

PROPERTIES OF RAISED CONSTRUCTIONS IN ENGLISH AND POLISH

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O. Introduction

The present article¹ is devoted to a short presentation of the properties of raised constructions in English and Polish. Examples of relevant sentences are given in (1) and (2) for English and Polish respectively.

- 1a. Jake seems to be as good as his word.
- 1b. Jake appears to be good as his word.
- 1c. John believes Jake to be as good as his word.
- 1d. John declared Jake to be guilty.

- 2a. Janek zdawał się myśleć o czymś innym.
John seemed reflexive to think of something else

- 2b. Wydawał się unikać bliskiego ich sąsiedztwa (GRAB:29)
Appeared refl. to avoid near their neighborhood.
(past, part. (masc. (masc. gen.) (masc. gen.)
masculine) genitive)
He appeared to avoid staying in the vicinity of them.

¹ This article is a revised and shortened version of the master's thesis: Boniewicz A., *Raising in English and in Polish*, University of Gdańsk, 1978. I would like to thank here to Roman Kalisz, Elizabeth Riddle and Paul Neubauer for their invaluable help in writing both the thesis and the article.

uważać za, *czuć/odczuwać*, and verbs of permission like *pozwalać*. Her arguments are not summarized in the handout to which I have the access.

It seems legitimate to treat Polish sentences like (2) as raised constructions because, as it will be evident from the discussion below, they manifest the prototypical properties of Raising listed in section 1, similarly as English constructions do. Treating these constructions as parallel in the two languages allows to capture the similarities which would be missed otherwise.

Since Raising in Polish is not generally known, a tentative list of Polish raisers is included in this article in the appendix.

Now I shall proceed to presenting the prototype of Raising.

1. Prototypical Properties of Raising

I. Raised constructions consist of two clauses: the main clause and the complement clause, which function as one unit by virtue of the occurrence of an integrating NP the raised NP in transformational approach.

II. The integrating NP has a double grammatical bond. It functions as the subject of the complement clause and as the subject or the object (S/O) of the main clause.

III. The integrating NP does not bear any understood relations with respect to the main clause.

IV. The main clause predicate is finite.

V. The main clause predicate includes an information object in its role structure. Object is understood here as a role, not as a grammatical relation. For example, Lakoff gives the following role structure for *believe* (Lakoff 1977:264):

believe believer: INFORMATION LOCATION
 believed: INFORMATION OBJECT

VI. The complement clause is the understood S/O of the main clause.

VII. The complement predicate is non-finite.

VIII. The complement predicate is stative.

IX. The time reference of the main predicate is posterior or simultaneous with respect to the complement clause.

Properties I–VII have been proposed by Lakoff (1977:275) except that he does not use the term: integrating NP. Properties VIII and IX are discussed by Postal (1974), Borkin (1974) and Riddle (1975).

Properties I, II, IV, and VII refer not only to raised constructions. For example, they also apply to Equi.³ Property III is distinctive of Raising:

³ The distinction between A-Raising and B-Raising was introduced by Rosenbaum (1967) and extended by Postal (1974).

hence it will be regarded as its central property. It will be discussed together with properties V and VI in section 3. The stativity of complementation and the time reference of the main predicate will be argued to follow from the other properties in section 4.

Since properties I, II, IV and VII seem to be closely connected, I shall start analyzing them with respect to these properties.

2. Raised Constructions as Units

Raised constructions involve two clauses: the main clause and the complement clause. The latter clause does not function as an independent clause since it is non-finite. Borkin (1974) argues that non-finite form of the complement is one of the consequences of the process of clause boundary destruction. If there is a weak clause boundary the complementation is infinitival, as in 8. If there is none the complementation is non-verbal as in 9.

8a. Suppose the Hewsons just happened to pick it up like they said.
(NGAIO:172)

8b. I know him to be out of England.

8c. Wydawał się unikać bliskiego ich sąsiedztwa.

8d. Arnes zdawał się myśleć o czymś innym.
 seemed to think of something else
 (instrumental) (instr.)

9a. He turned out a wonderful companion.

9b. I believe him a fool.

9c. Maszynista okazał się świetnym fachowcem.
 trian-driver turned out excellent expert
 (masc., nominative) (past. masc.) (instr.) (instrum.)

