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From Demonstratives to Copulas: A Cross-Linguistic Perspective and the Case of Polish*

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Abstract

This paper aims to clarify the syntactic status of the element *to* which appears in Polish copular expressions. The word *to* has recently been analyzed as a verb, see Linde-Usiekniewicz (2006); however, from the historical point of view, it clearly derives from a demonstrative pronoun. In the present article, I attempt to set the discussion of Polish *to*-constructions against a broader, cross-linguistic perspective. I provide an overview of a number of syntactic properties that characterize copulas derived from pronouns in other languages. I follow Li & Thompson (1977) in assuming that a demonstrative may be (diachronically) reanalyzed as a copula

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if the nominal structure that precedes it changes its status from a left-dislocated topic to the subject of the whole copular expression. I conclude that this reanalysis has not yet taken place in Polish; therefore, I argue that the element *to* should not be interpreted as a copula.

Keywords: demonstrative pronouns, copulas, topicalization, left-dislocation, syntactic reanalysis

1. Introduction

There are two types of copular constructions in Polish. As shown in (1-2), both of them involve the use of the verb *być* 'be'; however, in one of them this verb is accompanied by the word *to*.

(1) Adam był lingwistą.
Adam was linguist.INSTR[2]
'Adam was a linguist.'

(2) Adam to był lingwista.
Adam TO was linguist.NOM[3]
'Adam was a linguist.'

[2] The following abbreviations are used in this paper:

COP–copula	NEUT–neuter	REFL–reflexive
DECL-PART–declarative particle	NOM–nominative	SING–singular
FEM–feminine	NOMIN–nominalizer	TOP–topical
GEN–genitive	NONTOP–nontopical	TopP–topic phrase
INSTR–instrumental	NP–noun phrase	TP–tense phrase
MASC–masculine	PL–plural	VP–verb phrase
NegP–negation phrase	PRON–pronoun	

[3] As illustrated in (1-2), the two constructions in question differ also in terms of case marking on the post-copular element (instrumental vs. nominative). In the present paper, I focus on structures such as (2); therefore, I will not analyze how the predicate instrumental is assinged/checked. For an extensive discussion of this phenomenon in some Slavic languages, see Franks (1995).

The syntactic status of the precopular element *to* (historically, a demonstrative pronoun) has recently been subject to some debate.[4] Citko (2006) analyzes it as a pronominal element residing in the head of Tense Phrase (TP), whilst Linde-Usiekniewicz (2006) argues that it is a defective verb which requires an auxiliary marked for tense and mood (note that typical Polish verbs inflect for number, person, tense, mood, and gender).[5] In this article, I will argue that the properties of *to*-expressions can be accounted for by assuming that their development conforms to the universal mechanism of deriving copular elements from demonstrative pronouns. This diachronic change involves structural reanalysis and, arguably, simplification. However, it will be shown that the process in question has not been completed in Polish: the element *to* has not been reanalyzed as a copula, which makes the syntactic structure of Polish *to*-constructions more complex than that of their counterparts in languages such as Chinese.

2. Pronouns as a Diachronic Source of Copular Elements

Li & Thompson (1977) argue that copular elements evolve from anaphoric pronouns in many languages. This development is possible if a topic-comment construction gets reanalyzed as a regular subject-predicate construction. These two stages can be illustrated as in (3) and (4), respectively:

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[4] Therefore, I adopt Linde-Usiekniewicz's (2006) convention of leaving *to* unglossed.

[5] Polish is characterized by very rich inflection on both verbal and nominal elements. Note that the glosses of examples are not exhaustive in this paper. For ease of exposition, I will limit them to the most relevant information.

(3) $[_{\text{Topic}}$ NP1$_i]$ $[_{\text{Comment}}$ PRON$_i$ NP2$]$[6]

(4) $[_{\text{Subject}}$ NP1$]$ $[_{\text{Predicate}}$ COP NP2$]$

According to Li & Thompson (1977), the pronoun in (3) acts as the syntactic subject of the comment clause. It is coreferential with NP1, a topicalized nominal construction. The topicalization analysis finds very clear confirmation in languages such as Saramaccan, in which copular constructions are structured as in (3). As shown by McWhorter 1997 and Whitman 2001, when the precopular position (NP1) is occupied by a third person pronoun, the pronoun must appear in the topic form:

(5) hɛn da di gaama.
he.TOP that the chief
'He is the chief.'

