complements are those to which the speaker expresses a subjective, emotional, or evaluative reaction" (1971: 363). The criterion of emotivity comes across that of factivity in the Kiparskys' formulation and both of them determine to a large extent the surface syn-tactic form of an utterance. The Kiparskys' observation has been incorpor-ated into the grammatical model of English by Stockwell et al. (1969:41) and captured by strict-subcategorial features [+/−FACTIVE], [+/−EMOT-IVE], specifying the type of predicate, for instance, *important, tragic* — [+FACT+EMOT]; *well-known, clear* — [+FACT−EMOT], *unlikely, urgent* — [−FACT+EMOT], *likely, seem, predict* — [−FACT−EMOT]. One group of the predicates (*well-known, seem*) can take embedded clauses in the subject position, the other one (*eager, predict*) can co-occur only with an object clause.

1a. It seems that the boy understands —
    The boy seems to understand
2. Wydaje się, że pada *deszcz* —
    ?(*Deszcz*) wydaje się padać
2a. It seems there is raining —
    There seems to be raining

In the examples with the overt item *for* the Kiparskys assume that its source is the transformational marking of the subject in complements of emotive predicates with the item *for*, which automatically attaches to it the status of the oblique case, with the infinitival form being its consequence, as in:

(15)   It is tragic for her to leave him [+FACT+EMOT]

(16)   It is unlikely for him to have kissed her [-FACT+EMOT]

It can be noted that the base structure underlying infinitival factives (15), is also a source for factive *that*-clause as well as a factive gerundial construction:

(17)   (The fact) that she has left (is leaving) him is tragic

(18)   (The fact of) her leaving (having left) him is tragic

From the proposal by P. and C. Kiparsky, then, a conclusion can be drawn that the basic structure underlying (15) as well as (17) and (18), could be considered to be, very roughly, of the form:

(19)   the fact [she AUX leave him] is tragic

Such a representation, however, as it seems to the author of the present work, underlies only one possible interpretation of (15), namely, where *her* in this sentence specifies only the subject of the embedded clause -- the fact that she has left him may be tragic for her parents, children, friends, anybody. In the opinion of some speakers of English, however, sentence (15) may be also understood (some suprasegmental differences would be associated with this too) as:

(20)   the fact [she AUX leave him] is tragic for her

whose superficial structure would be a result of identical NP's (matrix object= constituent subject) deletion, and not caused by the oblique case marking.

That such varying interpretations exist in English with some predicates may be proved by considering another pair of examples:

(21)   The best thing would be for you to tell everybody

(22)   The best thing for you would be to tell everybody

The paraphrase relation does not seem to hold between the above sentences Only the first of the couple may be thought of as being derived from the Kiparskys' oblique case marking and having the following as a source structure:

(21₁)   [you AUX tell everybody] would be the best thing

The item *for* occurring in the surface structure of (21) will undoubtedly mark the subject of the embedded infinitival clause and act there as a conjunction, or clause introducer rather, than a preposition (cf. also Quirk et al. 1972:739). The second case, (22), however, seems to include the prepositional phrase *for*+NP in the underlying structure, which can be, then, presented as:

(22₁)   [you AUX tell everybody] would be the best thing for you

Thus the surface structure with the infinitival form in (22), would be in this case, simply a result of Equi-NP deletion. The analysis of predicates allowing such ambiguity will have to be carried out separately.

The above conclusion appears to be of some importance for our present contrastive analysis. In Polish there seems to occur a class of infinitival constructions equivalent in structure to (20) and (22), while no direct infinitival equivalents of (19) and (21) can be encountered. The analysis of the Polish material shows only very few cases of oblique case marking proper.

The first group is characterized by the presence of a prepositional phrase *dla* NP in the surface structure:

(23)   Jest tragedią dla niej odejść od męża

(24)   To ważne dla dziewczyny, (aby) być dobrze ubraną

The covert subject of the embedded sentence is identical to the NP in the PrepP present in the matrix. The subject of the embedded clause is overtly indicated by the feminine ending of the Past Participle *ubrana* (dressed), referring to the NP *dziewczyna* (girl).

