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Complex verbo-nominal predicates in the light of prototype approaches to categorization

Abstract
The article is an attempt to analyse complex predicates (henceforth VNAs) from the point of view of the prototype theory and the concept of family resemblance (prototype, polycentric and gradable categories). The focus is on the lexical-grammatical status of constructions of the type *robić pranie* 'to do the washing', *ulec zniszczeniu* 'to be destroyed', 'lit. to undergo destruction', *wpaść w przerażenie* 'to be filled with terror', 'lit. to fall into terror', *ponieść klęskę* 'to suffer defeat' functioning as predicates. Units of this type are clearly structured as [$V_{GENER//METAFOR}$ + NA/NE/N_{ABSTR}], highly fossilized (phraseologised) and have considerable derivational potential. Moreover, they are characterized by semantic proximity to full verbs (*robić pranie* = *prać* 'to wash', *wpaść w przerażenie* = *przerazić się* 'to be terrified'). Units of the VNA type are common cross-linguistically and as such may be seen as a product of a systemic sign-formation mechanism, which complements other (morphological) means of sign-formation. Furthermore, VNAs display strong (semantic, formal and functional) correlations with the V-class. They are produced via nominalization and secondary verbalization of the predicate as well as metaphorical conceptualization of events they denote. Based on the premise that language categories are prototypical in nature (i.e. they are gradable, radial, mono- and polycentric), it is further assumed that the units traditionally recognized as parts of speech (including V and N) also belong to categories with fuzzy boundaries grouped according to their functional (grammatical) identities and family resemblances, in which the center and the periphery can be distinguished. An attempt is made to show that VNAs are located at the periphery of the V-class, constituting a radial polycentric area. VNAs are capable of undertaking the sentence-forming function (like the verb) and enter various mutual semantic relationships (synonymy, antonymy, conversion, gradation, etc.). The linguistic-conceptual (cognitive) mechanism of periphrastic predication is connected with decomposition of the global conceptual content of the predicate and metaphorical conceptualization and image-based profiling of events predicated periphrastically. This brings about multidirectional expansion of the inventory of periphrastic signs (cf. e.g. emotions conceptualized as FIRE: VNA *czuć nienawiść* 'to feel hate' or, metaphorically, *wzniecić nienawiść* 'to incite hate', *płonąć nienawiścią* 'to burn with hate' <> V *nienawidzić* 'to hate', or VNAs profiled by the verbalizer from the domain FOOD: *żywić nienawiść* 'to nurture hate', *dławić się nienawiścią*, 'lit. to choke on hate' = *nienawidzić* (+ intensity). The multiplicity of VNA models illustrates the polycentric character of the V-class and broadens the repertoire of means of predication.

Key Words
periphrastic predication, parts of speech, radial and polycentric categories, metaphor, profiling

Streszczenie
Artykuł jest próbą spojrzenia na złożone znaki predykacji (dalej: AWN) z perspektywy teorii prototypów oraz idei podobieństwa rodzinnego (kategorie prototypowe, policentryczne, gradacyjne). Tematem rozważań jest status leksykalno-gramatyczny konstrukcji typu *robić pranie*, *ulec zniszczeniu*, *wpaść w przerażenie*, *ponieść klęskę* itp. o funkcji orzeczenia. Ten typ jednostek ma wyrazistą strukturę o postaci: [$V_{GENER//METAFOR}$ + NA/NE/N_{ABSTR}], znaczny stopień utrwalenia (frazeologizacja) oraz zdolności derywacyjne. Cechuje je też semantyczna bliskość z pełnoznacznym czasownikiem (*robić pranie = prać; wpaść w przerażenie = przerazić się*). Jednostki typu AWN występują licznie w wielu językach, co każe w nich widzieć produkt systemowego mechanizmu znakotwórczego, który dopełnia inne (morfologiczne) środki tworzenia znaków orzekania. AWN wykazują też silne (semantyczne, formalne i funkcjonalne) korelacje z klasą VERBUM (pełnoznacznych). Powstają w wyniku nominalizacji i powtórnej werbalizacji predykatu oraz metaforycznej konceptualizacji zdarzeń, które denotują. Zakładając, że kategorie językowe mają naturę prototypową (są gradacyjne, radialne, mono- i policentryczne), przyjęłam, że także tradycyjnie wyróżniane „części mowy" (w tym VERBUM i NOMEN) tworzą zbiory o rozmytych granicach, grupowane na zasadzie tożsamości funkcjonalnej (gramatycznej) i podobieństwa rodzinnego, w których można wyróżnić centrum i peryferia. Próbuję wykazać, że AWN należą do klasy VERBUM, w której zajmują pozycje peryferyczne, tworząc pole o charakterze radialnym i policentrycznym. AWN mają zdolność zdaniotwórczą (jak czasownik), przy tym wchodzą w różne wzajemne relacje semantyczne (synonimia, antonimia, konwersja, gradacja itp.). Językowo-pojęciowy (kognitywny) mechanizm alternatywnego orzekania polega na dekompozycji globalnej treści predykatu oraz metaforycznej konceptualizacji i obrazowego profilowania zdarzeń orzekanych peryfrastycznie. To powoduje wielokierunkowe rozszerzenie inwentarza znaków orzekania (por. np. uczucia konceptualizowane jako OGIEŃ: AWN *czuć nienawiść* lub obrazowo: *wzniecić nienawiść*, *płonąć nienawiścią* <> Verb *nienawidzić*, lub ciągi AWN profilowane przez werbalizator z domeny POKARM: *żywić nienawiść*, *dławić się nienawiścią = nienawidzić* (+intensywność). Wielość modeli AWN ilustruje policentryczność kategorii VERBUM i poszerza zestaw środków orzekania.