(6) *a da di gaama.
he.NONTOP that the chief

Li & Thompson (1977) argue that, crosslinguistically, there are two options as far as what pronouns can appear in the base structure in (3). In the following examples from Palestinian Arabic (7) and Hebrew (8), the copular element is derived from a personal pronoun.[7]

[6] Here and below, I use the label NP (Noun Phrase) in a theory-neutral way: my goal is not to discuss whether the nominal elements which appear in copular constructions in the languages discussed in this paper are NPs or DPs (Determiner Phrases).

[7] Throughout this paper, I follow the transcription conventions used by the authors of the articles from which I quote examples.

(7) il rozzal huwwe usta:z mni:h.
the man he teacher good
'The man is a good teacher.'

(8) david hu ha-ganav.
David he the-thief
'David is the thief.'

Both *huwwe* and *hu* mean 'he'; however, in sentences such as (7-8) they must be interpreted as copulas. The syntactic status of *huwwe* and *hu* can no longer be pronominal because they may be combined with non-third-person elements, which means that they need not be coreferential with the topicalized element. Li & Thompson (1977) illustrate this point with the following examples, in which *huwwe* and *ha* (historically, third person pronouns) co-occur with first-person subjects:

(9) ani hu ha-student še moše diber
I he the-student that Moshe spoke
itxa alev.
with.you about.him
'I am the student that Moshe told you about.'

(10) ana huwwe il usta:z alli fari:d ʔallak ʔanno.
I he the teacher that Fareed talked about.him
'I am the teacher that Fareed talked about.'

According to the model put forward by Li & Thompson (1977), this is an example of diachronic syntactic reanalysis. The historical source of structure such as (7) might have been as follows: 'as for the man, he is a good teacher.'

Personal pronouns are not the only source of copulas. Demonstratives can also be used in the base structure shown in (3).

Li & Thompson (1977) illustrate this variant of diachronic development with examples such as (11) and (12), which come from Archaic Chinese (6th-5th century B.C.). The element *shì* is a demonstrative in both of them: in (11) it modifies the noun *yè* 'night', whilst in (12), it acts as the subject of the sentence (coreferential with the topicalized conjoined phrase *qíong yù jiàn* 'poverty and debasement'):

(11) shì yè yě, zhaò-mèn jī zǐ-xī míng.
this night DECL-PART Zhao-men and Zi-xi ally
'This night, Zhao-men and Zi-xi formed an alliance.'

(12) qíong yù jiàn, shì rén zhǐ sǔo
poverty and debasement this people GEN NOMIN
wù yě.
dislike DECL-PART
'Poverty and debasement, that is what people dislike.'

Example (12) corresponds to the topic-comment structure in (3).[8] Li & Thompson (1977) point out that *shì* ceases to function as a demonstrative in the late Han period: in sentences such as (13) (1st century A.D.), it is already a copula with no pronominal features.

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[8] Note that Bowern (2006) interprets such Archaic Chinese examples as cleft constructions. Apart from that, her account of the syntactic reanalysis that took place in Chinese is parallel to that proposed by Li & Thompson (1977). She represents the input and output of the diachronic change in question in the following way (compare the structures in (3) and (4)):

(i) X, *shì* [be] Y [input]
'X, this [is] Y'

(ii) X *shì* Y [output]
'X is Y'

(13) cǐ shì xiǎo ér.
this COP small child
'This is a small child.'

Note that the reanalyzed element *shì* becomes independent from the pronoun *shì*; therefore, we expect to find sentences in which they co-occur. This prediction finds confirmation in texts written as early as in the 2nd century B.C.: see example (14) (Peyraube & Wiebusch 1994, Whitman 2001).[9]

(14) shì shì lie gui.
this is violent ghost
'This is a violent ghost.'