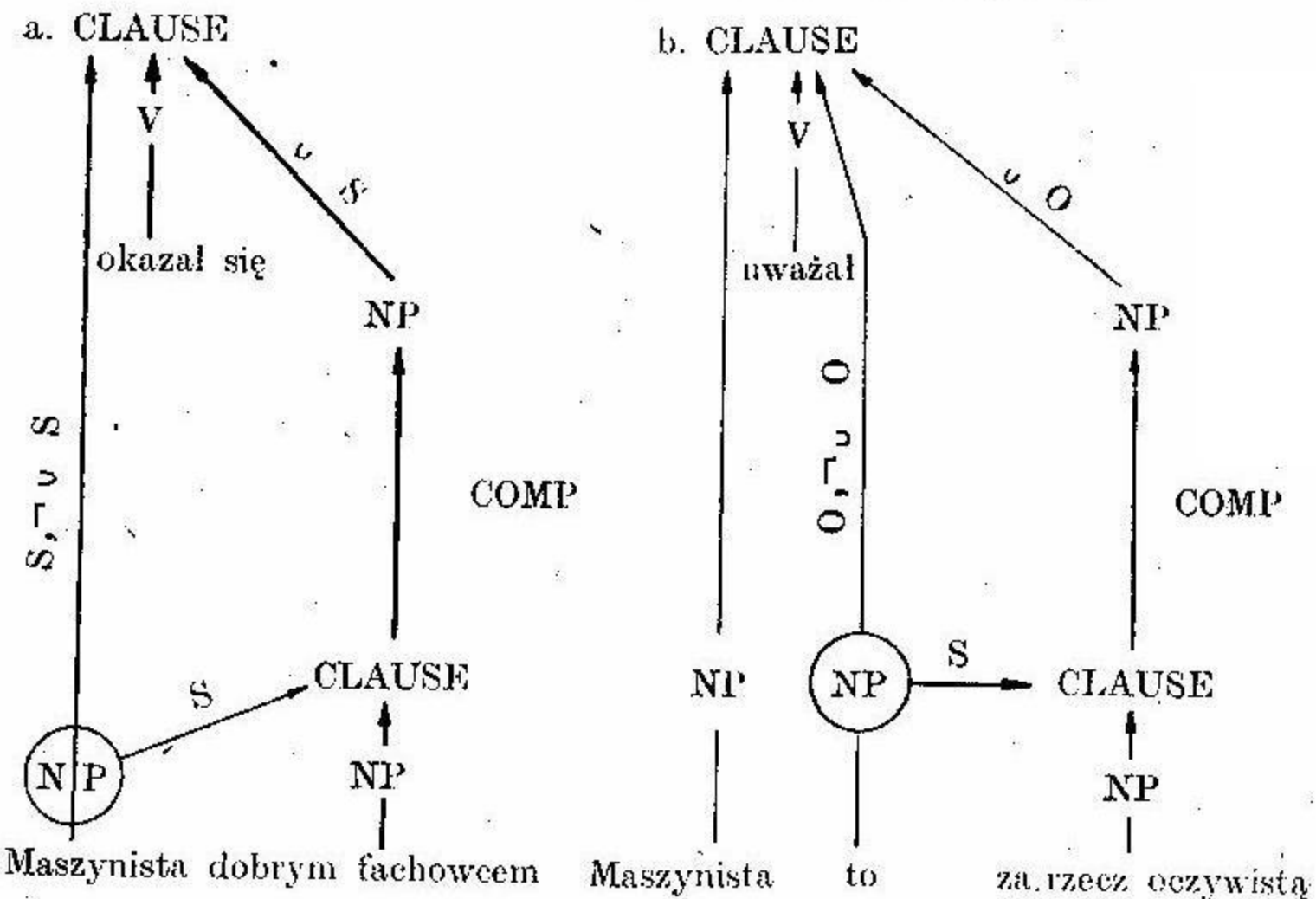
9d. Janka uznaje mnie za swoją najbliższą przyjaciółkę.
 consider me for her closest friend
 (3rd person (accus.) (accus.) (accus.) (accus.)
 sg. present)

The two clauses function as one unit. They have one finite form of the verb the main predicate. The occurrence of an NP that bears a double grammatical bond: with respect to the main clause and with respect to the complement clause is a factor integrating the two constituent clauses; hence the term: the integrating NP. For example, look at (10). The integrating NPs are encircled.

