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Anna Bondaruk
John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7718-2960

On the Existential Use of the Verb *Brakować* 'to Lack' in Polish

1. Introduction

The verb *brakować* 'to lack' in Polish may appear in two different syntactic structures associated with two different meanings that are closely related cross-linguistically (Błaszczak, 2007; Freeze, 1992; Myler, 2016, inter alia): possession and existence. These two structures are illustrated in (1) and (2) below, taken from the National Corpus of Polish (NKJP, n.d.):

(1)	Brakuje	mi	odwagi	(NKJP, n.d.)
	lack.PRES	me.DAT	courage.GEN[1]	
	'I lack courage.'			

[1] The following abbreviations have been used: ACC – accusative, DAT – dative, DOM – differential object marking, FUT – future, GEN – genitive, IMP – imperfective, INF – infinitive,

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(2) W kranach brakuje wody.[2] (NKJP, n.d.)
in tap.PL.LOC lack.PRES water.GEN
'There is no water in the taps. / There is not enough water in the taps.'

Example (1) has a possessive interpretation since it may be paraphrased as 'I don't have courage'. The possessor in (1) is marked for dative, and the possessee for genitive. Example (2), in turn, has an interpretation typical of negative existential clauses (Borschev & Partee, 2002, p. 124) as it denies the existence of something (viz. water) in a particular location (viz. in the taps), or it conveys the meaning of there being an insufficient amount of water in this location. In addition to the possessive and existential interpretations, the verb *brakować* 'to lack' may also function as a psychological predicate, meaning 'to miss', as in (3):

(3) Brakuje mi tu ciebie. (NKJP)
lack.PRES me.DAT here you.GEN
'I miss you here.'

In (3), the experiencer is marked for dative, and the theme appears in the genitive. The analogous case marking of arguments makes the structure in (3) similar to the one in (1). In (1)–(3), the verb *brakować* 'to lack' appears in the same (default) form, corresponding to 3rd-person singular neuter (cf. Grzegorczykowa, 1996, p. 60 and Nagórko, 1997, p. 185, who treat *brakować* 'to lack' as a defective verb, uninflected for person).[3]

The structure of the sentences associated with the possessive and psychological use of the verb *brakować* 'to lack' in Polish (as in (1) and (3)) has

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LOC – locative, MASC – masculine, NEU – neuter, NOM – nominative, NON-VIR – non-virile, PERF – perfective, PL – plural, PRES – present, REFL – reflexive, SG – singular.

[2] Once a dative DP is added to an existential clause like (2), its interpretation changes from existential to possessive, as in (i) below, thus (i) resembles (1), rather than (2) (cf. also footnote 10).

(i) W kranie brakuje mi wody.
in tap.SG.LOC lack.PRES me.DAT water.GEN
'I don't have enough water in the tap.'

[3] In the National Corpus of Polish, we may find examples like (i) below, in which the verb *brakować* 'to lack', with the possessive interpretation, agrees with the nominative subject in number.

(i) Do emerytury brakują mi trzy lata. (NKJP, n.d.)
to retirement lack.PL.PRES I.DAT three years.NOM
'I am three years away from retirement.'

been studied in Bondaruk and Prażmowska (in press). In this paper, we focus on the existential use of the verb *brakować* 'to lack', illustrated in (2) above, which has not been analysed in the literature so far. The main aim of the paper is to provide an analysis of the syntactic structure of existential sentences with the verb *brakować* 'to lack' within the Minimalist Program of Chomsky (2000, 2008). We will argue that existential clauses with *brakować* 'to lack' are semantically equivalent to negative existential sentences with *nie być* 'not to be'.[4] However, the syntactic structure of existential clauses with *brakować* 'to lack' is similar to that of affirmative existential *być* 'to be' clauses. This is because, in contradistinction to syntactically negative *nie być* 'not to be' clauses, which license the genitive of negation, the verb *brakować* 'to lack' is only lexically negative, and the genitive on the DP whose existence is denied is not the genitive of negation but intensionality (Kagan, 2013; Partee, 2006). We will also show that *brakować* 'to lack', which is an unaccusative verb, resembles other existential unaccusatives like *przybyć* 'to arrive/to appear' and *ubyć* 'to disappear', which nonetheless do not license the genitive of intentionality but co-occur with a partitive genitive. In this paper, existential clauses are treated as monadic predicates that take a small clause complement, as in Moro (1997), McCloskey (2014), and Irwin (2018), inter alia. The analysis offered here bears on the structure of existential clauses in general, particularly on the structure of existential unaccusatives.

