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The Polysemy of the Verb *wystarczać/wystarczyć* [to suffice] in Polish

ABSTRACT

This paper examines the syntax and semantics of the unaccusative verb *wystarczać/wystarczyć* [to suffice] in Polish. We argue that this verb is polysemous. Besides its idiosyncratic meaning 'to suffice', it may also mean 'to be enough' or 'to have enough'. The three above-mentioned meanings of the verb *wystarczać/wystarczyć* are associated with three different syntactic structures. The idiosyncratic meaning of this verb is found with the nominative argument. The second meaning of the verb surfaces in existential clauses with the genitive nominal argument and an optional locative PP. The third – possessive meaning – arises when the verb appears with the dative possessor and the genitive theme.

Keywords: polysemy, unaccusative verbs, existential structures, possessive constructions, the Polish language

1. Introduction

In Polish, the imperfective verb *wystarczać* [to suffice] and its perfective counterpart *wystarczyć* may co-occur with a nominal argument marked either for nominative or genitive, as in (1) and (2), respectively, taken from *Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego* (henceforth: *NKJP*) [The National Corpus of Polish]:

(1)

Wystarczyły	bowiem	niewielkie
sufficed.IMP.3PL.NON-VIR	because	small
ilości	drewna [...]	
quantities.3PL.NOM.NON-VIR	wood.GEN ¹	
[Because small quantities of wood sufficed ...]		

(2)

Wystarczyło	pieniędzy.
sufficed.PFV.3SG.NEU	money.3PL.GEN.NON-VIR
[There was enough money.]	

¹ The following abbreviations have been used: ACC – accusative, DAT – dative, F – feminine, GEN – genitive, IMP – imperfective, LOC – locative, M – masculine, NEU – neuter, NOM – nominative, NON-VIR – non-virile, PFV – perfective, PL – plural, SG – singular.

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In (1), the past form of the imperfective verb *wystarczać* [to suffice] agrees in person, number and gender with the nominative plural non-virile Determiner Phrase (DP) *niewielkie ilości drewna* ‘small quantities of wood’². In (2), which contains the genitive plural non-virile DP *pieniędzy* [money], the perfective form *wystarczyć* [to suffice] surfaces in the default 3rd singular neuter form. In the two above-mentioned patterns, *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV ‘to suffice’ may appear with an additional dative argument, as shown in (3) and (4):

- (3)
- | | | |
|------------------------------------|---------|---------|
| Wystarczyły | mu | pisemne |
| sufficed.PFV.3PL.NON-VIR | him.DAT | written |
| oświadczenia. | | |
| statements.3PL.NOM.NON-VIR | | |
| [Written statements sufficed him.] | | |
- (4)
- | | | |
|---------------------------|---------|--------------------------|
| Wystarczało | mu | sił. |
| sufficed.IMP.3SG.NEU | him.DAT | strength.3PL.GEN.NON-VIR |
| [He had enough strength.] | | |

The sentences such as (3) and (4) with the verb *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV [to suffice] have been treated by Saloni & Świdziński (1998, p. 127) as distinct at the structural level, but identical in meaning³. In contradistinction to Saloni & Świdziński (1998), Linsztet (2016) treats sentences like (3) and (4) (as well as (1) and (2)) as variants of the same syntactic pattern. Linsztet (2016) argues that the verb *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV [to suffice] does not represent a lexical item, but is just an element forming a few multi-segmental structures in which its meaning remains the same. In other words, neither Saloni & Świdziński (1998)

² We remain agnostic as to whether Polish has a Determiner Phrase or just a Noun Phrase. We use the label ‘DP’ to refer to any nominal expression for the sake of convenience, without committing ourselves to the exact category of the nominal phrase.

³ Saloni & Świdziński (1998, p. 127) analyse just two examples, depicted in (i) and (ii) below with the verb *starczać* [to suffice]:

- (i) Pensja starcza mi do dwudziestego.
 salary.3SG.NOM suffices me.DAT till twentieth.
 [The salary suffices me till the twentieth.]
- (ii) Pensji starcza mi do dwudziestego.
 salary.3SG.GEN suffices me.DAT till twentieth
 [I have enough salary till the twentieth.] (Saloni & Świdziński, 1998, p. 127)

The verb *starczać/starczyć* [to suffice] behaves like *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV [to suffice] (cf. Linsztet, 2016, p. 177). Actually sentence (i) corresponds to example (3) above, while sentence (ii) patterns like (4). The dative DP in both (i) and (ii) is optional, in a way similar to (1) and (2).

nor Linsztet (2016) consider *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV [to suffice] to be polysemous in sentences like (1) – (4) above.