Bowern (2006) gives a possible interpretation of the above reanalysis in terms of acquisition. She argues that what happened in the late Han period was that children started to parse *shì* as a verb and, on the basis of this parsing, deduced that the structure of expressions such as (12) must be as shown in (4) (in other words, the "misinterpretation" of *shì* drove a reanalysis of (3) as (4)). A similar account was put forward by Whitman (2001). According to his "relabeling hypothesis", syntactic reanalysis is caused by a change in the categorial feature of a head. Bowern (2006) rejects the opposite scenario, according to which children "expected an overt copula" and "recruited *shì* to fill that function".

Demonstratives gave rise to copulas in many natural languages (cf., Schuh 1983, Gildea 1993, Diessel 1999); Li & Thompson (1977) provide examples of such a development in Hebrew:

[9] We do not find such examples in Modern Chinese because the element *shi* is no longer used as a pronoun.

(15) moše ze student šeli.
Moshe that.MASC student my
'Moshe is a student of mine.'

They view the development of copulas from personal pronouns and demonstratives as two instances of the same general phenomenon. Diessel (1999) argues against this approach. He notices that the two patterns may sometimes differ with respect to morphosyntactic agreement. This is illustrated in (16-17) vs. (18). Diessel (1999) uses examples from Glinert (1989):

(16) ha-sha'on hu matana.
the-clock.MASC he present.FEM
'The clock is a present.'

(17) Hevrat bóing hi taagid
company.FEM Boeing she corporation.MASC
anaki.
giant.MASC
'The Boeing company is a giant corporation.'

In the above sentences, the copulas derived from personal pronouns clearly agree in gender with the precopular element. This is what Li & Thompson's (1977) model predicts: the personal pronoun must resume the topicalized NP (compare the structure in (3)). However, as pointed out by Diessel (1999), the above agreement pattern does not apply to copulas which evolved from demonstratives:

(18) ha-báyit shelHa zot dogma
the-house.MASC your that.FEM example.FEM
tova.
good.FEM
'Your house is a good example.'

The demonstrative *zot* above agrees in gender with the following feminine noun *dugma* 'example', and not with the preceding masculine noun *báyit* 'house'. Therefore, Diessel (1999) proposes that copulas such as *zot* 'that.FEM' or *ze* 'that.MASC' derive from identificational demonstratives, i.e., non-anaphoric pronominal elements, in a way parallel to presentatives such as *voila* in French, *ecce* in Latin, *vot* in Russian, or *oto* in Polish.[10] Diessel (1999) points out that, unlike the copulas in (16-17) (which evolved from anaphoric pronouns), a copula derived from an identificational demonstrative is not expected to have an antecedent; thus, it need not agree morphosyntactically with the preceding NP.

In the remaining part of this paper, I will follow Diessel's (1999) modification of Li & Thompson's (1977) theory and try to apply it to Polish. As will be shown in the next section, the syntax of Polish *to*-expressions supports the prediction that, in copular contexts, demonstrative pronouns do not function as anaphoric elements and that it is NP2, and not NP1, that controls the copula. In section 4, I will argue that the structure of Polish constructions such as (2) is parallel to the representation in (3); it has not been reanalyzed as in (4) yet.

3. Polish *to*-constructions: Crucial Generalizations

As mentioned in the introduction, I assume that Polish has two types of copular constructions. The crucial difference between them is the presence/lack of the element *to*. See examples (1-2). Note that this view is not uncontroversial. Citko (2006) proposes a tripartite

[10] In some languages, identificational demonstratives differ from regular demonstratives morphologically. Diessel (1999) gives examples from Karanga, Supyire, Kilba, Nunggubuyu, and Ponapean, among others. In others, they can be defined on semantic grounds only.

division: she distinguishes between verbal, pronominal, and dual copulas; they are illustrated in (19-21), respectively:

(19) Jan jest moim najlepszym przyjacielem.
Jan is my best friend
'Jan is my best friend.'

(20) Jan to mój najlepszy przyjaciel.
Jan TO my best friend
'Jan is my best friend.'

(21) Jan to jest mój najlepszy przyjaciel.
Jan TO is my best friend
'Jan is my best friend.'

I follow Linde-Usiekniewicz (2006) in assuming that Citko's (2006) pronominal and dual copular constructions are two realizations of the same syntactic pattern: namely, structures such as (20) are derived from structures such as (21) by the deletion of the verb *być* 'be'. Note that this deletion is possible in the present tense only:[11]

(22) Jan to *(był) kiedyś mój najlepszy przyjaciel.
Jan TO was once my best friend
'Jan was once my best friend.'