Słowa klucze
predykacja peryfrastyczna, części mowy, kategorie radialne i policentryczne, metafora, profilowanie

1. Introductory remarks: periphrastic verb forms

One of the most important and at the same time most difficult problems in linguistic description has always been the classification of language units, determining their boundaries and their place within the linguistic system. This problem concerns also the so-called *parts of speech* or classes of lexical units. Their diversification (formal, semantic and functional) has justified a large number of classificatory and typological criteria and as a result, also a mul-

titude of partitions. The difficulties become even greater when we consider complex signs (*composita*), which are inherently heterogeneous and which straddle the boundary between the traditionally distinguished linguistic levels (inflection, word formation and syntax or grammar/syntax and the lexicon). The definition of a lexical unit (word) remains problematic, since lexical items traditionally embrace both formally simple (synthetic) signs and complex (analytic and non-continuous) signs. Among the latter, there is a large group which is of special interest here. This group contains more or less fossilized (phraseologised or lexicalised) word constructions found in many languages, which function as complex predicates, such as for instance: *robić pranie* 'to do the washing' (= *prać* 'to wash'), *dokonać odkrycia* 'to make a discovery' (= *odkryć* 'to discover'), *prowadzić badania* 'to conduct research' (= *badać* 'to research'), *wykonać telefon* 'to make a phone call' (= *telefonować* 'to phone'), *odczuwać obawę* 'to feel anxiety' (= *obawiać się* 'to be anxious'), *popełnić grzech* 'to commit a sin' (= *zgrzeszyć* 'to sin'), *uprawiać lobbing* 'to lobby', *wydać rozkaz* 'to issue an order', etc. The status of these expressions in the lexical system poses problems, reflected for example in the number of definitions and approaches proposed for various languages, e.g. English *complex predicates*, Russian *ustojčivyje glagol'no-imiennyje sočetanija,* French *phrases á verbe support*, Bulgarian *analitični predikatni izrazi,* Serbian *dekomponovanje predikata* etc.), where they are also known as phraseologisms or collocations. This is also true about descriptions of Polish (cf. among others, Lewicki 1977; Żmigrodzki 2000; Nowak 2001). In this paper, they will be treated as *analytical (non-continuous) predicative signs* falling into two components: the verbal component whose function is auxiliary/supportive ($V_{AUX/GENER/METAPHOR}$) and the nominal component (NOM_{PRED}: $NA/N_{ABSTR/PRED/C}$), which is the actual carrier of predication. For this reason they will be referred to here as verbo-nominal analytisms (henceforth VNAs), belonging with the class of verbs. A general structural outline of such entities can be described by the following formula:

$$VNA_{PRED} <> [V_{AUX/GENER/METAPHOR} + NA/N_{ABSTR/PRED/C}]$$

where:

VNA_{PRED} is a verbo-nominal construction with a predicative function and global lexical meaning, capable of undertaking the sentence-forming function as a *complex predicate/periphrastic predicate*;

$V_{AUX/GENER/METAPHOR}$ is an auxiliary verb taking the role of a verbalizer of a nominal predicate; this function can be realised by a copula verb (*była cisza* 'there was silence'), a light verb (V_{GENER}, e.g. *robić* 'to do', *wykonać* 'to make', *dokonać* 'to achieve', *czuć, odczuwać* 'to feel', etc.), or a lexical verb secondarily used in the auxiliary function as a verbalizer and as signal of metaphorical conceptualization of an event expressed by the noun

($V_{METAPHOR}$, e.g. *zapłonąć* (*gniewem*), 'lit. to flare up (with anger)'(= 'to get violently angry), *wpaść w rozpacz* 'to fall into despair'), etc.;
NA (*nomen actionis*) and N_{ABSTR} (*nomen abstractum*) are names of predicated events (*rozpacz* 'despair', *gniew* 'anger', *pranie* 'washing', *wstyd* 'shame') and similar nominalizations (NOM);
C (*casus*) is the signal of an obligatory grammatical case of the noun (N_C) in Polish constructions, where the auxiliary verb governs the case of the nominal predicate, e.g. *odczuwać* ($+N_{ACC}$) *strach/obawę* 'to feel anxiety'; *płonąć* ($+N_{INST}$) *gniewem/zemstą* 'to burn with anger/vengeance'.

The following remarks, limited in scope for space reasons (but cf. Jędrzejko 1998b and 2002 for a more detailed discussion) are an attempt at viewing the VNA from a new perspective, taking into account the concepts of a prototype, as well as radial and polycentric categories.

2. Prototype theory as the foundation of a typology of lexical units

The problem of multiple criteria for distinguishing, naming and categorizing periphrastic verb forms has already been raised before (cf. Jędrzejko 2002), but it reemerges in current studies of language in the context of cognitive linguistics. This is because cognitive psychology (especially the work of Rosch) has provided arguments against the classical theory of categories defined in terms of binary features, concepts of equivalence, and necessary and sufficient conditions for the demarcation of classes of objects with clearly defined boundaries. It has replaced the classical categorization with the concept of so-called fuzzy categories, which group together elements that differ, in varying degrees, from the exemplars of a given category, i.e. its prototype. Even though such an understanding of the principles of categorization does not resolve all difficulties and raises some doubts, it seems to be closer to the nature of language, in which regularity interweaves with irregularity. This is equally true about the structure of the lexicon (lexical fields) and lexical/grammatical classes (parts of speech). Even though some forms are easy to classify because of their graphic and phonetic continuity, according to which certain meanings are attributed to certain sequences of sounds, on the semantic (lexical and conceptual) plane their boundaries are often fluid.

A comprehensive overview of the vast and well-known literature on the subject of our concern here is beyond the scope of the present paper (cf., among others, Grzegorczykowa and Pajdzińska 1996; see also Taylor 2001: 44–119). What is important for the purposes of the present study is the very idea that justifies the assumption that language categories are prototypical in

nature, i.e., they are gradable, radial, and they can be mono- and polycentric. Let us assume, therefore, that the lexical units traditionally viewed as 'parts of speech' also belong to categories with fuzzy boundaries, grouped according to their functional (grammatical) identities and family resemblances, in which the center and the periphery can be distinguished. Lexical items, formally synthetic or analytical (non-continuous) enter into various semantic relationships (synonymy, conversion, comparison, etc.). This also refers to the relationships between synthetic verbs and VNAs. The attractiveness of such an approach to the nature and status of VNAs consists in the fact that the prototype theory, applied to the "surface" facts of language, has semantic and cognitive foundations, similarly to cognitive grammar, which proposes specific hypotheses with respect to the cognitive basis of fundamental grammatical categories (cf. Langacker 1987: 183).[1] According to cognitive linguists, word formation and lexical constructions provide evidence for the similarity between the structure of linguistic categories and extralinguistic categories:

> [a]s a consequence, constructions, no less than other kinds of linguistic objects, need to be regarded as prototype categories, with some instantiations counting as better examples of the construction than others (Taylor 2001: 222).

