Gerd Hentschel, Oldenburg

# On the perspectivisation of noun phrases in copula sentences, mainly in Polish:
## *(Y) to (jest) X* and similar phenomena*

*Die Schmerzen sind's, die ich zu Hilfe rufe,*
*denn es sind Freunde, Gutes raten sie. (Goethe).*
*To bóle przyzywam do pomocy,*
*bo to przyjaciele, dobrze radzą.*

## 1. Introduction

The main topic of this paper will be sentences of the following types:

(1a)  To (był) *dobry człowiek.*
    *to*[1] (be.Past.3p.Masc) good.Nom man.Nom
    'This was a good man.'

(1b)  (On) był dobrym człowiekiem.
    (he.Nom) be.Past.3p.Masc good.Ins man.Ins
    'He was a good man.'

(2a)  Jacek to (był) *dobry człowiek.*
    Jacek.Nom *to* (be.Past.3p.Masc) good.Nom man.Nom
    'Jacek, that was a good man.'

(2b)  Jacek był *dobrym człowiekiem.*
    Jacek.Nom be.Past.3p.Masc good.Ins man.Ins
    'Jacek was a good man.'

(3a)  To była *miła niespodzianka.*
    *to* be.Past.3p.Fem nice.Nom surprise.Nom

---

*    I am obliged to Winfried Boeder, Oldenburg, and Ireneusz Bobrowski, Cracow, for comments on an earlier version of this paper.

1    Depending on the context, Polish *to* in the sentences discussed would correspond to English *it*, *that* or *this*. In schematic quasi-translations *to* will be left untranslated.

(3b)  To było *miłą niespodzianką.*
   *to* be.Past.3p.Neut nice.Ins surprise.Ins
   both: 'That was a nice surprise.'

Important for our discussion as well will be sentences as in (4), (5), and (6):

(4)  Z Jacka był *dobry człowiek.*
   out of Jacek.Gen be.Past.3p.Masc good.Nom man.Nom
   'Jacek [lit.: out of Jacek] was a good man.'

(5a)  To (był) *mój brat.*
   *to* (be.Past.3p.Masc) my.Nom brother.Nom
   'That was my brother.'

(5b)  (Ten pan) to (byłem) *ja.*
   (this man) *to* (be.Past.1p.Masc) I.Nom
   lit.:[2] 'This man – that was me.'

(6)  Jacek to (był) *mój brat.*
   Jacek *to* (be.Past.3p.Masc) my.Nom brother.Nom
   'Jacek – that was my brother.'

All sentences above are usually called copula sentences (in a broader sense), although a form of the copulative *być* may be absent at least when the nominal group $X^3$ on the right side of the copula in (Y)-copula-X is not in the instrumental case and *to* is used. The examples from (1) to (4) are sentences with a nominal predicate X (in italics in the above examples), and not a verbal one. The predicative status of the corresponding nouns or nominal groups of (5) and (6) is controversial (see below). For the present I will call them "predicative", too. The verbal form in the above sentences has mainly a linking, copulative function, and no or little semantic content.

Copula sentences with predicative nouns are, at first sight, comparatively simple syntactic structures. Some of their subtypes – first of all the construction *to-(być)*-$X_{Nom}$ – are among the earliest sentence structures acquired by

---

2  The translations in simple quotation marks serve first of all to reflect the Polish sentence structure. When the deviation from a normal English sentence is felt to be too strong, the abbreviation "lit.", i. e. 'literal translation' will be added.

3  Note that throughout the discussion X refers to the nominal group that is rhematic in sentences with *to* and, possibly, a form of *być*, i. e. the nominal group, usually on the right side of *to* and the form of *być*, that is always realised. The usually left-sided nominal group Y on the contrary is in these sentences not obligatory. In sentences without *to*, in "usual" copula sentences, X refers to the nominal predicate and Y to the argument.

children in first language acquisition and / or among the first sentence patterns that are offered in foreign language textbooks. The same holds for sentences with predicative adjectives as in (7):

(7)  Jacek jest *dobry / smutny.*
   Jacek.Nom be.Pres good / sad.Nom

Nevertheless copula sentences, at least in Slavonic linguistics, have always attracted the interest of linguists. Andrzej Bogusławski has made several contributions to the discussion of copula sentences (cf. BOGUSŁAWSKI 1964; 1988; 1992; 2001; in press[4]), in the more recent ones discussing several points that I myself have made on this subject (cf. HENTSCHEL 1993; 1994; 1995; 1998a; 1998b; in press).

Problematic are mainly copula sentences with predicative nouns (or pronouns). The first notorious problem connected with certain subtypes of these sentences is the question of differentiation between the predicative and the non-predicative nominal elements (subject / argument) or, more cautiously, the definition of the status of these elements; see PADUČEVA & USPENSKIJ (1979) for Russian and FINDRENG (1976, 348ff) or WARLAND (1960), who both concentrate on German copula constructions with *es* (*das*, *dies*) 'it (that, this)' and offer a short history of the corresponding discussion as well. A second widely discussed question, not only in Slavonic linguistics, is the morphosyntactic marking of these nominal elements and the agreement of copulative elements (cf. sentences 3a / 3b). The question of the morphosyntactic marking of the nominal elements in copula sentences is partly connected with the problem of their syntactic status and the differentiation between them. This is most obvious when we compare (4) with (2b) or (3a) with (3b). This paper is devoted to exactly these problems.

There are some further problems with the morphosyntactic forms of predicative nouns (and adjectives) in copula sentences even then, when the differentiation between subject / argument and predicate is clear (cf. COMRIE 1997). On of them is the so-called variation between nominative and instrumental case with predicative nouns in Slavonic, as, for example in Contemporary Standard Russian (cf. for example the discussion in GEIST 1999):

---

4  Andrzej Bogusławski has sent me his manuscript before its publication in *Die Welt der Slaven*, thus giving me the chance to present my in part oposing point of view already in his festschrift. Please note that Andrzej Bogusławski's paper will be published in two parts, which are listed in the bibliography at the end of this paper as "BOGUSŁAWSKI in press a" and "in press b".

(8a)　On byl *soldat.*
　　　 He.Nom be.Past soldier.Nom

(8b)　On byl *soldatom.*
　　　 He.Nom be.Past soldier.Ins

In Modern Polish the latter phenomenon is a rather restricted one, the instrumental being widely obligatory (BOGUSŁAWSKI 2001), in contrast to older stages of the language (HENTSCHEL 1993, 1994), when the situation was similar to that of contemporary Russian. This phenomenon will be commented upon only incidentally.

## 2. Different diatheses in copula sentences? – Polish prepositional constructions

My central point of interest in the discussion of copula sentences is connected with the phenomenon of diathesis (HENTSCHEL 1995; 1998a). A diathesis has been defined, for example, by the so-called *Leningrad School of Typology* as a certain correspondence pattern between the units on a "deeper" semanto-syntactic level and the units on a syntactic level "nearer to the surface". On the former level, Russian linguists differentiate between roles called "sub"ekt, ob"ekt, adresat" etc., where in Western linguistics we rather talk of "agents, patients, recipients" etc. or "first, second, third arguments" an so on. On the latter level, units as subject (Russian "podležaščee") and (direct) object (Russian "(prjamoe) dopolnenie") tend to be differentiated. Thus at issue are correspondence patterns between, roughly speaking, the level of syntacto-semantic argument-predicate-structure and the (still abstract) syntactic or morphosyntacic level.

The most common instance of two different diatheses for one argument-predicate-structure is in many languages the opposition between (canonical) active and (canonical) passive voice, where the agent or the patient respectively takes over the role of the subject. Sentence structures with a so-called transitive verb and two arguments – at least when in active voice – and copula sentences share several obvious features of surface structure. Both, transitive verb and copula, take two nominal (surface) complements, mostly one on their left side, the other one on their right side. In "unmarked" discourse-pragmatic constellations it is the left-side complement that is considered the subject, taking – in languages with case morphology – the nominative and controlling the agreement of the verbal form. On the deeper level of predi-

cate-argument-structure, transitive verb and copula sentences are different. The former has two arguments: agent, patient. As to the latter, one has to differentiate (at least) between two subtypes.

The first subtype consists of constructions with a "true" predicative noun (or adjective etc.), e. g. a non-referential noun (nominal group), such as the above sentences from (1) to (4) or sentences (8a / b). This nominal predicate, or, as Russian linguists usually say, the nominal part of the predicate, restricts the selection of the other surface complement of the copula sentence very much in the same way as the verb restricts the selection of both arguments / (central) complements in transitive constructions. So it is sound to describe the non-predicative complement in copula sentences as the only argument in these constructions. It is obviously due to this fact, i. e. that – in contrast to constructions with transitive verbs – only one of the two surface nominal complements of the copula is an argument, that the idea of different diatheses has so far not been discussed for copula sentences of this type: There is no possibility for a shift of, for example, the subject role from one argument to the other (e. g. agent → patient). But in the sense of the definition of a diatheses by the Leningrad School of Typology, one would have to talk of two different diatheses for one given argument-predicate constellation even then, when there is one construction in which the argument takes over the role of the subject and another one, in which this is not the case, i. e. where there is no subject at all.

For the second type of copula sentences, represented by the above examples (5a), (5b) and (6), there are two referential complements. In other words, neither of the two is predicative in a sense that a predicate should ascribe certain qualities to a given argument or to the relation that holds between different arguments (or participants). The rhematic complement simply identifies the referent of the thematic ones. For this reason, in contrast to sentences with a "real" nominal predicate, pronouns and proper names freely occur in position X in these constructions. Thus there is no (obvious) motivation to differentiate argument and predicate in this subtype of copula sentences, which leads some scholars to the opinion that these sentences are simply not copula sentences (see HEIDOLPH in GDTGR 1981, 250). Much of the following discussion will be dedicated to the differences between these subtypes of copula sentences.

Be that as it may, it is clear that sentence pairs like (9a / b), roughly corresponding to (2b) and (4) respectively, are based on the same predicate-

argument structure but differ in the morphosyntactic level, and the question arises, where is the subject?

(9a)  Zosia była *dobrym człowiekiem.*
      Zosia.Nom be.Past.3p.Fem good.Ins man.Ins
      'Zosia was a good person.'

(9b)  Z Zosi był *dobry człowiek.*
      Out of Zosia.Gen be.Past.3p.Masc good.Nom man.Nom'
      'Zosia [lit.: out of Zosia] was a good person.'

Obviously the nominal group consisting of the first name *Zosia* is in both cases definite and referential, and the second nominal group *dobry człowiek* indefinite, non-referential. The latter ascribes a certain quality to the referent of the former and is thus clearly predicative[5]. This constellation makes the former, i. e. the argument, an "ideal" subject, which is realised in (9a), representing the unmarked way of expressing the corresponding predicate-argument-constellation in Polish. This "ideal" subject, of course, takes the nominative case and controls the agreement of the copula, as is illustrated in (9a), where the past form of *być* 'be' takes an overt marker of feminine gender in agreement with the female name *Zosia*. Furthermore, the subject in this construction allows reflexive pronoun co-reference, another typical feature of subjects (although, possibly, not only of subjects); cf. (10a) and (10b).

---

5   It should be noted incidentally that the construction of (9b) does not seem to always have a definite and referential argument phrase, as TOPOLIŃSKA (1972, 255) suggests. (She states in her Russian article, that the prepositionally marked noun phrase always shows "opredelennost'".) Although I cannot offer quotations from the literature, my Polish informants freely accept indefinite non-referential or generic nominal groups as well: *Z silnego chłopa nierzadko jest tchórz,* lit. 'Out of a strong guy is often a coward'; *Z każdego mężczyzny jest wielki cham,* lit. 'Out of every man is a great villain'. It is moreover striking that the construction under discussion is widely restricted to personal (or animate) referential nouns in the prepositionally marked groups. Sentences with non-animate nouns are rather rare or even odd: *Z tej lodówki już jest stary grat,* lit.: 'Out of this refrigerator is already an old thing'. On the other hand, when the corresponding nominal group is non-referential, even non-personal nouns do occur freely: *Z jabłek może być pyszne winko,* lit.: 'Out of apples can be good wine'. But sentences of the latter type, in which the copula can easily be replaced by a transitive verb such as *robić (robią, robi się, ...)* 'to make', represent obviously the basis, from which the construction has been metaphorically expanded to the type of sentence discussed here – see below.

---

(10a)  U *siebie*[i] w domu jest on[i] nieznośny tyran.[6]
       at Refl.Pro.Gen in home be.Pres he.Nom unbearable.Nom tyrant.Nom
       'At home, he is an unbearable tyrant.'

(10b)  W *swoim*[i] zakładzie jest on[i] nieznośnym pedantem.
       in his.Refl.Poss.Pro work be.Pres he.Nom unbearable.Ins pedant.Ins
       'At work, he is an unbearable pedant.'

The morphosyntactic behaviour of the argument in the construction of (9b) is quite different. Apart from the obvious prepositional marking by *z* plus genitive case, the argument loses control of the copula agreement, which now agrees with the predicate. Another striking characteristic of the argument in the construction of type (9b) is that it does not allow for co-reference with reflexive pronouns; cf. (10c) and (10d):

(10c)  [??]U *siebie*[i] w domu jest z niego[i] nieznośny tyran.
       at Refl.Pro.Gen in home be.Pres out of he.Gen unbearable.Nom tyrant.Nom
       'At home, he is an unbearable tyrant.'

(10d)  [??]W *swoim*[i] zakładzie jest z niego[i] nieznośny pedant.
       in his.Refl.Poss.Pro work be.Pres out of he.Gen unbearable.Nom pedant.Nom
       'At work, he is an unbearable pedant.'

So hardly anyone today would describe the prepositionally marked nominal groups in (9b), (10c / d) etc. as ("grammatical") subjects[7], due to the lack of

---

6   Note that by the local restriction ('at his home') of his being a tyrant the stative or at least "neutral" copula 'to be' can acquire a dynamic nuance 'to become': 'whenever he comes home he becomes a tyrant'. But this is not implied by the semantics of the construction discussed. Without any doubt it can be used for the ascription of time-stable and locally unrestricted qualities to the referent of the argument. This is suggested by (9b) and citations such as: *Człowiek był z niego do gruntu serca poczciwy, szlachetny* (Żmichowska), 'He was from the bottom of his heart an honest and noble man'.

7   Exactly this has been done by KLEMENSIEWICZ (1965), who calls the prepositionally marked nominal group the subject, and the nominative group the predicate. SZYMCZAK (1986) on the other hand describes the former as the predicate and the latter as the subject. Both descriptions obviously suffer from the implicit assumptions, first, that there must be a subject in a copula sentence and / or, second, that the statuses of subject and (nominal) predicate cannot coincide. Whereas the latter is still

decisive formal and structural characteristics, usually expected for subjects, and in spite of characteristics of reference semantics, typically occurring with subjects.