Another couple of examples:

(22a)   Najlepszą rzeczą dla ciebie byłoby powiedzieć wszystko

(21a)? Najlepszą rzeczą byłoby dla ciebie powiedzieć wszystko

corresponding to English sentences (21, 22), shows a characteristic inseparability of the predicative NP and the respective PrepP, functioning here as an object of the matrix predicate.

English *for-to* constructions with the oblique case marking are most frequently expressed in Polish (and some other Slavic languages) as embedded clauses introduced by complementizers *aby/żeby* (sometimes present also with infinitival constructions-see ex. (24)), or *że*:

(25)   Najlepiej dla ciebie byłoby, *abyś/żebyś* powiedział wszystko

(26)   Było to tragiczne dla niej, *że* musiała opuścić męża

— an alternative possibility besides infinitival constructions, vs.:

(17a)   Fakt, że opuściła męża jest tragiczny

which is a translation of (17) and cannot acquire an infinitival form.

For the sake of interest compare also two examples of sentences corresponding to English infinitival constructions in Russian, introduced by comple-

mentizers чтобы, which, similarly to Polish, requires the Past tense form
of the embedded predicate, and что:

(27)   Невероятно *чтобы* кошка была такая учная

(28)   Такая радость, *что* он наконец нам ответил

An interesting point here is that the majority of the constructions clas-
sified as a product of Equi-NP deletion and having the PrepP in the under-
lying structure, can also co-occur only with [+EMOTIVE] predicates in
Polish:

(29)   Jest {niemożliwe / ważne} dla Tomka, (aby) wstać wcześnie jutro rano

(29a)   It is {important / unlikely} for Tom to get up early tomorrow

vs. [—EMOTIVE]

(30)   *Jest {znane / jasne} dla Tomka, (aby), wstać wcześnie jutro rano

(30a)   *It is {well-known / clear} for Tom to get up early tomorrow

Some further derivational constraints, some-characteristic only of the Polish
language, such as the obligatory subject position of the embedded infinitival
construction, some others more general e.g. the subcategorial feature [+Hu-
man] on the head noun, seem to be involved of the process in the infinitival
derivation to block the ungrammatical strings such as:

(31)   *Otworzyłam drzwi dla nich, aby wejść

in the sense of:

(32)   Otworzyłam drzwi, aby (oni) weszli

being equivalent to Oblique case marking in English:

(32a)   I opened the door for them to come in,

and questionable: (33)   *Jest ważne dla krzesła, kota ... etc.

If the analysis proposed above is correct, the interpretation of infinitives
under discussion is identical to that suggested in the first part of this paper
(Subject deletion), and involves the erasure of coreferential subjects in the
embedded clauses[6]. The Oblique Case marking, so characteristic for the
derivation of *for-to* nominals in English, does not seem to play any part in

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[6] Different ways of expressing the subject of nominalized constructions deserve
closer attention (e.g. To nieładnie z *jego strony* mówić takie rzeczy; czytanie *Janka*,
etc.) and will be discussed in one of my subsequent papers.

the derivation of Polish infinitivals occurring in the clauses with *dla* NP pre-
positional phrases. However, there can be encountered in the Polish language
certain constructions that may arouse some doubts as to such a conclusion
in other cases. The discussion of such cases will be the final point in this paper.

The constructions that will be analysed now contain as a characteristic
marker an infinitival form and an NP in the Dative case. The examples can
be grouped in the following subclasses:

I   (34)   Trudno mi żyć w ten sposób

II   (35)   Mnie tu ani żyć, ani umierać
     (36)   Sam, choćbyś był Waligórą, nie mierzyć ci się z tą górą
     (37)   Tobie iść do klasztoru, nie wychodzić za mąż
     (38)   Po co ci sobie zawracać tym głowę?

III (39)   Wystarczy nam znaleźć rozwiązanie
     (40)   Nie wypada nam palić tutaj
     (41)   Nie przystoi (uchodzi, godzi się) wam zachowywać się w ten sposób
     (42)   Czy wolno uczniom palić?