The aptness of this thesis seems particularly clear in the case of periphrastic predicates. Undoubtedly, the non-continuous form and global meaning of VNAs depend not only on semantic and grammatical combinatorial principles governing the elements of which they are composed (V+N), but also – perhaps mainly – on the manner of conceptualizing events described by the VNAs which are characteristic of a given linguistic community (e.g. a conceptual metaphor such as EMOTION IS FIRE, is the source of VNAs such as *zapłonąć gniewem/miłością* 'lit to flare up with anger/love', *płonąć wstydem* 'to burn with shame', *pałać zemstą* 'to be inflamed by vengeance', etc.). By accepting the empirical fact that all elements of a given grammatical category share some basic formal characteristics and semantic attributes, one assumes at the same time that category membership has a scalar character. This means that an item which does not display the full set of prototypical features can still be a member of a given category; it is merely situated at a greater distance from its best representatives.

From this perspective it is possible to view VNAs as *complex predicates* belonging to the category of verbs, which are situated at the (polycentric) periph-

[1] In this respect, many features of such a model of grammar make it similar to the models of generative grammars with a semantic basis, which should not be surprising since leading propagators of cognitive grammar (G. Lakoff and others) are also known for their work in generative semantics. Cognitive grammar theoreticians, just like generative semanticists, reject the concept of an autonomous syntax, i.e. the syntax independent of meaning, even though they differ in their approaches to the nature of grammar and so-called parts of speech.

eries of the category, smoothly crossing the boundary between the lexicon and "regular" syntax. Such an approach is justified by clear and multidirectional semantic and functional analogies between VNAs and synthetic verbs on the one hand, and between VNAs and syntactic constructions on the other. Apart from this, VNAs are a good illustration of a more general principle, emphasized in cognitive grammar, of the existence of various kinds of parallels between the structure of cognitive and linguistic categories (lexical and grammatical).[2] It is an appealing thought that words and constructions are not necessarily components of separate modules of grammar, but rather two extremes of the language *continuum* (cf., among others, Hudson 1984; Lakoff 1987; Langacker 1987; Taylor 2001; Dixon 2005).

However, it is worth noting that linguists have been aware of associations and parallels at various levels of language for a long time, just as they have been aware of the interdependence of form, function and meaning. Also Polish linguists have recognized intermediary grammatical categories, primary and secondary functions of linguistic items, the interactions and fuzzy boundaries between word formation and syntax, between a linguistic unit and a phraseological unit, etc.; all these matters were discussed long before the emergence of cognitive linguistics. It has been acknowledged for a long time that within the language categories differentiated by traditional grammars, there are central elements that possess all the defining features and there are less typical elements, which are situated close to the boundaries of those categories. Therefore, the interest in the concepts of fuzzy boundaries and gradable or polycentric[3] categories in language that we can observe nowadays constitutes a return to some problems that were once briefly signaled but were not pursued in the linguistic studies in the past. And for this very reason it is worthwhile to look at the VNAs, addressing the traditional concern whether they are linguistic *items* or *products*, from the new perspective. Predicative periphrasis, also due to the high numbers of the VNAs, their enduring character and relative frequency both in old and contemporary Polish, can be seen as a reflection

[2] Structuralism did not negate this fact either, as can be inferred from the work of de Saussure and dozens of other linguists who studied the relationships between grammar and semantics on the one hand and pragmatics on the other (cf., among others, Wierzbicka 1988); the concept of incomplete membership of particular components of language in specific grammatical categories (i.e. intermediary categories) has not been invented by cognitive linguists. However, their explicitly formulated theories provide (or at least strive to provide) more precise tools to measure the fluid and gradable character of category membership.

[3] The division into mono- and polycentric categories resembles the traditional distinction between monosemy and polysemy as well as mono- and polyfunctionality, primary and secondary functions, etc. However, it should be stressed that in the families of various indicators of verbal predication, also in periphrastic microfields (i.e. in the VNA families organized around the same N_{ABSTR}) several central structures can be pointed out, motivated by different conceptual metaphors, which constitute the basis for several strings of periphrases developed radially.

of language-internal variability. For centuries they have supplemented the Polish system of predicates, enriching the verbal lexicon and filling potential lexical gaps (e.g. V *porazić* 'to strike/to defeat' – N *porażka* 'defeat' – VNA *ponieść porażkę* 'to suffer a defeat'; in the case of the noun *klęska* 'disaster, defeat', there is no verbal counterpart, but there is a VNA *ponieść klęskę* 'to suffer a defeat'; examples can be multiplied).

3. Prototypical and non-prototypical 'parts of speech': V, N, VNA

As a part of speech, verbs are defined as a class of (mainly synthetic) lexemes with a primary predicative function, organizing a sentence. Structurally, they are distinguished by a specific conceptual content (lexical meaning), syntactic function (predicate) and morphological (grammaticalized) verbal categories ascribed to them, especially the categories of tense and person. Nominalizations that correspond to verbs, i.e. names of actions, states, or properties, both NA/NE derivatives and abstract nouns (N_{ABSTR}), are deprived of these two categories.

According to the cognitive grammar approach, verbs are defined as linguistic items that *profile* a *temporal relation* and changeability over time, as opposed to nouns (adjectives or adverbs), which are atemporal (Langacker 1987; Givón 1979). Names of actions and states (especially regular NA/NE) are distinguished by the fact that although they are atemporal, they profile the collection of relations that are temporally adjacent (cf. *prać* 'to wash' > *pranie* 'washing' > *robić pranie* 'to do the washing', i.e. to perform various activities collectively denoted by the NA *pranie* 'washing'). In this way cognitive grammar captures the relationship between the NA/NE/N_{ABSTR} category and the verb: the conceptual nature of nominalization is tantamount to mental understanding of actions/events/features in the "form" of objects. Lexical nominalizations related to verbs are alternative expressions of the predicate, deprived of the grammatical indicators of time and place, which changes their semantic and syntactic potential. Structurally, they are the result of transposition, which is formally signaled by affixes producing regular deverbal and deadjectival formatives (cf. Polish *-anie*/*-enie*/*-cie*; German *-ung*; English *-ing*, etc.).

In VNA-type items the temporal profile of an event and the specification of the predicative content are distributed between the two components of the construction (verb as a verbalizer + nominal predicate), whereas in the case of full verbs they are synthesized. This also applies to expressions of periphrastic predication (in a narrow sense), where the verb introduces – alongside person, tense and other verbal categories – an additional semantic-conceptual profile.