[11] The lack of the copula *być* 'be' in the present tense is not surprising since structures corresponding to (21) are copula-less (in other words, consist of two noun phrases only) in many natural languages. According to Li & Thompson (1977), the NP1 NP2 model is found for example in Kanuri (Nilo-Saharan), Isthmus Zapotec (Otomanguean), Djirbal (Australian), Luganda (Niger-Congo-Ijo), Classical Nahuatl (Uto-Aztecan), Wiyot (Algonquian), Naga (Tibeto-Burman), Jacaltec (Mayan) and almost all Austronesian languages.

According to Citko (2006), both the verb *być* 'be' and the element *to* are copulas (which means that Polish allows two kinds of copulas). In principle, this approach is also advocated in Linde-Usiekniewicz (2006), the difference being that in the latter analysis *to* is considered a verbal (and not pronominal) copula. However, Linde-Usiekniewicz's (2006) account differs from that proposed by Citko (2006) with respect to a very important observation, namely that the verbal element *być* 'be' in structures such as (21) agrees morphosyntactically with NP2, and not NP1; in Linde-Usiekniewicz's (2006) terms, NP2 is the subject of *to*-expressions. She illustrates this fact with the following examples, in which there is clearly number agreement between the verbal copula and NP2:

(23) Dinozaury to jest gatunek gadów.
dinosaurs TO is species reptiles.GEN
'Dinosaurs are a species of reptiles.'

(24) *Dinozaury to są gatunek gadów.
dinosaurs TO are species reptiles.GEN

(25) Cyganeria to są artyści ...
Bohemia *to* are artists
'Bohemia are the artists ...'

(26) *Cyganeria to jest artyści ...
bohemia *to* is artists

I will refer to the fact that it is NP2 that triggers agreement on the verb *być* 'be' as "NP2-headedness". This property of *to*-structures is even more salient in the past tense, where the verb *być* must agree with NP2 not only in number, but also in gender[12]:

[12] Note that Polish verbs are not marked for gender in the present tense.

(27) Dinozaury to był gatunek gadów.
Dinosaurs TO was.MASC species.MASC reptiles.GEN
'Dinosaurs were a species of reptiles.'

(28) Dinozaury to była podgrupa gadów.
Dinosaurs TO was.FEM subgroup.FEM reptiles.GEN
'Dinosaurs were a subgroup of reptiles.'

Examples (23-28) could also be used to illustrate another important observation made by Linde-Usiekniewicz (2006). Contra Citko (2006), she notices that there is no morphological agreement between NP1 and NP2. Consider the following examples:

(29) Jan to mój najlepszy przyjaciel.
Jan TO my best.MASC friend.MASC
'John is my best friend.'

(30) Jan to straszna świnia.
Jan TO terrible.FEM pig.FEM
'Jan is a real bastard.'

Linde-Usiekniewicz (2006) points out that the noun *świnia* 'bastard' (literally 'pig') is morphologically feminine in Polish but in (30) it is preceded by a masculine NP1 (*Jan*); thus, the fact that both NP1 and NP2 in (29) are masculine does not result from any morphosyntactic requirements, contrary to Citko's (2006) claim. I consider this line of reasoning very convincing. However, I do not share Linde-Usiekniewicz's (2006) opinion concerning the issue of verbal agreement in sentences such as (30). She tentatively proposes that the verb in predicative *to*-structures (as opposed to regular NP2-headed equatives such as (23), (25), or (27)) agrees in gender with NP1. She uses the following mixed-gender example to support this account:

(31) Jan to był straszna świnia.
Jan TO was.MASC terrible.FEM pig.FEM
'Jan was a real bastard.'

I find Linde-Usiekniewicz's (2006) grammaticality judgment questionable in this case. According to my intuition, the masculine form of the copula *być* 'be' in (31) is far from felicitous. Example (32) seems more acceptable.

(32) Jan to był świnia.
Jan TO was.MASC pig.MASC
'Jan was a real bastard.'