10a. Maszynista okazał się dobrym fachowcem.

10b. Maszynista uważał to rzecz oczywistą.

The train driver considered it an obvious matter (instr.).



Such diagrams as above are used by Lakoff to represent the relations in sentences (Lakoff 1977:265—267). Some explanations are necessary here:

S means subject u — understood
 O object u — not understood
 COMP complement

Unidirectional arrows relate sentence constituents. As can be seen, the encircled NPs bear relations with respect to the main clause and to the complement clause; other constituent NPs bear grammatical relations with respect either to one or to the other clause.

It is necessary to show that the integrating NP is virtually involved in double grammatical relations. Its subject object status with respect to the main clause does not need additional support because it is indicated by such properties as:

subject-verb agreement for A — Raising⁴ (sentences in 11) and word order in English and case marking in Polish for B — Raising (sentences in 12).

⁴ The test was suggested to me by Elizabeth Riddle and Paul Noubauer.

11a. He seem-*s* to be inadequate in what he is saying.

11b. Ona zdawał-a się nie rozumieć o co chodzi.
 She seemed not to understand what is the point.
 (feminine (past, feminine)
 pronoun) morpheme

12a. *I consider John to be a party-breaker* (I have underlined the SVO string).

12b. Uważam tę dziewczynę za piękną.
 I consider demonstrative pronoun girl for beautiful.
 (feminine, accus.) (fem. accus.) (fem, accus.)

Feminine accusative morphem *-ę* is distinctive of direct object in Polish.

What is crucial for the sake of the argument here is to show the complement subject status of the integrating NP. Borkin discussed the behaviour of *not*-initial NPs in B-raised constructions for this purpose (1974:51). She observed that *not* — initial NPs like *not much* and *not many* are relatively better in pre-infinitival position with raised constructions than other object positions. Postal (1974) argued that *not* — initial NPs are acceptable only in subject position. Consider (13).

13a. Not many of our students have come to the meeting.

13b. He knows not many students in the Japanese Department.

Borkin argues that sentences like (14) come in between (13a) and (13b) as far as acceptability is concerned.

14a. (Borkin's 28a)? This latest communique proves not much to be happening at the home office.

14b. (Borkin's 28c)? The Evening News reports not many people to be pleased with the upcoming increase.

If she is right in her interpretation of the data, the relative greater acceptability of *not* — initial NPs with raised sentences shows the complement subject status of the integrating NP. This test, however, is unapplicable to Polish data.

More persuasive evidence, elaborated on by Postal (1974), is provided by the behaviour of non-referential NPs like existential *there*, weather — *it* and idiom chunks. The occurrence of these NPs in simple clauses is highly restricted. Yet, they can occur with raised constructions, provided that the restrictions are observed.

(i) Existential *there* in simple clauses occurs with an indefinite NP and a restricted class of existential predicates like *be*, *exist*, *appear* etc. Consider (15) and (16).

15a. Then, there is a man called Allerton. (CHRISTIE:19)

15b. There exist many people who don't believe in God.

16a. *Then, there shouted a man called Allerton.

16b. *There dance many girls well.

It can occur in raised constructions, as shown in (17).

17a. But even there, there seemed a lack of any connecting link. (CHRISTIE:30)

17b. I don't reckon there to be anything at all doing after sundown.
(OTHER:136)

The occurrence of this item is unacceptable if the complement predication violates the restrictions for it, as in (18).

18a. *I don't reckon there to dance any pretty girls.

18b. *There seemed to sneer strange faces at me.

The same type of argument holds for the predicates like *snow*, *rain*, and *sleet*. They occur only with empty *it* as their subject. They may occur as complement predicates with raised constructions, but, again, only with empty *it*. Consider the paradigm given in (19).

19a. It is raining outside.

19b. *Rain is raining outside.

19c. It turned out to be raining outside.

19d. *Rain turned out to be raining outside.

19e. I believe it to be raining outside.

19f. *I believe rain to be raining outside.

There are idioms whose meanings are associated with a certain type of clause subject idiom chunks: for example, *Even the walls have ears*. The idiomatic meaning is preserved in raised constructions. Look at example (20).

20a. Even the walls seem to have ears.

20b. Even the walls may have ears.

There are other idioms, where the subject NP is associated with a particular verb (predicate idiom chunks), eg: *to keep tabs on*. These are also allowed in raised constructions without change of meaning. Consider (21).