In turn, in dictionaries of the Polish language, including *Słownik języka polskiego* [The dictionary of the Polish language] by Doroszewski (1958-1969) and *Słownik syntaktyczno-generatywny czasowników polskich* [The syntactic-generative dictionary of Polish verbs] by Polański (1992), the verb *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV [to suffice] is taken to be polysemous. Its meanings cover the following: (i) to suffice, (ii) to be a sufficient reason for, (iii) to replace somebody, to have somebody's function, and (iv) to satisfy somebody's needs. The first of these four meanings may be associated with the data in (1) and (3) above, whereas examples (2) and (4) do not fall under any of the four meanings mentioned above.

The aim of this paper is to analyse the syntax and semantics of the verb *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV [to suffice]. We intend to show that the verb under scrutiny in the two patterns illustrated in (1) – (3) and (2) – (4) above is associated with different meanings, and thus it is polysemous. In the pattern with the nominative DP, the verb *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV has the meaning 'to suffice/to be sufficient', and an additional dative argument may be interpreted as a beneficiary (cf. (3)) or an experiencer (cf. (15) below). In the pattern with the genitive DP, the verb *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV is semantically bleached (Borschev et al., 2010). Its meaning corresponds to 'to be enough' in (2) or 'to have enough' in (4), and an additional dative is then interpreted as a possessor. In other words, we will argue that the verb *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV in Polish lexicalises the following three meanings: (i) to suffice, (ii) to be enough, and (iii) to have enough. In Lithuanian, these three meanings are expressed by three different lexical items, viz. *pakakti* [to suffice], *ganėti* [to be enough], and *užtekti* [to have enough] (Šereikaitė, 2020, p. 272). We will demonstrate that in a way typical of unaccusative verbs (Moro, 1997), the semantically bleached verb *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV may appear in existential structures like (2), and in closely related possessive sentences like (4).

The paper consists of five sections. In Section 2, we provide evidence that *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV [to suffice] is an unaccusative verb. In Section 3, we focus on *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV, followed by the nominative DP, with or without the dative DP. In Section 4, we analyse *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV, accompanied by the genitive DP, with or without the dative DP. We address the question whether the genitive in this case is structural or lexical. We also examine the syntactic and semantic properties of the dative argument. Finally, Section 5 concludes the paper.

2. *Wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV [to suffice] as an unaccusative verb

Cross-linguistically, verbs corresponding to the English verb *to suffice*, have been classed as unaccusatives (cf., Anagnostopoulou & Sevdali, 2020 for Greek;

Fernández-Soriano, 1999 for Spanish, and Wood & Livitz, 2012 for Icelandic). In order to check whether the Polish verb *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV [to suffice] represents an unaccusative predicate, we will subject it to a number of unaccusativity diagnostics.

The first unaccusativity test is based on *-no/-to* impersonals, which cannot be formed of unaccusatives in perfective aspect, in contradistinction to unergatives⁴. However, *-no/-to* impersonals can be formed of unaccusatives in imperfective aspect, and then they have a habitual/iterative interpretation (Cetnarowska, 2002)⁵. The verb *wystarczać* [to suffice], which is imperfective, can appear in *-no/-to* impersonals, as in (5), and so can its perfective variant *wystarczyć* [to suffice], as exemplified in (6):

(5)
 Wystarczano nam.
 sufficed-*no*.IMP US.DAT
 [They have sufficed us.]

(6)
 Wystarczono nam.
 sufficed-*no*.PFV US.DAT
 [They sufficed us.]

However, as noted by one of the reviewers, the acceptability of the two impersonal forms in (5) and (6) is highly questionable, and neither of these forms can be found in the National Corpus of Polish. Consequently, we consider the data in (5) and (6) as irrelevant for determining the unaccusative status of the verb *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV [to suffice].