The sentences were taken from different sources[7], and though some of them
may be considered somewhat archaic (esp. (37) and (41)), they are typical
representatives of this class of infinitival constructions in Polish.

Group I is the least controversial subclass in the above set of sentences;
when paraphrased it shows a structure similar to that of the examples ana-
lysed in the preceding section of the paper:

(34₁) (It is difficult for me to live in this way)
        Jest rzeczą trudną dla mnie, (aby) żyć w ten sposób —
        [ja AUX żyć w ten sposób] jest trudną rzeczą dla mnie

The substitution of the adjective by an adverb in the predicate is also histori-
cally motivated, which is a very interesting evidence in favour of our anal-
ysis. (For the discussion of this problem see S. Szober 1931 : 85–87). Transfor-
mations operating on this string will perform Equi-NP deletion assigning
the infinitival marker to the verb of the embedded sentence at the same
time, as well as the optional converting of ADJ N into the adverb *trudno*
followed either by a Prep NP or an NP in the Dative case. The complement-
izer *żeby/aby* may occur only if the NP is preceded by a preposition. The
link verb *być* (to be) (*trudno mi jest żyć, trudno mi było żyć*) can be optionally
deleted only if it occurs in the present tense form, otherwise it is retained.

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[7] Mainly from Polish grammars such as Z. Klemensiewicz (1961). One example,
(36), from E. Szelburg-Zarembina (1972) "Baśń o szklanej górze", Lublin: Wyd. Lubel-
skie. Some English examples from T. Grzebieniowski (1959).

Constructions similar to that in (34) occur in Polish fairly frequently with such predicatives as: *przyjemnie, ciężko, lekko, słodko*, etc., allowing an infinitival clause as their subject.

To find an adequate semantic interpretation and a testable history of the derivation of sentences in the second group is a difficult task. Such constructions, much more frequent in the older stages of development of the Polish language than in contemporary Polish, have certain limited range of occurrences. The usage of the Dative case, only in one case can be compared to that of subclass (I), other paraphrases do not show the similarity:

(35_1) (It is not the place for me either to live or to die)
To nie jest miejsce dla mnie ani do życia ani do śmierci
or
Ja *nie mogę* (umiem) tu ani żyć, ani umierać

(36_1) (Even if you were very strong, you wouldn't be able to climb (contest) this mountain)
Nawet gdybyś był Waligórą, *nie mógłbyś* (nie byłbyś w stanie) mierzyć się z tą górą

(37_1) (You should rather go to the nunnery than get married)
Ty *powinnaś* iść do klasztoru, a nie wychodzić za mąż

(38_1) (Why are you to bother about it?)
W jakim celu *masz* (musisz) zawracać sobie tym głowę?

The distribution of the infinitival complementizer in all the examples above does not seem to be connected to any of the derivational processes mentioned earlier in this paper, but is associated somehow with the occurrence of a modal preceding the main verb in the basic structures underlying the sentences. The appearance of a modal in the basic structure of a sentence could cause an optional assignment of the Dative case marking to the "deep" subject of the construction with the simultaneous infinitival status attached to the verb, and the modal verb deletion. This is only a non-technical attempt at explaining some facts, but is connected in a very interesting way with a hypothesis offered by some linguists (e.g. Z. Vendler 1968:56, J. Thorne, lectures delivered in Poznań, 1973), aiming at the explanation of the nature of infinitive. The distribution of infinitival complementizers in English (also in Polish, Russian, and possibly other languages), is connected with the fact that clauses which allow the infinitivalization of the verb are in a non-indicative mood, stating more precisely, the infinitive would be the result of a subjunctive or subjunctive-equivalent (Z. Vendler 1968). This fact should be accounted for in an adequate grammatical model, and only then, sentences like those quoted above, as well as all infinitival constructions, will be more readily interpreted and explained.

The last class of Polish infinitival constructions with the Noun in Dative bears a close resemblance to the English class of infinitival structures whose subjects are placed into the oblique case. It seems to us that there is one-to-one correspondence between such sentence as (39) and the English:

(39a) For us to find a solution will suffice

Since the analysis of similar cases in English is familiar to us, we shall try to examine the Polish example more closely. Two different interpretations concerning the derivation of such infinitival constructions can be suggested.