However, I consider the word *świnia* 'bastard' (literally 'pig') in (32) a masculine noun. This assumption is based on Bańko's (2002) overview of mismatches between grammatical gender and natural gender in Polish. Some examples of such mismatches are listed in the following table (Bańko 2002: 150):

Table 1. Examples of Gender Mismatches in Polish[13]

Example	Grammatical gender	Natural gender
babsztyl 'cow (about a woman)'	masculine	feminine
kociak 'chick (about a girl)' (literally 'kitten')	masculine	feminine
kurwa męska 'male prostitute'	feminine	masculine

[13] Bańko (2002) distinguishes three subclasses of masculine nouns (in other words, he assumes that there are three masculine genders in Polish) but this distinction is irrelevant to my analysis.

babsko 'old bag (about a woman)'	neuter	feminine
oferma 'loser'	masculine or feminine	masculine or feminine

Words such as *oferma* 'loser' are especially interesting because, from the morpho-syntactic point of view, they can function as either masculine or feminine nouns (both options allow two interpretations in terms of the sex of the referent, which means that grammatical gender is not related to natural gender):

(33) Ten cholerny oferma oblał egzamin.
this.MASC damned.MASC loser failed.MASC exam
'This damned loser failed the exam.'

(34) Ta cholerna oferma oblała egzamin.
this.FEM damned.FEM loser failed.FEM exam
'This damned loser failed the exam.'

However, a particular occurrence of nouns such as *oferma* 'loser' can have only one gender feature; in other words, it must trigger the same gender agreement on its modifiers and on the predicate:

(35) *Ten cholerny oferma oblała egzamin.
this.MASC damned.MASC loser failed.FEM exam

(36) *Ta cholerna oferma oblał egzamin.
this.FEM damned.FEM loser failed.MASC exam

In my opinion, the noun *świnia* belongs to the same lexical class as *oferma*, which means that it triggers either masculine or feminine agreement. Thus, I argue that the masculine copula in (32) does not

agree with NP1, but with NP2 *świnia* 'bastard', which is masculine in this case. On the other hand, (31) is not felicitous because the adjective *straszna* 'terrible' is clearly feminine. Note that example (31) becomes fully grammatical if the verb assumes the feminine form:

(37) Jan to była straszna świnia.
Jan TO was.FEM terrible.FEM pig.FEM
'Jan was a real bastard.'

Therefore, I do not agree with Linde-Usiekniewicz's (2006) proposal that predicative *to*-sentences such as (30) are N2-headed. If her account were on the right track, we should expect examples such as (39), (41), and (43) to be grammatical. However, it is not the case.

(38) Anna to był głupi babsztyl.
Anna TO was.MASC stupid.MASC cow.MASC
'Anna was a stupid cow.'

(39) *Anna to była głupi babsztyl.
Anna TO was.FEM stupid.MASC cow.MASC

(40) Jan to była kurwa męska.
Jan TO was.FEM whore.FEM male.FEM
'John was a male prostitute.'

(41) *Jan to był kurwa męska.
Jan TO was.MASC whore.FEM male.FEM

(42) Wanda to było stare babsko.
Wanda TO was.NEUT old.NEUT bag.NEUT
'Wanda was an old bag.'

(43) *Wanda to była stare babsko.
Wanda TO was.FEM old.NEUT bag.NEUT

To sum up, I generally follow Linde-Usiekniewicz's (2006) observation that Polish *to*-structures are NP2-headed. Furthermore, I can see no reasons to assume that there are exceptions to this generalization. The fact that the copula verb *być* 'be' obligatorily agrees with NP2 can actually be considered one of the most characteristic features of *to*-construstions.

It should be noted that the NP2-headedness of Polish *to*-structures patterns with Diessel's (1999) observations concerning the syntactic properties of copulas derived from demonstratives. Another claim made by Diessel (1999) which finds support in Polish is that demonstratives in copular structures are not anaphoric. If the element *to* in constructions such as (20) is analyzed as a demonstrative, it definitely cannot be argued to resume NP1 because, as shown below, *to* is not a masculine form.