The second unaccusativity diagnostic relates to distributive *po*-phrases. These phrases are licit with objects of transitive verbs, as in (7):

⁴ The contrast can be seen in (i) and (ii) below, which contain an unergative and an unaccusative verb, respectively, reproduced after Cetnarowska (2002, p. 64):

- (i) Zadzwoniono po lekarza.
 phoned-*no*.PFV for doctor.ACC
 [They phoned for a doctor]
- (ii) *Wyrośnięto w atmosferze terroru.
 grew-up-*no*.PFV in atmosphere terror.GEN
 [They grew up in an atmosphere of terror.]

⁵ The sentence in (i) below from Cetnarowska (2002, p. 64, fn. 19) contains an unaccusative verb in imperfective aspect, which clearly contrasts in grammaticality with example (ii) from footnote 4 above, which contains the same verb in perfective aspect:

- (i) Wyrastano w atmosferze terroru.
 grew-up-*no*.IMP in atmosphere.LOC terror.GEN
 [They were growing up in an atmosphere of terror.]

(7)
 Przeczytaliśmy po książce.
 read.1PL po book.LOC
 [We have read a book each.]

Distributive *po*-PPs are also felicitous with unaccusative verbs, as in (8):

(8)
 Z każdej klasy przyszło po rodzicu.
 from each class came po parent.LOC
 [There came a parent from each class/grade.] (Cetnarowska, 2000, p. 41)

With unergative verbs, in turn, distributive *po*-phrases are much less acceptable, as shown in (9):

(9)
 ?*Z każdej klasy zadzwoniło do szkoły po rodzicu
 from each class phoned to school po parent.LOC
 [A parent from each class/grade phoned the school.] (Cetnarowska, 2000, p. 41)

The verb *wystarczać.IMP/wystarczyć.PFV* [to suffice] behaves on a par with unaccusatives (cf. (8)) since it can appear with distributive *po*-PPs, as demonstrated in (10):

(10)
 Każdemu z nas wystarczyło/wystarczało po 100 złotych
 each.DAT of us sufficed.PFV/sufficed.IMP po 100 zlotys.LOC
 [Hundred zlotys was sufficient for each of us.]

The final unaccusativity test concerns verb agreement. Babyonyshev (1996, p. 158) notes that unaccusative verbs in Russian show singular or plural agreement when the plural subject occurs VP-internally at Spell-out. This is also true of Polish unaccusatives, as shown in (11):

(11)
 Na stole stał/ stały kubek i szklanka.
 on table stood.3SG.M stood.3PL.NON-VIR mug.3SG.M and glass.3SG.F
 [On the table there stood a mug and a glass.]

The variable verb agreement typical of unaccusatives may also occur with the verb *wystarczać.IMP/wystarczyć.PFV* [to suffice], as illustrated in (12):

(12)
 Sądzę, że wystarczyła wystarczyły
 I.think that suffice.3SG.F/ sufficed.3PL.NON-VIR

opieka	i	hart	ducha	pani Małgorzaty.
care.3SG.NOM.F	and	strength.3SG.NOM.M	spirit.gen	miss Margaret.GEN
[The care and fortitude of Miss Margaret sufficed.] (modelled on the example from the <i>NKJP</i>)				

In (12), the perfective form *wystarczyć* [to suffice] appears in the singular or plural form in the presence of the nominative case marked plural subject in the VP-internal position. This way the verb under scrutiny resembles unaccusative predicates like the one in (11)⁶.

Summarising, the verb *wystarczać.IMP/wystarczyć.PFV* behaves like unaccusatives with respect to two out of the three diagnostics discussed in this section. Firstly, *wystarczać.IMP/wystarczyć.PFV* [to suffice] may occur with distributive *po*-PPs. Secondly, this verb may surface in the singular or plural form when the nominative plural subject remains in the VP-internal position. However, the ability of this verb to form *-no/-to* impersonals does not yield conclusive results due to the dubious acceptability status of its impersonal forms.