The linguistic-conceptual (cognitive) mechanism of alternative periphrastic predication is connected not only with nominalization and decomposition of the global conceptual content and its transposition to the category of *verbo-nominal constructions*, but also with metaphorical conceptualization of events predicated in that way (e.g. feelings conceptualized as FIRE, ELEMENT, CONQUEROR: *płonąć nienawiścią* 'to burn with hatred', *miotać przekleństwa* 'to hurl insults', *smutek opanował Xa* 'sadness overcame X'; *gniew targnął Xem* 'X's anger got the better of him' ('lit. anger jerked X'), *X uniósł się ambicją* 'X got carried away with ambition', *lęk opanował Xa* 'X was overcome with fear', etc.). Formally, this mechanism is revealed by various syntactic VNA models (a metaphorical verbalizer of the predicate in the formal function of an object or subject realized as a NA/NE/N_{ABSTR} – e.g. *płonąć wstydem* 'to burn with shame': *wstyd pali Xa*, 'lit. shame burns X', *prowadzić badania* 'to conduct research': *badania postepują* 'research progresses', *zaszło nieporozumienie* 'a misunderstanding has taken place': *rodzić nieporozumienie* 'to cause a misunderstanding', *żywić nadzieję* 'to nurture hope'). The semantic interpretation is supported by conceptual models motivated by the structure of conceptual metaphors (PASSIONATE EMOTIONS ARE LIKE FIRE, ACTION IS A PATH/SERIES OF STAGES, etc.), which co-determine the distribution of the senses of the predicate (in the case of e.g., *wpaść w złość* 'to fly into a rage', *wpaść w popłoch* 'to feel a rush of anxiety' the sense components are: 'some emotion' + 'duration in time'+ 'fierceness, suddenness', etc.).

Let us notice, however, that both nominalization and verbalization as processes of "linguistic appropriation" of concepts may have different effects. Thus, we can speak of:

a) an "increasing nominalization" of the predicate. This happens when an abstract noun derived from a verb acquires a new, concrete sense:

   [V > NA > N_{ABSTR} > N_{CONCR}]:

   ubierać 'to dress' > *ubranie*$_1$ '(the act of) getting dressed/putting on clothes' > *ubranie*$_2$/*ubiór* 'dress/clothing'; *śniadać* 'to breakfast' > *śniadanie*$_1$ '(the act of) breakfasting' > *śniadanie*$_2$ 'breakfast';

b) a "decreasing verbalization." This happens for example when N_{ABSTR} is derived from a verb equipped with a full set of morphological categories (including tense, person), through forms deprived of such categories, such as infinitives, participles, regular and irregular NA:

   [$V_{FIN/AUTOSEM}$ <> V_{PARTIC}/V_{INFIN}/NOM > N_{CONCR}]:

   wykop 'kick'/*wykopanie* 'kicking out', *skok* 'jump'/*skoczenie* 'jump/jumping'; *zwycięstwo* 'victory', *porażka* 'defeat', *klęska* 'disaster', *klątwa* 'curse'.

The autosemanticity/synsemanticity of signs is also gradable for each category, both for verbs and for nouns. Items belonging to these classes are often autosemantic when they refer to strictly specified (defined) objects or events (actions, states, properties). However, they are more or less synsemantic when they have general (i.e. generic or classifying) meaning, e.g. V: *robić* 'to do', *czuć* 'to feel' (sometimes referred to as pro-verbs) or N: *robienie* 'doing', *czucie* 'feeling', *konieczność* 'necessity', etc. Not only primary auxiliary verbs are synsemantic to varying degrees, including *być* 'to be', *stać się* 'to become', *zostać* 'to become' (in the meaning of 'to assume a certain role', *znajdować się* (*być gdzieś*) 'to be located (be somewhere)', *okazać się* 'to turn out', *zdarzyć się* 'to happen', etc. Modal verbs (e.g. *móc* 'can', *musieć* 'must') are also auxiliary, although in a different way and so are phase verbs (*zacząć* 'to begin', *przestać* 'to stop'). The situation is similar in the case of nouns: alongside those which provide a specific reference to an object there are those that refer to abstract entities and events (e.g. *miłość* 'love', *nienawiść* 'hatred', *konieczność* 'necessity', *potęga* 'power', *uniesienie* 'rapture', *początek* 'beginning', *koniec* 'end', *wypadek* 'incident') or general phenomena (e.g. *czynność* 'activity', *uczucie* 'feeling', *cecha* 'trait', *robienie* 'doing'), which can be considered hyperonyms of more specific autosemantic nouns. Finally, there are also such synsemantic verbs and nouns that carry only grammatical meaning related to the category of deixis (e.g. pronouns or conventional auxiliary verbs, which are semantically empty/transparent).

Therefore, we can talk of gradability of the predicative force of a verb:

$$V_{AUTOSEM} > V_{SYNSEM} > V_{COPULA}$$

or about gradability of the substantive value of a noun:

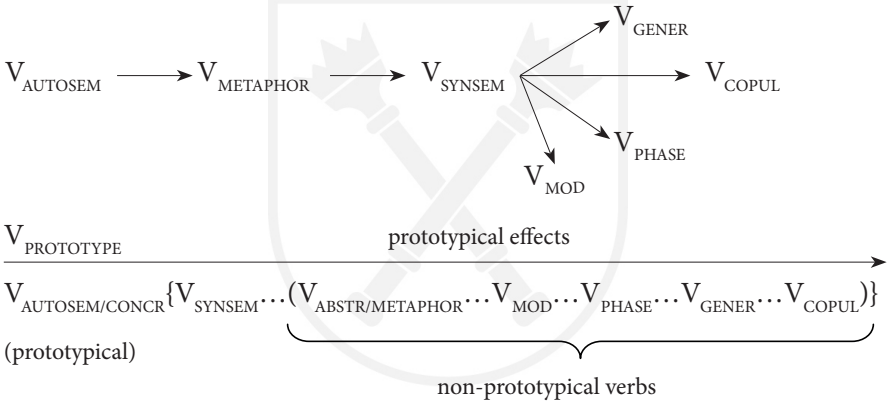
$$N_{CONCR} > N_{ABSTR} > NA > N_{GENER}$$

The non-prototypical verbs (generic verbs, phase verbs, pure auxiliary verbs) exist in the system alongside the prototypical full verbs that constitute the center of the V-class. The peripheral verbs perform various functions: predicative or auxiliary (verbalizing, metapredicative). Being synsemantic, they are incapable of independently predicating events (actions, states, etc.); they are only capable of indicating various grammatical or semantic "parameters" of events indicated by a word functioning as the predicate. Nouns, both concrete and abstract ones, can be used predicatively, i.e. they can perform the predicative function, which is secondary for nouns; in such a case they are also non-prototypical in the sense explained above.

