

ON CERTAIN TYPES OF ADJECTIVE-COMPLEMENTATION IN CONTEMPORARY POLISH

Whether or not the term 'valency' is used, numerous studies take as their starting point the potential ability of a verb to bind a certain number of certain morphologically (and/or semantically) defined complements. Less widely recognized is the fact that such potential ability is not characteristic of the verb alone and can be shown to be applicable, in varying degrees, to other parts of speech as well, namely, to substantives and adjectives. With this we accord with the view expressed clearly by G. Helbig, that word-classes other than the verb, although differing in detail, demonstrate the same basic ability.¹ The syntactical behaviour of various nouns, especially (but not exclusively) those derived from verbs, can be described in terms of valency, i.e. by establishing the number and types of complements occurring with them. However, while most verbs can be combined with a number of complements, and those that cannot (avalent 'impersonal' or univalent 'intransitive' verbs) are relatively rare, the ratio for nouns is the inverse. As for adjectives, most of those that can occur with valential complements consist, as is to be expected, of various formations derived from verbs. H. Happ in his *Grundfragen*² discussed in depth the standing of complements to such deverbal adjectives in Latin and also in German. In conclusion he recommends to acknowledge their relationship to the complements of the underlying verbs in question: "... sollte man ... die intuitiv gefühlte Verbindung zwischen den Adjektiv-Ergänzungen und den Verb-Ergänzungen in der Beschreibung zum Ausdruck zu bringen versuchen".

In Polish, there exist more than a dozen derivational suffixes of various degrees of frequency and productivity, by means of which deverbal adjectives are formed.³ Of course, there are some derived adjectives which do not possess the property of combining with complements;⁴ others, the regular active participle in *-ący* and the passive participle in *-ny*, *-ony*, *-ty*, reflect completely the valency of the verb due account taken of valency-reduction with passive transforms. We shall not deal with the latter classes here.

The syntactical properties of adjectives, deverbal ones included, are described in the very informative study of M. Szupryczyńska⁵, whose outlook, however, is purely notional, without taking into account the connection between adjective-complementation and its derivation-class. Some remarks on adjective valency from the diachronic point of view are included in D. Butler's *Innowacje*.⁶

1.0 The most frequent and the most productive suffix, but at the same time the least specialized one⁷, is *-ny* (*-ony*). It is commonly used to form passive participles from active verbs complemented by the accusative (e.g. *jeść* "eat": *jedzony* "eaten"), and sporadically from verbs complemented by other case-forms (e.g. *chcieć* (Gen) "want": *chciany* "wanted", *rzadzić* (Instr) "govern": *rzadzony* "governed"). Any passive participle, when used without agent-expression (*przez* + Acc "by"), can be considered an adjective, as *znany aktor* "a known (= famous) actor".

1.1 In addition, by means of *-ny* other formations can be derived, however from a verbal stem different from that of the passive participle. Their derivation is rather unpredictable and much less productive than that of the participle. In the majority of cases, they show the same valency as the underlying verb, especially when derived from verbs complemented by case-forms other than the accusative and having an active value, thus:

słynąć z + Gen "to be famous for": *słynny* z + Gen "famous for"

wierzyć Dat "to believe": *wierny* Dat "faithful to"

pozostaniemy wierni honorowi żołnierza W⁸ "We shall remain faithful to the soldier's honour"

żądać Gen "to demand": *żądny* Gen "avid for".

Adjectives derived from reflexive verbs function in precisely the same way:

przydać się Dat do + Gen "to be useful to sb. for sth.": *przydatny* Dat do + Gen "useful to sb. for sth."

należeć Dat "to be due to, to be becoming to": *należny* Dat "rightful, proper, suitable for, due to".

In these cases, the function of the deverbal adjective is very close to that of an active participle. The two differ mainly in their relation to time, in that the adjective, being devoid of any notion of absolute or relative time, designates a very general quality, while the participle specifies the validity of such a quality in defined circumstances. Compare the following:

baczyć na + Acc "to observe, to watch": *baczący na* + Acc "observing, watching":
baczny na + Acc "watchful, careful"

należeć się Dat "to be due to": *należący się* Dat "due to": *należny* Dat "rightful, proper, due to", etc.

korzystać ... z należnego mi spokoju K "to enjoy ... the peace (that is) due to me".