The paper consists of five sections. In Section 2, we compare existential clauses with *brakować* 'to lack' with canonical existential clauses with być 'to be'. The focus is on the nature of the genitive case of the DP that is found in existential clauses with *brakować* 'to lack', and in negative existential clauses with *nie być* 'not to be'. In Section 3, existential clauses with *brakować* 'to lack' are compared with structures containing existential unaccusative verbs in Polish, including *przybyć* 'to arrive/to appear', *ubyć* 'to disappear' (cf. Bondaruk, 2023), and *potrzeba* 'to need'. In Section 4, a syntactic analysis of existential clauses with *brakować* 'to lack' is presented, couched in the Minimalist Program of Chomsky (2000, 2008). Finally, Section 5 concludes the paper.

[4] The infinitive form of the negative existential verb, viz. *nie być* 'not to be', is realised morphologically in the present tense as *nie ma* lit. 'not have' (cf. (8) below), in the past as *nie było* 'not was', and in the future as *nie będzie* 'will not be'.

2. Existential sentences with *brakować* 'to lack' vs. *być* 'to be'-existential clauses

The verb *to lack* in English is a transitive stative predicate, as can be seen in (4) below, taken from the British National Corpus (BNC, n.d.):

(4) They lack proper food and shelter. (BNC, n.d.)

In (4), *to lack* has a possessive meaning, analogous to *not to have*, and it can never be used in existential clauses.[5] Cross-linguistically, however, verbs corresponding to the English *lack* may occur not only in possessive structures like (4), but also in existential clauses. This is the case, for instance, in Hebrew (Halevy, 2016) and Spanish (Fernández-Soriano, 1999; Ojea, 2020), as illustrated in (5) and (6), respectively.

(5) raq 'et ha-ma'amar-im xaser 'adayin Hebrew
only DOM the-articles lack.PRES.SG.MASC still
'Only the articles are still missing' (Halevy, 2016, p. 43)

(6) En el escaparate falta el vestido rojo. Spanish
in the shop-window lack.PRES.3SG the dress red
'The red dress is missing in the shop window.' (Ojea, 2020, p. 149)

The Spanish example in (6) closely resembles the Polish example in (2), as they both contain a locative PP and a DP.[6] In the Hebrew example in (5), the location is implicit, not realised overtly.

Canonical existential clauses in Polish contain the verb być 'to be', co-occurring with the LOC(ation) and the THING (the terms taken from Borschev & Partee, 2002), as illustrated in (7):

(7) W kranach jest woda.
in tap.PL.LOC is water.NOM
'There is water in the taps.'

Existential sentences assert the existence of the THING described by the subject DP in a given LOC(ation) (Borschev & Partee, 2002, p. 124);

[5] Despite being transitive, neither *to lack* nor *to have* can form verbal passives in English due to their stativity.

[6] We use the label DP to refer to any nominal expression without attaching any theoretical significance to it.

for instance, sentence (7) asserts the existence of water in the taps. Borschev and Partee (2002) and Partee and Borschev (2004) emphasise that existence is always relative to LOC(ation). Consequently, even if the LOC(ation) is not explicitly stated, it is implied, as in (5) above.

The verb *brakować* 'to lack' is lexically negative,[7] therefore the meaning of existential clauses with this verb like (2) above, repeated for convenience below, does not correspond to the meaning of affirmative existential sentences like (7) above, but rather to that of negative existential clauses (NES) like (8) below:

(2) W kranach brakuje wody. (NKJP, n.d.)
in tap.PL.LOC lack.PRES water.GEN
'There is no water in the taps. / There is not enough water in the taps.'

(8) W kranach nie ma wody.
in tap.PL.LOC not have water.GEN
'There is no water in the taps.'

NESs assert or implicate the non-existence of the thing(s) described by the DP in a given location (Borschev & Partee, 2002, p. 112). Both (2) and (8) assert the non-existence of the DP wody 'water' in the LOC(ation), such as the taps, and hence may be treated as NESs. Sentence (8) contains *nie ma* lit. 'not to have', which is the negative form of the existential *być* 'to be' in the present tense (cf. ftn. 4).[8]

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[7] *Brakować* 'to lack' is marked for imperfective aspect and it is stative. The perfective form *zabraknąć* 'to lack.PERF' is dynamic and may also be found in existential clauses, as in (i), although it is restricted to past and future tenses:

(i) W kranach zabrakło /zabraknie wody.
in taps.LOC lack.PAST.PERF lack.FUT.PERF water.GEN
'There came/will come to be no water in the taps.'

There is also an improper verb *brak* 'to lack' (cf. Saloni & Świdziński, 1998, p. 97), which is identical with the noun *brak* 'a lack', but it may appear with markers of tense and mood, as in (ii), which is also an instance of an existential clause:

(ii) W kranach brak było wody.
in taps.LOC lack be.PAST water.GEN
'There was no water in the taps.'

[8] The locative *być* 'to be' is different from the existential *być* 'to be' in that it has a regular negative form in the present tense, viz. *nie jest* 'not is', as shown in (i) below, and it does not trigger the genitive of negation (cf. the text below (11)):

(i) Janek nie jest w domu.
John.NOM not is.PRES at home
'John is not at home.'