21a. (Postal's example) Tabs were believed to have been kept on all of them.

21b. Tabs were claimed to have been kept on all of them.

In Polish, there is no corresponding form for existential *there* or weather — *it*, but the idiom chunk test is applicable, although finding idioms that would

be easy to manipulate is not a simple task because we need idioms which would be followed by *mieć* (to have) or *być* (to be) + adjective-participle. The reason is that Polish raisers are often followed by prepositions or by the particle *jako* (as), for instance, *uważać za* (consider for), *uznać za* (come to consider for), *oceniać jako* (evaluate as). Consider the examples below.

22a. Ściany zdają się mieć uszy.

Walls seem to have ears.

22b. Ściany mogą mieć uszy.

may

23a. Gra wydaje się być warta świeczki.

Game seems to be worth a candle genitive.

23b. Gra zaczyna być warta świeczki.

begins

24a. Uznaliśmy tę grę za wartą świeczki.

We have come to this game accus genitive
consider (accus.)

24b. Nie rezygnuj, jeżeli uważasz tę grę za wartą świeczki.

Do not give up if you consider

25a. Uważam kości za rzucone. Nie możemy się już wycofać.

I consider the dice cast. We cannot now to withdraw.
(past participle)

25b. Uznano kości za rzucone. Walka rozpoczęła się na dobre.

Come to consider The fight began for good.
(past, impersonal)

26a. Tubylecy uznali chyba lody za

Aborigines come to consider probably ice for
(past, plural)

przełamane, bo zaczęli czynić przyjazne gesty.
broken since begin to make friendly gestures.

(past part.) (past, plural)

26b. Uznano pierwsze lody za przełamane. Ktoś nawet

first ice Somebody even

wyciągnął pół litra.

pulled out half a liter of vodka.

Another test to show the complement subject status of the integrating NP in Polish is provided by the behaviour of the possessive pronouns.⁵

⁵ For more examples of role structures see Lakoff (1977: 264–5).

In Polish, there are two forms of the possessive pronoun: *swoj* — which is not marked for person, and *mój, twój*, etc. which is marked for person. The form *swoj* occurs only in the same clause with the possessor NP to which it is coreferential (example 27) and only if the possessor NP is the subject NP in this clause (example 28).

- 27a. On₁ oddał mi swoja₁ — książkę.
He gave back to me his book
(accus.)
- 27b. *On₁ powiedział, że bym oddał mu swoja₁ książkę.
He said that I should give him back his book.
- 27c. On₁ powiedział, że bym oddał mu jego₁ książkę.
(the marked form)
- 28a. Ja₁ dałem Jankowi swoja₁ książkę.
I gave to John my book.
- 28b. *Dałem Jankowi₁ swoja₁ książkę.
- 28c. *Spytałem Janka o swoja₁ zdanie.
I asked (masc. accus.) for his opinion

Now, let us test the behaviour of the unmarked form *swoj* in raised sentences. Consider (29).

- 29a. Uważam go; za okrutnego dla swojej żony.
I consider him for cruel for his wife.
(masc. sg. accus.) (adj. masc. accus.)
- 29b. Uznano Janka za godnego swojej nagrody
come to consider deserving his prize
(past, impersonal) (adj. masc. accus. gen.) (gen.)

The marked pronoun can also occur in the same clause with its coreferential subject possessor NP, especially for the sake of emphasis, as in (30); however, the unmarked form is preferred in this position.

30. Mam dosyć moich własnych kłopotów.
I have enough my own trouble
(pl. gen.) (pl. gen.) (pl. gen.)

The crucial point is, however, that the unmarked form can occur only if it is coreferential to the subject NP. Therefore, its occurrence in raised constructions shows the complement subject status of the integrating NP.

Thus, the claim that the integrating NP bears double grammatical bond in raised sentences seems to be substantiated. In the following section I shall proceed with the analysis of the central property of Raising: property III.

3. The Lack of Understood Relations of the Integrating NP versus the Properties of Raising Predicates

Consider the following sentences:

- 31a. Martha discovered Jane to have been working as a CIA spy.
- 31b. Uznano tego ucznia za najlepszego w klasie.
Acknowledge this student for the best in his class.
(past, impersonal), (masc. accus) (masc. accus) (masc. accus.)