The formal characteristics usually connected with subjects are obviously transferred to the predicative nominal group of the discussed construction. This does not only hold for case marking (it is the nominal predicate that takes the nominative) and control of copula agreement (*był* in (9b) is marked for masculine gender in agreement with the masculine predicate *człowiek*), but for co-reference – or better, as the nominal predicate is non-referential – for co-denotation with reflexive pronouns as well:

(10e)  Jak siadł na konia, zdawało mu się, że z niego prawdziwy Pił-
sudski, na *swojej, Kasztance.*[8]
'When he mounted the horse it seemed to him, that he (lit.: out of him) became a real Piłsudski on his chestnut.'

(10f)  Ze mnie już jest stara baba, w *swoich,* ostatnich latach.
'I am (lit.: Out of me is) already an old woman (lit.:) in her re-maining years.'

Of course, one might object that in (10e) and (10f), it is not obvious, whether the reflexive pronoun is in a "correlation" (co-reference or co-denotation) with the first or the second nominal group in the copula construction, it is neutral to any person or number value of the noun it co-refers to or co-deno-tates. But since in Polish as in other Slavonic languages, the possessive re-flexive pronouns, for example, can alternate with the "usual" possessive pro-noun, when a co-referent or co-denotational pronoun is not 3rd person, sen-tence (10g), where in comparison to (10f) only non-reflexive *mój* replaces reflexive *swoj*, makes the case clear:

(10g)  ??Ze mnie, już jest stara baba w *moich,* ostatnich latach.

---

common sense in linguistics, as has been mentioned above, many today would not subscribe to the former. Both descriptions, as they have been offered by the two Pol-ish scholars are inadequate; cf. HENTSCHEL (1995, 147ff) and the discussion below.

8   In contrast to (10a, b, c, d) the "local" prepositional phrase *na swojej kasztance* can be considered as a part of the nominal group *Piłsudski na swojej kasztance* with *Piłsudski* as its lexical head. But nevertheless, the use of the reflexive possessive *swój* is accepted freely by native speakers only in cases where its lexical head is the subject (or at least in nominative case). A sentence like ??*Z niego, na swoim, rowerze jest prawdziwy Lance Armstrong*, lit.: 'Out of him on his bicycle is a real Lance Armstrong' is judged as odd.

The non-reflexive *mój* 'my', which clearly would be co-referent with *mnie* (genitive case of *ja* 'I') is not possible or at least questionable here. So with-out any doubt, the reflexive *swój (swoich)* in (10f) co-denotates the nominal group *stara baba.*

The conclusion to be drawn on the basis of these facts is that due to the lack of typical "subject properties", the prepositionally-marked nominal group should not be described as the subject, though it is the argument. Whether one would accept describing the nominal predicate, which takes over many of the formal characteristics typically associated with a (surface) subject, (case marking, control of copula agreement, co-reference or rather co-denotation with reflexive pronouns), depends, of course, on the subject definition adopted. In spite of the fact that the coincidence of the nominal predicate (as an element of some deeper structural layer) and the subject (an element on a layer near to the surface) has no tradition in linguistic descrip-tion, such a description would be only logical, at least when the subject gets a functional, "perspectivising" definition in the sense of, for example, DIK (1989, 209ff, "primary vantage point") or GIVÓN (1984, 139ff). The follow-ing longer passage from a Polish novel may serve as an illustration:

(11)  Ale dziesięć mil pod powierzchnią rozpościerała się strefa buj-
nej pracy Enterytów; drążąc macierzystą planetę, wypełniali jej wnętrze kryształowymi ogrodami i miastami ze srebra i złota; wznosili na odwrót domy, o kształtach dodekaedrów oraz iko-saedrów, a także palace hyperboliczne, w których kopule lustrzanej mogłeś przejrzeć się, powiększony dwadzieścia ty-sięcy razy jak w teatrze olbrzymów – kochali się bowiem w blasku i w geometrii, *a byli z nich przedni budowniczowie.* Sys-temami rurociągów tłoczyli w głąb planety światło, które fil-trowali raz przez szmaragdy, raz przez diamenty, a raz przez ru-biny, i dzięki temu mieli wedle woli świtanie, południe lub zmierzch różany. (Lem)
'But 10 miles under the surface, the area of the exuberant work of the Enterytes spread out; after hollowing out the home planet, they filled its interior with crystalline gardens and places of sil-ver and gold; they built houses standing upside-down in the shape of dodecahedra or icosahedra, and also hyperbolic pal-aces, in which you may look at yourself in the shining domes, enlarged 20 thousand times like in the theatre of giants – they fell in love with brightness and with geometry, *and they* [lit.: *out*

*of them] were first-class architects.* With the help of pipe systems, they conducted light into the depth of the planet, which they filtered once through smaragds, once through diamonds, and once through rubies. Thanks to them, they accordingly had dawn, noon or rosy twilight.'

The context before and after the corresponding copula sentence in this text fragment is a description of how the Enterytes (one of the futuristic fabulous peoples of Stanisław Lem) rebuilt the planet they live on or – to be precise – they now live in. They do not live on the surface of that planet, as we still (mostly) do, but in the interior of it, simulating a normal "surface life" with a day-night rhythm, a sky, a sun etc. Before the sentence of our interest, there is a description of houses and palaces with enormous domes. After that sentence, there is a description of how light is conducted into their underground world and how the normal rhythm of light and dark, of day and night is simulated. When in the middle of this fragment, we find our sentence stating that the Enterytes are first-class architects, by use of a construction in which (a) the definite and referential argument is marked by a combination of preposition and oblique case, (b) the nominal predicate is in nominative case, and (c) the copula agrees with that predicate, this has to be interpreted as a strategy for highlighting the nominal group with predicative function in discourse or, i. e. the Enterytes' being first class architects (and not of the Enterytes themselves). In analogy to the canonical passive voice, where we speak of agent demotion and patient promotion, we can describe the Polish construction $z$-$Y_{Gen}$-$być$-$X_{Nom}$ as a diathesis with argument demotion and predicate promotion. This would explain in a natural way, why this construction is often found with intrinsically expressive nouns or nominal groups in predicative function. Due to their lexical expressiveness, they tend to be more frequently highlighted in discourse than non-expressive ones do[9].

---

9   It is interesting to note, that the variation of nominative and instrumental case with predicate nouns in the normal diathesis (with the argument as the subject) seems to show similar regularities. Expressive predicative nouns in Contemporary Standard Polish much more readily take the nominative case (case assignment by agreement in terms of COMRIE 1997) than do non-expressive predicates, for which instrumental case (case assignment by government) is almost obligatory. This was observed already by KLEMENSIEWICZ (1926). When it comes to Contemporary Standard Russian, where the nominative-instrumental-variation is still much more widespread, HENTSCHEL (in press) ascribes this to the phenomenon of perspectivisation, based on several hierarchies of saliency, as one of three factors, influencing case selection with predicative nouns in Russian copula sentences.

Of course, the $z$-$Y_{Gen}$-$być$-$X_{Nom}$ construction is far less frequent than the $Y$-$być$-$X_{Ins (/Nom)}$ one. This obviously is not only an "inner Polish" observation, but an interlinguistic one as well. At least as sentences with a stative (or neutral) copula are concerned, argument demotion (and predicate promotion) of the described type seems to be a rather restricted phenomenon. (In Slavonic languages, apart from Polish, we find similar construction types, for example, in Slovak and Ukrainian; cf. TOPOLIŃSKA 1972.) But things are obviously different, when it comes to dynamic copulas (telic or atelic ones – cf. STEINITZ (1999) for German *werden*). A dynamic copula can be compared to verbs of directed physical movement. The corresponding movement can be associated with a starting point (source) and end point (goal). Compare, for example, German *kommen* 'to come' and the corresponding prepositions *aus* 'from' and *zu* 'to' on the one hand, and the following three sentences with the dynamic copula *werden* 'to become' on the other hand.

(12a)  *Jakobson* wurde *ein führender Vertreter* der Prager Schule.
Jakobson.Nom become.Past a leading.Nom representative.Nom
the.Gen Prague School.Gen

(12b)  *Aus Jakobson* wurde *ein führender Vertreter* der Prager Schule.
out of Jakobson.Dat become.Past a leading.Nom
representative.Nom the.Gen Prague School.Gen

(12c)  *Jakobson* wurde *zu einem führenden Vertreter* der Prager Schule.
Jakobson.Nom become.Past to a leading.Dat representative.Dat
the.Gen Prague School.Gen
all: 'Jakobson became a leading representative of the Prague School.'

Whereas (12a) represents the unmarked diathesis of this argument-predicate constellation (in German with predicative case assignment by agreement, rather than by government), (12b) corresponds to the Polish construction $z$-$Y$-$być$-$X_{Nom}$ with argument demotion and predicate promotion. One could call this construction the "source-diathesis of copula constructions", in short, the "source diathesis". (In addition German has even a third construction in sentences like (12c) that might be described as another diathesis with a predicative noun marked by preposition and oblique case (dative), where predicate demotion takes place. The latter, which may be called the "goal diathesis" of copula constructions, cannot be discussed here.)

The obvious fact that the source diathesis is more widespread with a dynamic copula in the language of our main interest, Polish, and probably interlinguistically as well, is another parallel to the canonical passive diathesis of transitive verbs, which also tends to correlate with a higher degree of dynamicity.

## 3. Constructions with *to (jest)*

### 3.1 Introduction – the formal aspects

Not only for ease of reference, I will differentiate in the following between sentences with *TO JEST* and sentences with "*to* plus *być*". "*TO*" and "*to*" both stand for Polish *to*, and *JEST* and *być* both stand for forms of *być*, the former even for the "zero form". At this point suffice it to say that the notation *TO JEST* refers to sentences in which the forms of *być* do not agree with *to* but with the right side complement X – sentences (1a), (2a), (3a), (5), (6) – and "*to* plus *być*" for sentences, in which the form of *być* does agree with *to* – (3b). The latter will sometimes be called the "usual copula constructions" because this is the variant of the $Y_{Nom}$-*być*-$X_{Ins}$ schema with *to* in the Y-slot instead of another pronoun, a noun or a proper name.

Among the sentences with *TO JEST*, two subsets have to be differentiated: sentences with *TO JEST₁* and sentences with *TO JEST₂*. The former notation refers to sentences where apart from *TO JEST* there is only one nominal complement (nominal group, pronoun) as, for example, in (1a), (3a) and (5a), the latter to sentences where there are two complements, e. g. (2a) and (6). Sentences with *TO JEST₁* have their single complement X in unmarked contexts on the right side; those with *TO JEST₂* have their additional complement Y (usually) on the left side of *TO JEST*, the other one, X, on the right side.

In HENTSCHEL (1995) for Russian sentences with *éto* and (1998a) for Polish, I have argued that one subtype of the constructions with *TO JEST* has much in common with the "source diathesis" of copula sentences, i. e. the construction *z-Y-być-X* discussed above. As the latter only occurs with non-referential nominal groups X, i. e. with doubtlessly predicative ones, it is only sentences with *TO JEST* and equally non-referential nominal groups as the X on the right side (or even a subset of them – see below) such as (1a), (2a) (3a), which can be compared with the source diathesis sentence (4).

Sentences such as (5a), (5b) and (6) with *TO JEST* and a definite referential nominal group X on the right side are clearly different – see below.

One obvious formal similarity (functional discourse pragmatic similarities will be discussed below) of all sentences with *TO JEST* – not only (1a), (2a), (3a), but (5) and (6) as well – with (4) is that the right side complement X of the copula takes the nominative case and that it controls the agreement of the copula. For definite and referential nominal groups, and thus in a narrower sense not predicative but "subject like" nominal groups such as *mój brat* 'my brother' in (5a) and (6) or *ja* 'I' in (5b), this can be considered the normal case. But as to the indefinite, non-referential and clearly predicative nominal groups *dobry człowiek* 'good (natured) man' in (1a) and (2a) and *miła niespodzianka* 'nice surprise' in (3a) this is of course different. Traditional grammar calls the formal agreement controlled by predicative or rhematic nouns or pronouns "reversed agreement" (cf. RSPRG 1976, 198); modern studies such as BROWNE (1998) take over the term "brother-in-law-agreement" coined by PERLMUTTER & POSTAL (1974): "Where the nominal referenced by an agreement rule is a dummy[10], agreement is determined by the dummy's brother-in-law [in our case: the complement on the right side of the copula] instead" (quotation from PERLMUTTER & ZAENEN 1984, 184). PADUČEVA & USPENSKIJ (1997, 174ff), discussing the corresponding Russian construction with *éto*, maintain that the agreement of the copula is controlled by *éto*, but that *éto* in this structural position "borrows" the gender and number values of the right side complement X. This would mean that Russian *éto* or Polish *to*, which both are at face value of neuter gender and singular number, take over, for example, masculine gender in sentences such as (1a), and feminine gender in (3a). Thus the descriptional artifice either consists in a shift of agreement control in general, from the argument to the nominal predicate (or, at least, to rhematic noun / pronoun) or in a transfer of values of agreement features from the predicative and / or rhematic element to thematic pronouns such as Polish *to*, Russian *éto* etc.[11]

My point, on the other hand, was that sentences like (1a), (2a) and (3a) might be interpreted as a marked diathesis in characterising copula sentences, and the corresponding sentences (1b), (2b) and (3b) as the unmarked diathesis. In the marked diathesis of these characterising constructions, one

---

10  The question that arises is, of course, whether in the sentences discussed *to* and similar elements in other languages should be described as a dummy; see below.

11  Whether these elements can indeed be described as pronouns in the argument slot will be discussed below.

could describe the predicates, i. e. the nominal complement X on the right side of the copula, as having subject properties. This is the same description as the one that has been proposed above for the construction $z$-$Y_{Gen}$-$by\acute{c}$-$X_{Nom}$. Moreover, it is the same analysis as many approaches propose for the definite referential complement X on the right side of *TO JEST* in identifying constructions such as (5a) and (5b). With sentences of the type of (6), there is the further complication that apart from *to* there are two "subject-like", i. e. definite and referential complements, X and Y– see below.

## 3.2 On the status of *to* in *TO JEST*

Andrzej Bogusławski's studies with sentences containing *TO JEST* have focussed on another issue. His intention was already in BOGUSŁAWSKI (1988) to prove, that *to* and any form of *być* (even the zero form) in constructions with *TO JEST* are an "indivisible whole". Already a superficial glimpse at BOGUSŁAWSKI (1988; in press) shows that he mainly deals with sentences, where on the right side there is a referential and mostly definite nominal group, such as the above sentences (5a), (5b) an (6). Before I turn to the discussion of disagreement between Andrzej Bogusławski's and my analysis of the sentences discussed, a point of agreement between us should be noticed, which contrasts on the other hand with the descriptional tradition in Polish linguistics. Traditionally *TO JEST₁* and *TO JEST₂* are analysed in a completely different way. The latter is generally described as one copulative element (and not as a sequence of *to* and *być*). WIŚNIEWSKI (1990, 110ff) calls it a "czasownik niewłaściwy" ('improper verb')[12], WILKOŃ (w. y., 104) a "predicate", KAROLAK (1984, 146) a "[sentence-]constituting component", KALLAS (1970) a "connecting element", and last not least TOPOLIŃSKA (1971 / 72) a "secondary copula".