1.2. Some of the adjectives formed from transitive verbs that are complemented by the accusative exist beside passive participles and share with those the valency model of the verb (excluding the accusative form of the verb-complement). Such adjectives are basically non-active and their meaning includes a shade of "capability (to undergo an action)", e.g.:

dziedziczyć Acc "to inherit": *dziedziczony* "inherited": *dziedziczny* "hereditary"

skłonić Acc do + Gen "to induce, to prompt sb. to": *skłoniony* do + Gen *przez* + Acc "induced to sth. by sb.": *skłonny* do + Gen "inclined to"

rozum skłonny ... do biernego oporu K "a mind inclined ... to passive resistance"

nie rozłączyć Gen⁹ od + Gen "not to separate sth./sb. from sth./sb.": *nie rozłączony* od + Gen *przez* + Acc "not separated from sth./sb.": *nierozłączny* od + Gen "inseparable from sth./sb."

Note that such pairs of adjectives/participles exhibit a valency-difference not directly connected to that of the valency-model of the basic verb: unlike the passive participles the adjectives do not admit agent expressions. Thus e.g.:

chłopiec skłoniony przez brata do kłamstwa "a boy induced by his brother to (tell) a lie" vs. *chłopiec skłonny do kłamstwa* "a boy inclined to (tell) a lie".

Not only is the agent-expression *przez* + Acc (which is characteristic of passive constructions) here formally excluded, but the quality denoted is perceived as a permanent attribute of the substantive rather than as a temporary result of an action (as is the case of the passive participle).

On the other hand, it is possible to view these adjectives as derived, rather than from the transitive term, from the 'reflexive' one of the verb in question, and to establish a relation between e.g.: *skłonić się*, *skłaniać się* "to tend to", *skłaniający się* "tending to" and *skłonny* "inclined to". Such a relation would be parallel to that of the 'reflexiva tantum', e.g.: *starać się* "to endeavour" *starający się* "endeavouring": *staranny* "careful".

1.3 Other adjectives which have an exclusively passive sense (without any notion of "capability") show valency-patterns not derivable from that of the underlying verb, e.g.:

winić Acc o + Acc "to blame sb./sth. for sth.": *winny* Gen "guilty of"

winny *zajścia policjant był na służbie* L "The policeman guilty of the incident was on duty"

odmienić Acc "to change": *odmienny od* + Gen "different from"

ślawić Acc za + Acc "to praise sb. for sth.": *ślawny z* + Gen "famous for"

2.0 Deverbal adjectives of other formations that are less closely related to the underlying verb are of lower frequency than those in *-ny*.

2.1 Derivatives in *-ły*, being originally perfect active participles, are in most cases formed from perfective univalent verbs; as they usually denote states, they do not occur with valential complements, e.g.: *poblądły* 'pale, faint', *spleśniały* 'mouldy', *posiwiałły* 'turned grey', *przeszły* 'past', etc. In rarer instances in which adjectives in *-ły* are derived from verbs other than univalent ones and do have valential complements, the semantic link between them and the verb in question is rather weak. The difference in meaning is accompanied by a clear difference in valency, so that their valency is in no way derivable from that of the verb, and the adjectives often show valency patterns common to other, not necessarily deverbal, adjectives which belong to the same semantic field, e.g.:

czuć Acc "to feel": *czuły na* + Acc "susceptible to" (cf. *wrażliwy na* + Acc "sensitive to") and *czuły dla/wobec* + Gen "tender to, towards" (cf. *tkliwy dla/wobec* + Gen "affectionate to, towards")

śmiać Inf "to dare": *śmiały wobec* + Gen "daring, courageous" (cf. *odważny wobec* + Gen "daring, courageous")

leżeć "to lie": *odległy od* + Gen "far from" (cf. *daleki od* + Gen "far from")

opis ... tak jest daleki od sedna sprawy W "The description is so far from the heart of the matter"

Note, however, a few exceptions in which the adjective in *-ły* shows the same valency-patterns as the verb, e.g.:

podlegać Dat "to be subordinated to": *podległy* Dat "subordinated to, subject to" *zdarzenia ... niepodległe statystyce* L "events ... (that are) not subject to statistics".