In (31a) it is not Jane who has been discovered by Martha, but the information about her. Similarly, in (31b) it is not the student who has been acknowledged, but the fact of his being the best in his class. The integrating NPs in these sentences are not understood objects of the main predicates. The complement clauses are property VI.

As mentioned before, understood relations are predicted by the role structures of predicates occurring in the relevant constructions. Raising verbs are one or two-place predicates (A — Raising and B — Raising respectively). That is, their role structures predict subjects or subjects and objects only. Consider again Lakoff's role structure for *believe*.

believe believer: INFORMATION LOCATION
believed: INFORMATION OBJECT

A similar role structure can be established for *seem*.
seem what seems: INFORMATION OBJECT

All main predicates occurring in raised sentences seem to involve an information object in their role structure.⁶

For example: uznawać the person: INFORMATION LOCATION
the fact: INFORMATION OBJECT

okazać się (turn out) the fact that turns out: INFORMATION OBJECT

Thus, the role structures of raising predicates are closely connected with the fact that the integrating NP is not involved in understood relations with respect to the main clause. In A—raised sentences the information object exhausts all possible understood relations predicted by the predicate. Hence,

⁶ Consider the following examples:

- 1a. *Even the walls are eager to have ears.
1b. *Ściany chcą mieć uszy (walls want to have ears).
2a. *The professor encouraged tabs to be kept on all of them.
2b. *Gra zamierza być warta świeczki.

As can be seen, Equi constructions do not permit non-referring items.

the grammatical subject in sentences like (32) cannot be the understood subject.

32a. The pearls turned out to be worthless. (OTHER: 10)

32b. Perły okazały się bezwartościowe.

Pearls turned out worthless.

Analogously, in B-raised sentences the information object 'occupies' the understood object position in constructions like (33).

33a. I consider John to be a fool.

33b. Uważam Janka za głupca.

fool

(masculine, accusative)

Such an account is advantageous for the following reasons:

(i) It explains why non-referential items are permitted in raised constructions. Being devoid of reference they cannot be involved in understood relations. Predictably, they will not occur in positions, where understood relations are involved, for example, in Equi constructions.⁷

(ii) it allows the distinction between A-Raising and B-Raising without any final statement concerning the unitary status of these two types of rule. This problem has not been solved in transformational grammar.⁸

(iii) By relating the properties of relevant predicates to the central property of Raising, it makes the analysis of these properties helpful in establishing the scope of Raising.

There have remained two properties to be discussed: VIII and IX. The next section is devoted to it.

4. Stativity of the Complement and the Time Reference of the Main Predicate

Postal (1974) and Borkin (1974) argue that stative complementation is preferable in raised constructions. Borkin (1974: 96, 97) establishes the following hierarchy of complement predicates according to their acceptability in raised sentences:

- to be and to have
- stative verbs like like
- generic verbs
- other types of predicates.

⁷ When investigating the problem I have come to the conclusion that neither the advocates nor the adversaries of the unitary treatment of Raising have presented enough substantiation for their views (Boniewicz 1978).

⁸ The list of English raisers is presented in Postal (1974:192; 297-317).

The sentences below are arranged from the most to the least acceptable.

34a. He appeared to be a pleasant fellow.

34b. Zdawał się być miłym chłopcem.

nice

(instr.)

35a. He appeared to like the quiet life.

35b. Wydawał się lubić spokojne życie.

to appear to like quiet life.

(3rd person, past.)

36a. He appeared to lack vitality.

36b. Zdawa się nie mieć w sobie krzty życia.

not have in himself a bit life.

(gen.) (gen.)

37a. *He appeared to dance.

37b. *Wydawał się zatańczyć.

The time reference of Raising predicates in English constructions is posterior or simultaneous with respect to the complement predicate. If the complement predicate expresses an action, either the continuous form with be or the past form with have occurs. Consider the examples in (38).

38a. *She seemed to go in our direction.

38b. She seemed to be going in our direction.

38c. She seems to have bought out all the jewelry in the city.

Both the continuous form of the predicate and its past form express certain states; the former—a certain state at the moment of speaking, the latter—a past state with respect to the moment of speaking.

In Polish, the time reference of the raiser is simultaneous with respect to the complement verb. Although the continuous form is non-existent in Polish, sentences like (40) correspond to English continuous form.