A different description of Russian *éto*, which is to a large extent a translatory equivalent to Polish *to*, has been offered by PADUČEVA (1982, 85ff). In sentences with two complements Y, X – $éto_2$, if we want – she classifies *éto* as a pronoun without neglecting the connecting or copula-like function of *éto*. The decisive motivation for analysing *éto* as a pronoun is the obvious anaphoric relation of *éto* to the complement Y on the left side, the antecedent of *éto*. (A similar description for Polish *TO JEST₂* can be found in DRECHSEL 1986.) In other words, Padučeva treats $éto_2$ in just the same way as $éto_1$, i. e.

---

12  Cf. SALONI (1986) for a definition.

as a pronoun. Whereas $éto_2$ is always anaphoric, $éto_1$ can be anaphoric or deictic.

The usual description of Polish *TO JEST₁* by Polish scholars is virtually the same as Padučeva's analysis of $éto_{1/2}$, but – as has been stated above – a different one than the one for *TO JEST₂*. KAROLAK (1984, 145) calls *to* in *TO JEST₁* simply a pronoun, WILKOŃ (w. y.) a "noun-like" pronoun, and WIŚNIEWSKI (1987, 31) a noun[13]. A further specific point in this tradition is that there is no explicit differentiation of *to* in *to* plus *być*, in other words, of *to* as in, for example, (3a) and *to* in (3b).

This treatment of *TO JEST₁* has been rejected by BOGUSŁAWSKI (1988; in press a / b). Similar to PADUČEVA (1982) with regard to Russian $éto_{1/2}$, he treats *TO JEST₁* and *TO JEST₂* in the same way. But different to Padučeva's treatment of Russian *éto*, he denies that Polish *to* is a pronoun. Although he does not propose a metalinguistic term for *TO JEST*[14], it is obvious that his analysis of *TO JEST₁/₂* is virtually the expansion of the traditional description of *TO JEST₂* in Polish linguistics to *TO JEST₁*. That is, he does not only treat *TO JEST₂* as an "indivisible whole", but *TO JEST₁* as well. Furthermore he refuses to analyse *to* as a pronoun, even in *TO JEST₁*[15]. My analysis of sentences with *TO JEST* completely agrees with BOGUSŁAWSKI (1988; in press) and PADUČEVA (1982), that the *TO JEST₁* and *TO JEST₂* constructions as well as the $éto_1$ and the $éto_2$ constructions should receive the same description as to the status of *to* / *éto* and the forms of *być* / *byt'*. But it disagrees with Bogusławski who states that *to* cannot be acknowledged as a pronominal element. Very similar to Padučeva's description of *éto*, my

---

13  Note that the so-called Polish "Academy Grammars" (GWJP-M 1984 / 1998) do not recognise a special part of speech "pronoun", but rather treat these elements as (pronominal) subclasses of nouns, adjectives and adverbs.

14  BOGUSŁAWSKI (1988, 31) underlines the similarity of *TO JEST* to the so-called "czasowniki niewłaściwe". BOGUSŁAWSKI (in press), reacting to my criticism (HENTSCHEL 1998, 9) of a "czasownik niewłaściwy" with anaphoric co-reference to nouns or pronouns, states that it is of no interest to him whether *TO JEST* belongs to a subclass of verbs or to the "czasowniki niewłaściwe".

15  TOPOLIŃSKA's (1971 / 72) discussion of these phenomena points in the same direction. Sentences of the type that we call *TO JEST₁* are suggested to represent the reduced variant of the "full schema" of the type *TO JEST₂* (p. 209f). But on the other hand, she still calls *to* in *TO JEST₁* a pronoun (p. 211) and underlines the pronominal, i. e. deictic or anaphoric features of *to* in *TO JEST₂* as well as its noun-like character (p. 208).

analysis of *to* in *TO JEST*₁ and *TO JEST*₂ implies its treatment as a pronoun, which I hope to be able to justify in the following.

Andrzej BOGUSŁAWSKI's (in press) objections to my analysis of constructions with *TO JEST* in comparison to usual copula sentences are less concerned with the diathesis-like interpretation of their discourse-pragmatic complementary functionality, which was my main point in HENTSCHEL (1995; 1998a) than with two consequences of this solution: (A) the already-mentioned description of *to* as a pronoun, (B) the treatment of the right side complement of the copula as the subject.

I completely concur with Andrzej BOGUSŁAWSKI (in press) that *to* in sentences with a copula that agrees with the right side nominal complement, i. e. in *TO JEST*₁/₂, cannot be considered as the neuter form of the demonstrative pronoun *ten, ta, to*; *ci, te* (in non-attributive function). The first observation that supports this view is the fact that *to* in *TO JEST* usually does not contrast with *tamto*. The demonstratives on the other hand clearly do; compare (13a) with (13b):

(13a)   Ten śpi, a tamten ogląda mecz.
        'This one is sleeping, and that one is watching the match.'

(13b)   *To jest mój brat, a tamto mój kuzyn.
        'This is my brother, and that my cousin.'

If, on the other hand, *to* controls the agreement of *być*, a contrasting *tamto* is possible as is illustrated by (13c):

(13c)   Może tò było niespodzianką, tàmto natomiast prawdziwą sensacją.
        'This was perhaps a surprise, [but] that was a real sensation.'

This obviously supports Andrzej Bogusławski's point that *to* in *TO JEST*, for example in (13b) or (5a), and *to* in *to* plus *być* are different elements. But the following observation suggests that a *to – tamto* contrast in sentences with *TO JEST* is ruled out only for some referents. When the referent is not animate, then the *to – tamto* opposition is obviously possible, even when *być* agrees with the nominal group on the right side:

(13d)   To była guma, a tamto (był) plastyk.
        'This was rubber, but that was plastic.'

So *to* in *TO JEST* has preserved this feature of demonstratives, e. g. the contrast of near and distant deixis, at least in part.

Another observation made in HENTSCHEL (1998b, 7f) is that *to* in *TO JEST* cannot be expanded by a relative clause, but *to* in sentences such as (3b) and (13c) can, as is also the case with *ten, ta* etc.; compare (14a) with (14b), (14c) and (14d):

(14a)   *To, co mówił, była prawda.
        *to* what say.Past be.Past truth.Nom
        intended meaning: 'What he said, was true.'

(14b)   To, co mówił, było prawdą.
        *to* what say.Past be.Past truth.Ins
        lit.: 'That, which he said, was the truth.'

(14c)   To, co mówił, to była prawda.
        *to* what say.Past *to* be.Past truth.Nom
        lit.: 'That, which he said, that was the truth.'

(14d)   Ten, co go zastrzelił, musiał mieć jakieś swoje racje.[16] (Miłosz)
        'The one that shot him must have had his reasons.'

So already these observations indicate that *to* in *TO JEST* is in some respects different from the demonstrative *to* in the inflectional demonstrative paradigm *ten, ta, to*; *ci, te*. Other phenomena that indicate that *to* and the corresponding forms of *być* in *TO JEST* are much less independent from

16  Andrzej BOGUSŁAWSKI (in press) rejects the interpretation of *to, co* in sentences such as (14b) and (14c) as sequences of pronoun and relator. For him it is a special unit (another indivisible whole, "ganzheitliches Mittel") to construct definite descriptions. But the same would hold for *ten, co*, because parallel to Bogusławski's *To, a mianowicie to, co on mówił, jest prawdą*, lit.: 'That, namely, that which he said, is the truth' one can expand (14d) in a similar way: *Ten, a mianowicie ten, co go zastrzelił, musiał mieć jakieś swoje racje*, lit.: 'The one, namely the one who shot him, must have had his reasons'. We keep describing *to, co* and *ten, co* as sequences consisting of a demonstrative pronoun and a relator, and considering any combination of their respective inflectional forms as a means to construct a definite description: *To, czym w tej chwili jestem zajęty, jest ciekawe / Jestem po prostu zajęty tym, co mi dałeś / Tych, co wiedzili o tym, zastrzelono ...*, lit.: 'That, which I am momentarily busy with, is interesting / I am simply busy with that, which you have given to me / The ones, that knew about it, have been shot'. (Compare as well the following similar construction, where the sequence between *to* and *być* is not a relative clause, but a propositional apposition (cited by Andrzej BOGUSŁAWSKI in press): *To, wprawdzie rzecz oczekiwana przez wiele lat, było dla niego niespodzianką*, lit.: 'That, although something that has been expected to happen for years, was a surprise to him', but in the same sense *... była dla niego niespodzianka*.) Anyhow *to* in *TO JEST*, i. e. in sentences like (14a) is different from these cases.

each other then *ten, ta ...* and the corresponding forms of *być* have been described by Andrzej BOGUSŁAWSKI (in press). Nevertheless – Andrzej Bogusławski admits in his last study of the matter discussed that there is some sort of functional division between *to* and the forms of *być* in *TO JEST*. Both can, for example, receive contrastive stress. When *to* gets contrastive stress as in *To jest mój brat*, lit.: '**This** is my brother' or *Piotr / Piotr to jest mój brat* '**Peter** –that is my brother' other referents than the one suggested or named (*Piotr*) are ruled out for satisfying the condition expressed by the right side complement X ('my brother'). Furthermore it is presupposed that there i s a referent to satisfy this condition. When, on the other hand, *jest* is stressed contrastively as in *To jest mój brat / Piotr to jest mój brat*, lit.: 'This **is** my brother / Peter – **this** is my brother', then the affirmation is highlighted and the negation of the sentence ruled out. Besides, it is not presupposed that there is a referent to satisfy the condition expressed in the right side complement. In other words, *to* with contrastive stress – in spite of all differences from the demonstrative pronoun *ten, ta, ...* or the anaphoric one *on, ona* – shares with these pronominal elements, and of course with nouns that are stressed contrastively, the characteristic of ruling out other referents. In other words, it clearly behaves as other (non-attributive) pronouns and nouns do.

Thus Andrzej BOGUSŁAWSKI (in press) is right, when he rejects calling *to* in *TO JEST* (and comparable units in other languages) an independent pronoun in the sense of the neuter form of the demonstrative pronoun *ten, ...* But this does not necessarily mean that *to* in *TO JEST* should not be described as a pronoun at all. My objection to Andrzej Bogusławski's denial of the pronominal status of *to* in *TO JEST* is based on a specific consequence of that denial. Probably no one would question that *to* in *TO JEST* serves as a deictic or anaphoric means of reference. If we describe it then, following Andrzej Bogusławski, as some sort of morpheme of a "complex (purely) syntactic predicate" (*TO JEST*), i. e. as some sort of a purely syntactic, copula-like verb, this would mean that such a highly specific verb would r e f e r to human beings, animals, and inanimate things of a concrete or abstract nature, and so it would be on the basis of descriptional tradition (as I see it) a rather curious[17] unit. So it seems worth discussing the status of *to* in *TO JEST* and

---

17 Andrzej BOGUSŁAWSKI (in press) does not deny that verb-like elements with (pro)nominal reference would be curious. But, as he states, the giraffe exists, although a child may say "There is no such animal". In the following I hope, with due respect, for an equal tolerance with regard to other curiosities or linguistic "oddities"

the status of the one nominal group with *TO JEST₁* and the two nominal groups with *TO JEST₂* in some more detail.

At the beginning of this discussion, it should be noted incidentally, that Polish *to* in *TO JEST* does not only stand in a relation of (partial) translational equivalence to German *das* or *dies* (BOGUSŁAWSKI 1992; in press), which exhibit a nuance of demonstrative meaning (mainly the latter, of course). Polish *to* is in certain contexts a translation equivalent for the clearly non-demonstrative German *es*; compare (15a) with its Polish translation (15b):

(15a)  Gestern saßen wir beim Abendbrot. Plötzlich klingelte es an der Tür. *Es war unser Nachbar.*
'Yesterday we were eating supper. Suddenly there was a ring at the door. It was our neighbour.'

(15b)  Wczoraj siedzieliśmy przy kolacji. Nagle zadzwoniono do drzwi. *To był / Był to nasz sąsiad.*

Similar to the dispute between KLEMENSIEWICZ (1965) and SZYMCZAK (1986) about what is subject and what predicate in sentences of the type *z-Y$_{Gen}$-być-X$_{Nom}$*, there has been a long discussion on what is subject and what predicate in German copula sentences with *es* (*das, dies / dieses*). In this discussion it seems no one has ever challenged that *es, das, dies* are pronouns. But there is disagreement as to the status of these pronouns. PAUL (1919 / 1920) and CURME (1923), on the one hand, describe them as subjects. GRIMM (1837), BLATZ (1900) and BEHAGEL (1923), on the other hand, describe them as predicative elements, irrespective of the question whether the rhematic (right side) complement X is a full noun phrase, a proper name, or another pronoun (cf. the discussion in WARLAND 1960). The latter point of view seems to be prevalent today, so, for example, in EISENBERG (1994, 194f). PÜTZ (1973) differentiates, that *es* in identifying sentences is predicative, whereas in "qualifying" sentences it may be sometimes predicate, sometimes subject (see below). In view of this descriptional history, it is not quite clear what Andrzej BOGUSŁAWSKI (in press) has in mind, when he states, that a strictly non-thematic subject, which would result from my description of the rhematic complement in sentences with *TO JEST* as the subject, equals – from the point of view of linguistic descriptional tradition

---

such as, for example, (constantly) non-thematic subjects in certain structural contexts (which are, incidentally, much more widely acknowledged in descriptional tradition).

[sic] – a round square[18]. On the contrary, descriptions that treat *es* (*das / die*) as predicative and the rhematic complement (at least when it is referential – see below) as the subject, are quite widespread. The fact, of course, that they are relatively common, does not necessarily mean that they are sound. But there are other constructions with a non-thematic subject, which – similar to sentences with *TO JEST* – occur in specific contexts in discourse. The stereotypical beginning of a fairy tale is in Russian, *Žyl-byl mužik ...*, in Polish, *Był raz chłop ...*, in German, *Es* [!] *war einmal ein Bauer ...*, in English, *Once upon a time, there was a farmer ...* So, there is nothing special about a subject that is never thematic in s o m e s p e c i f i c constructions and contexts in discourse. What is special and new in my description, is the assumption that (the semantic, "underlying structure" phenomenon of) the nominal predicate and (the surface phenomenon of) the subject can coincide.

Neither is it a "revolutionary terminological innovation" as BOGUSŁAWSKI (in press) supposes, when I describe the left-most nominal group in (16a) and (16b) as an antecedent of *to* in left-dislocation:

(16a)  Ten pan to (jest) mój brat.
          this man *to* (be.Pres) my.Nom brother.Nom
          lit.: 'This man – he (or even: this) is my brother.'

(16b)  Mój brat to był wstrętny egoista.
          my brother *to* be.Past terrible.Nom egoista.Nom
          lit.: 'My brother – he (or even: this) was a terrible egoist.'

Both sentences are natural answers to the following questions which may be realised with or without the nominal group on the right side put in brackets. Here *on* in (17b) and *to* in (17a) are used cataphorically in co-reference with the "postcendents" put in brackets.