3. *Wystarczać.IMP/wystarczyć.PFV* [to suffice] with nominative DPs

As noted in Section 2, the verb *wystarczać.IMP/wystarczyć.PFV* is unaccusative, and therefore it has just an internal argument, but it lacks an external argument altogether (Burzio, 1986; Perlmutter, 1978). Consequently, the nominative DP found in *wystarczać.IMP/wystarczyć.PFV* [to suffice]-clauses, such as (13) below, functions as a derived subject:

⁶ One of the reviewers notes that unergative verbs also allow the singular or plural agreement with the VP-internal subject, and gives the following data in support of this claim:

- (i) Reakcja była natychmiastowa, do Temkinów zadzwonił
 reaction.NOM was instantaneous, to the Temkins called.3SG.M
 wiceminister i szef MSWiA Ludwik Dorn
 Vice-Prime Minister and head MSWiA Ludwik Dorn.3SG.M
 [The reaction was instantaneous. The vice Prime Minister and the head of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Administration, Ludwik Dorn, called the Temkins.]
- (ii) Około godz. 11.00 do jednego z mieszkań zadzwonili
 around hour 11 to one of flats called.3PL.VIR
 kobieta i mężczyzna narodowości romskiej.
 woman.3SG.F and man.3SG.M nationality romany
 [Around 11 o'clock a woman and a man of Romany nationality called one of the flats.]

Although the unergative verb *zadzwonić* [to call] in (i) and (ii) above appears in the singular and plural form, respectively, we believe that this is related to the different status of the coordinate phrase in these two examples. In (i) the two conjuncts refer to one and the same person, hence the verb shows up in the singular, whereas in (ii) two different persons are involved and the verb appears in the plural. All in all, the data in (i) and (ii) do not argue in favour of that claim that unergatives can show variable agreement with the plural subject, in a way analogous to unaccusatives (cf. (11) and (12)).

- (13)
 Takie strzępy informacji wystarczyły [...].
 these fragments.3.PL.NOM information.gen sufficed.pfv.3pl.non-vir
 [These bits of information sufficed.]

In (13), the past tense form of the verb *wystarczyć*.PFV ‘to suffice’ agrees with the nominative subject *takie strzępy informacji* [these bits of information] in person, number and gender, which supports the surface subject status of the nominative DP.

In addition to the nominative DP, the verb under scrutiny may appear with the dative DP, as exemplified in (14) and (15):

- (14)
 Wystarczyły jej same te możliwości.
 sufficed.pfv.3pl.non-vir her.dat alone these opportunities.3pl.nom.non-vir
 [These very opportunities were sufficient for her.]

- (15)
 Do szczęścia wystarczały mu karty i ukochany Szekspir.
 to happiness sufficed.imp.3pl.non-vir him.3pl.dat.non-vir cards.3pl.nom.non-vir and beloved Shakespeare.3sg.nom
 [Cards and his beloved Shakespeare sufficed him to be happy.]

The dative may be interpreted as a beneficiary in (14) or as an experiencer in (15).

The nominative DP may bind the subject-oriented anaphor within the dative DP, as in (16), which indicates that the former acts as a subject, while the latter functions as an additional argument introduced by an applicative phrase (Cuervo, 2003, 2020):

- (16)
 Dzieci₁ wystarczają swoim₁ rodzicom.
 children.3pl.nom suffice.imp.3pl self’s parents.3pl.dat
 [Parents are satisfied with their children.]

In (16), the nominative DP *dzieci* [children] binds the subject-oriented possessive anaphor *swoim* ‘self’s’ within the dative DP, which in this case is interpreted as an experiencer. In turn, the dative DP cannot bind the subject-oriented anaphor, as shown in (17):

- (17)
 Pieniądze wystarczają Markowi₁ na *swoje₁ /jego₁ podróże.
 money.3pl.nom suffice.imp.3pl Mark.dat for self’s his travels
 [Money suffices Mark for his travels.]

In (17), the dative DP *Markowi* ‘Mark’ may only be co-referential with the possessive pronoun *jego* ‘his’, but it can never bind the possessive reflexive *swoje*

‘self’s’. This indicates that the dative in the structure containing *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV [to suffice], accompanied by the nominative DP, never acts as a subject.

4. *Wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV [to suffice] with genitive DPs

The verb *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV may co-occur with a genitive DP, as in (18) (cf. also (2) and (4) above):

- (18)
 Wejściówek wystarczy dla wszystkich chętnych (NKJP).
 tickets.GEN.PL suffice.PFV.3SG for everyone willing
 [There are enough tickets for everyone interested.]