40a. Zdawała się tańczyć.

seem to dance

(3rd person fem., past)

40b. She seemed to be dancing

The perfective aspect occurs rarely in the complement clause. Consider the following:

41a. *Janek wydawał się pójść do baru.

seemed to go to the bar

(perfective)

41b. Janek wydawał się iść do baru
to go
(imperfective)

42a. *Zdajesz się zrozumieć.
seem to understand
(3rd. person, present) perfective

42b. Zdajesz się rozumieć.
to understand
(imperfective)

The requirement for stativity is stronger in Polish than in English, since Polish raisers prefer non-verbal complementation. B-verbs allow only this type of complementation (example 43).

Other verbs, like *zdawać się*, *wydawać się*, occur more frequently with non-verbal complements, too, as in (45).

43a. *Uważam cię za być świętym.
I consider you for to be saint.
(accus.) (instr.)

43b. *Uznano cię za być godnym tej nagrody.
to be deserving this prize.

44a. Zdawała się zamyślona.
thoughtful
(past participle, fem, sg.)

44b. Wydawali się mi obcy, dalecy.
they seemed to me strange, far-off
(masc. pl.) (masc. pl.)

45a. Zdawała się nie odczuwać zimna.
not to feel the cold.

45b. Chłopiec zdawał się walczyć z własną nieśmiałością.
Boy seemed to fight with own shy manner
(instr.) (instr.)

The following verbs behave differently with respect to stativity and time reference:

— Adjectives (lacking in Polish). They may have a future orientation and they permit verbs of action, as in (46).

46a. He is likely to go there tomorrow.

46b. This girl is certain to come.

— Auxiliaries. They may have a future orientation and allow the verbs of action. Look at (47) and (48).

47a. He must buy me the ticket.

47b. On musi mi kupić ten bilet.
He must to me to buy this ticket.

47c. He is going to buy me the ticket.

48. On powinien mi kupić ten bilet.
He should to me to buy this ticket.

— Aspectual verbs. They embed verbs of action. The time reference is always simultaneous.

49a. Maria zaczyna pisać.
begins to write.

49b. Mary is beginning to write.

50a. Sprawy zaczęły przybierać zły obrót.
Matters started to take bad turn.

51b. The matters started to look bad.

The preference of raised constructions for stative complementation is not surprising when juxtaposed with the fact that Raising predicates involve an information object in their role structure, since the information object usually refers to a certain state of affairs.

5. Conclusions

On the basis of the material presented in this article we may conclude that Lakoff's theory of gestalts is capable of coping with linguistic problems. In particular, it allows us to cope with syntactic, semantic and pragmatic properties simultaneously. For this reason, it is convenient for the purpose of contrastive studies. As shown here, Polish raised constructions which, superficially, are so much different from the corresponding constructions in English, share all relevant properties of Raising.

The differences between the relevant constructions in English and Polish are the following:

- (1) The scope of Raising in Polish is very narrow (compare the list of Polish raisers given in the appendix with Postal's list of English Raising verbs (Postal 1974:292, 297—317).
- (2) Polish Constructions avoid infinitival complementation. Non-verbal complements are preferable.
- (3) The time reference of the main predicate in Polish constructions is simultaneous with respect to the complement clause; whereas in English it may be both simultaneous and posterior.

APPENDIX

Raising predicates in Polish

I. A—verbs

1. lubić tend, okazać się turn out, wydawać się appear zdawać się seem,
2. Aspectual verbs: kończyć finish, imperfective, zacząć begin, archaic, przestać stop, perfective; przestawać stop, imperfective, skończyć finish, perfective,
3. Modals: móc be able, musieć must, powinien ought, no infinitive form.

II. B—verbs

oceniać jako	— to evaluate as
odczuwać jako	— to feel as
ogłaszać	— to announce imperfective
ogłosić	— to announce perfective
uważać za	— consider for
uznawać za	— consider for imperfective
jako	as
uznać za	— come to consider for perfective
jako	as
wyobrazić sobie jako	— to imagine as.

ABBREVIATIONS

- CHRISTIE: Christie, A. 1976. *Curtain*. New York: Pocket Books.
 GRAB: Grabiński, S. 1975. *Niesamowite opowieści*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie.
 OTHER: Ashley, L.R.N. (ed.). 1970. *Other People's Lives*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

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