(17a)  Kto to jest (ten pan)?
          'Who is this (– that man)?'

(17b)  Jaki on był (twój brat)?[19]
          'What kind of man was he (– your brother)?'

---

18  Somewhat further in Andrzej BOGUSŁAWSKI (in press), after his example (145), he nevertheless has to admit, that X in *TO JEST*$_{1/2}$ is – apart from its rhematicity – to a high degree "subject-like".

19  The answer to this question could, of course, also be *On był wstrętnym egoistą / wstrętny egoista*. But in face of the highly expressive character of the predicative nominal group, the construction with *to* seems to be the most natural one.

TOPOLIŃSKA (1971 / 72, 208) describes questions at least of type (17a), but with the postponed full nominal groups – i. e. the *TO JEST*$_2$ version in its interrogative variant – as an expanded version ("rozwinięta wersja") of the ones without these nominal groups – the *TO JEST*$_1$ version. In the same line of argumentation, sentences (16a / b) can be understood as expanded versions of sentences without their left-most nominal group (16a') / (16b'), which are as well perfect answers to (17a) and (17b).

(16a')  To (jest) mój brat.
          'This (is) my brother.'

(16b')  To był wstrętny egoista.
          'He (lit.: This) was a terrible egoist.'

In contrast to her analysis of the interrogative variant of the *TO JEST* construction, TOPOLIŃSKA (1971 / 72) describes – as has been already mentioned above (cf. fn. 13) – declarative *TO JEST*$_2$ sentences as realisations of the "full schema", and *TO JEST*$_1$ sentences as reduced variants. I propose that the *TO JEST*$_1$ schema should be described as the basic schema, and *TO JEST*$_2$ sentences as an expansion of the basic one, irrespective of its interrogative or declarative realisation. In both cases, *TO JEST*$_2$ sentences, or, to be precise, the usually left-sided Y, which is in the right-most position in interrogative sentences, is realised mostly just in special cases such as uncertainty of the referent, introduction of the referent, contrastive stress and some others. These are – nota bene – contexts relevant to the phenomenon of dislocation[20]. So it seems possible to describe *TO JEST*$_2$ constructions (in most cases) as an expansion of the *TO JEST*$_1$ schema, an expansion by left-dislocation.

The same analysis seems to apply to contextual variants of the *TO JEST*$_2$ constructions in (16a) and (16b), in which the usually left-most nominal group Y of the latter occurs in final position, in obvious right dislocation:

(16a")  To (jest) mój brat, ten pan.
          lit.: 'This (is) my brother – that man.'

(16b")  To był wstrętny egoista, mój brat.
          lit.: 'This was a terrible egoist – my brother.'

So if we acknowledge *to* in these sentences as some kind of cataphoric pronoun (see below) then we can interpret the left-most nominal group in (16a) and (16b) and the right-most nominal group in (16a"), (16b"), (17a) and

---

20  Cf. GELUYKENS (1992) for left-dislocation in English.

similarly – due to the doubtlessly pronominal status of *on* – in (17b) as left-dislocated or right-dislocated ones respectively. The other solution would be to describe sentences like (16a'), (16b'), (1a), (3a) ... as elliptic, which would require a somewhat doubtful concept of ellipsis.

The left-most nominal groups in my interpretation thus occupy a left-dislocated position before the "Vorfeld" (in other words, they are left-dislocated), for Andrzej BOGUSŁAWSKI (in press), they occupy the "Vorfeld" itself (i. e., it is a part of the clausal core schema). This question is a crucial one for the status of *TO* in *TO JEST* in general. I think that there are more observations that support my interpretation of a left-most nominal group in *TO JEST₂* as left-dislocated and simultaneously the interpretation of *to* in *TO JEST₂* as its pronominal substitute.

The first point to be mentioned is prosody. Between a left-dislocated element and the contexts on its right side, there tends to be a pause, or, to put it more cautiously, it does not matter, if there is one[21]. Precisely this is the case in a huge amount of *TO JEST₂* constructions, if not in all. In written texts sometimes even graphic indications, mostly punctuation marks, are given:

(18a)  [...] nie miał pod ręką żadnego środka, by zmusić ludzi do wytrwania w wierze. *Niemożność wytrwania – to była druga przyczyna.* (Łysiak)
'[...] he did not have any means at hand to force the people to keep their faith. The inability to keep their faith – this was another reason.'

(18b)  Trzecia rzecz: to był początek filmu mówionego. (Wat)
lit.: 'The third thing: this was the beginning of sound films.'

In most cases, of course, there is no such punctuation marker. But it seems to be always possible to have a pause before *to*:

(19a)  Piłsudski <p>[22] to była postać. (Krzystoń)
lit.: 'Piłsudski – that was a great personage.'

---

21  GELUYKENS (1992, 97ff, 156) points out that some subtypes of left-dislocations tend to have a pause, others do not.

22  The following sentences are citations from texts without punctuation markers that would indicate left-dislocations. These sentences have been presented to six Polish informants (a) in written form with a hyphen where there is the <p>, (b) in oral communication with a pause at the same place (three informants each). All accepted the manipulated sentences without objections.

---

(19b)  Matura <p> to była wielka rzecz. (Konwicki)
lit.: 'The high school diploma – this was a great thing.'

(19c)  [...] a Pani <p> to była naprawdę pani, bogata jedynaczka. (Mach)
lit.: '[...] and the lady – this was in fact a lady, a rich only child.'

(19d)  Chłopskie rubachy Tołstoja czy pseudo-robotnicze bluzy Brechta (szyte na zamówienie u drogich krawców) <p> to był nie tyle obaw skromności, ile celowa stylizacja. (TP – Tygodnik powszechny)
lit.: 'The peasant chemises of Tolstoj or pseudo-working shirts of Brecht (sewed on order by expensive tailors) – this was less a concern for modesty than an intentional stylization.'

(19e)  Cały ten system[23] <p> to była taka ponura operetka. (TP)
lit.: 'The whole of this system – that was such a gloomy operetta.'

If the sentences under (19) are reformulated as usual copula sentences with the copula agreeing with the nominal group on its left side and the nominal group on its right in the instrumental case, such a pause becomes unacceptable (when in written form a dash is inserted) or at least odd (when articulated with a pause in oral communication): *⁷Piłsudski <p> był postacią, ...They turn acceptable again when, after the pause and before the copula, the normal anaphoric pronoun *on* is inserted: *Piłsudski – on był postacią*. So if we, following Andrzej Bogusławski, treat the nominal group on the left side of *TO JEST₂* as occupying the "Vorfeld" of a – let us call it with TOPOLIŃSKA (1971 / 72) – secondary copula, the result would be that this "Vorfeld" position prosodically behaves more or less like clearly left-dislocated nominal groups in sentences with the primary copula[24]. To avoid this rather

---

23  The Soviet "GULAG".

24  In the context of this discussion, it is interesting to take a careful look at some of Andrzej BOGUSŁAWSKI's (in press) examples, to be precise, at the German translation, of the Polish examples. His examples (124) to (134) list constructions with *TO JEST₂*, where there is no correspondent construction of the type $Y_{Nom}$-*być*-$X_{Ins}$ (we do not share all these judgements – see below, which is unimportant here). Note that all German equivalents to the Polish element Y in Y-*TO JEST*-X are represented in printed form with a comma after them. In other words, they are clear instances of left-dislocation. Cf. Andrzej Bogusławski's example (124) *Ssaki to (na przykład) myszy*, his own translation: *Säugetiere, das sind (z. B.) Mäuse* 'Mammals, that is (for example) mice', or (128) *Dyrektor szkoły to ten pan*, German: *Der Direktor dieser Schule,*

odd consequence, the left-most nominal group (**Piłsudski** *(–) to była postać* and *Piłsudski – on był postacią*) should be described as left-dislocated nominal groups and not only *on*, but *to* as well as pronouns within the boundaries of the syntactic schema.

This proposal is supported by another observation. At least in certain contexts *to* can be left-dislocated itself. The same, by the way, holds for German *das*. Suppose two people walking down a street and a third one passing them saying "Hello!". One of the two may ask the other one: "Who was that?" The normal answer in Polish and German would be of the type of sentences (20a) and (20b):

(20a)  To był mój szef.

(20b)  Das war mein Chef.
    both: 'That was my boss.'

But (21a) and (21b) are possible as well, for example, when the one who has been asked is not quite sure whether he has understood the deictic reference in "Who was *that*?" correctly:

(21a)  To, to był mój szef.

(21b)  Das, das war mein Chef.
    both: 'That, that was my boss.'

Similarly, when someone identifies some relatives on a photo to his interlocutor, he may express himself as in (22a) / (22b), "highlighting" the persons pointed at with his finger:

(22a)  To, to jest mój ojciec, a to, to mój brat.

(22b)  Das, das ist mein Vater, und das, das ist mein Bruder.
    both lit.: 'That, that is my father, and that, that is my brother.'

The question, of course, arises whether this *to* (German *das*) is not the same *to* that can be relativised by *co* (German *was*). Sentences (23a) / (23b) are, indeed, acceptable in Polish or German respectively:

(23a)  To, co widziałeś, to był mój szef.

(23b)  Das, was Du gesehen hast, das war mein Chef.
    both lit.: 'That, which you saw, that was my boss.'

---

*das ist dieser Herr*, lit.: 'The director of the school, that is this man'. German punctuation rules prescribe the use of a comma for these constructions, Polish does not. But this is no argument against the description of Y before *TO JEST₂* as left-dislocated.

But such sentences are possible only in a very specific situational context, i. e. only if it is uncertain whether the object observed is an animate or inanimate object. (23a) and (23b) are thus natural answers to the question 'What was that?', whereas (21a) and (21b) are answers to the question 'Who was that?'. So the left-most *to* in (21a) is not the same one as in (23a). This and the fact that it deictically refers to a person, suggest that it is simply the left-dislocated and thus "repeated" *to* of *TO JEST*.

And a last observation as to left-dislocation: If the nominal group left to *TO JEST* in (24a) is not described by left-dislocation, the general rule for left-dislocation would have to preclude it for exactly the construction under discussion, in other words, to rule out sentences such as (24b). Sentences with a pronoun to the left of *to* (in our interpretation, a left-dislocated pronoun, in Andrzej Bogusławski's a pronoun occupying the "Vorfeld") such as (24a) are completely normal in Polish, but expansions of (24a) by a full nominal group to the left of that pronoun are not possible, or at least odd; cf. (24b):

(24a)  On to był po prostu wstrętny egoista, (a ona to była bardzo miła kobieta).
    He *to* be.Past simply terrible.Nom egoist.Nom (but she *to* be.Past very nice.Nom woman.Nom
    lit.: 'He – that was simply a terrible egoist, (but she – that was a very nice woman.)'

(24b)  ??Mój brat, on to był po prostu wstrętny egoista.
    my.Nom brother.Nom he.Nom *to* be.Past simply terrible.Nom egoist.Nom
    lit.: 'My brother – that was simply a terrible egoist.'

Fully acceptable is, of course, (24c), where we have *mój brat* and *on* similar to (24b). But in (24c) it is clear that *mój brat* is an echo question, i. e. a separate (nominal) sentence.

(24c)  Mój brat? On to był po prostu wstrętny egoista.
    lit.: 'My brother? He – that was simply a terrible egoist.'

A rule, preventing sentences like (16a) and (16b) from having a left-dislocated nominal group, which would be necessary if we follow Andrzej BOGUSŁAWSKI (in press), would be a clear ad hoc solution. It is much more natural to explain the unacceptability or oddness of (24b) by the general unacceptability of a left-dislocation on the left side of a left-dislocation. (24c), in which *mój brat* functions as an independent (interrogative) nominal

sentence, is completely acceptable. If we describe the left-sided Y in *TO JEST₂* as left-dislocated, we simultaneously arrive at a natural explanation why the construction with *TO JEST* does not occur in relative sentences: *\*Ten pan, który – to jest nasz ślusarz, przyszedł tu coś zreparować*[25], lit.: 'This man, who that is our locksmith, has come here to repair something'. Isolated relative pronouns, following a superordinated antecedent, do not occur in left-dislocation, whether the pronominal element within the schema of the clause is *to* or *on* (or the equivalents in other languages): *\*Ten pan, który on jest naszym ślusarzem, ...* The functionality of relative pronouns (but – for example – not of anaphoric pronouns) is not compatible with the functionality of left-dislocation. (Relative clauses, of course, can expand a nominal group in left-dislocation. But this is not at issue here.)

As LI & THOMPSON (1977) have shown, constructions with left-dislocation are a quite usual starting point for a demonstrative (or anaphoric) element to develop from a pronoun to a copula. This happens by a stepwise integration of the left-dislocated nominal group into the clause structure (cf. GELUYKENS (1992) for a general discussion of this process) and – as to the pronominal element – to the corresponding loss of features, usually connected with demonstrative (or anaphoric) elements. The discussion above has shown that *to* in Contemporary Standard Polish lacks several features that can be found with the corresponding demonstrative *to*[26]. Nevertheless it has not lost its pronominal status completely. Some further evidence will be hinted at incidentally in the discussion to follow.

---

25  Example from BOGUSŁAWSKI (in press), but compare his different explanation.

26  German *das*, for example, has in the type of the construction discussed at least one demonstrative-like feature more than Polish *to* (although in other contexts it is in Contemporary German an article). German *das* in *Dies ist meine Schwester und das (ist) meine Mutter* clearly contrasts with *dies* as to near and distant deixis even with animate and personal referents, whereas Polish *to* allows a similar constrast (as has been shown above) with *tamto* only with inanimate referents. A further point of contrast between German *das* and Polish *to* in such sentences is that the German "das₂" construction cannot be embedded as for example in *\*Ich nehme an, daß Hans das ist sein Freund von der Universität*, lit.: 'I suppose, that Hans that / he is his friend from the university'. This is typical for constructions with left-dislocation. The Polish (literal) equivalent with *to* can be embedded in corresponding contexts: *Przypuszczam że Jan to jego kolega z uniwersytetu*.

One other argument put forward by BOGUSŁAWSKI (1988, 31; in press) for the non-pronominal status of *to* in the discussed constructions is that it is impossible (1988) or – more cautiously – that there are restrictions (in press) for linking a sentence with *to jest* with another one by a conjunction. Of course, there are restrictions, but they seem to be connected with the differentiation between identifying copula sentences on the one hand, and characterising ones on the other hand. My Polish informants (although not all of them) did not accept sentences such as (25a) with an identifying first clause, but had no objections to such as (25b), with a characterising first clause:

(25a)  *\*To jest mój brat i zasługuje na baty.*
       'This is my brother and he deserves to be whipped.'

(25b)  *To jest złodziej i zasługuje na baty.*
       'This is a thief and he deserves to be whipped.'

The mismatch in communicative function between the two clauses in (25a) – identification on the left side of the conjunction *i* 'and' and characterisation (quality ascription) on the right side – prevents the two clauses from having a "gemeinsame Einordnungsinstanz" in the sense of LANG (1977, 66f) and thus blocks their co-ordination.