The first approach assumes that the lexical item in the Dative case (*nam, wam, Marysi, chłopcu*) is the subject of the infinitive, generated from the embedded clause, where it was assigned the Dative case marking. The assignment of the Dative case marking is caused by the presence in the matrix clause of one of the verbs mentioned in subclass III. These operations would work analogically to those conditioning the generation of *for-to* complementizers in English. In English the rules start operating if the predicate bears the feature [+EMOTIVE], which, postulated for Polish, would not bring about the expected generalizations, for the scarcity of material. In such an interpretation, the P-marker associated with (39) and (39a) can be represented as a tree-diagram of roughly the following form:

(43)

my AUX znaleźć rozwiązanie
we AUX find a solution
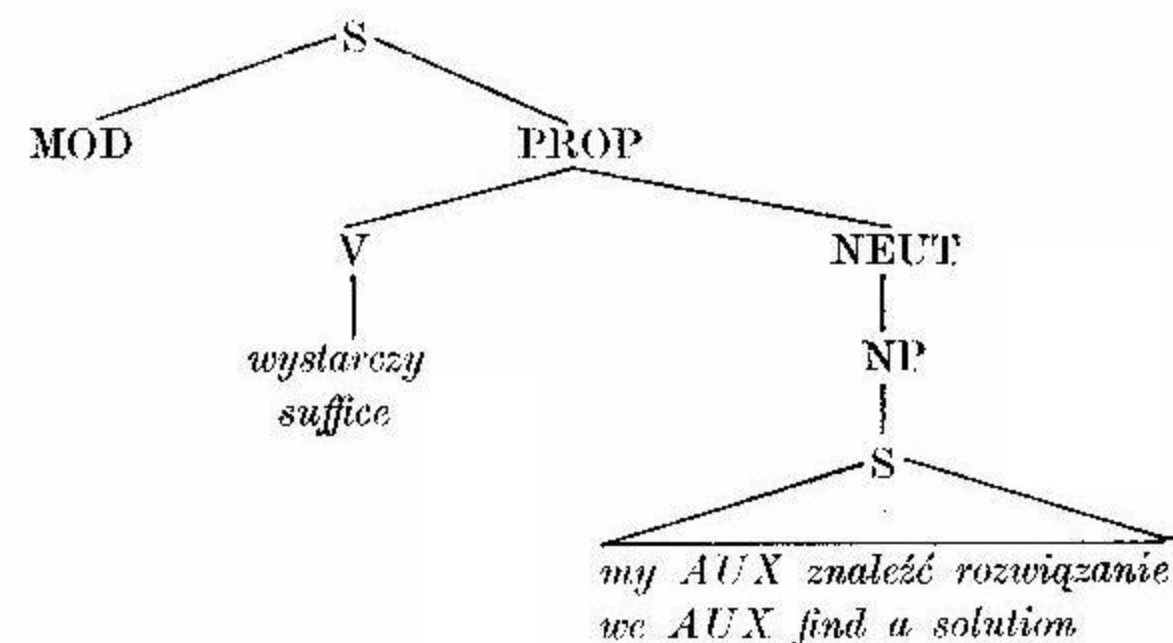
If we consider sentence (40) according to that pattern, its underlying structure (in a simplified form) would be:

(40_1) [my AUX palić tutaj] nie wypada

This string can undergo nominalization of *żeby-S* type to yield:

(40_2) Nie wypada, żebyśmy palili tutaj

or infinitivalization, caused by the presence of the verb *wypada* in the matrix predicate, which would assign a Dative marking to *my* in (40_1), as well as the appropriate from of the verb *palić*.