2.2 The derivational suffix *-alny* is fairly productive and carries a highly specialized function. Adjectives in *-alny*, derived exclusively from transitive verbs, denote capability or aptitude to be an object of an action, e.g. *jadalny* "edible", *widzialny* "visible", *policzalny* "countable".

When the underlying verb is capable of being complemented by some prepositional phrase in addition to the complement in the accusative, these prepositional phrases are maintained in the valency-model of the adjective, e.g.:

przetłumaczyć Acc *z* + Gen *na* + Acc "to translate sth. from ... into": *przetłumaczalny*
z + Gen *na* + Acc "translatable from ... into".

Otherwise the adjectives are uncomplemented.

Some adjectives in *-alny* denote suitability for being an instrument or an aid, rather than an object, of an action, e.g. (*mowa*) *powitalna* "greeting-address", (*spojrzenie*) *blagalne* "imploring glance", etc.

3.0 Other adjective formations are much rarer, and their function is less specific. Their connection to the underlying verbs, both in meaning and in valency-patterns, is rather unpredictable. They often share valency-patterns with underived adjectives of the same semantic field, especially when complemented by prepositional phrases with prepositions of clear spatial meaning.

3.1 Adjectives denoting "fitness" or "usefulness for sth." combine with complements in the form of a prepositional phrase *do* + Gen (of nouns of action or activity), e.g.:

nie przyjęto go jako niezdolnego do służby K "They rejected him as incapable of service"

Hała ... bardziej skora do ciepłego uśmiechu W "H... more prone to a warm smile
(= more readily smiling)"

to są fakty ... trudne do zrozumienia K "These are facts ... difficult to understand"

wyrok ... był łatwy do przewidzenia K "The verdict ... was easy to predict"

jest mu to konieczne do pełnienia ... obowiązków W "This is vital to him for doing his ...
duty"

And also: *gotowy* "ready", *zdatny* "fit", *chętny* "willing", *odpowiedni* "suitable", *właściwy* "proper", *możliwy* "possible" etc.

3.2. Adjectives denoting separation in the broadest sense can have as their complement a prepositional phrase *od* + Gen, e.g.:

Pozory ... nie takie znów dalekie od prawdy K "Appearances ... not that far from the truth"

nieodłączne od mentalności ... poczucie prawa własności "sense of ownership right ...
inseparable from the mentality"

And also: *odległy* "far", *różny* "different", *odwrotny* "opposite", *odmienny* "distinct", *inny* "different", *nierozdzielny* "inseparable, indissoluble", *pochodny* "derived, stemming from", *wolny* "free", etc.

3.3 Adjectives denoting "greed and sensitivity", i.e. "receptivity", are complemented by the prepositional phrase *na* + Acc, e.g.:

są równocześnie odporne i nieodporne na metabolizm tkankowy L "They are at the same time resistant and non-resistant to tissue-metabolism"

ja ... najmniej podatny na podobne trucizny K "I ... the least susceptible to such poisons"

obojętna na to, co się dookoła niej dzieje K "indifferent to what is happening around her"

stępiącej na bodźce wiary K "insensitive to the impulses of faith"

Also: *łasy* "keen", *chciwy* "greedy" *łakomy* "avid, greedy", *pazerny* "greedy", *czuły* "sensitive", *wrażliwy* "susceptible", *gotowy* "ready", *głuchy* "deaf to", etc.

3.4 Two groups of adjectives can be characterized as denoting "attitude". One group consists of adjectives complemented by the dative, usually of a "human" substantive, e.g.:

czy panu znany jest ten typ granatu? L "Is this type of grenade known to you?"

mam dane ..., które dostępne były Kardaszowi W "I have the data ... which were available to K."

pozostaniemy wierni honorowi żołnierza W "We shall remain faithful to the soldier's honour"

śledziłem ... rytmu, który ... nie był mi obojętny W "I was listening ... to the rhythm that ... was not unattractive to me (= to which I was not indifferent)"

piliśmy... dalecy sobie W "We were drinking.., far (= strange) to each other"

pociąg posłuszny rozkazom Regencji W "a train obedient to the commands of the Regency"

zdarzenia ... niepodległe statystyce L "events ... (that are) not subject to statistics"

może im jest to niezbędne K "Maybe it is indispensable to them"

jesteśmy ... przeciwni stosowaniu terroru K "We are ... opposed to the use of terror"

byli mi sympatyczni K "They were agreeable to me"

Also: *znajomy* "known", *rad* "glad", *chętny* "willing, well-disposed", *przynależny* "due", *bliski* "close", *obcy* "strange", *właściwy* "proper", *wdzięczny* "grateful", etc.