Table 2. Demonstrative 'this' in Polish

Case	Masculine		Feminine		Neuter	
	SING	PL	SING	PL	SING	PL
Nominative	ten	ci	ta	te	to	te
Genitive	tego	tych	tej	tych	tego	tych
Dative	temu	tym	tej	tym	temu	tym
Accusative	tego	tych	tą	te	to	te
Locative	tym	tych	tej	tych	tym	tych
Instrumental	tym	tymi	tą	tymi	tym	tymi

Therefore, I follow Diessel's (1999) line of reasoning and assume that *to* is an identificational demonstrative. This approach finds confirmation in the fact that, as pointed out by Linde-Usiekniewicz (2006), biphrasal copular constructions of the form

NP1 *to być* NP2 are essentially parallel to examples such as (44-45):

(44) To (jest) mój najlepszy przyjaciel.
TO is my best friend
'This is my best friend.'

As indicated by gender agreement, identificational *to*-structures are NP2-headed (similarly to copular phrases such as (20-21)):

(45) To był mój najlepszy przyjaciel.
TO was.MASC my best friend.MASC
'This was my best (male) friend.'

(46) To była moja najlepsza przyjaciółka.
TO was.FEM my best friend.FEM
'This was my best (female) friend.'

Therefore, I conclude that there are good reasons to treat structures such as (44) as the cognitive source of constructions shown in (20-21), which, in turn, means that Diessel's (1999) diachronic model is applicable to Polish.

4. The Syntax of the Demonstrative-to-copula Evolution

In this section, I attempt to rephrase the above observations on Polish *to*-expressions in a generative syntactic framework. I propose that, in sentences such as (21-22), NP1 is an external (left dislocated) topic, whereas the element *to* resides in the sentential subject position (the specifier of TP). Following Whitman (2001), I assume that the left dislocated phrase is located in the specifier of

Topic Phrase, a layer projected above TP. NP1 has to be nominative because this is the default case value in Polish, assigned when a nominal element is placed outside of any syntactic context. I further argue that the verb *być* 'be' is the only copula in such structures.[14] The surface position of this copula in examples such as (21-22) results from movement: the verb rises to a functional projection located above VP (but, crucially, below TP). I leave the exact mechanism of this raising for further investigation. The base structure of Polish *to*-sentences is illustrated in (49).

I view NP2 as a VP-internal subject. Hence, it is this element that the verb agrees with. On the other hand, the element *to* is a place holder for the sentential subject. The proposal that the sentential subject position is not occupied by an NP explains why neither NP1 nor NP2 can act as the controller of a participial phrase. Note the following contrast:

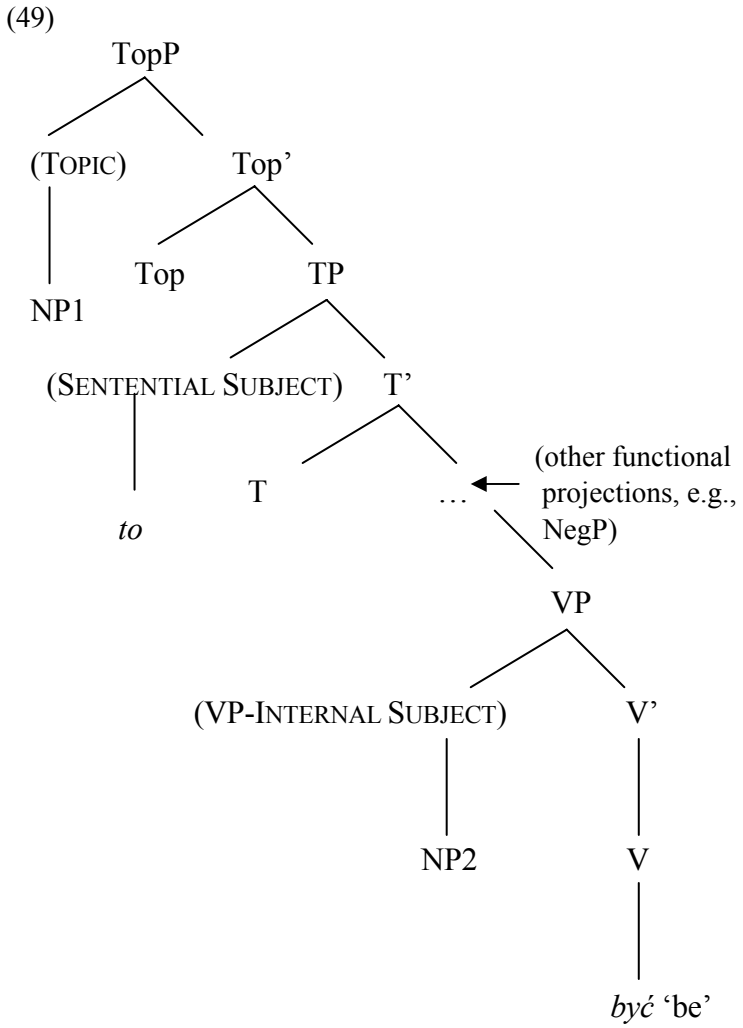
(47) Adam był lingwistą, mieszkając w New Haven.
Adam was linguist living in New Haven
'Adam was a linguist when he lived in New Haven.'