Another variant of (40) can be also encountered, though its grammatical correctness is questioned by some Polish native speakers:

(40_3) ?Nie wypada nam, żebyśmy palili tutaj

Its degree of deviancy seems to be so low (the repeated item *nam-żebyśmy*) that the sentence is considered grammatically correct by quite a number of Polish speakers. To the author of the present paper the sentence is stylistically awkward, which can be explained on the following ground: the item *nam* in (40_3) can be treated as a secondary subject marker, generated additionally in the structure underlying (40_2), by analogy to: *Nie wypada nam palić tutaj*. This can be also supported by a total unacceptability of such constructions whose matrix and constituent clauses contain non-coreferential Nouns:

(44)   *Nie wypada *nam*, $\begin{bmatrix} \text{żebyście} \\ \text{żeby } Janek \\ \text{żeby } oni \\ \text{etc.} \end{bmatrix}$ ...

The above hyphothesis seems to work also with such predicates as *przystoi*, *uchodzi*, as well as *wolno*, *szkoda*, *pora* (Cf. *Szkoda nam wychodzić tak wcześnie*, *Szkoda, żebyśmy wychodzili tak wcześnie*, ?*Szkoda nam, żebyśmy wychodzili tak wcześnie*). Also the behaviour of the lexical item *wystarczy* provides some additional evidence in favour of the proposal of subject marking with Dative.

In order to follow the argument a set of sentences with the verb *wystarczy* and nominalized embedded clauses will be given below, and the coreferentiality of the NP's present there will be discussed.

(45)   Wystarczy nam znaleźć rozwiązanie
(46)   Wystarczy, że znajdziemy rozwiązanie
(47)   Wystarczy nam, że znajdziemy rozwiązanie
(48)   Wystarczy nam znalezienie rozwiązania
(48)   Wystarczy znalezienie rozwiązania

The above examples confirm, first of all, a hyphothesis allowing distinct underlying structures to be a source of different types of nominalization. Example (45) seems to us ambiguous between (46) and (47). In both the cases, however, it has a different interpretation than either (48) or (49). In (47), (lit.) *It will suffice us that we find a solution*, *nam* (us) functions as an object to *wystarczy*, while in (46) the object in this sense is not overtly mentioned at all. The object of *wystarczy* in the sense of *nam* in (47) does not have to be coreferential with the subject of the embedded sentence:

(50)   Wystarczy *nam*, że $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{znajdziecie} \\ \text{znajdą} \\ Janek \text{ znajdzie} \\ \text{etc.} \end{Bmatrix}$ rozwiązanie
(50)   Wystarczy *nam*, że

(It will suffice *us* that *you/they/John*... etc will find a solution)

Notice, however, that when the embedded sentence functions not as a subject, but e.g., an adverbial of result, this coreferentiality is an obligatory constraint (51, 52, 53). The occurrence of the complementizer *aby/żeby* is also significant in this case— it introduces the clause expressing the result of an activity pointed out in the matrix clause, in which a sufficient reason of such results has been indicated (for further discussion see Misz 1960: 42 ff13):

(51)   Ten eksperyment wystarczy *nam*, aby znaleźć rozwiązanie can be paraphrased as:

(52)   Ten eksperyment wystarczy *nam*, abyśmy znaleźli rozwiązanie vs. ungrammatical:

(53)   *Ten eksperyment wystarczy *nam*, $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{abyście znaleźli} \\ \text{aby } Janek \text{ znalazł} \\ \text{etc.} \end{Bmatrix}$ rozwiązanie

Compare (53) with grammatical (50) and ungrammatical ex. (44) with *wypada* and other verbs of subclass III).

Proceeding further with the analysis we come to the examples with embedded sentences in the form of gerundial nominals. In sentence (48) it is not overtly specified who should find a solution, though the fact that *finding a solution will suffice us* is precisely expressed. (Cf. the latter with the English (*the fact of*) *our finding a solution will suffice*, which can be translated only as (45) or (46) into Polish.)

The category of unspecified or general person[8] is also present in sentence (49), where neither the subject of the embedded clause nor the object of the matrix verb, have been overtly expressed (=*finding a solution will suffice*).

The conclusion that can be drawn from the analysis of the above mentioned constructions seems to confirm the ambiguity of *nam* in (45). On one reading it is only the subject marker of the infinitive[9], while on the other one — the indirect object of the verb, being retained after the infinital

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[8] The analysis of infinitival constructions with unspecified or general subject in Polish and English will be presented in the paper mentioned in footnote 6.