Although the problem of co-ordinating sentences containing *TO JEST* with other sentences (with normal verbal predicates) by conjunctions needs much more detailed studies, it seems to be the case, that there are clear restrictions for identifying sentences with *to jest* but much fewer (if any) for characterising ones. The following examples form the literature support this view:

(26a)  Hempel umarł prawdopodobnie dość szybko, to był człowiek chory i słabowity i prawdopodobnie nie wytrzymał. (Wat)
       lit.: 'Hempel probably died quite quickly, this was a sick and weak man and probably he could not hold out.'

(26b)  To był wiejski głupek i sam nie wiedział co robi. (Hłasko)
       lit.: 'This was a village idiot and he himself did not know what he does.'

(26c)  To był mniej niż średnij klasy malarz i żył tam dwa lata. (Wat)
       lit.: 'This was a less than mediocre painter and he lived there two years.'

Especially unproblematic are examples, in which the co-ordinated part on the right side can be considered a specification of the content of the construction

with *TO JEST* as, for example, sentences (25b), (26a) and (26b). But as is shown by (26c), the co-ordinated sentence on the left can be even semantically independent. On the other hand, it should be mentioned that German translations of (26b) and (26c)[27], and the English ones as well, would be unacceptable without an "overt" anaphoric (personal) pronoun in the second clause. So this phenomenon needs further investigation taking into account the general principles of anaphoric subject ellipsis in different languages.

### 3.3 *TO JEST* only vs "usual" copula construction only

One of the achievements of Andrzej BOGUSŁAWSKI (in press) is to have explicitly described contexts in which on the one hand sentences with *TO JEST* and on the other hand "usual" copula sentences of the $Y_{Nom}$-*być*-$X_{Ins}$ type are ruled out in Polish. Much less has been said about contexts where both constructions do occur.

But let us first have a look at the complementary contexts where one of the constructions is blocked. As BOGUSŁAWSKI (in press) states (cf. earlier TOPOLIŃSKA 1971 / 72; KLEBANOWSKA 1976), the construction with *TO JEST* is not possible for constellations with, as Andrzej Bogusławski calls it, (a) an empty theme (27a) or (b) an "absolutely undetermined" theme (27b), or (c) with a thematic first or second person singular (in part also plural) pronoun (27c):

(27a)  *Nikt spośród nich to nie jest kosmonauta.
       lit.: 'No one among them – this is not a cosmonaut.'

(27b)  *Ktoś z nich to (nie) jest kosmonauta.
       lit.: 'Someone among them – this is (not) a cosmonaut.'

(27c)  *Ja to jestem lekarz.[28]
       I.Nom *to* be.Pres.1.Sg. doctor.Nom

---

27  The German version of (26a) could possibly be accepted without the insertion of an anaphoric *er*.

28  Ireneusz BOBROWSKI (personal communication) has pointed out to me that this sentence is nevertheless acceptable. But then *to* could not be considered the *to* of *TO JEST*, but as a different unit that functions as an indicator of a special topicalization strategy to be observed as well in sentences as in *Ojciec to wczoraj przyjechał*. I cannot discuss this possibility in detail, but it would be completely compatible with what is to follow in the next passage.

The corresponding sentence without *to* and the right-most nominal group in the instrumental case is in each case possible. For (27c) a second *ja* 'I' would have to replace *to*, to preserve left-dislocation:

(27d)  Ja, ja jestem lekarzem.
       lit.: 'I – I am a doctor.'

First of all it should be underlined that the left-sided nominal group Y in the above *TO JEST₂* constructions has a completely different referential status (or "denotative status" in the sense of PADUČEVA 1985, 79ff) in (27a) and (27b), on the one hand, and (27c) on the other hand. This suggests the possibility that the reasons for their respective unacceptability are different. Y in (27c) is a first person singular pronoun[29], and as such it is much more comparable to the acceptable Ys in *TO JEST₂* constructions than the Y in (27a) and (27b): first person pronouns are definite and referential and / or anaphorically or deictically "recoverable", and these are preconditions for the use of *to* (and of "real" demonstratives). The only thing that makes Y in (27c) different is its being first person. So the problem seems to be connected with the differentiation and representation of the "grammatical" person. It is – by the way – revealing that Andrzej Bogusławski has noted the unacceptability of *Ja to jestem lekarz*[30], repeated as (27c) above. But this sentence is already ruled out by the fact that it is the X, i. e. the right-sided nominal group in constructions with *TO JEST* that controls agreement, and not Y (nor *to*). So it should actually be asked whether (27c') is acceptable, where *jest* is used instead of *jestem*. The answer is definitely negative:

(27c')  *Ja to jest lekarz.
       I.Nom *to* be.Pres.3.Sg. doctor.Nom

It is obviously the strong "association" of first person pronouns in the nominative with first person verb forms which makes (27c') unacceptable[31]. This is supported by a third example which has no form of *być* at all, and is de-

---

29  Second person singular pronouns behave in the same way. With plural pronouns of the first and second person things look slightly different, as has already been indicated by Andrzej BOGUSŁAWSKI (in press). The latter problem cannot be discussed here.

30  Note that first person pronouns freely occur in the position of the right-sided X and then control the agreement of *być* in *TO JEST*: *Lekarz, to jestem (na przykład) ja*, or *Ten pan to jestem ja*.

31  ... and which made Andrzej Bogusławski overlook that it is X that controls the agreement in *TO JEST* sentences and not Y.

scribed by Andrzej BOGUSŁAWSKI (in press) as better, though still not fully acceptable:

(27e) ʔJa to (właśnie) lekarz.
I.Nom *to* (exactly) doctor.Nom

In a text corpus of more than 2.5 million running words, I have not found one single example for the construction in (27e). So it seems sound to state that first person singular pronouns (and second person singular pronouns) in position Y are still not compatible with *TO JEST*. This is, by the way, another argument for the adequateness of not describing *TO JEST* "in toto" as a copula. The compatibility of former anaphoric or demonstrative pronouns with first person pronouns as the thematic and mostly left-sided Y can be seen as a final test for the status of the copula[32].

A quite different explanation is needed for the unacceptability of (27a) and (27b), where in the position of Y there is a negative (and thus non-referential) pronoun or an indefinite one (a referential one or a non-referential, existential one – cf. PADUČEVA 1985, 91ff) respectively. Their unacceptability simply follows from the description of Y in *TO JEST*₂ constructions as left-dislocated as has been proposed above. Negative and indefinite pronouns (as "absolutely undefined themes" in the sense of Andrzej Bogusławski) simply do not occur in left-dislocation, neither with a *TO JEST*₂ construction nor with other ones: *Nikt / Nikogo, nie znam go, *Ktoś / Kogoś, ja go nie widziałem.

It should be noted at this point of the discussion that there are rather few restrictions for constructions with *TO JEST*. On the other hand, there are quite a number of restrictions for "usual" copula constructions. Andrzej BOGUSŁAWSKI (in press) describes six cases where only *TO JEST* is possible. He labels them "*tj* (a)" to "*tj* (f)". I will not repeat his specific characterisations of the single sentence types but just list his examples:

*tj* (a)  (28a)  Bergson to (nie) Zbytkower.
lit.: 'Bergson – this is not Zbytkower.'

(28b)  Byznesmen to (nie) Juliusz.
lit.: 'Businessman – this Juliusz is (not).'

---

32  Cf. LI & THOMPSON (1977, 430) and JUNGER (1982) for Hebrew *hu* which apart from the function as an anaphoric third person pronoun has developed a copulative function and can even be used with left-sided, thematic first person pronouns.

*tj* (b)  (28c)  Ssaki to (na przykład) myszy.
'Mammals – that is (for example) mice.'

*tj* (c)  (28d)  Lekarz to ten człowiek, który właśnie wszedł do pokoju.
lit.: 'The doctor – that is this man, who just went into the room.'

*tj* (d)  (28e)  Dyrektor szkoły to ten pan.
lit.: 'The director of the school – that is this man.'

*tj* (e)  (28f)  Te drzwi to czytelnia.
lit.: 'This door – that is the reading room.'

(28g)  Sport to zdrowie.
lit.: 'Sport – that is health.'

(28h)  Obiad to była zupa, kotlet i kompot.
lit.: 'Lunch – that was soup, cutlet and compote.'

*tj* (f)  (28i)  To, co go oburzyło, to była jej arogancja.
lit.: 'That, which outraged him, that was her arrogance.'

(28k)  To, co mi zostało z tych lat, to tylko wspomnienia.
lit.: 'That, which remained in my mind from those days, that was only memories.'

(28l)  To, co dostał od niej w prezencie, to był piękny album.
lit.: 'That, which I got from her as a present, that was a nice album.'

Andrzej BOGUSŁAWSKI (in press) describes the basic difference between sentences with *TO JEST* and the "usual" copula sentences as follows[33]: The latter are elementary epistemic utterances that concentrate on the object (represented by Y – or, in my interpretation, by Y and / or *to*). The former are metaepistemic utterances, i. e. utterances that deal with different portions of knowledge about a given object R (individual / token or class / type), so that X stands for the rhematic (mostly new) portion of knowledge about R and Y (whether it is overtly realised in *TO JEST*₂ constructions or just hinted at by *to* in *TO JEST*₁ sentences) for the thematic (mostly old) one. X and Y are – as he puts it – different "markers", or "labels", or "expressions" ("Kennzeichnungen" or "Ausdrücke" in his terms) for R or for two objects R, S that are in a specific way connected with each other[34].

---

33  Cf. Andrzej BOGUSŁAWSKI (in press), the passage after his example (145).
34  For the latter case cf., for example, sentences (28f) and (28g) and the discussion

This characterisation of constructions of *TO JEST* is according to Andrzej BOGUSŁAWSKI (in press) valid not only there, where "usual" copula sentences are ruled out – as in sentences (28a) ... (28l) – but even there, where both construction types are possible. I agree with Andrzej Bogusławski as to the former constellations between Y and X; as to the latter I will argue, that his "metaepistemic" characterisation of *TO JEST* constructions is to a large extent untenable and that my interpretation of the "variation" between the two constructions as a diathesis-like alternation based on perspectivisation is preferable. This does not mean that I treat *Ten pan to (jest) mój brat*, lit.: 'This man – that is my brother' and *Ten pan jest moim bratem* 'This man is my brother' as expression variants of one underlying structure. The former is clearly identificational and encloses two referential nominal groups. The latter, on the other hand, is not identifying, but classifying or characterising (see below) and encloses, apart from the referential nominal group *ten pan*, the non-referential predicative one *mój brat*. Both sentences fit into Bogusławski's metaepistemic (the former) – epistemic (the latter) pattern of explication. So, it is – from my point of view – only the non-identifying *TO JEST* constructions such as *Ten pan to dobry człowiek*, lit.: 'This man – that (is) a good man' that do not have a metaepistemic function. This will be discussed in more detail.

As to Y-X-relations exclusively expressed by *TO JEST*, the first thing to be emphasised is the fact that the sentences under (28) mostly have a referential Y a n d a referential X: (28a), (28b)[35], (28d), (28e), (28f), (28h), (28i), (28k), (28l)[36]. In such cases it is more than obvious, either that (A) Y and X

---

below.

35  In the unpublished version of BOGUSŁAWSKI (in press), these sentences lacked the German translation. Given as it is, without context, it is ambiguous as to the referential status of Y. I take it here to be referential. For the other, non-referential reading, see below.

36  Of course, in some cases, it may be doubtful whether this is necessarily so. These doubts are due to the fact, that these sentences are given in isolation. If we give, for example, the Y in (28b) or (28e) or the X in (28d) a non-referential reading, then, of course, the "usual" copula construction would be possible: (a) *Byznesmenem jest (na przykład) Juliusz*, (b) *Dyrektorem szkoły jest ten pan*, (c) *Lekarz był tym panem, który wtedy wszedł do pokoju*. But it is clearly not these constellations that Andrzej Bogusławski refers to in the sentences under (28). Note that I have manipulated Andrzej Bogusławski's example not only as to the construction type but as well as to tense (present → past) and time "adverbial" ('just' → 'then (in the past))'. The usual copula sentence in the "actual present" would be odd.

---

are independent labels, which could possibly stand for t w o  different unique objects, but here refer to only o n e  given object, and the task of the *TO JEST* construction is to express the identity of these "possibly two unique objects": (28a), (28b), (28d), (28e), (28h), (28i), (28k), (28l); or (B) that Y and X are labels for two different unique objects R, S which stand in a specific metonymic (here: part-whole) connection (28f).

The examples (28c), (28g) are different from the sentences just discussed. In these cases, both Y and X are obviously generic, i. e. non-referential. But nevertheless the objects designated by Y and X are unique as well; not on the level of tokens / individuals, but on the level of types / classes. By definition, there cannot be a class $C_i$ that is identical to class $C_j$, but there can be two (or more) names (descriptions) for that class $C_i$. So if we say that the following examples (28m) and (28n), which can be added to Andrzej Bogusławski's list cited above, are expressions for the same object, here the object is a given class, and (28m) can thus be compared to (28a) and (28n) to (28d / e):

(28m)  Lingwistyka to językoznawstwo.
　　　lit.: 'Linguistics – that (is) the science of language.'

(28n)  Lingwistyka to to, czym zajmuję się ja.
　　　lit.: 'Linguistics – it (is) that, which I am dealing with.'

(28c) is only in that point different from these two cases, that the object X is in a subclass relation to the object of Y, and (28g) in that Y and X refer to classes that are (seen to be) in a metonymic (here: causal) relation.

The characteristic that the above mentioned sentences (28a) to (28n) have in common is that Y and X are on a par as to referentiality. They are either both referential or both non-referential (generic). But this does not suffice to characterise the Y-X-relations reserved for *TO JEST*. In addition, one of the following two conditions must be satisfied:

(A) Y and X are expressions for two different objects R, S (cf. Andrzej BOGUSŁAWSKI in press), that are – as I call it – in a metonymic relation:

α)　referential Y and X (individuals / tokens)

(29a)  Ten dom to my, a tamten starszy to rodzice.
　　　lit.: 'This house – that (is) us, and that older one – that (is) our parents.'

(29b)  Te nogi to ja.[37]
　　　'These legs – that's me.'

---

37  Pointing at a photograph where only the legs of the speaker are visible.

β) non-referential Y and X (classes / types), cf. (28g) and

  (29c) Filozofia to lingwistyka.[38]
     lit.: 'Philosophy – that (is) linguistics.'

  (29d) Silnik to blok cylindrów, wał korbowy, korbowody, miska olejowa i t.d.
     lit.: 'An engine – that (is) the cylinder block, the crankshaft, the connecting rods, the oil pan etc.'

(B) Y and X are expressions for one object R:

 (a) Y and X have the same referential and / or denotative extension and neither X nor Y is an analytical definition that encloses an expression for the genus proximum and for the differentia specifica[39]:

 α) referential Y and X (individuals / tokens)

  (29e) Ten pan to (jestem) ja.
     lit.: 'This man – that (is) me.'

 β) non-referential Y and X (classes / types)

  (29f) Lingwistyka to językoznawstwo.
     lit.: 'Linguistics – that (is) the science of language.'