The NESs in (2) and (8) exhibit the core properties of existential sentences, viz. they contain the postverbal DP, called the pivot, and the locative PP, which serves as a coda (Francez, 2007; Irwin, 2012, 2018; Mikkelsen, 2011). Polish existential clauses (like their Hebrew and Spanish counterparts, cf. (5) and (6)) lack an expletive subject, which is present in English existential clauses with the verb *to be*, as in (9) below:

(9) There is a man in the garden.

The schematic structure of NESs in (2) and (8) thus looks as in (10):

(10) a. [W kranach]$_{coda}$ brakuje [wody]$_{pivot}$.
b. [W kranach]$_{coda}$ nie ma [wody]$_{pivot}$.

In both types of NES in (10a) and (10b) with *brakować* 'to lack' and *być* 'to be' *być* 'to be', we have the pivot realised as a genitive case-marked DP, and the coda in the form of a locative PP. The coda in (10a)–(10b), and in existential sentences in general, is not obligatory and may be omitted. As noted in Błaszczak (2007), the implicit LOC(ation) is then "interpreted existentially in the sense of *somewhere* or generically in the sense of *in the world/in the universe*" (chapter 2, p. 76), and thus bare existentials, viz. existential clauses without a locative PP, just assert the existence of an entity in the world. In Section 4, following Francez (2007), we will treat the coda realised as a locative PP syntactically as an adjunct and semantically as a modifier specifying the content of the implicit LOC(ation) argument (contra Błaszczak, 2018, who treats the locative PP in sentences like (10b) as an external argument of the existential verb być 'to be').

Let us now turn to the genitive pivot in NESs with *brakować* 'to lack' and *być* 'to be', as in (10a) and (10b), in order to determine whether the genitive in both cases is of the same type. In the two above-mentioned types of NES, the genitive on the pivot is structural, not lexical, because the genitive DP may be replaced with the phrase modified by *dużo* 'a lot', which is only admissible in structural case positions (Przepiórkowski, 1999, pp. 112–114). This is illustrated in (11):

(11) W kranach brakuje /nie ma dużo wody.
in taps.LOC lack.PRES not have a lot water.GEN
'In the taps there is hardly any water.'

For the diachronic analysis of the form *nie ma*, cf. Błaszczak (2007, chapter 2)

However, the structural genitive case in NESs with *brakować* 'to lack' and *być* 'to be' is licensed in two different ways. The genitive found in NESs with *być* 'to be' regularly alternates with the nominative in affirmative existential clauses, as can be seen by comparing (8) with (7), and it is called the genitive of negation. The genitive of negation is a process whereby the accusative direct object of a transitive verb shifts into the genitive under negation. The genitive of negation also applies to the nominative subject of existential *być* 'to be' clauses, turning it into a genitive under clausal negation (Blaszczak, 2007, 2018; Witkoś, 1998, 2020).[9] The genitive/nominative alternation is not attested in existential clauses with *brakować* 'to lack',[10] as in (12) below, and the genitive on the pivot DP remains unaffected by clausal negation, as in (13) (cf. (2) above):

(12) W kranach brakuje *woda /wody.
in tap.PL.LOC lack.PRES water.NOM water.GEN
'There is no water in the taps.'

(13) W kranach nie brakuje wody.
in tap.PL.LOC not lack.PRES water.GEN
'No water is missing in the taps.'

Thus, the genitive on the pivot DP in *brakować* 'to lack' existential clauses cannot be classed as the genitive of negation. It does not represent partitive genitive, either, because the genitive phrase in existential clauses with *brakować* 'to lack' is not restricted to homogenous objects, viz. plural or mass nouns, as is the case with the partitive genitive (cf. (23) in Section 3), but it may be a singular or a proper noun, as in (14):

[9] The existential *być* 'to be' is the only verb of existence whose DP argument is affected by the genitive of negation. Sentences with other verbs of existence, like *istnieć* 'to exist', are immune to the genitive of negation, as demonstrated in (i):

(i) Istnieje /Nie istnieje lepszy świat /*lepszego świata.
exist.PRES /not exist.PRES better world.NOM better world.GEN
'There exists a better world./There does not exist a better world.'

[10] The genitive alternates with the nominative, to a limited degree, in possessive clauses with *brakować* 'to lack', cf. (i) from footnote 3 with the example below:

(i) Do emerytury brakuje mi trzech lat.
to retirement lack.PRES I.DAT three years.GEN
'I am three years away from retirement.'

(14) W firmie brakuje kierownika /Marka.
in firm.LOC lack.PRES manager.GEN /Mark.GEN
'In the company there is no manager/Mark.'