Adjectives of the other group are complemented by phrases with *dla*, *wobec*, *względem*, *w stosunku do* + Gen that are characteristic of adjective-valency and, *dla* excepted, are not found outside the valency models of adjectives. Their semantic field can be defined as one of "attitude", usually a specifically positive or negative one, e.g.:

był dość szczodry wobec obsługi L "He was rather generous to the staff"

jaki kamień, jakie imię właściwe są dla danego dnia W "Which stone, which name, is proper for a given day"

wynik procesu był korzystny dla nas K "The outcome of the trial was favourable to us"

był nieważny, nieistotny dla niej K "It was not important, not essential to her"

ustalenie stanu rzeczowego jest dla nas niestychanie ważne L "Establishing the factual state is extremely important to us"

byliśmy w stosunku do nich niełitościwi i okrutni K "We were merciless and cruel to them"

groźne są dla ustroju kapitalistycznego K "They are dangerous to the capitalistic regime"

był dla całej reszty ... surowy K "He was severe towards all the others"
jest to typowe dla drobnomieszczaństwa K "This is typical ... of the lower middle-class"
nasza reakcja była ... charakterystyczna dla stosunku starszej generacji K "Our reaction was ... characteristic of the attitude of the older generation"
pozostajemy bezradni wobec niebezpieczeństwa K "We remain helpless in face of the danger"

Also: *uprzejmy* "kind", *przyjazny* "friendly", *skąpy* "stingy", *dobry* "good", *zły* "bad", *grzeczny* "polite", *miły* "nice", *przykry* "unpleasant, nasty", *odpowiedni* "suitable", *stosowny* "proper", *szkodliwy* "harmful", *pożyteczny* "useful", *pomyślny* "favourable", etc. All adjectives in this group can be complemented by the phrase *dla* + Gen, some of them by this phrase only, e.g., *odpowiedni* "suitable", *charakterystyczny* "characteristic". Others can occur with one or another of the four, e.g., *uprzejmy* "kind" *dla/wobec/względem/w stosunku do*.

4. Adjectives complemented by the genitive form a small but distinct group. Although they do not all belong to one and the same semantic field, they have some common morphological and semantic features. When used predicatively they may, but need not, occur in a short form.¹⁰ Some of them do not occur without a complement, especially in the predicative function (whether or not the short form of the adjective is used), and when they do, their meaning may be quite different.¹¹

For the adjectives *ciekaw/ciekawy* "curious", *pewien/pewny* "certain", *godzien/godny* "worthy" there are some limitations on the uncomplemented occurrence:

Ciekaw/ciekawy when used without a complement, expresses the notion of "arousing interest", e.g.:

jeden ślad był ciekawy L "One trace was interesting".

In this sense, the longer form alone occurs, even in predicative function. In the full valency-model (with the genitive) the adjective, used either attributively (long form) or predicatively (both forms), means "curious about", "interested in", e.g.:

każdego był ciekaw W "He was interested in everyone".

For the adjective *pewien/pewny* "certain" (in both meanings of the English equivalent) the distribution of the short and long forms differs from that of other adjectives. The short *pewien* occurs in attributive function (without a complement) with indefinite meaning. This is a survival of the historical function of the short forms in conjunction with indetermined substantives vs. long forms with the determined ones. When the adjective occurs with a complement, its meaning is "certain, sure of", e.g.:

nie jest pewna wyniku K "She is not sure of the outcome"

Godzien/godny occurs normally with a genitive complement, both in attributive and predicative function, e.g.:

podjęliśmy temat godny dwu dorosłych K "We took up a subject worthy of two adults"

Nie okazałem się godny Marsa L "I proved not to be worthy of Mars"

Without a complement, the long form alone is attested and the meaning is slightly different, namely "dignified", "proud" or "eminent".