 (b) Y has a larger referential or denotative extension than X or the coordinated "sub-Xs" taken separately:

 α) referential X and Y (individuals / tokens)

  (29g) Moje psy to owczarek Harro i szpic Fifi.
     lit.: 'My dogs – that (is) the sheep-dog Harro and the spitz Fifi.'

 β) non-referential X and Y (classes / types)

  (29h) Ssaki to (na przykład) myszy.
     'Mammals – that is (for example) mice.'

  (29i) Dni powszednie to poniedziałek, ... i sobota.
     'The workdays – that is monday, ... and saturday.'

---

38 Such an utterance gives expression to the opinion that philosophy is impossible without a scientific approach to language, not that philosophy and linguistics are different names for one thing; compare, on the other hand, (29f).

39 For the latter restriction see below.

In all the cases listed above, one may speak of identification, e. g. identificational sentences in a broader sense. In a narrow sense, only the sentences under (Ba) are identificational, α) on a referential, β) on a non-referential level. Here Y and X stand for one and the same object (individual or class). Where I speak of a broader sense of identification, I mean that X is the expression for an object / for objects that is / are in two senses a part of the object expressed by Y and thus "referentially and / or denotationally smaller". First, it is a part in the sense of a subclass or subset – case (Bb), α) on the referential, β) on the non-referential level. Second, it is a part in the sense of metonymy, – case (A), α) on the referential, β) on the non-referential level. The usual part-whole-relation (29b) is again a subtype of the latter case. But metonymy includes other relations as well, for example, possessor–possessum relations (29a) or (supposed or real) causal relations as in (28g). Other cases than those listed by the examples (29a) ... (29i) I will call ascriptive sentences, which can be further divided into classifying and characterising ones, as we will see below. Here in ascriptive sentences, mostly both constructions, *TO JEST* and the "usual copula" can be used.

Before we come to these cases, one complication with the notion "denotational extension" should be noted incidentally. The restriction under (Ba) referring to genus proximum and differentia specifica is needed to capture the following observation: sentences such as (29f) do not allow for an alternative with the usual copula construction:

  (29f') *Lingwistyka jest językoznawstwem.

  (29f'') *Językoznawstwo jest lingwistyką.

But the "usual" copula sentences (30a), (30b) and (31a), (31b) are (as is also stated by Andrzej BOGUSŁAWSKI in press) possible, although their Xs and Ys have the same denotative extension:

  (30a) Kwadrat jest prostokątem równobocznym.
     'A square is an equilateral rectangle.'

  (30b) Prostokąt równoboczny jest kwadratem.
     'An equilateral rectangle is a square.'

  (31a) Kawaler jest nieżonatym mężczyzną.
     'A bachelor is an unmarried man.'

  (31b) Nieżonaty mężczyzna jest kawalerem.
     'An unmarried man is a bachelor.'

(Besides, in each of the four cases, the construction with *TO JEST*$_2$ is possible alternatively.) What the acceptable sentences (30) and (31) and unacceptable ones (29f / f') have in common is, that X and Y have the same denotation (denotative extension). But they differ in that in (30) and (31) the X or the Y contains an expression for the genus proximum and for the differentia specifica of the category or class expressed by its counterpart (Y or X). In other words, these are sentences corresponding more ((30a), (31a) – with a rhematic definiens) or less ((30b), (31b) – with a thematic definiens) to what logicians traditionally call definitions. (29f), on the other hand, is a sort of pseudo-definition (often to be found in smaller monolingual dictionaries) by a synonym. When in this last case and, additionally, in one other form of pseudo-definition, namely in the definition by enumeration (29i), or at least by example (29h), the usual copula construction is blocked in Polish, this suggests, that in Polish only in "real" definitions the X can take the instrumental case. The restriction formulated in (Ba) as to the genus proximum and to the differentia specifica thus serve to exclude "real definitions" from not allowing the "usual" copula constructions. They allow for both, the *TO JEST* and the "usual" copula construction[40].

## 3.4 Both, *TO JEST* and "usual" copula construction

The types of Y-X-relations, listed by Andrzej BOGUSŁAWSKI (in press) as possible for both constructions (he calls his examples (135) to (141) the "*tj* / Kop" class) are mostly sentences, in which Y and X are both non-referential and either X is – as to its denotation – extensionally larger than Y (*Myszy to ssaki / ... są ssakami*) 'Mice are mammals' or both are equal as to their denotation such as the examples (30) and (31) just discussed. I will not comment upon these cases but rather concentrate on those, in which Y is clearly referential and X non-referential (clearly predicative). These constellations are without doubt the typical domain for "usual" copula sentences, in the same sense as identificational constellations (even in the broader sense,

---

40 That it is only real definitions that allow for the usual copula construction is indicated by the fact that at least in some constellations of Xs and Ys, sentences similar to (30b) and (31b) are obviously not acceptable, e. g. sentences where the definiens and not the definiendum is thematic: *\*Nauka o języku jest lingwistiką / językoznawstwem* 'The science of language is linguistics', but *⁺Lingwistyka / Językoznawstwo jest nauką o języku* 'Linguistics is the science of language'. This must be left to further discussion.

as it has been described above) are the typical domain of sentences with *TO JEST* (cf. ROTHSTEIN 1986).

In his list of subtypes of the "*tj* / Kop" class, Andrzej BOGUSŁAWSKI (in press) mentions just one subtype, where there is a difference in referentiality between Y and X – the inclusion of an individual in a class:

(33)  Ten człowiek, który właśnie wszedł do pokoju, to lekarz[41] / ... jest lekarzem.
      lit.: 'This man who just went into the room, that (is) the doctor / ... is a doctor.'

Apart from sentences like these, there is at least one other important (as to its frequency in texts) subtype. What is at issue here is not primarily class inclusion (although this aspect may be included as well as in (33)), but the ascription of certain characterising or even evaluating features to an individual (34):

(34a)  Jacek to młody człowiek. / Jacek jest młodym człowiekiem.
       lit.: 'Jacek – that (is) a young man. / Jacek is a young man.'

(34b)  Jacek to wstrętny egoista. / Jacek jest wstrętnym egoistą.
       lit.: 'Jacek – that (is) a terrible egoist. / Jacek is a terrible egoist.'

(34c)  Jacek to geniusz. / Jacek jest geniuszem.
       lit.: 'Jacek – that (is) a genius. / Jacek is a genius.'

Without bothering here about an exact delimitation I will call sentences that express only class inclusion – such as (33) or (31a) and (31b) – classifying sentences; sentences such as (34a / b / c), which characterise an individual, will be called characterising ones[42]. Characterising constructions can incidentally also be constructed for instances with a non-referential Y such as (35),

---

41 This sentence with *TO JEST* actually has two readings, one with a definite referential interpretation 'is the doctor', and one with a non-referential, predicative 'is a doctor'. Here only the latter is at issue. For the former, there would be no equivalent construction with the "usual" copula.

42 It is obviously the case, that any sentence that can be interpreted as classifying, can get a characterising reading as well, depending on the context. If (34a), for example, is used to state just Jacek's being young (his inclusion in the class of young people), it is rather classificational. When it is used to underline stereotype characteristics of young people, it is characterising. Be that as it may, in both cases both constructions are possible.

(35)  Mężczyźni są dziwnymi stworzeniami.
      'Men are queer creatures.'

but these constellations of non-referential Y and X will not be discussed, as has been already stated.

What has to be asked is, whether it is sound to consider the "variants" with *TO JEST* even in the characterising cases such as (34) as metaepistemic, and thus opposed to the epistemic "usual" copula constructions. When Andrzej BOGUSŁAWSKI (in press) states that sentences with *TO JEST* are [typical] answers to questions like 'Who / What is Y', and occur [typically] in a situation where the object Y stands for has to be introduced into discourse, he is perfectly right as to (in a broader sense) identificational sentences (and maybe in part as to ascriptive-classificational sentences, which cannot be discussed here). But ascriptive-characterising questions are natural answers to questions like 'What is Y like?', 'What kind of X is Y?'. In the situation where such questions are asked, the object Y stands for can already be well established in discourse. Furthermore it is obviously impossible to regard the Xs in (33) and (34) as different expressions for the same object R designated by the Ys as can be done in constellations of Ys and Xs of equal status in referentiality and equal extensions.

As a supporting argument for interpreting sentences with *TO JEST* even in ascriptive sentences in the same way as in identifying sentences, Andrzej BOGUSŁAWSKI (in press) points to the oddness of (36a) in contrast to the complete acceptability of (36b):

(36a)  ?To głosowanie był to wielki skandal i przyczyna kryzysu rządowego.
       lit.: 'This vote – that was a great scandal and the reason for the crisis of the government.'

(36b)  To głosowanie było wielkim skandałem i wielką niespodzianką.
       'This vote was a great scandal and a great surprise.'

I agree with Andrzej Bogusławski that the oddness of (36a) has to do with its X₂, *przyczyna kryzysu rządowego*, in contrast to its X₁, *wielki skandal*. But there is evidence that this is a more general problem which has to do with differences in "predicativeness" of single subparts $X_i$, $X_j$ in a complex X. Differences in predicativeness are or include differences between the referential status of $X_i$, $X_j$:

(37a)  Piotr to ten chłopak przy drzwiach.
       lit.: 'Piotr – that (is) this guy at the door.'

(37b)  Piotr to dobry kumpel.
       lit.: 'Piotr –that (is) a fine pal.'

(37c)  ??Piotr to ten chłopak przy drzwiach i dobry kumpel.
       lit.: 'Piotr – that (is) this guy at the door and a fine pal.'

(37d)  *Piotr to dobry kumpel i ten chłopak przy drzwiach.
       lit.: 'Piotr – that (is) a fine pal and this guy at the door.'

(37e)  Piotr to stary kawaler i dobry kumpel.
       lit.: 'Piotr – that (is) an old bachelor and a fine pal.'

(37f)  Piotr to dobry kumpel i stary kawaler.
       lit.: 'Piotr – that (is) a fine pal and an old bachelor.'

(37a) and (37b) are perfectly acceptable. The first is an identificational sentence – a typical *TO JEST* construction – and (37b) a characterising one. X in the former is referential, and X in the latter is non-referential. When we connect these two in (37c) and get thus a complex X with $X_{ref}$ before $X_{non-ref}$, the sentence is considered to be odd by most of our informants, (37d) with $N_{non-ref}$ before $N_{ref}$, even as unacceptable. (37c) indicates that it is problematic to co-ordinate a referential and a non-referential nominal group into a complex nominal group. Some informants stated it would be better to leave out the conjunction *i* and replace it by a second *to* and thus construct two sentences with *TO JEST*. (37d), in addition, indicates that a characterisation should not precede an identification. (37e) and (37f), on the other hand, show that there is no problem connecting two different Xs with a conjunction if they have the same referential status. Neither is it a problem to reverse them[43]. Some of our informants stated that (36a) would be better if the X₂, *przyczyna*, would be placed before X₁, *skandal*. Thus I interpret that *przyczyna* in (36a), where it takes nominative case, is classificational and should for that reason be positioned before *skandal*, which is characterising. It seems to be natural to establish and develop an object in discourse following the sequence: identification – classification – characterisation. This obviously has an impact on the structural restrictions of copula sentences.

The question remains why (36b) with the "usual" copula and X₂ and *skandal* as well as *przyczyna* in the instrumental case should be acceptable. Most probably this indicates that *przyczyna* in this context gets a characterising, evaluating reading: it is the speaker's subjective j u d g e m e n t (and

43  Compare the above discussion of co-ordination and LANG's "gemeinsame Einordnungsinstanz" on page 187.

maybe the subjective judgement of others as well). But the acceptability of (36b) must not prevent us from realising that "usual" copula sentences in many cases show similar problems in taking complex, co-ordinated Xs:

(38a) Piotr jest malarzem z Warszawy.
'Piotr is a painter from Warszaw.'

(38b) Piotr jest strasznym egoistą.
'Piotr is a horrible egoist.'

(38c) ??Piotr jest malarzem z Warszawy i strasznym egoistą.
'Piotr is a painter from Warszaw and a horrible egoist.'

(38d) *Piotr jest strasznym egoistą i malarzem z Warszawy.
'Piotr is a horrible egoist and a painter from Warszaw.'

The parallelism to (37a)-(37d) is obvious.

Thus the contrast in acceptability between (34a) and (34b) cannot be accepted as an argument for treating sentences with *TO JEST* and sentences with the "usual" copula, which both have a referential Y and a non-referential X, as metaepistemic or epistemic respectively. Sentence (34a) and to a greater extent the *TO JEST* sentences in (37) and the "usual" copula sentences in (38) indicate restrictions for co-ordinating the identifying, classifying and characterising Xs in one complex X. But this is a problem for both copula constructions, which needs further investigation.

So if the phenomenon discussed above does not force us to treat characterising copula sentences of both types as different in regard to the epistemic – metaepistemic distinction, the question about their interrelation and distribution remains. In principle there are three possibilities. If we take a traditional structuralistic point of view: they are either (a) in free variation, (b) in contextual variation, or (c) in some sort of (maybe subtle) opposition (cf. HENTSCHEL 2001). Russian investigations such as PADUČEVA (1981, esp. 183) and SELIVERSTOVA (1988, esp. 42) on constructions with *éto*, point, as I think, in the right direction. The former describes the difference between a sentence such as *Ivan Ivanovič éto byl xorošij čelovek* 'Ivan Ivanovič – that was a good man' and a sentence *Ivan Ivanovič byl xorošim čelovekom* 'Ivan Ivanovič was a good man' as follows: The predicate X in the *éto*-construction, which takes nominative case, signals some sort of "personification" of the corresponding denotation: 'Ivan Ivanovič is the model / paragon of a good man'. In other words, these *éto* sentences highlight or promote his being a good man in the discourse. The corresponding usual copula sentence simply states that he is a good man. Seliverstova concentrates on *éto* being

used in *Éto byl xorošij čelovek* 'This was a good man' instead of *on* in *On byl xorošij čelovek* 'He was a good man'[44]. In the use of *éto*, she sees a "depersonification" ("otstranenie ličnosti"). In other words, the personal referent of *éto* is demoted from the centre of discourse – exactly for the benefit of highlighting the predicate. In other words, *éto* constructions are simply another perspectivisation of the same argument-predicate constellation. The usual copula construction is in these constellations (with a referential Y / *éto* and a non-referential X) the unmarked one. Constructions with *éto* are marked in that the pronominal element (the referent of the argument) is demoted in discourse, and the predicative noun X promoted. The formal means of expressing perspectivisation are again case marking and the control of the agreement of the copula. Furthermore, the use of *éto* (and Polish *to*) instead of the "usual" anaphoric pronouns *on, ona* ... for non-propositional, especially personal or animate antecedents / referents, is a demotional perspectivising strategy in itself[45]. In other words, constructions with *éto* of the characterising type and the corresponding "usual" copula constructions stand in some sort of subtle opposition that can be compared to the opposition between two diatheses as in the case of active and passive voice.