Following Partee (2006, p. 2), who treats English verbs such as *seek*, *owe*, *need*, *lack*, *prevent*, *resemble*, *want*, *request* and *demand* as intentional predicates, we would like to suggest that *brakować* 'to lack' in Polish, like its English counterpart, is an intentional verb. The intentional reading of the verb *brakować* 'to lack' is manifested in (14) with the pivot *kierownika* 'manager', which may mean that a certain manager is missing or that any manager is missing. Intentional verbs are associated with an intentional operator of a non-veridical type (Partee, 2006), which licenses the genitive of intentionality on the complement of an intentional verb (for details, cf. Section 4).[11] Although negative clauses also contain a non-veridical operator, they are not intentional (Partee, 2006, p. 4). Consequently, the genitive of negation and the genitive of intentionality must be kept separate, even though they show semantic affinity in signalling the lack of existential commitment (cf. Kagan (2013), who unifies the genitive of negation and the genitive of intentionality in Russian under the label of the so-called Irrealis Genitive).

Summing up, *brakować* 'to lack' existential clauses are semantically equivalent to NESs with *nie być* 'not to be'. However, the two types of NES are syntactically different. The verb *brakować* 'to lack' is only lexically negative, and the genitive on the pivot DP of the existential clause containing this verb cannot be treated as the genitive of negation. In turn, *nie być* 'not to be' existential clauses exhibit clausal negation, which licenses the genitive of negation on the pivot DP. Since *brakować* 'to lack' is an intentional verb, the intentional operator associated with this verb licenses the genitive of intentionality on the pivot of this type of existential clause.

[11] The lexically negative verb *brakować* 'to lack' cannot license Negative Polarity Items, such as *niczego* 'nothing' in (i) below unless it is negated:

(i) W artykule *(nie) brakuje niczego.
in paper.LOC not lack.PRES nothing.GEN
'There is nothing lacking in the paper.'

However, it can license *k*-pronouns, such as *jakikolwiek* 'any' (Błaszczak, 2003), as in (ii) below, which are licensed by non-veridical operators, not by clausal negation:

(ii) W artykule brakuje jakiegokolwiek sensu.
in paper.LOC lack.PRES any sense.GEN
'This paper lacks any sense.'

3. Existential verb brakować 'to lack' vs. existential unaccusatives

The verb *brakować* 'to lack' is sensitive to one of the unaccusativity diagnostics, based on distributive *po*-PPs. Distributive *po*-PPs are felicitous with objects of transitive verbs. They can also occur with unaccusative verbs, as in (15), but they are illicit with unergative verbs, as in (16).

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

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

When the distributive *po*-PP test is applied to *brakować* 'to lack', it yields a grammatical result, as shown in (17):

(17) W każdym koszyku brakuje po jabłku.
in each basket.LOC lack.PRES po apple.LOC
'In each basket an apple is missing.'

The grammaticality of (17) indicates that *brakować* 'to lack' behaves like an unaccusative verb with respect to distributive *po*-PPs.[12] Sentence (17) also shows that the *po*-PP that is used in place of the genitive DP functions as an internal, not an external, argument. The internal argument status of the genitive

[12] Other unaccusativity tests do not work for *brakować* 'to lack' for independent reasons. *Brakować* 'to lack' is atelic, therefore it cannot form *-ł-* adjectives, in a way typical of telic unaccusative verbs, e.g., *przybyły* 'arrived' (Cetnarowska, 2000). *-ł-* adjectives are resultative and can only be formed of telic unaccusative verbs, since telicity implies a result state (for similar restrictions holding for Dutch past participles, cf. Zaenen, 1993). *Brakować* 'to lack' cannot appear in *-no*/*-to* impersonals, as shown in (i):

(i) *W domu brakowano.
at home.LOC lack-*no*.PAST.IMP
'One was missing at home.'

Unaccusative verbs in imperfective aspect can form *-no*/*-to* impersonals with an iterative/habitual interpretation if they can be interpreted as having an implicit sentient external argument (Rozwadowska, 1992). In (i), the missing argument is not external (cf. the text under (17) and (18)), and it is not restricted to sentient entities, which accounts for its ungrammaticality.

DP gets additional support from the fact that it cannot bind subject-oriented anaphors, as shown in (18), where the genitive DP can only be co-referential with the possessive pronoun *jego*, but not with the subject-oriented possessive anaphor *swoim* 'self's':

(18) Marka$_i$ brakuje w *swoim$_i$ /jego$_i$ domu.
Mark.GEN lack.PRES in self's his home.LOC
'Mark is absent in his home.'

The internal argument status of the genitive DP in *brakować* 'to lack' existential clauses conforms with the Existence Linking Rule of Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995, p. 153), reproduced in (19) below:

(19) Existence Linking Rule
The argument of a verb whose existence is asserted or derived is its direct internal argument.