In (18), the verb under scrutiny appears in an existential sentence, and its meaning corresponds to ‘to be enough’⁷. Cross-linguistically, unaccusative verbs are frequently used in existential clauses (Irwin, 2018; Levin & Rappaport Hovav, 1995; Moro, 1997). Likewise, Polish unaccusative verbs such as *ubyć*.PVF/*ubywać*.IMP [to disappear, to decrease] and *przybyć*.PVF/*przybywać*.IMP [to arrive, to increase] are commonly found in existential clauses (cf. Bondaruk, in press), as illustrated in (19):

- (19)
 W portfelu ubyło/ przybyło pieniądze.
 in wallet.LOC decreased.PFV.3SG.NEU/increased.PFV.3SG.NEU money.3PL.GEN.NON-VIR
 [There was less/more money in the wallet.]

Let us compare (19) with (20) below:

- (20)
 W portfelu wystarczyło pieniądze.
 in wallet.LOC sufficed.PFV.3SG.NEU money.3PL.GEN.NON-VIR
 [There was enough money in the wallet.]

(20) patterns like (19) in that both of these sentences contain the locative PP and the genitive DP, where the former corresponds to the Location and the latter represents the Thing whose existence is asserted in the sentence (Borschev & Partee, 2002, p. 19). Borschev & Partee (2002) emphasise that existence is always relative to Location. Consequently, in sentences like (18), where location is not explicitly stated, it is implied. The Location may be explicitly stated, as demonstrated in

⁷ Likewise, the English verb ‘to suffice’ is classed as expressing existence of a state on a par with *to be*, *to exist*, and *to seem* by Sorace (2004, p. 256).

the corpus example in (21), where the PP *na świecie* ‘in the world’ realises the Location argument:

- (21)
 Czy nie wystarczy nieszczęścia na świecie? (NKJP)
 if not suffices.PFV unhappiness.3SG.GEN on world
 [Is there not enough unhappiness in the world?]

The existential clauses in (18) and (20) – (21) (and in (19)) are different from existential clauses with *być* [to be], as in (22) below, in that they contain a genitive, not a nominative DP⁸.

- (22)
 W pokoju jest porządek.
 in room.LOC is order.3SG.NOM
 [There is order in the room.]

The genitive on the DP whose existence is asserted in (18) and (20) – (21) is structural, not lexical. This is because it may be replaced with the phrase modified by *dużo* ‘a lot’, which is only admissible in structural case positions (Przepiórkowski, 1999, p. 112). This is illustrated in (23):

- (23)
 Dużo wysiłku nie wystarczy.
 a.lot effort.3SG.GEN not suffices.PFV.3SG
 [A lot of effort does not suffice.]

The genitive on the DP in existential clauses with *wystarczać.IMP/wystarczyć.PFV* is partitive, because the DP in question must represent a homogenous object, viz. either a plural DP (cf. (18) and (20)) or an abstract entity, as in (21) above and (24) below, and can never be a proper noun or a singular DP, as can be seen in (25):

- (24)
 Pracy wystarczy jeszcze na około dwa miesiące. (NKJP)
 work.GEN suffice.PFV still for about two months
 [There will be enough work for two months.]

- (25)
 *Wystarczy dobrego pracownika /Marka.
 suffices.PFV good worker.GEN Mark.GEN
 [literally: There is enough of a good worker/Mark.]

⁸ The genitive case marking on the DP whose existence is asserted is regularly attested in Serbian existential clauses (Hartmann & Milićević, 2008).

In existential sentences with *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV, the partitive genitive is taken to be assigned by a null quantifier by Wierzbicka (1966) and Linsztet (2016).

The verb *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV, followed by the genitive DP, may co-occur with the dative DP, as illustrated in (26) (cf. also (4)):

- (26)
- | | | | | |
|--------------|---------|--------------------|-----|------------------|
| Wystarczy | mu | cierpliwości | i | opanowania. |
| suffices.PFV | him.DAT | patience.3SG.GEN.F | and | calm.3SG.GEN.NEU |
- [He will have enough patience and calm.]