(48) *Adam to był lingwista, mieszkając w New Haven.
Adam TO was linguist living in New Haven

In (48), as opposed to the regular ("non-*to*") copular structure in (47), the phrase *Adam* is not located in the sentential subject position, therefore it cannot act as the subject of the participial phrase *mieszkając w New Haven* 'living in New Haven'

[14] Li & Thompson (1977) point out that one of characteristic features of most Indo-European, Finno-Ugric, and Altaic languages is that copulas are usually verbs.

(49)



Interestingly, Citko (2006) admits that a left dislocation analysis would be "intuitively very plausible". Nonetheless, she rejects it on the basis of the fact that quantified elements can take the position of

NP1 in copular expressions, although they are normally excluded from left dislocation structures. Compare (50) and (51).

(50) Każdy student to (jest) potencjalny profesor.
every student TO is potential professor
'Every student is a potential professor.'

(51) *Każdy student, on jest potencjalnym profesorem.
every student he is potential professor

This argument is problematic because Polish does not seem to allow resumptive personal pronouns in left dislocation structures at all, even if the left dislocated nominal expression is not quantified:

(52) ?*Adam, on jest potencjalnym profesorem.
Adam he is potential professor
'Adam, he is a potential professor.'

What is used in left dislocation constructions is precisely the element *to*, and not a resumptive pronoun:

(53) Adam, to dopiero jest potencjalny profesor.
Adam TO only is potential professor
'Adam, he really is a potential professor.'

Therefore, I do not find Citko's (2006) argumentation convincing.

The topicalization analysis shown in (49) finds confirmation in an interesting phenomenon discussed by Whitman (2001). He points out that predicate fronting over a topicalized or left dislocated element results in ungrammaticality (because it violates Relativized Minimality). He illustrates this point with the following example (Note that *my father* is a left dislocated element):

(54) *Smart, my father he is.

Whitman (2001) reports that, as shown by McWhorter (1997), this generalization is supported by the following data from Saramaccan:

(55) disi da mi tata.
this that my father
'This is my father.'

(56) *mi tata, disi da.
my father this that

Predicate fronting is impossible in (56) because the pre-copular element *disi* is topicalized due to its status as NP1 in a topic-comment copular construction. Interestingly, a parallel phenomenon can be observed in Polish *to*-structures:

(57) Adam to mój przyjaciel od niepamiętnych czasów.
Adam TO my friend since immemorial times
'Adam has been a friend of mine since time immemorial.'

(58) *Mój przyjaciel Adam to od niepamiętnych czasów.
my friend Adam TO since immemorial times

This suggests that the topicalization analysis of Polish *to*-expressions illustrated in (49) is on the right track. Note also that predicate fronting is not ungrammatical in regular copular constructions (i.e., those that do not involve the use of the element *to*):

(59) Adam jest moim przyjacielem od niepamiętnych
Adam is my friend since immemorial
czasów.
times
'Adam has been a friend of mine since time immemorial.'

(60) Moim przyjacielem Adam jest od niepamiętnych
my friend Adam is since immemorial
czasów.
times
'Adam has been a friend of mine since time immemorial.'