Primary full verbs can also be used in a non-prototypical way, in a supportive (non-predicative) function, e.g. metaphorically used verbs of movement or other verbs which, in their literal, prototypical sense perform the primary

function of naming events, in which they take arguments: *Piotr nadszedł* 'Peter approached'; *Minęliśmy sklep* 'We passed the shop'; *Piłka wpadła w dołek* 'A ball fell into a hole'. However, together with a NA/N_{ABSTR} they are used in a metaphorical, more abstract sense and the noun becomes the carrier of the predicate: *nadeszły żniwa* 'harvest approached', *minęła młodość* 'youth passed', *wpaść w gniew* 'fall into a rage'. In VNA-type constructions verbs lose their predicative independence and become verbalizers, at the same time introducing some imaginative content that enriches the description of the action. By creating the periphrastic predicate they introduce temporal-phasal and aspectual parameters, at the same time forming the image-based "conceptual profile" of the nominally indicated event.[4]

Verbalizers characterized by varying degrees of synsemanticity constitute strings of the VNA that are increasingly distant from the center of the V-class where the prototypical verbs are situated, i.e. full verbs characterized by the whole set of morphological verbal categories. The remaining (synsemantic, defective) verbs are situated at the peripheries of the gradable V-class. This can be conventionally represented as a scalar space (gradable polycentric space):

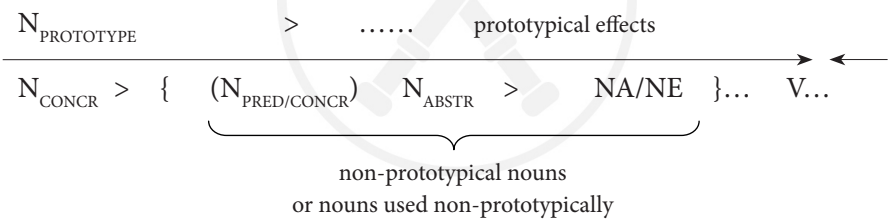


where:
elements in the curly brackets { } are potential components of complex predicates. They also include secondary synsemantic verbs; straight brackets ( ) contain types of V that are systematically destined to perform auxiliary functions. Non-prototypical verbs serve as verbalizers of such predicative expressions that do not have any markers of temporalization. This is

[4] Cognitive linguists (after Langacker) might conclude that such an abstract-image meaning of a verb is the result of projecting the scheme of action onto other domains of experience, as abstract nouns are described in a similar way: as a result of projecting the scheme of a thing onto non-spatial domains, the category of noun includes also items that profile some areas in other domains, e.g. the domain of color, time, sound, etc. (cf. Taylor 2001: 262ff).

also a secondary function of verbs used in a non-predicative way (primary full verbs) used as metaphorical verbalizers in the periphrastic VNA.

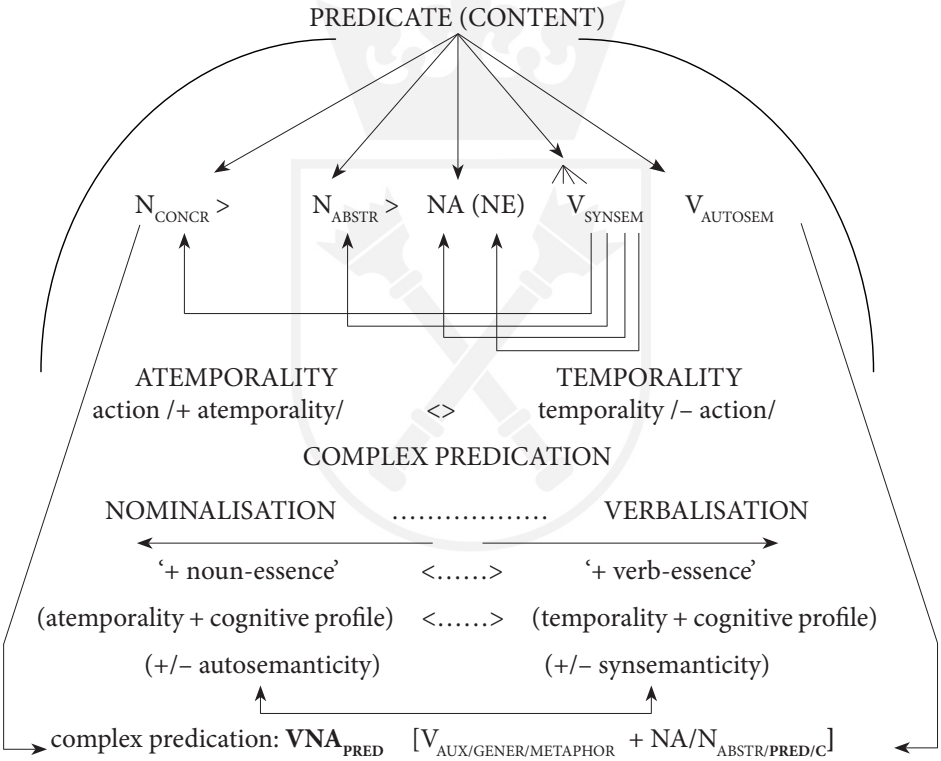
Periphrastic constructions can also be viewed from a different angle, focusing on their nominal component (we assume that for the VNA such a component includes only NOM: NA/NE/N_{ABSTR}, cf. Jędrzejko 1998b, 2002). As has been said before, a (proto)typical noun names a concrete object, a specific "thing" (in cognitive terms: an object profiled in a three-dimensional space which is temporally stable). However, even such a noun can undergo recategorization: if it is used predicatively in a complex predicate, especially in a standard copular clause (with a V_{COPUL}: *był nauczycielem* 'he was a teacher', *stał się zwierzęciem* 'he became an animal', etc.). Then the noun moves away from the prototypical center of the category and due to its secondary predicative function becomes (functionally) closer to a verb. Nominal predicates (*X był uczniem* 'X was a student', *X został dyrektorem* 'X became a manager', *X stał się dziedzicem* 'X became heir') do not indicate a person/object, but predicate its characteristics (or relationships between objects or persons: *Anna jest matką Piotra* 'Anna is Peter's mother'). A nominal predicate becomes "verbalized" with the help of auxiliary verbs (which are functionally equivalent to transpositional derivatives), cf. *dyrektor* 'manager' > *dyrektorować*/*być dyrektorem* 'to be a manager' (but: *nauczyciel* 'teacher' > *być nauczycielem* 'to be a teacher', not: **nauczycielować* 'to be a teacher'), *figiel* 'prank' > *figlować*/*robić figle*/*płatać figle* 'to play pranks'. Such predicates, then, are in the sphere of "prototypical effects" and therefore are situated closer to verbs:



The latter two subcategories of noun (N_{ABSTR} and NA/NE) should be considered non-prototypical since they do not denote entities, but because of their formal characteristics they give the structure of entities to abstract concepts such as: *głupota* 'stupidity', *siła* 'power', *męczarnia* 'torment', *rada* 'advice', *obietnica* 'promise', *klęska* 'defeat'. Such names of actions and events semantically tend towards verbs, since they can obtain (or regain) the temporal profile in the process of secondary verbalization, i.e. when they combine with one of the (selected) non-predicative verbs characterized by various semantic and conceptual values (e.g. *głupota* 'stupidity' > *być głupim* 'to be stupid' > *cechować się głupotą* 'to be characterized by stupidity'; *siła* 'power' > *mieć*/*utracić siłę* 'to have/lose power'; *męczarnia* 'torment' > *być w męczarni* 'to be in torment',

cierpieć męczarnie 'to suffer torment', *zadawać męczarnie* 'to inflict torment'; *rada* '(a piece of) advice' > *dawać rady* 'to give advice', *obietnica* 'promise' > *dawać/składać obietnicę* 'to make a promise', *przyjąć obietnicę* 'to take sb up on their promise', *klęska* 'defeat' > *doznać klęski/ponieść klęskę* 'to suffer defeat'; *nadzieja* 'hope' > *mieć/dawać/rodzić nadzieję* 'to have/give/raise hope'. A noun used in the non-(proto)typical role of predicate is atemporal and the lack of temporality becomes remedied by a non-prototypical verb, which is either synsemantic or used secondarily as a metaphorical verbalizer. Abstract nouns (N_{ABSTR}), which are non-prototypical in the N-class, i.e. do not refer to objects, are deprived of verbal characteristics but can constitute the basis for complex predication, including periphrastic predication.

The whole mechanism and mutual relationships can be schematised[5] in the form of a diagram:[6]



[5] Of course, the model is very simplified, containing only those elements that are relevant from the point of view of complex predication, where non-prototypical nominal elements (NA/NE/N_{ABSTR}), semantically indicating events (also N_{CONCR} used as a predicate) obtain the status of a verb by being combined with a non-prototypical (synsemantic) verb that does not have a predicative capacity here (i.e. it does not indicate events).

[6] A prototypical sentence is a simple predication about extralinguistic reality with an autosemantic verb ($[N_{CONCR} + V_{AUTOSEM} + (N_2)]$).

Only in one case are the lexical meaning (sense and reference) and categorial-grammatical meaning co-present in the synthetic structure of the best representatives of both categories (in the traditional primary functions of V and N).

In the V-class this is the personal form of $V_{AUTOSEM}$, denoting a specified action (process, state) perceived as happening over time, and therefore capable of predicating and determining the sentence structure. In this respect, full verbs with a whole set of grammaticalized verbal characteristics are the best (prototypical) representatives of the V category. In this approach, any defectiveness on the formal plane (verbs with defective inflectional paradigm, infinitive and impersonal forms of various types, also categorical NA) or on the content plane (verbs that are primarily synsemantic, incapable of independent predication of events, also verbs used in the metapredicative or the non-predicative function) would signal non-prototypical characteristics of items situated further from the center of the category.

In the N-class these are names of specific objects ("natural objects" described by Langacker 1987: 190 as "objects bounded in a three-dimensional space"), which primarily function as the arguments of verbal predicates. In this respect, abstract nouns, names of actions, states and properties are non-prototypical. Also non-prototypical (secondary) is the use[7] of a concrete noun in a predicative function (*jest wdową* 'she is a widow', *został dziekanem* 'he became dean', where the names *wdowa* 'widow', *dziekan* 'dean' do not denote any specific object, but predicate a characteristic property or a relation). In such circumstances, the status of such nominal predicates (e.g. in classic *complex predicates*) brings them closer to the status of verbs.

Furthermore, the (main) syntactic relationship between a prototypical noun and a prototypical verb is at the sentential level, where the prototypical category SENTENCE has the form: $[N_{CONCR} + V_{AUTOSEM} (+ \ldots)]$.

4. VNA as a fuzzy category. Categorisation and recategorisation of lexical items

As has been mentioned before, there is a relationship of transposition between a verb (V) and its nominalization (NA/NE/N_{ABSTR}): such nouns retain the lexical meaning of an action, state or property. This brings them closer to verbs, regardless of morphological derivational relationships. However, it is known that throughout their history many nouns of this class have over time lost the process-temporal verbal meaning of V, and have gradually shifted towards concrete nouns, e.g. NA/N_{ABSTR} referring to an action or an object: *wyjście*$_1$ '(the act

[7] Cognitive linguistics speaks only about the signs and constructions that are *used*, rejecting the division into *langue* and *parole*.

of) leaving' and *wyjście*$_2$ 'a way out, such as a door or a gate'; *służba*$_1$ '(the act of) serving/service' and *służba*$_2$, a collective term for 'servants'; *ubranie*$_1$ '(the act of) getting dressed/putting on clothes' and *ubranie*$_2$ 'clothing/clothes'; *mieszkanie*$_1$ '(the act of) living in a place' and *mieszkanie*$_2$ 'living quarters', *kochanie*$_1$ '(the state of) loving' and *kochanie*$_2$ 'the beloved person', etc.). In this context, it is especially interesting that in the past the Polish language had more analytisms with a regular NA/NE, including *dać wspomożenie* 'to provide support', *odnieść ubliżenie* 'to bear insult', *czynić pokłonienie* 'to bow down '(but also: *czynić służby* 'to serve somebody', *działać szumy* 'to make noise'). However, over time they were more and more often replaced by non-categorial NA and/or non-derived N_{ABSTR}. NA/NEs may have been more expressive, being separated from the meaning of the verb stem (cf. *zamieszać* 'to confuse' > *zamieszanie*$_2$ 'confusion', *wrazić* 'to impress' > *wrażenie*$_2$ 'impression', *zakłócenie*$_2$ 'quarrelsomeness' > *kłótnia* 'quarrel'), and over time became more and more loosely related to the verb and the action of the NA (*zamieszanie*$_1$ '(the act of) confusing', *wrażenie*$_1$ '(the act of) impressing'). They used to refer to events composed of a series of shorter events (e.g. *pomóc*/*pomagać* 'to help' > *pomoc* 'help' > *dać*/*przynieść pomoc* 'to provide/bring help', in the past expressed as *dać pomożenie*; *hańbić* 'to disgrace' > *hańba* 'disgrace' > *przynieść hańbę* 'to bring disgrace'[8] in the past expressed as *uczynić pohańbienie*/*hańbę*, 'lit. to do disgrace'; *badać* 'to research' > *prowadzić badania* 'to conduct research'). Nowadays, periphrastic VNAs more often contain non-categorial names of events or pure, non-derivational abstract nominals (often borrowed), disconnected from the category action (e.g. *analiza* 'analysis' > *wykonać analizę* 'carry out an analysis'; *scysja* 'argument' > *wejść w scysję* > 'to engage in an argument'; *biologia* 'biology' > *uprawiać biologię* 'to do biology', *aktorstwo* 'acting' > *uprawiać aktorstwo* 'to do acting'), than the regular NAs. This is evidence of category change or recategorization of such elements in the gradationally conceived categories of V and N, as well as the signal that the process of secondary verbalization of N is becoming more specialized, allowing to fill in lexical gaps in the V-class.