Irwin (2012, 2018) takes the term 'unaccusative' to refer to those structural configurations that lack an external argument and have a VP-internal argument with structural case. The verb *brakować* 'to lack' in its existential use behaves like an unaccusative verb because it has no external argument (the locative PP is an adjunct, cf. Sections 2 and 4), and its sole argument – the genitive DP – acts as an internal argument (cf. (17)–(18)) with structural case (cf. (11)). Likewise, the existential *być* 'to be' represents an unaccusative verb (cf. Błaszczak, 2007, chapter 2, for unaccusativity tests applied to the existential *być* 'to be').[13] In Polish, like in English, there are several existential unaccusative verbs, including *przybyć* 'to arrive/appear' and *ubyć* 'to disappear' (Bondaruk, 2023). These two verbs resemble *brakować* 'to lack' in that they may appear in existential clauses with a locative PP and a genitive DP, as illustrated in (20):

(20) W kranach przybyło /ubyło wody.
in taps.LOC appear.PAST /disappear.PAST water.GEN
'In the taps there was more/less water.'

[13] However, Błaszczak's (2007) understanding of the unaccusativity of the existential *być* 'to be' is different from that of Irwin (2012, 2018). For Błaszczak, the existential *być* 'to be' is unaccusative because it does not assign accusative to its internal argument, not because it lacks an external argument.

There are, however, two differences between *brakować* 'to lack' on the one hand and *przybyć* 'to arrive/to appear' and *ubyć* 'to disappear', on the other. The first concerns the fact that the latter, in contradistinction to the former, may co-occur with the nominative DP when accompanied by a directional DP, as in (21):

(21) Na konkurs /z konkursu przybyły
to competition.ACC from competition.GEN arrived.3PL.NON-VIR
/ubyły tłumy.
disappeared.3PL.NON-VIR crowds.NOM
'Crowds appeared/disappeared at/from the competition.'

The nominative DP in (21) does not turn into a genitive under clausal negation, as shown in (22):

(22) Na konkurs /z konkursu nie przybyły
to competition.ACC from competition.GEN not arrived.3PL.NON-VIR
/ubyły tłumy.
disappeared.3PL.NON-VIR crowds.NOM
'Crowds didn't appear/disappear at/from the competition.'

Consequently, the verbs *przybyć* 'to arrive/to appear' and *ubyć* 'to disappear' behave in a way typical of unaccusatives in Polish, whose surface subject is not affected by the genitive of negation, except for the existential unaccusative verb *być* 'to be' (cf. Section 2 and footnote 10). Another difference between *przybyć* 'to arrive/to appear'/*ubyć* 'to disappear' and *brakować* 'to lack' lies in the type of the genitive they co-occur with. Whereas *brakować* 'to lack' licenses the genitive of intentionality on the pivot DP (cf. (14) above), *przybyć* 'to arrive/to appear' and *ubyć* 'to disappear' require their pivots to represent homogenous objects, hence they must be marked for partitive genitive, as illustrated in (23):

(23) W firmie przybywa /ubywa pracowników /pracy
in firm.LOC arrive.PRES disappear.PRES employees.GEN work.GEN
/*kierownika /*Marka.
manager.GEN Mark.GEN
'In the company there are more/less employees/ there is more/less work/*manager/*Mark.'

Example (23) is only grammatical with a plural or mass noun, but not with a singular or proper noun, which indicates that the pivot DP with *przybyć* 'to arrive/to appear' and *ubyć* 'to disappear' is associated with partitive genitive.

Another unaccusative verb which may appear in existential clauses and which, like *brakować* 'to lack', is intentional is *potrzeba* 'to need', exemplified in (24):

(24) W firmie potrzeba było kierownika /Marka.
in firm.LOC need be.PAST manager.GEN Mark.GEN
'In the company there is a need for a manager/Mark.'

The verb *potrzeba* 'to need' in (24) resembles the noun *potrzeba* 'a need', and it is treated as an improper verb by Saloni and Świdziński (1998, p. 97) because it may appear with markers of tense, such as *było* 'was' in (24) and mood (cf. also footnote 7). The verb *potrzeba* 'to need', as in (24), behaves on a par with *brakować* 'to lack', as in (14), since it licenses the genitive of intentionality on the pivot DP. The genitive on the pivot of *potrzeba* 'to need' existential clauses does not alternate with the nominative, which again makes it similar to *brakować* 'to lack'.

To sum up, *brakować* 'to lack' is an unaccusative verb, and in a way typical of many unaccusatives, including *być* 'to be', it may appear in existential clauses. However, in contradistinction to existential unaccusatives like *przybywać* 'to arrive/to appear' and *ubywać* 'to disappear', it does not allow the genitive on the pivot DP to alternate with the nominative. In this respect, *brakować* 'to lack' behaves like *potrzeba* 'to need'. These two verbs also license the same type of genitive – that of intentionality – which is different from partitive genitive, found in existential clauses with *przybywać* 'to arrive/to appear' and *ubywać* 'to disappear'.