The adjective *świadom/świadomy* "conscious of", "aware of", in the predicative function

is always accompanied by a genitive complement (unless there is some kind of ellipsis), e.g.:
leżeliśmy ... świadomi trwającej młodości W "We were lying ... conscious of an ongoing youth".

Without a complement it is used in attributive function only, and then usually describing not a person, but rather a deed, e.g. *świadomy wybór* "a conscious, willful choice".

In the valency model of the adjectives *pełen/pełny* "full" and *winien/winny* "guilty" the genitive complement is optional; its occurrence is more frequent in the attributive than in the predicative function, e.g.:

Minęliśmy poczekalnie pełne pasażerów L "We passed waiting-rooms full of passengers"

winny zajścia policjant był na służbie L "The policeman guilty of the incident was on duty".

The adjective *wart* "worth" always has the short form since it is never used in attributive function (for which the longer form would have been proper). As for its valency, *wart* does not occur alone. When it is not complemented by a noun in the genitive, a quantitative adverbial of the type *wiele* "a lot", *mało* "little" is added to complete the information conveyed by the adjective, e.g.:

wojna ... nie jest warta życia nawet jednego człowieka K "War ... is not worth the life of even a single person".

5.0 A few smaller groups of adjectives may be mentioned that are characterized by their common semantic field and by their common valency-patterns. It should be noted that here, as elsewhere, where the complement of an adjective takes the form of a prepositional phrase, it is identical in form with the complements of verbs of similar meaning:

5.1 Adjectives of "caring" with the prepositional phrase *o* + Acc: *spokojny* "easy about", "calm about", *dbały* "caring about", *zazdrosny* "jealous of" (cf. the same form of complements of the verbs *troszczyć się*, *dbać*, etc.).

5.2. Adjectives denoting "skills" with the prepositional phrase *w* + Loc: *wprawny* "experienced in", "skillful in", *biegły* "proficient in", *mocny* "strong in", *dobry* "good in", *słaby* "weak in" (cf. the form of complements of the verbs *ćwiczyć się* "to practice", *doskonalić się* "to make progress in", etc.).

5.3 Adjectives denoting "accord" with the prepositional phrase *z* + Instr, most of them compounds comprising *współ-* "co-", *równo-* "equi-", *jedno-* "uni-", e.g.:

zbiór trafów ... wydaje się panu sprzeczny ze zdrowym rozsądkiem L "A set of coincidences ... seems to you inconsistent with common sense"

wieści okazały się zgodne z prawdą W "The news turned out to be consistent with the truth"

Nie miało to nic wspólnego ze skromnością L "It had nothing in common (= to do) with modesty"

równoległość ... nie jest równoznaczna z tożsamością tych pojęć W "The parallelism ...

is not equivalent to an identity of these notions"

Likewise: *równoległy* "parallel with", *jednoznaczny* "synonymous with" (without complement - "univocal"), *jednoczesny* "simultaneous with", *współczesny* "contemporaneous with", *równoważny* "equivalent to", *jednomyslny* "unanimous with" (cf. the complements of the verbs *zgodzić się* "to agree with", *pokrywać się* "to be in line with", etc.).

Some of these adjectives may be used without a complement when such complement is implied in the plural form of the adjective (and of the substantive with which the adjective agrees), e.g. *oni są zgodni* "they are in agreement", "they agree (with one another)".

5.4 Adjectives complemented by the prepositional phrase *z* + Gen which specifies the source of the quality denoted by the adjective, e.g.:

byłem ... dumny z tego dekretu W "I was ... proud of this decree"

Likewise: *wynikły* "resulting from", *sławny* "famous for", *słynny* "famous for", *znany* "known, renowned for", *rad* "glad of" (cf. the complements of the verbs *cieszyć się* "to be glad of", *pochodzić* "to stem from", etc.).