In this respect, characterising Polish constructions with *TO JEST* are completely comparable. This can be seen by the fact that it is in many cases possible to replace constructions with *TO JEST* by usual copula constructions and vice versa[46]. The only result is a difference in perspective.

(A) *TO JEST* → usual copula

(39a) W pięćdziesiątym którymś roku powiedziałem półżartobliwie do Stawara: "Słuchaj, właściwie tobie to zawdzięczam, ty jesteś winien, tyś mnie wciągnął do komunizmu". Stawar *to był człowiek rzetelny* [→ *Stawar był człowiekiem rzetelnym*], w gruncie rzeczy dobry, ale tak jak często samouk z klasy robot-

---

44  Both, Padučeva and Seliverstova, treat *éto* as a pronoun, as I do.

45  In the case of propositional antecedents / referents, which in languages like Russian and Polish cannot usually be referred to by the anaphoric neuter form *ono*, but only by *éto* / *to* (cf. sentences (3a) and (3b)), this demotional strategy is of course neutralised. What remains is case marking and control of copula agreement (cf. HENTSCHEL 1998a). Of course the *to* in the "usual" Polish copula construction of (3b) has other structural properties than the one in *TO JEST* constructions (3a), which has been discussed above.

46  The following examples are quotations from written texts. They are offered in context in order to prevent misinterpretations.

niczej, miał dużo pogardy intelektualnej dla ludzi, taki grymas pogardy. (Wat)

'In some year of the fifties, I said half-jokingly to Stawara: "Listen, it is exactly because of you, it is your guilt, you dragged me into communism". Stawar – *this was an honest man* [→ *Stawar was an honest man*], at heart good, but as often occurs with a self-trained person from the working class, he had a lot of intellectual contempt for people, such a grimace of contempt.'

(39b) Wiem, wiem, byłem w Polsce przed wojną w misji wojskowej, rozmawiałem z Piłsudskim. *To był wielki człowiek* [→ *On był wielkim człowiekiem*], tylko niepotrzebnie postawił na konie i przez to przegraliście z Hitlerem. (Łysiak)

'I know, I know, I was in Poland before the war in a military mission. I spoke with Piłsudski. *This was a great man* [→ *He was a great man*]. Only he unnecessarily stayed with horses and for that reason you have been defeated by Hitler.'

(B) usual copula → *TO JEST*

(40a) Arens przedłużył jej życie o kilka godzin, skazując na udrękę nadziei i strachu. W ten sposób nic nie zostało załatwione, może zdarzyło się nawet więcej zła, tylko dlatego, że Arens chciał zachować pozory, w które sam przecież nie wierzył. *Był człowiekiem ideowym* [→ *Był to człowiek ideowy*]. Poczytywał sobie za punkt honoru, że podczas tej wojny kierują nim głębokie przekonania. (Szczypiorski)

'Arens prolonged her life for some hours, condemning her to the torment of hope and fear. By doing so nothing was made easier, maybe even more evil resulted, only due to the fact, that Arens wanted to keep up appearances, in which he himself after all did not believe. *He was an idealistic man* [→ *This was an idealistic man*]. He took it as a matter of honour, that during this war, he was led by deep convictions.'

(40b) Nawet w bójce zachowywał jakiś przerażający i niezrozumiały spokój. Pamiętam, jak kiedyś w Orzyszu pijany tajniak rąbnął mnie w zęby trzymając w lewej ręce pistolet; Edward spokojnie podszedł do niego nie zwracając uwagi na broń i huknął go w czaszkę. *Był i jest moim największym przyjacielem* [→ *To był i jest mój największy przyjaciel*]. Na Mazurach opowiadał mi o

książkach, które przeczytał, a których ja, nie znający wówczas niemieckiego i angielskiego, nie znałem. (Hłasko)

'Even in a battle, he kept a certain astonishing and incomprehensible calm. I remember how once in Orzysz a drunken secret service man smashed me in the teeth, holding a gun in his left hand; Edward calmly went to him, not paying any attention to the weapon, and hit him in the face. *He was and is my best friend* [→ *This was and is my best friend*]. At the Masurian Lakes, he told me about the books he read, but which I was not familiar with because I did not know German or English at that time.'

In such cases, where both constructions are mutually replaceable and the only effect of such a replacement is one of perspectivisation, both constructions should be considered as simple epistemic statements. In other words, the contrast between the *TO JEST* construction and the "usual" copula construction should be described as two different diatheses of one argument-predicate constellation. Identificational constructions with *TO JEST* as listed in (29a) ... (29i), which do not have an alternative consisting in a "usual" copula sentence, are clearly different, e. g. metaepistemic in the sense of Andrzej Bogusławski[47].

But there seem to be some other cases where the replacement of a *TO JEST* construction by a "usual" copula sentence would at least be odd. In these cases, which will be discussed below under (C), this has nothing to do with the epistemic – metaepistemic opposition, but rather with (sometimes stylistic) contextual preferences for one or the other of the two diatheses. This is mirrored by the fact that sometimes due to such context conditions it would be in the same respect odd to use a *TO JEST* construction instead of a "usual" copula sentence – cf. (D) below.

(C) *TO JEST* → ?'usual copula sentences

Due to the highlighted status of the X in *TO JEST* sentences, these seem for some nouns in the position of X more natural than the usual copula sentences. Nouns that lexically imply an expressive nuance like *facet* 'guy' in (40c) are often strange in the latter, especially when X is in the instrumental case.

---

47 Compare also the formal approach in differentiating between different copula constructions in BOBROWSKI (1998, 44ff).

(40c) Natomiast widziałem potęgę komunizmu niemieckiego. Stalin ją
świadomie sparaliżował. Mam takie swoje poglądy na Stalina.
Uważam, że *to był genialny facet* [→ ?*że on był genialnym fa-
cetem*]. Oczywiście, dużo było przypadków, ale umiał przypadki
obrócić na swoją stronę. (Wat)
'On the other hand, I saw the power of German communism.
Stalin consciously paralysed it. I have my own opinions about
Stalin. I think, that *this was a an ingenious guy* [→ that *he was
an ingenious guy*]. Of course, there were a lot of coincidences,
but he was able to exploit coincidences for his own purposes.'

It is not that the usual copula construction is completely ruled out for nouns
like *facet* in (40c), but the construction with *TO JEST* is simply better (com-
pare (40c) with (39b)). When expressive nouns (maybe even more expres-
sive nouns like *świnia*, lit.: 'pig', a rude abusive word) are used in usual
copula sentences and in the instrumental case, this comes near to a mismatch
of style, which, on the other hand, can sometimes be intended (for comic
effects etc.)

But the possibilities for replacing *TO JEST* with usual copula sentences
are obviously restricted in some other cases as well. It has been mentioned
before that constructions with *to* (not only the identifying ones, but the char-
acterising ones as well) are preferably used when either the object referred to
by Y and / or *to* is being introduced into the discourse (41a) or in some sort
of closing sentence with a summary after a fragment of discourse about that
object (41b) (cf. HENTSCHEL 1998, 17ff; BOGUSŁAWSKI in press; see the
explanatory material accompanying his examples (198) to (201)). Compare
the following quotations:

(41a) Musiałem mu dać pięć lat – powiedział Różański. – Był ma-
jorem bezpieczeństwa i nie wolno mu było uderzyć człowieka
podczas przesłuchania. Ale nie to wam chciałem powiedzieć.
Wiecie ile dostał ten sabotażysta? Dwa lata. *To był wiejski głu-
pek* i sam nie wiedział co robi, tak że trzeba go było sądzić z
zastosowaniem wszelkich okoliczności łagodzących. (Hłasko)
'I must give him five years – Różański said. – He was a major in
the security service and he was not allowed to beat a man during
the interrogation. But actually I wanted to tell you about some-

thing else. Do you know how much that saboteur[48] got? Two
years. *That was a country fool* and he himself did not know what
he did, so that one had to judge him employing all extenuating
circumstances.'

(41b) Kiedyś poznałem Anglika. *To był dziwny człowiek.*
'Once I became acquainted with an Englishman. *That was a
strange man.*'

(41c) Chodnikiem *szła piękna dziewczyna* w jedwabnej sukni, jej
gęste włosy opadały na kark, oczy miała ogromne, piwne, trochę
gniewne, ale jej wargi uśmiechały się mimowolnie do jakiejś
dobrej myśli. Dziewczyna przeszła obok Knollera, materiał su-
kni przylegał do jej pośladków, *to była rzeczywiście piękna ko-
bieta*, młoda, zdrowa, warta miłości, a Knoller powiedział cierp-
ko: – Nawet to już dla mnie umarło. Nawet tego mam już dość.
Antoni roześmiał się. (Szczypiorski)
'A beautiful woman in a silky dress was walking down the
sidewalk, her thick hair falling onto her neck, she had big eyes,
hazel brown eyes, a little bit angry looking, but her lips were
smiling involuntarily due to some cheerful thought. The girl
passed near Knoller, the material of her dress tightly clinging to
her buttocks. *This was really a beautiful woman*, young, healthy,
worth loving, but Knoller said bitterly: – Even that is already
dead for me. I've already had enough even of that. Antoni burst
out laughing.'

In (41a) *to* is the first pronominal, thematic reference to the individual that
had been introduced into this fragment of discourse by the sentence immedi-
ately before, i. e. by a rhematic "full noun phrase"; cf. as well (41b). (The
demonstrative *ten* in the rhematic antecedent of *to* in (41a) indicates that it
has been mentioned somewhere before, thus it is an "reactivated" topic of
discourse.) The use of *TO JEST*, where *to* is co-referent with a newly intro-
duced rhematic nominal group in the preceding sentence, is the typical place
in discourse for identifying (in the sense proposed above) or metaepistemic
constructions. So instead of the characterising *To był wiejski głupek i sam nie
wiedział co robi* and the further characterisation, one could insert at this
place an identifying *To był człowiek z Warszawy, który nie wiedział co robi*

---

48  Note that this is not the major in the security service mentioned in the utterances
    before.

..., lit.: 'This was a man from Warsaw, who ...'. Thus such contexts are obviously the "Trojan horse" by which the primarily identifying *TO JEST* enters the domain of "usual" (characterising and classifying) copula sentences. This is reflected by (41c) as well.

An identifying *TO JEST* construction is completely ruled out in the context of *TO JEST* in (41c)[49]. But nevertheless (41c) has something in common with (41a): Both are used, where there is a change of the theme of the sentences (and the topic of discourse). (41a) marks the beginning, (41c) the end of the relevance of a topic of discourse. Furthermore, it should be noticed that first, the sentence with *TO JEST* does not introduce any new information, and second, that it was not the young woman as an individual that is at issue in this discourse. It is simply her being beautiful. Not even once is she referred to by the usual anaphoric *ona* (in the nominative), which would signal her centrality in the given fragment of discourse. The use of *TO JEST* corresponds to this presentation. The "usual" copula construction would not be impossible in these contexts, but it would be less natural.

The use of the "usual" copula construction in (42) would be completely ruled out:

(42)   W tym czasie otworzono w Warszawie *szkołę* techniczno-tea-tralną; pojechaliśmy razem z moim bratem Józefem – przez trzy miesiące brat mój odrabiał za mnie zadania z matematyki, chemii i algebry, jednak na skutek tak zwanej waśni domowej przestał; wyrzucono mnie znowu. *Była to dobra szkoła*: mieściła się w gmachu YMCA w Warszawie. (Hłasko)
'During this time, the technical-theatrical school was opened. I went there together with my brother Józef. For three months my brother did the exercises in mathematics, chemistry and algebra for me, but due to the so-called domestic quarrels it was over. I was expelled once more. *This was a good school*: it was located in the Warsaw YMCA building.'

As in the sentences in (41), *TO JEST* signals a change of the theme and of the topic of discourse. But the explicit antecedent of *to* in *TO JEST* is distant. The school has been mentioned somewhere before. But directly before the

49   Of course instead of the characterising 'it was really a beautiful woman', an identifying 'it was Jolanta Kowalska' could follow the preceding. But then the immediate change of the theme and topic of discourse after that sentence would be strange; it would be in conflict with the context to follow.

sentence with *TO JEST*, there is an intervening piece of discourse about two boys that visit that school. If the anaphoric pronoun *ona* and the corresponding usual copula construction would be used, the reader / hearer would be misled to look for the antecedent immediately before. But *to* (not only in *TO JEST*, but the "non-attributive" *to* in general) does not need an explicit antecedent (cf., for example, WIEMER 1997, 334f). It suffices when the object referred to can be inferred from the context.

(D) usual copula construction → ?*TO JEST*

If constructions with *TO JEST* tend to be used in contexts where there is a change of theme of the sentence, then it is natural that the replacement of the usual copula construction, which stands after a *TO JEST* construction, by a second *TO JEST* construction, would be strange:

(43)   Tam mieszkał stary przyjaciel Lenina, Borys Wigilew, bolsze-wik, gruźlik. Jakoś nie wracał do Rosji, bo miał taką gruźlicę, że niebezpiecznie go było ruszać. Bardzo często go spotykałem w Zakopanem. To był przyjaciel Struga, który mi go przedstawił. *Był przyjacielem Gorkiego* [→ ?*To był przyjaciel Gorkiego*]. Pierwszy bolszewik, którego w życiu widziałem. (Wat)
'An old friend of Lenin lived there, Borys Wigilew, a Bolshevik, suffering from tuberculosis. Somehow, he did not return to Russia, because he had this tuberculosis, so that it was dangerous to move him. We often met him in Zakopane. He (lit.: that) was the friend of Strug, who introduced him to me. *He was a friend of Gorkij* [→ ?That was a friend of Gorkij], the first Bolshevik, that I ever saw in my life.'

A second *TO JEST* construction would be better, if we would add an *i* and reverse *to był* to *był to*: *Był to i przyjaciel Gorkiego*. But then his being a friend of Gorki is emphasised. And, as we know, – apart from the specific structural restrictions mentioned above – almost every "usual" copula construction can be replaced by a *TO JEST* construction for the purpose of emphasising X, the predicate.

## 4. Conclusion

*TO JEST* constructions of the characterising type thus present a given argument-predicate constellation under a different perspective than corresponding usual copula constructions do. Their function is to highlight or promote the predicate in discourse and to demote the argument. This is either open to the intention of the speaker / writer (in the middle of the discourse about the referent of the argument or at the end of it) or "triggered" by the context, when the referent of the argument is not yet established in discourse. So the choice between the usual copula construction and the *TO JEST* construction for a characterisation (and probably as well for a classification) of the referent of the argument is a phenomenon of discourse structure, i. e. of perspectivisation in discourse, in a similar way as the choice between active and passive voice. This is similar in the case of alternation between the usual copula constructions and the *z-Y-jest-X* constructions discussed in 2. (The relation between the latter and characterising constructions with *TO JEST*, which both highlight the predicate, has to be clarified.) Moreover, two of the formal strategies that differentiate between active and passive sentences (in Polish and other Slavonic languages) are taken advantage of in the differentiation between usual copula constructions and *TO JEST* constructions as well: case marking (the use of the nominative for the argument or the predicate) and copula agreement, i. e. the subject assignment. So I propose to describe characterising (and classifying) *TO JEST* constructions as a marked diathesis for a given constellation of argument and non-referential nominal predicate. Both, *TO JEST* constructions of the characterising type and "usual" copula constructions, represent epistemic statements, whereas identificational sentences are metaepistemic in the sense of Andrzej Bogusławski.