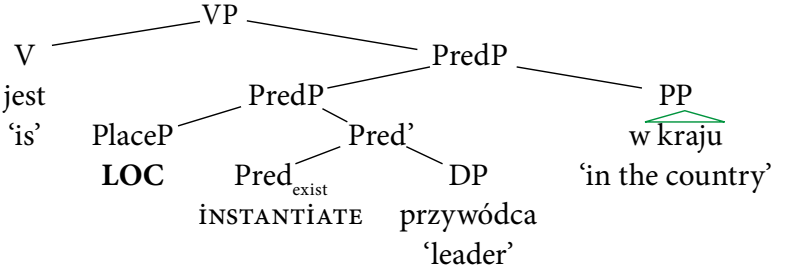
4. A syntactic analysis of existential clauses with *brakować* 'to lack'

Following Moro (1997), McCloskey (2014) and Irwin (2012, 2018), among others, we adopt the monadic approach to existential clauses, in which an existential verb takes a small clause complement (for arguments against the dyadic approach to Polish existentials, put forward by Błaszczak (2007, 2018), cf. Bondaruk, 2023). The small clause corresponds to PredP (Bowers, 1993;

Hazout, 2004; Williams, 1994), whose head is a dedicated existential predicate $\text{Pred}_{\text{exist}}$. The structure of *być* 'to be' existential clauses like (25a) is depicted in (25b) (modelled on Irwin, 2018, p. 3):

(25) a. W kraju jest przywódca.
in country.LOC is leader.NOM
'There is a leader in the country.'

b.



In (25b), the existential predicate $\text{Pred}_{\text{exist}}$ corresponds to INSTANTIATE of McNally (1992, 1997), and it asserts the existence of some set or property (expressed by the pivot DP) at a given spatio-temporal location (LOC). The denotation of $\text{Pred}_{\text{exist}}$ is provided in (26), reproduced after Irwin (2018, p. 16):

(26) $[[\text{Pred}_{\text{exist}}]] = \lambda P\, \lambda LOC\, \lambda e\, [\text{INSTANTIATE}\, (\hat{}\lambda x\, [\, P(x)\, \&\, LOC\, (x,e)])]$

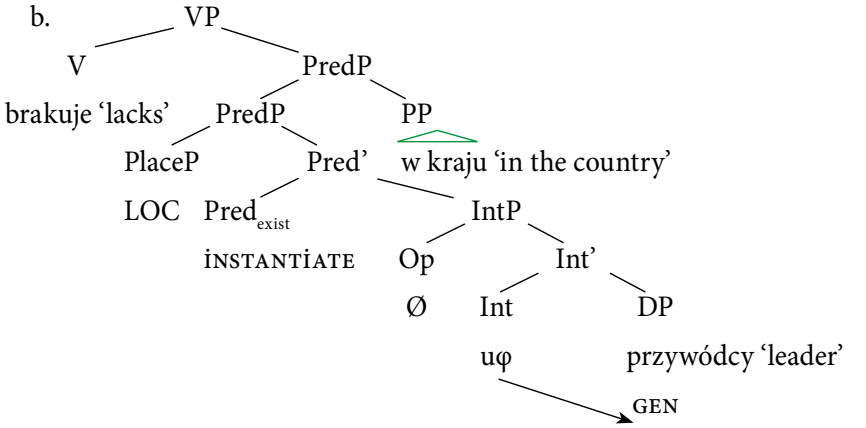
In (26), e stands for an event variable that has an effect that the entity instantiated is in the state of being at the contextually determined location (LOC). In (25b), the specifier of PredP is filled by a PlaceP (LOC in Partee and Borshev's (2004) terminology, cf. Section 2), which is implicit and contextually determined (Francez, 2007).[14] The coda PP *w kraju* 'in the country' in (25b) acts as an adjunct attached to PredP (Myler, 2016), which contextually determines the interpretation of the LOC argument. The pivot DP serves as the complement of the Pred head and is semantically of property type.

Having presented the structure of *być* 'to be' existential clauses, let us now turn to *brakować* 'to lack' existential clauses like (27a), whose structure is provided in (27b):

[14] Irwin (2018) specifies that LOC may be viewed as an implicit pronoun such as *here*, or it may correspond to the expletive *there* in English (for an explicit semantic analysis of LOC, cf. Francez, 2007).

(27) a. W kraju brakuje przywódcy. (NKJP, n.d.)
in country.LOC lack.PRES leader.GEN
'There is no leader in the country.'

b.