This process has various implications that are important from the point of view of complex predication, including periphrastic predication. One of them is the polycentricity of the category of *complex predicates*, which I propose to understand as a large number of formal types of complex predicates (nominal, modal, phase predicates, typical analytisms (e.g. *robić pranie* 'to do the washing' / *prać* to wash', *czuć wstyd* 'to feel shame' / *wstydzić się* 'to be ashamed'), and periphrastic predicates with metaphorical value (e.g. such phrases as *brać udział* 'to take part', *wpaść w rozpacz* 'to fall into despair', *pogrążyć się w marzeniach* 'to become immersed in dreams', etc.). It also explains their formal diver-

[8] In this case the verb probably derives from the noun, similarly as the verb *figlować* 'to play pranks' derives from the noun *figle* 'pranks'; as has already been stated, the direction of transposition (derivation) seems unimportant in this case.

sity and specialization with regard to the selection of components in predicative constructions of each type.

The most basic (semantically the lightest) verbalizers are systemic auxiliary verbs: (aspectual-durative) *być* 'to be', (inchoative, imperfective) *stawać się* 'to be becoming' (inchoative, perfective) *stać się*/*zostać* 'to become, to grow'. They are also situated furthest away from full, prototypical verbs, serving as verbalizers for signs that are devoid of the categories of tense, person, aspect, etc. Therefore, the combinatory potential of V_{COPUL} is the greatest: [V_{COPUL} + N_{PRED}/Adj/V_{INFIN}/N_{PERS}/Partic/Adv].

Those purely verbal temporal-aspectual values can, however, be saturated with or embedded in other content, which is more specific or more profiled, e.g. phase verbalizers (*zacząć* 'to begin', *przestać* 'to stop', *trwać* 'to last', etc.), which carry an ungrammaticalized actional feature and thus combine with words denoting actions: [V_{PHASE} + V_{INFIN}/NA].

Such elaboration may also refer to a subjective approach to an action, which is signaled by basic modal verbs such as *móc* 'can' and *musieć* 'must', creating modal predicates only with verbs; the temporal profile is not redundantly doubled for such predicates, which usually take the form of [V_{MOD} + V_{INFIN}].

The profile of time/phase/aspect/mood can be incorporated into the general verbs of action or perception, specifying the generic characteristics of a nominalized event (*robić* 'to do', *wyrabiać* 'to do/manufacture', *czuć* 'to feel', *powodować* 'to cause', *być* (*w stanie*) 'to be (in a state)', *mieć* (*cechę*) 'to have (a feature/property)'): [V_{GENER} + NA/NE/N_{ABSTR}].

Finally, the semantically richest verbalizers of nominalized concepts are the primary full verbs used in the function which is secondary for them, i.e. that of image verbalizers. The N_{ABSTR} (and NA/NE, which are close to them) either do not, or only slightly highlight the actional character of the events that they name. Such primary full verbs build the signs of periphrastic predication in a strict sense, by giving an event the structure of a domain, which is signaled by their conceptual image according to the principles of a conceptual metaphor (e.g. FIRE: *płonąć gniewem* 'to burn with anger'; POWER: *opanować strach* 'to overcome fear'; FOOD: *żywić nadzieję* 'to nurture hope', 'lit. to feed hope'; WAY/MOVEMENT: *wyprowadzić wniosek* 'to derive a conclusion', 'lit. to lead out a conclusion', etc.

Taking into account the processes of metaphorization, we can talk about the polycentricity of the V-class, especially in the sphere of the subcategory of AVN signs. In other words even within the periphrastic family (with the same $N_{ABSTR/PRED}$), several conceptualization models based on various conceptual metaphors can be identified. The linguistic image of an event is built by various strings of periphrases with the same verbalizer (e.g. *budzić radość/nadzieję/ochotę/przekonanie* 'to arouse [lit. 'to awake'] joy/hope/enthusiasm/belief') or periphrastic families with the same noun but various verbalizers (e.g. *zapaść w sen* 'to fall

asleep'/*pogrążyć się we śnie* 'to drift into sleep'/*zasnąć* 'to fall asleep'; *przerwać sen* 'to interrupt somebody's sleep'/*obudzić Xa* 'to awake X'; *sen ogarnia Xa* 'sleep comes over X'/*X zasypia* 'X falls asleep'; *przynieść/wnieść śmierć* 'to bring death'/*zabić* 'to kill'; *wykręcić się od śmierci* 'to deceive death'/*nie umrzeć* 'not to die'; *wydrzeć śmierci* 'to snatch X from death's jaws'/*uratować od śmierci* 'to save X from dying'; *wpaść w kłopoty* 'to fall into trouble' vs. *wyjść z kłopotów* 'to get out of trouble'). Moreover, a single image structure of the VNA is expanded radially, creating microcategories within one periphrastic family. At the centres of such microcategories are typical analytisms with a generic verb (e.g. *czuć/odczuwać wstyd* 'to feel shame', *doznać wstydu* 'to experience shame'), expanded by exponents from the metaphorical base SHAME IS A FLAME: *płonąć wstydem* 'to burn with shame', *wstyd pali*, 'lit. shame is burning' and its Old Polish equivalent *sromota pali*; SHAME IS AN ENEMY: *wstyd opanował Xa, zawładnął Xem* 'X has been overcome by shame'; SHAME IS BITTER FOOD: *łykać wstyd*, 'lit. to swallow shame', *najeść się wstydu*, 'lit. to eat shame'; SHAME IS ILLNESS: *nabawić się wstydu*, 'lit. to contract shame'; SHAME IS DIRT: *okryć się wstydem*, 'lit. to be covered with shame', *zmyć wstyd*, 'lit. to rinse off shame', etc. In such cases radial categories are formed, encompassing associatively related entities, variously profiled and radially developed, for example *okryć się hańbą*, 'lit. to be covered with disgrace', *zmazać się hańbą*, 'lit. to cover oneself with disgrace', *zmyć hańbę*, 'lit. to rinse off disgrace' (cf. Jędrzejko 1998a, 2002).