The sentence in (26) is no longer existential, but it represents a possessive structure, with the possessor realised as a dative DP *mu* ‘him’⁹. Cross-linguistically, existence and possession are closely related (cf., for instance, Błaszczak, 2007; Freeze, 1992; Kayne, 1993,), and therefore it should not come as a surprise that the verbs attested in existential clauses may also show up in possessive structures. The verb *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV in possessive structures like (26) has the meaning ‘to have enough’. The dative in sentences like (26) is structurally higher than the genitive. This is supported by the fact that the dative QP may bind the pronominal variable within the genitive DP, as in (27):

- (27)
- | | | | | | | |
|----------|----------------------------|-----|--------------|-----------|----------------------|-----------|
| [Każdemu | bezrobotnemu] ₁ | nie | wystarczy | środków | na jego ₁ | potrzeby. |
| each | unemployed.DAT | not | suffices.PFV | means.GEN | for his | needs |
- [Each unemployed won’t have enough means for his needs.]

In (27), the dative case marked QP *każdemu bezrobotnemu* ‘each unemployed’ c-commands and binds the pronominal variable *jego* within the genitive DP, which supports the claim that the dative DP is structurally higher than the genitive DP.

The dative possessor may also bind the subject-oriented anaphor, as in (28):

- (28)
- | | | | | | | |
|----------------------|-------------|-----------|-----|----------------------|-------------------|----------|
| Markowi ₁ | wystarczy | pieniędzy | na | swoje ₁ / | jego ₁ | podróże. |
| Mark.DAT | suffice.PFV | money.GEN | for | self’s | his | travels |
- [Mark will have enough money for his travels.]

Example (28) contrasts in grammaticality with (17) above, since only the dative possessor as in (28) can bind the subject-oriented possessive anaphor *swój* [self’s],

⁹ Polish differs from Lithuanian, in which the dative possessor of the verbs *pakakti* [to suffice] and *užtekti* [to have enough] may alternate with the nominative one (Šereikaitė, 2020).

whereas the dative beneficiary, as in (17), cannot do so. The dative possessor DP in (28) behaves like a subject (cf. (16) above) in that it can bind the subject-oriented anaphor. The problem of how to reconcile the external argument status of the dative possessor in structure like (28) with the unaccusativity of the verb *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV is tackled by Bondaruk and Prażmowska (in press) within the Minimalist Program (Chomsky, 2008), and we leave this problem aside here.

In the existential and the possessive use, the verb *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV is semantically bleached. According to Rappaport Hovav and Levin (1998, p. 105), bleaching involves “the loss or weakening of the idiosyncratic aspect of verb meaning [...] and [...] never involves removal of grammatically relevant aspects of verb meaning”. Borschev et al. (2010, p. 18) specify that bleaching is most frequently manifested as a formal shift (e.g. the addition of the existential quantifier), but may also involve substantive meaning shifts. We would like to suggest that the idiosyncratic lexical meaning of *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV [to suffice] is bleached, which yields its existential meaning ‘to be enough’. This meaning change is accompanied by the change of the category of the verb from the lexical to the functional one, viz. from V to v^{10} . The third – possessive meaning – arises when the meaning of the v *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV occurs in conjunction with a specific functional projection that introduces the dative possessor DP (such as expletive VoiceP in Bondaruk and Prażmowska, in press).

5. Conclusions

The paper has presented evidence that the verb *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV is polysemous. In addition to its idiosyncratic lexical meaning ‘to suffice’, the verb may have an existential meaning ‘to be enough’ or a possessive meaning ‘to have enough’, which arise as a result of semantic bleaching. With all the three interpretations, the verb under scrutiny belongs to the same class of unaccusative predicates. However, each meaning of the verb *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV is associated with a different type of syntactic structure. Whereas the idiosyncratic meaning arises in case the verb co-occurs with the nominative DP, the two remaining meanings surface in the presence of the genitive DP. In existential clauses, the genitive DP may co-occur with an optional locative PP. In the possessive use, the genitive DP appears with the dative possessor. We have also argued that semantic bleaching of the verb *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV is connected with the change of its category from V to v , and its different meanings result from the way V or v combines with the particular functional categories.

¹⁰ The little v is a light verb which together with the lexical verb (V) forms a verb phrase. The light verb is a head of an outer shell of a verb phrase, whereas the lexical verb is a head of the inner core of the verb phrase (for details, cf. Chomsky, 1995, pp. 219–379; Radford, 2004, pp. 253–284).

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