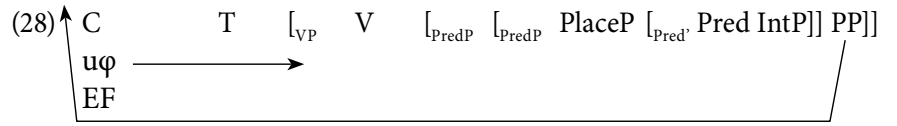


The structure in (27b) is similar to the one in (26b), except for the complement of Pred, which in the latter is realised as a DP, while in the former it corresponds to an Intentional Phase (IntP). As noted in Section 2, *brakować* 'to lack' is an intentional predicate which assigns the genitive of intentionality to its complement (cf. (14) above). We would like to suggest that the genitive of intentionality in *brakować* 'to lack' existential clauses like (27a), and in other intentional contexts, is assigned by the Int head, whose specifier is filled by a phonologically null non-veridical operator (Op). The Int head has unvalued φ-features and the genitive case feature. It probes its c-command domain, and it enters into Agree (Chomsky, 2000) with the DP, equipped with valued φ-features and an unvalued case feature. As a result of this Agree operation, the unvalued φ-features of Int get valued as 3rd-singular masculine, and the case feature of the DP is valued as genitive. The analysis of the genitive of intentionality just presented is similar to the analysis of the genitive of negation, which is dependent on the presence of a negative (non-veridical) operator in Spec, NegP.[15] The meaning of the existential sentence in (27a) is different from the one in (25a) on account of the fact that *brakować* 'to lack' is lexically negative. Consequently, whereas (25b) asserts the existence of some property in a certain location, (27b) denies the existence of a property (expressed by the genitive DP) in a partic-

[15] We cannot dwell on the way the genitive of negation is assigned in NES with *nie być* 'not to be' due to space limitations. One possible analysis of such structures may be found in Witkoś (2020) (cf. also Bondaruk, 2023).

ular location (LOC). This way, existential clauses with *brakować* 'to lack' like (27b) are syntactically similar to affirmative existential clauses with *być* 'to be' like (25b), although semantically they pattern with *nie być* 'not to be' existentials.

We still need to account for the fact that *brakować* 'to lack' existential clauses (like their *być* 'to be' counterparts) have an unmarked PP-initial word order (cf. (27a) and (25a)). This word order may be associated with two distinct interpretations: (i) the existential sentence may provide information about a certain location, or (ii) it may be a thetic statement which simply asserts that a certain state of affairs takes place in a particular location (Błaszczak, 2018; Ojea, 2020, p. 145). In the former interpretation, the PP serves as a topic, which moves to Spec, CP (Błaszczak, 2018). In the latter, the PP specifies the location of the state of affairs and fills Spec, TP (Ojea, 2020). Let us provide the derivations for the two scenarios described above within Chomsky's (2008) Feature Inheritance model. Chomsky (2008) argues that C, a phase head, is associated with both φ-features and the Edge Feature (EF), and in the course of feature inheritance it transfers both these features onto T. Here we follow Błaszczak (2007), Citko et al. (2018), and Bondaruk (2020), and we adopt the Split Feature Inheritance, in which C may transfer just one, not both, of its features to T. The Split Feature Inheritance takes place in the first scenario, viz. when the PP functions as a topic. In this case, C only transfers to T its φ-features, but not its EF. Then T and C probe in parallel. T cannot find any goal to enter into Agree with, as the DP is inactive after its case feature has been valued genitive by Int (cf. (27b)). Consequently, the φ-features of T are valued by default as 3rd-person singular neuter. C with an EF attracts the closest goal to its specifier. The closest goal is PlaceP, which nonetheless is implicit. Consequently, C targets the locative PP, which is equidistant to C.[16] This derivation is schematised in (28):



[16] Equidistance is defined as in (i):

(i) If α and β are in the same minimal domain, they are equidistant to γ. (Chomsky, 1995, p. 184).

The minimal domain of a head H is the set of terms immediately contained in projections of H (cf. Chomsky, 1995, p. 178).

In (27b), both PlaceP and the adjunct PP are immediately contained in the projection of Pred, hence they belong to the same minimal domain and are therefore equidistant to C.

In the second scenario, (27a) with a thetic interpretation states the existence of a certain situation in the present, viz. the lack of a leader in the country. This time, the derivation proceeds in a different way. T inherits from C both φ-features and the EF. Consequently, C is not a probe anymore. Just like in (28) above, T cannot have its φ-features valued by an inactive DP, so its φ-features are valued by default as 3rd-person singular neuter. Following Błaszczak (2007, p. 667), we assume that in thetic statements the situation variable of the verb functions as a topic. Being a topic, the verb moves to T, deleting the EF of T (for a similar claim, cf. Zybatow and Junghanns (1998), who assume that in Russian thetic statements T has an abstract Topic feature that triggers verb movement to T, whereby making the situation time a topic of the sentence).[17] In addition to the verb movement to T, the PP *w kraju* 'in the country' is preposed and adjoined to TP (cf. Błaszczak, 2007, p. 669), as illustrated in (29). The PP is then interpreted as providing a restriction for the situation variable of the V+T complex. Note that the adjunct PP cannot land in Spec, TP, as this would result in an improper movement, viz. movement from an A'-position to an A-position.