6. With various types of adjectives, a complement in the instrumental case occurs, which specifies the reference of the attribute by relating it to some part, usually inalienable, of the person (or object) denoted by the substantive, e.g.:

mocny ciałem "strong of body", "having a strong body", *wielki duchem* "of a great spirit", "having a great spirit", *daleki myślami* "having far-away thoughts", *odpowiedni rozmiarem* "having a suitable size", *odmiennypochodzeniem* "having a different origin"

7. With some adjectives several complements co-occur, one of them usually being in the dative, e.g.:

zwolennicy ... przed nikim nieodpowiedzialnych trybunałów K "supporters ... of courts of justice unanswerable to anyone"

czułeś się odpowiedzialny za kraj W "You felt responsible for the country"

Likewise: *wdzięczny* Dat *za* + Acc "grateful to sb. for sth.", *winny* Dat Acc "owing sth. to sb.", *potrzebny* Dat *do* + Gen "necessary to sb. for sth.", *nieodzowny* Dat *do* + Gen "indispensable to sb. for sth.", *przydatny* Dat *do* + Gen "useful to sb. for sth.", etc.

8. Certain adjectives are found in more than one valency model. In addition to the various constructions described above, some can be complemented by an infinitive or by a subordinate clause, e.g.:

Gotów jestem zapłacić każdą cenę K "I am ready to pay any price"

oskarżony nie jest zdolny stawić się przed sądem K "The defendant is unable to appear before the court"

skłonny był ... brać wszystko bardzo serio K "He was inclined to take everything very seriously"

nie powinien ¹² *pokazywać się na dworze* W "He shouldn't show himself at court"

Policja winna ... odpowiadać L "The police should ... be responsible"

wszyscy warci są aby żyć W "Everyone is worthy of living"

rad byłem, że czuję pas pod żebrami W "I was glad that I felt a belt under my ribs"

ja nie jestem winien, że byłem trochę w przodzie W "I am not guilty that I was somewhat ahead"

byłem tylko ciekaw, w jaki sposób go wyłowią L "I was only curious how they would catch him"

pewny byłby ..., że wiąże się z akcją L "He would have been certain ... that it was connected with the action"

Other adjectives occur with either a complement in the dative or with the prepositional phrase *do* + Gen, e.g.:

podobny był do dziecka W "He was like a child" and *jak krocie im podobnych* W "as hundreds similar to them",

teorie ... przeciwne do wyznawanych przez siebie K "theories ... the reverse of those held by them" and *tabu przeciwne naturze ludzkiej* K "a taboo opposed to human nature",

daleki do sedna sprawy W "far from the heart of the matter" and *dalecy sobie* W "far from one another".

9. As with verbs, it is possible to establish a distinction between complements and adverbials also for adjectives. While adjectival complements have a shape similar to that of verb-complements, the adverbials used in conjunction with adjectives are of a nature different from those joined with verbs. Most frequently found in this role are adverbs and adverbial phrases of degree, such as *bardzo* "very", *trochę* "a little", *mocno* "strongly", etc., e.g.:

był dość szczodry wobec obsługi L "He was rather generous towards the staff"

mniej groźne są dla ustroju kapitalistycznego K "They are less dangerous for the capitalistic regime"

związek zupełnie nieszkodliwy L "a compound absolutely harmless"

w ogólności zgodne z tym W "generally in agreement with this"

kępa drzew ... szmaragdowych aż do nieprawdopodobieństwa W "a cluster of trees ... emerald-green to improbability (= in an improbable way)".

The adverbial phrase *jak* + Nom "as" may occur with all types of adjectives in the positive degree, e.g.:

cień ... był lekki jak koronka W "The shadow ... was light as lace"

Analogously, with adjectives in the comparative degree are found the phrases *od* + Gen or *niż* + Nom "than", and with adjectives in the superlative degree - *z* + Gen_{pl} or *wśród* + Gen_{pl} - "of", "among", e.g.:

inni nie byli ... od niego lepsi K "Others were not ... better than he"

ich bliska zażyłość ... więcej warta niż moje dalekie kuzynostwo W "Their close intimacy ... is worth more than my remote cousinhood".

Most qualitative adjectives (but not, e.g., adjectives of possession or material) also admit other types of adverbials denoting the cause of the quality, e.g.:

biodra białawe od pływek L "hips whitish from the bathing-suit"

zółte od fajki wąsiska W "a moustache yellow from the pipe"

pachy śliskie od potu K "arm-pits slippery with sweat".