[9] That the NP in the Dative case could function in Polish as a subject of the construction with the infinitive is also a historical fact. See Old Polish and Middle Polish examples, for instance, in A. Kałkowska et al. (1973:15), such as *Miano sobie za nic uczyć się języka ojczystego* urodzonym Polakom.

subject deletion. The analysis postulates, then, Dative Case Marking in such infinitival constructions in Polish as the first reading of (45), though, as we realize, the arguments should be tested on all the verbs in question, because of their different nominalization patterns.

An alternative hyphothesis that can be suggested for the derivation of infinit'val constructions in subclass III, would depend mostly on Equi-NP deletion. The P-marker associated with (45) in this interpretation, would be represented as a following tree-diagram (cf. (54) with (43)):

(54)
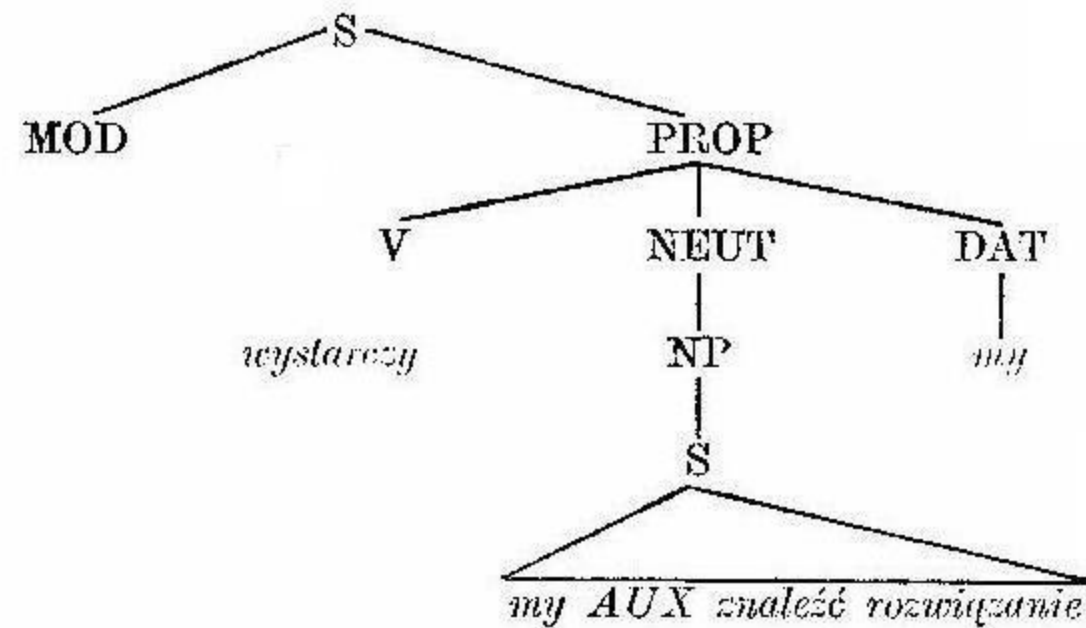
In such a case, however, it would not be possible to account for the ambiguity of (45), as the processes responsible for its derivation in any of the two postulated interpretations would have to be identical. The presence of the two items *my* in the underlying structure would have to be assumed, one — functioning as the subject of the embedded clause, and the other — underlying the indirect object of the verb in the matrix clause. Having established the coreferentiality of *my* (we) in the matrix and *my* in the embedded sentence, the operation of deleting the subject of the embedded clause could be performed, which would cause the infinitivalization of the main verb. Dative case would be the result of the indirect object position of *my*, causing its surface form to be *nam*. Such a route of derivation may be postulated for sentence (47) and this reading of (45) which can be paraphrased as (47), to accept it, however, in the case of (45) corresponding to the interpretation of (46), would mean to skip all the argument presented before.

This paper cannot be finished with some decisive conclusions concerning the derivation of all types of infinitive in Polish. It can only be meant to point at certain phenomena in the Polish language as contrasted with English, which, when tested on a number of examples, can lead to some well-motivated conclusions.

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