(29) C $[_{TP}$ $[_{TP}$ T $[_{VP}$ V $[_{PredP}$ $[_{PredP}$ PlaceP $[_{Pred'}$ Pred IntP]] PP]]

uφ ⟶

EF ⟶

5. Conclusions

This paper has offered an analysis of existential clauses with *brakować* 'to lack' in Polish. We have argued that these clauses are semantically equivalent to NESs with *nie być* 'not to be' on account of the fact that *brakować* 'to lack' is lexically negative. Being lexically negative, *brakować* 'to lack' does not assign the genitive of negation to the pivot DP, in contradistinction to the syntactically negative *nie być* 'not be', which licenses the genitive of negation on the pivot DP in existential clauses. Since *brakować* 'to lack' is an intentional predicate, it licenses the genitive of intentionality on the pivot DP. The verb *brakować* 'to lack' has been treated as a monadic unaccusative verb, with the sole argu-

[17] Błaszczak (2007) specifies that the unvalued tense feature of V is valued by the interpretable valued tense feature of T in the course of Agree (Chomsky, 2000), and subsequently V moves to T, whereby it eliminates the EF of T.

ment realised as a PredP, whose head is a dedicated $\text{Pred}_{\text{exist}}$ corresponding to INSTANTIATE (McNally, 1992, 1997). The structure of existential *brakować* 'to lack' clauses resembles the structure of affirmative *być* 'to be' existential clauses, except that the complement of Pred in the former is an IntP that is responsible for assigning the genitive of intentionality to the pivot DP, while in the latter it is just a DP.

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Egzystencjalne użycie czasownika *brakować* w języku polskim

W artykule analizowane są zdania egzystencjalne z czasownikiem *brakować* w języku polskim. Przedstawione są argumenty za tym, że zdania te semantycznie odpowiadają przeczącym zdaniom egzystencjalnym z *być*, co wynika z faktu, że *brakować* jest przeczące w warstwie leksykalnej. Mimo tego, że *brakować* występuje z DP w dopełniaczu, nie licencjonuje ono dopełniacza negacji, tylko dopełniacz intencjonalności. Struktura zdań egzystencjalnych z *brakować* różni się od struktury przeczących zdań egzystencjalnych z *być*, a przypomina strukturę twierdzących zdań egzystencjalnych z *być*. Zarówno *być*, jak i *brakować* są traktowane jako predykaty jednoargumentowe, których jednym argumentem jest struktura predykatywna PredP. Różnią się od siebie jedynie typem dopełnienia Pred, które odpowiada DP w zdaniach

egzystencjalnych z *być* oraz frazie intencjonalności w zdaniach egzystencjalnych z *brakować*, odpowiedzialnej za przypisywanie dopełniacza.

Słowa kluczowe: zdania egzystencjalne przeczące; zdania egzystencjalne twierdzące; dopełniacz intencjonalności; czasowniki nieakuzatywne; struktura predykatywna; dopełniacz negacji

On the existential use of the verb *brakować* 'to lack' in Polish

This paper examines existential sentences with the verb *brakować* 'to lack' in Polish. We argue that these clauses are semantically equivalent to negative existential clauses with *być* 'to be', which follows from the fact that *brakować* 'to lack' is lexically negative. Despite the fact that *brakować* 'to lack' appears with a genitive DP, it licenses not the genitive of negation but the genitive of intentionality. The structure of existential clauses with *brakować* 'to lack' differs from that of negative existential clauses with *być* 'to be' but resembles the structure of affirmative *być* 'to be' existential clauses. Both *być* 'to be' and *brakować* 'to lack' are treated as monadic predicates whose sole argument is a small clause, represented as PredP. They only differ in the type of complement the Pred head takes: a DP in *być* 'to be' existential clauses, and an Intentional Phrase in *brakować* 'to lack' existential sentences that is responsible for assigning genitive.

Keywords: negative existential clauses; affirmative existential clauses; genitive of intentionality; unaccusative verbs; small clause; genitive of negation

Anna Bondaruk (bondaruk@kul.pl) – profesor językoznawstwa na Katolickim Uniwersytecie Lubelskim Jana Pawła II; kierownik Katedry Językoznawstwa Teoretycznego. Specjalizuje się w składni generatywnej i wykorzystuje model teoretyczny o nazwie Program Minimalistyczny, zaproponowany przez Noama Chomsky'ego. Autorka trzech książek: *Comparison in English and Polish Adjectives: A Syntactic Study* (1998), *PRO and Control in English, Irish and Polish – A Minimalist Analysis* (2004), *Copular Clauses in English and Polish: Structure, Derivation and Interpretation* (2013). Zainteresowania badawcze: składnia języka angielskiego, polskiego i irlandzkiego.

Anna Bondaruk (bondaruk@kul.pl) – professor of linguistics at the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin; Head of the Department of Theoretical Linguistics. She specialises in generative syntax and adopts the theoretical

model of Noam Chomsky called the Minimalist Program. Author of three books: *Comparison in English and Polish Adjectives: A Syntactic Study* (1998), *PRO and Control in English, Irish and Polish – A Minimalist Analysis* (2004), *Copular Clauses in English and Polish: Structure, Derivation and Interpretation* (2013). Research interests: the syntax of English, Polish and Irish.

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