Unlike the valential complements, the adverbials are not specific to adjectives of a given class or semantic field. None of them excludes the occurrence of any other and more than one may occur simultaneously.

10. It is obvious that, as a rule, adjectives tend to have less valential complements than verbs, since basically they do not denote any actual activity but rather capability, inclination, tendency, etc. It is especially complements in the accusative case that are excluded from valency-patterns of adjectives.

In the case of deverbal adjectives, the more remote in meaning the adjective is from its underlying verb, the less its valency follows the pattern of the verb.

In general, for deverbal and other adjectives, there exists an evident correlation between valency and semantic field, especially clear with prepositional complements, where the sense of the preposition (as known from its other usages) helps to define the semantic field.

Notes

¹ See e.g., G. Helbig, *Zur Valenz verschiedener Wortklassen*, *Deutsch als Fremdsprache* 1976/3, p. 131-146; K.-E. Sommerfeldt & H. Schreiber, *Wörterbuch zur Valenz und Distribution deutscher Substantive*, Leipzig 1987; N. R. Wolf, *Einige Überlegungen zur substantivischen Valenz. Mit besonderem Blick auf nichtabgeleitete Substantive*, *Studia Linguistica et Philologica*, Festschrift Klaus Matzel, Heidelberg 1984, p. 409-416.

² H. Happ, *Grundfragen einer Dependenz-Grammatik des Lateinischen*, Göttingen 1976, p. 174.

³ Cf. the gradation of productivity in R. Grzegorzczkova et al., eds., *Gramatyka współczesnego języka polskiego - Morfologia*, Warszawa 1984, p. 415.

⁴ Strictly speaking, the substantive itself with which the adjective - whether attributive or predicative - is in agreement, is to be considered one of the adjective-actants. The various facets of this question are, however, still under consideration, cf. e.g. K. Junker, *Zur Valenz beim Adjektiv*, *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Ges.-Sprachw. R.*, XVIII (1969) 2, p. 291-292. We shall not (usually) refer in the present study to the substantive modified by an adjective in question, and shall discuss this matter of principle in the general framework of valency-theory, in a future article.

⁵ M. Szupryczyńska, *Opis składniowy polskiego przymiotnika*, Toruń 1980, p. 66-99.

⁶ D. Buttler, *Innowacje składniowe współczesnej polszczyzny*, Warszawa 1976, p. 58-60.

- ⁷ The suffix serves to derive various denominal adjectives, e.g., *kamień* : *kamienny* "made of stone", *dzień* ; *dzienny* "dayly" and others.
- ⁸ The following texts provided the data for our study:
 Piotr Wojciechowski, *Czaszka w czasie*, Warszawa 1974, henceforth - W;
 Andrzej Kuśniewicz, *Trzecie królestwo*, Warszawa 1975, henceforth - K;
 Stanisław Lem, *Katar*, Kraków 1976, henceforth - L.
 All three are novels written in what can be considered standard contemporary language, although the authors depict three different periods: Wojciechowski the unspecified past, Kuśniewicz the present, and Lem - science-fiction future. All three works have considerable portions of descriptive nature and make extensive use of various kinds of attributes, qualifications and epithets.
- ⁹ Genitive as a direct object of a negated verb.
- ¹⁰ The historical distinction between attributive and predicative adjectives, the former in 'long' - pronominal, the latter in 'short' - substantival declension, is no longer upheld in the Polish inflectional system. Only a handful of adjectives can still form (optionally) the predicative form. Outside the genitive-governing adjectives the distinction can be found in *wesoł/wesoły* "gay", *gotów/gotowy* "ready" and a few others.
- ¹¹ C.f. e.g. G. Helbig on German *ledig* "unmarried" vs. *ledig* + Gen "devoid of" in: Zu einigen Spezialproblemen der Valenz-Theorie, *Deutsch als Fremdsprache* 1971/5, p. 269.
- ¹² The adjectives *powinien* "should", and sometimes also *winien* "should", "owing", are capable of occurring with personal verb-endings (originally the endings of the copula *być*), e.g., *powinienem być czuć ulgę* I. "I should have felt relief". As a result they have both verbal characteristics (the verb-endings) and nominal ones (gender distinction).