Finally, I completely agree with Andrzej Bogusławski (and others) that we are still far from a thorough analysis of copula sentences and I hope that the book on this topic he is thinking about writing will soon be at our disposal. I hope as well that the idea of having different diatheses in copula constructions will prove to be helpful.

## References

BEHAGEL, O. 1923: *Deutsche Syntax, eine geschichtliche Darstellung*. Bd. I. Heidelberg

BLATZ, F. ³1900: *Neuhochdeutsche Grammatik unter Berücksichtigung der historischen Entwicklung der deutschen Sprache*. Bd. II. Karlsruhe

BOBROWSKI, I. 1998: *Gramatyka opisowa języka polskiego. Zarys modelu generatywno-transformacyjnego*. T. II. Kielce

BOGUSŁAWSKI, A. 1964: O kratkix i polnyx formax prilagateľnogo v skazuemom. In: *Russkij jazyk v škole* 1964 / 1, 14-19

BOGUSŁAWSKI, A. 1988: *To jest*. In: *Rozprawy Komisji Językowej ŁTN* XXXIV, 30-35

BOGUSŁAWSKI, A. 1992: *This*. In: *Problemy opisu gramatycznego języków słowiańskich*, 23-29

BOGUSŁAWSKI, A. 2001: Über Nominativ-Instrumental-Variationen im Polnischen. In: Boeder, W.; Hentschel, G. (eds.): *Variierende Markierung von Nominalgruppen in Sprachen unterschiedlichen Typs*. Oldenburg, 101-133 [= Studia Slavica Oldenburgensia 4]

BOGUSŁAWSKI, A. (in press): *To jest / Das ist* – unteilbare Spracheinheiten? – Doch! In: *Die Welt der Slaven* XLVII / 1-2, 1-48

BROWNE, W. 1998: *Vsjako načalo e trudno*: Traps in Lesson I in the South Slavonic Languages. In: Dimitrova-Vulxanova, M.; Hellan, L.; Kasobov, I.; Krapova, I. (eds.): *Papers from the Second Conference on Formal Approaches to South Slavonic Languages – Sofia September 1997*. Trondheim, 33-41 [= University of Trondheim Working Papers in Linguistics 31]

COMRIE, B. 1997: The typology of predicate case marking. In: Bybee, J.; Haiman, J.; Thompson, S. A. (eds.): *Essays on language function and language type*. Amsterdam / Philadelphia, 39-50

CURME, G. O. ²1923: *A grammar of the German language*. New York

DIK, S. C. 1989: *The theory of Functional Grammar*. Dordrecht

DRECHSEL, U. 1986: O pewnych funkcjach wyrazu *to* we współczesnym języku polskim. In: *Rozprawy Komisji Językowej ŁTN* XXXII, 73-76

EISENBERG, P. ³1994: *Grundriß der deutschen Grammatik*. Stuttgart, Weimar

210

FINDRENG, Å. 1976: *Zur Kongruenz in Person und Numerus zwischen Subjekt und finitem Verb im modernen Deutsch.* Oslo, Bergen, Tromsø

GDTGR 1981: *Grundzüge einer deutschen Grammatik.* Berlin

GEIST, L. 1999: Russisch *byt'* ('sein'). In: *ZAS Papers in Linguistics* 14, 1-39

GELUYKENS, R. 1992: *From discourse process to grammatical construction. On left-dislocation in English.* Amsterdam

GIVÓN, T. 1984: *Syntax. A functional-typological introduction.* V. I, Amsterdam

GRIMM, J. 1837: *Deutsche Grammatik.* Göttingen

GWJP-M 1984 / 1998: *Gramatyka współczesnego języka polskiego. Morfologia.* Warszawa

HENTSCHEL, G. 1993: Zur Kasusvariation des prädikativen Substantivs in Kopulasätzen: syntaktischer Wandel im Polnischen des 16. und 17. Jh. In: Hentschel, G.; Laskowski, R. (eds.), *Studies in Polish morphology and syntax - synchronic and diachronic problems.* München, 253-292

HENTSCHEL, G. 1994: Zur Verbreitung des prädikativen Instrumentals im Polnischen des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts. In: *Polonica* XVI, 181-191

HENTSCHEL, G., 1995: Passiv in Kopulasätzen? Zu substantivischen Prädikaten mit Subjektfunktion im Russischen und Polnischen. In: *Slavistische Linguistik* 1994. München, 125-173 [= Slavistische Beiträge 332]

HENTSCHEL, G. 1998a: Zu Status und Funktion von polnisch *to (jest)* I. In: Rothe, H.; Thiergen, P. (eds.): *Polen unter den Nachbarn. Polonistische und komparatistische Beiträge zum XII. Internationalen Slavistenkongreß in Krakau 1998.* Köln, 1-27

HENTSCHEL, G. 1998b: Zu Status und Funktion von polnisch *to (jest)* II: Kopula – Pronomen – Konjunktion – Partikel. In: *Prace Filologiczne* LXIII, 191-203

HENTSCHEL, G. 2001: On defining "variable marking" or "marking variation with nominal groups". In: Boeder, W.; Hentschel, G. (eds.): *Variierende Markierung von Nominalgruppen in Sprachen unterschiedlichen Typs.* Oldenburg, 15-28 [= Studia Slavica Oldenburgensia 4]

HENTSCHEL, G. (in press): *Konstanten der Kasusvariation. Zum Wechsel zwischen Nominativ und Instrumental sowie zwischen Akkusativ und Genitiv im Russischen.* (to appear in: *Bausteine zur slavischen Philologie und Kulturgeschichte.* Reihe A: *Slavistische Forschungen*)

211

JUNGER, J. 1982: Copula constructions in Modern Hebrew. In: Hoekstra, T.; van der Hulst, M.; Moortgart, M. (eds.): *Perspectives in Functional Grammar.* Dordrecht, 117-134

KALLAS, K. 1970: O zdaniach typu *Czas to pieniądz, Żyć to pracować.* In: *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersitetu Mikołaja Kopernika w Toruniu. Nauki Humanistyczno-Społeczne. Z. 38. Filologia Polska* VIII, 13-24

KAROLAK, St. 1984: Składnia wyrażeń predykatywnych. In: Topolińska, Z. (red.): *Gramatyka współczesnego języka polskiego. Składnia.* Warszawa, 11-211

KLEBANOWSKA, B. 1976: Postać łącznika w orzeczeniu złożonym z orzecznikiem rzeczowym. In: *Poradnik Językowy,* 56-63

KLEMENSIEWICZ, Z. 1926: Orzecznik przy formach osobowych słowa *być.* In: *Prace Filologiczne* XI, 123-181

KLEMENSIEWICZ, Z. 1965: O pewnej osobliwej formie podmiotu. Cited following the reprint in: Klemensiewicz, Z. 1982: *Składnia, stylistyka, pedagogika językowa.* Warszawa, 320-323

LANG, E. 1977: *Semantik der koordinativen Verknüpfung.* Berlin [= Studia Grammatica XIV]

LI, Ch. N.; THOMPSON, S. A. 1977: A mechanism for the development of copula morphemes. In: Li, Ch. (ed.): *Mechanisms of syntactic change.* Austin, 419-444

PADUČEVA, E. V. 1981: Mestoimenie *éto* s predmetnym antecedentom. In: *Problemy strukturnoj lingvistiki* 1979. Moskva, 72-88

PADUČEVA, E. V. 1982: Značenie i sintaktičeskie funkcii slova *éto.* In: *Problemy strukturnoj lingvistiki* 1980, 78-91

PADUČEVA, E. V. 1985: *Vyskazyvanie i ego sootnesennost' s dejstvitel'nost'ju.* Moskva

PADUČEVA, E. V., USPENSKIJ V. A. 1979: Podležaščee ili skazuemoe. (Semantičeskij kriterij različenija podležaščego i skazuemogo v binominativnyx predloženijax). In: *Izvestija AN SSSR. Serija literatury i jazyka* 38 / 4, 349-360

PADUČEVA, E. V., USPENSKIJ, V. A. 1997: Binominativnoe predloženie: Problema soglasovanija svjazki. In: Krysin, L. P. (ed.): *Oblik slova.* Moskva, 170-182

PAUL, H. 1919 / 1920: *Deutsche Grammatik.* T. IV. Halle

212

PERLMUTTER, D. S.; ZAENEN, A. 1984: The indefinite extraposition con-
struction in Dutch and German. In: Perlmutter, D. S.; Rosen, C. G. (eds.):
*Studies in Relational Grammar* 2. Chicago, 171-216

PERLMUTTER, D. S.; POSTAL, P., 1974: *Lectures on Relational Grammar.*
Amherst

PÜTZ, H. 1973: *Über die Syntax der Pronominalform es im modernen
Deutsch.* Paris [= DRLAV Papier No 6]

ROTHSTEIN, R. A. 1986: Equation vs. ascription. The nominative / instru-
mental opposition in West Slavic. In: Brecht, R. D.; Levine, R. S. (eds.):
*Case in Slavic.* Columbus / Ohio, 312-322

RSPRG 1976: *Die russische Sprache der Gegenwart.* Band 3: *Syntax.* Leip-
zig

SALONI, Z. 1986: Uwagi o bezokoliczniku czasowników niewłaściwych. In:
*Prace Filologiczne* XXXIII, 229-236

SELIVERSTOVA, O. N. 1988: *Mestoimenija v jazyke i reči.* Moskva

STEINITZ, R. 1999: Die Kopula *werden* und die Situationstypen. In: *Zeit-
schrift für Sprachwissenschaft* 18 / 1, 121-151

SZYMCZAK, M. 1986: Co jest podmiotem w zdaniach typu "Z Janka jest
dobry uczeń"? In: *Prace Filologiczne* 33, 351-356

TOPOLIŃSKA, Z. 1971 / 72: Wtórna copula *to* w polskim języku literackim.
In: *Zborník Filozofickej Fakulty University Komenského.* XXIII-XXIV
*Philologica*, 207-212

TOPOLIŃSKA, Z. (= TOPOLINSKAJA, Z.) 1972: Kašubskoe *co za bestja od
babë* – pol'skoe literaturnoe *co za bestia z tej baby.* In: *Russkoe i slavjan-
skoe jazykoznanie* 1972. Moskva, 250-256

WARLAND, J. M. 1960: Subjekt oder Prädikatswort? Beobachtungen zur
Syntax des Pronomens *es.* In: *Revue des Langues Vivantes* 26, 46-72

WIEMER, B. 1997: *Diskursreferenz im Polnischen und Deutschen.* München

WILKOŃ, A. (w. y.): Propositions avec *to* en polonais et leurs équivalents
français. In: Cagal-Krupa, Z. (ed.): *Les contacts linguistiques franco-
polonais.* Lille, 99-109

WIŚNIEWSKI, M. 1987: Formalnogramatyczny opis leksemów *to.* 1. Słowo *to*
w funkcji rzeczownika lub przymiotnika. In: *Acta Universitatis Nicolai
Copernici - Filologia Polska* XXIX – *Nauki Humanystyczno-Społeczne* z.
174, 27-42

213

WIŚNIEWSKI, M. 1990: Formalnogramatyczny opis leksemów *to.* 2. Słowo *to*
w funkcji spójnika, partykuły, czasownika niewłaściwego. In: *Acta Uni-
versitatis Nicolai Copernici – Filologia Polska* XXXI – *Nauki Huma-
nystyczno-Społeczne* z. 192, 91-119
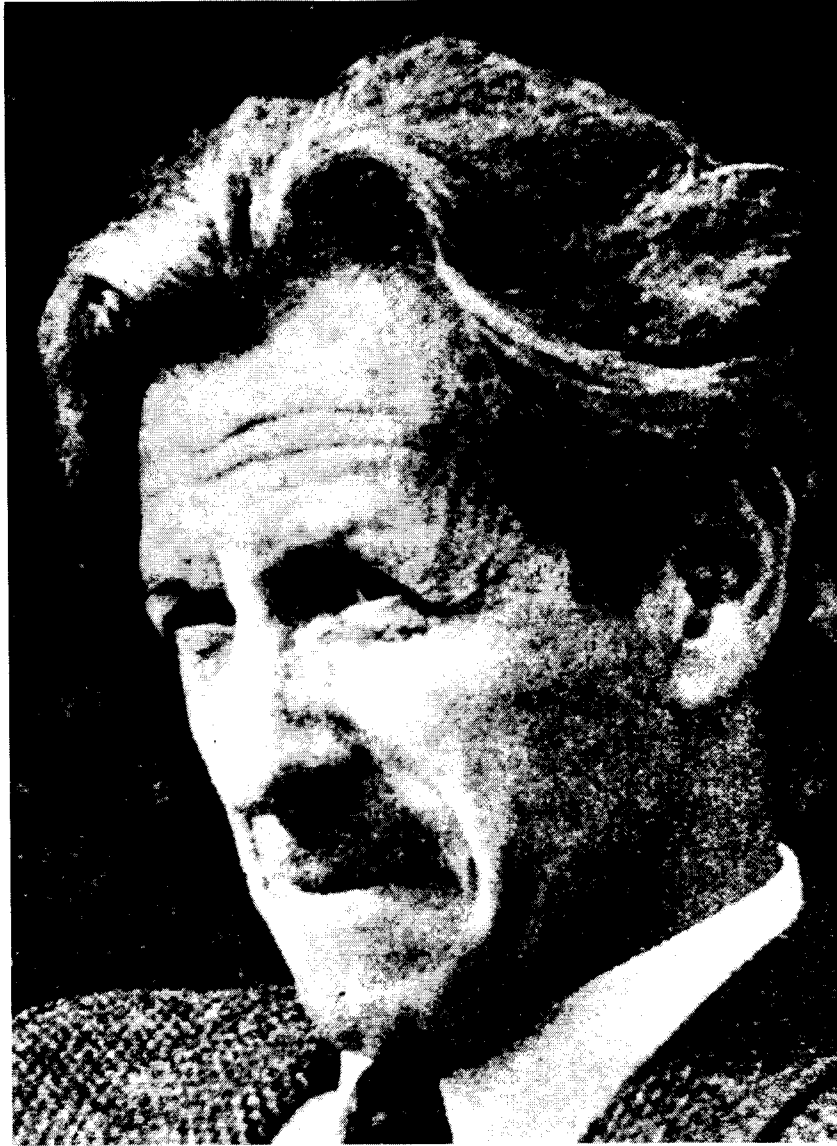
*Andrzej Bogusławski*

# Studies on
# the Syntax and Semantics
# of Slavonic Languages

**Papers in Honour of Andrzej Bogusławski
on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday**

Edited by
Viktor S. Chrakovskij, Maciej Grochowski
and Gerd Hentschel

**bis**