The assumption of metaphoric categorial extension of the linguistic image of concepts explains the structure of "nests"/periphrastic families. It allows us to understand (and also illustrates) why we use various full verbs in the function of periphrastic verbalizers for various (but similarly conceptualized) concepts. For instance, *dawać rady* 'to give advice'/*radzić* 'to advise' is conceptualized in the same way as *dawać prezent* 'to give a present', since the nominalization focuses on the category of objects that are given, therefore other expressions of this kind exist, such as *dać rozkaz*, *radość*, *opiekę*, *obietnicę* 'to give an order, joy, care, a word', compare also the Old Polish expressions *dać ucałowanie* 'to give a kiss', *dać uszanowanie*, 'lit. to give respect', etc. According to common knowledge, the synsemantic verb *dać* 'to give' has an extensive family of phraseologisms with the VNA characteristics. Such actions as *radzenie* 'giving advice', *obiecywanie* 'giving a promise', etc. are conceptualized on the basis of the conduit metaphor: speaking or communicating is viewed in terms of giving/receiving/transferring things. Giving/receiving is also probably one of the basic experiences in human relationships, which can explain why one of the most numerous VNA types in all languages is the same scheme with the verbalizer HAVE/GIVE/TAKE/RECEIVE (together with the numerous items that belong to the lexical family). Thus, metaphorical restructuring based on the principle of similarity or adjacency allows for combinations of *dawać* 'to give', *odbierać* 'to receive', *przyjmować* 'to accept', *odrzucać* 'to reject' with *hołdy*

'tribute', *rady* 'advice', *obietnice* 'promises', *rozkazy* 'orders', *prośby* 'requests' and similar products of verbal communication. Other possible combinations include *dawać* 'to give', *brać* 'to take' + *pomysły* 'ideas', *zamierzenia* 'intentions', *uczucia* 'feelings', *chęci* 'desires', *opiekę* 'care', *staranie* 'effort', which are ways of acting directed at the receiver (*given* and *received*). The deepest core of the relationship HAVE-GIVE-TAKE allows for its metaphorical expansion in order to encompass various mental actions. Therefore, it is possible to combine *podsuwać* 'to put forward' or *skraść* 'to steal' + *pomysł* 'thought', *project* 'project', *ideę* 'idea'; *rzucić*, 'lit. to throw' + *hasło* 'signal', *pomysł* 'thought', *pytanie* 'question'; *rzucić* and *podrzucić*, 'lit. to throw' / 'to throw to sb' + *myśl* 'thought' or *odrzucić* 'reject', 'lit. to throw back' + *wniosek* 'motion'.

On the other hand, the possibility of obtaining various (either positive or negative) results of human relationships, including benefits or losses resulting from GIVING-TAKING, extends the group of secondary synsemantic verbs by adding such constructions as *zyskać*/*uzyskać odpowiedź*, *zapewnienie*, *radę*, *obietnicę*, *miłość*, *wzgardę*, 'lit. to gain/obtain an answer, assurance, advice, a promise, love, disdain', etc.), *odzyskać pewność* 'to regain certainty'; and also *utracić nadzieję*, *wiarę*, *ufność* 'to lose hope, faith, trust'; *zaprzepaścić miłość*, 'lit. to squander love', *nie mieć nadziei*, *szansy*, *ratunku* 'to have no hope, chance, rescue'. Those verbs, as well as prototypical relationships they describe, are connected with MOVEMENT, which implies DYNAMICS, PACE and INTENSITY of actions. Thus, on the basis of such a cognitive model we can not only *rzucać*, *podrzucać*, *odrzucać podejrzenia*, *pomysł*, *plan*, 'lit. to throw, to toss, to reject suspicions, a thought, a plan', but also *rzucić się na ratunek*/*na pomoc* 'to rush to the rescue/to somebody's help', *biec z pomocą*, 'lit. to run with help'. Other possible expressions include *rzucać pracę* 'to quit one's job', 'lit. to throw job', *dawać*, *odbierać*, *przekazać błogosławieństwo* 'to give, to withdraw, to send a blessing' and *ciskać*, *miotać*, *rzucać przekleństwa* (*na*/*w stronę Xa*) 'to throw, to hurl insults (at X)', etc. Verbs from the *mieć-dać-brać* group and those related to them, which are primarily autosemantic, gradually become synsemantic in such NA/N_{ABSTR} constructions. They yield to semantic and functional recategorization in such contexts, functioning as a metaphorical sign of manner, pace, intensity of actions of events, conceptualized in a similar way to more prototypical ones.[9]

Therefore, the process of desemanticization/semantic bleaching of verbalizers has its source both in language (polysemy) and in the cultural and cognitive experience, which consolidates both certain conceptual models and certain models of the linguistic VNA forms, which periphrastically express predicated contents. As a result, the possibilities of expressing concepts expand, together with the ability to "copy" the same analytical structure.

[9] The phenomenon of expansion of basic VNA models has been widely illustrated also by material from the history of the Polish language, cf. Jędrzejko 2002.

Gradually, as the communicative and stylistic requirements grow, the schemes of predication with an auxiliary verb that is semantically bleached have been subject to specialization. The expansion of basic VNA models has been widely illustrated, also by material from the history of the Polish language (cf. Jędrzejko 2002). They could be modified in different ways thanks to multidirectional processes of profiling and metaphorical conceptualization. Thus, new VNA constructions come into being, contributing to the consolidation of the schemata of periphrastic predication, often with English borrowings from the NA class (e.g. *dokonać otwarcia* 'to hold an opening ceremony', *dokonać denominacji* 'to conduct denomination', *uprawiać jogging* 'to do jogging', *stosować mobbing* 'to use bullying', *robić lifting* 'to have a lifting', etc.). Some of them have become permanent and have moved to the systemic level, enriching the verbal and phraseological lexicons. Thus, the phenomenon of *complex predic*ates has a systemic character as a polycentric lexical category, supplementing other sign-formation processes, active both in old and in contemporary Polish.

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