Note that the structure I argue for is different from that schematized in (4). In other words, Polish is different from Modern Chinese because it has not undergone the pronoun-to-copula reanalysis. In a way, the situation in Polish could be compared to that in Wappo (a Native American language spoken in California). According to Li & Thompson (1977), the reanalysis of the Wappo pronominal element *ce* as a copula has not yet been completed. One of their arguments is that *ce* cannot be used both as a demonstrative and copula. Compare (61) and (62).

(61) ʔi ceʔ(-eʔ) temeʔ ʔek'a.
I that-COP his child
'I am his child.'

(62) *ce ceʔ(-eʔ) temeʔ ʔek'a.
that that-COP his child
'That is his child.'

The same is true of Polish:

(63) *To to jest mój najlepszy przyjaciel.
this TO is my best friend
'This is my best friend.'

The case of Wappo is especially interesting because the copular element includes not only a demonstrative (*ce*), but also the morpheme *e?* that can be optionally elided. Li and Thompson 1977 argue that the optional element must be an older copula, whose function has been gradually taken over by the demonstrative *ce*. This development might be what will happen to Polish *to*-constructions in the future: the element *to* may take over the copular function of the verb *być* 'be'. This, however, has not taken place yet.

Linde-Usiekniewicz (2006) argues for analyzing the element *to* as a verbal copula, and not a pronominal element. She draws a parallel between *to* and defective verbs such as *warto* 'be worth' or *trzeba* 'be necessary'. Being morphologically invariant, they are assumed to inflect for tense and mood by means of taking an appropriate form of the auxiliary verb *być* 'be' (note that this verb is not required in the present tense).[15] This is illustrated below:

(64) Warto (jest) tam pójść.
be.worth is there go
'It is worth to go there.'

(65) Warto było tam pójść.
be.worth was there go
'It was worth to go there.'

[15] Elements such as *trzeba* 'it is necessary' were analyzed as verbs by Saloni (1974). I will not discuss the details of his proposal here because, as I will show below, the element *to* does not seem to belong to the same syntactic class as Saloni's (1974) defective verbs.

(66) Warto byłoby tam pójść.
be.worth would there go
'It would be worth to go there.'

According to Linde-Usiekniewicz (2006), the only major difference between *to* and defective verbs is that the latter are subject-less. Therefore, she proposes that these two classes belong to the same lexical category. In other words, examples such as (64-66) are assumed to be syntactically parallel to copular constructions such as (67):

(67) Waterloo to było zwycięstwo.
Waterloo TO was victory
'Waterloo was a victory.'

This analysis seems to be questioned by the fact that expressions such as *warto było* 'it was worth' in (65) and *to było* 'TO was' in (67) differ significantly in terms of their internal structure. As shown below, *to*-constructions always "bracket" elements such as negation markers—(68), adverbs—(70), or modal verbs—(72) and (74). Complex verbal constructions are also admitted in between *to* and the verb *być* 'be'—(76).

(68) Waterloo to nie było zwycięstwo.
Waterloo TO not was victory
'Waterloo was not a victory.'

(69) *Waterloo nie to było zwycięstwo.
Waterloo not TO was victory

(70) Waterloo to oczywiście było zwycięstwo.
Waterloo TO obviously was victory
'Waterloo was obviously a victory.'

(71) *Waterloo oczywiście to było zwycięstwo.
Waterloo obviously TO was victory

(72) Waterloo to mogło być zwycięstwo.
Waterloo TO could be victory
'Waterloo could be a victory.'

(73) *Waterloo mogło to być zwycięstwo.
Waterloo could TO be victory

(74) Waterloo to powinno było być zwycięstwo.
Waterloo TO should was be victory
'Waterloo should have been a victory.'

(75) *Waterloo powinno było to być zwycięstwo.
Waterloo should was TO be victory

(76) Waterloo to wydaje się być zwycięstwo.
Waterloo TO seems REFL be victory
'Waterloo seems to be a victory.'

(77) *Waterloo wydaje się to być zwycięstwo.
Waterloo seems REFL TO be victory

Defective verbs such as *warto* 'be worth' do not conform to this pattern. The auxiliary verb *być* 'be' is usually placed immediately after the defective verb:

(78) Nie warto było tam pójść.
not be.worth was there go
'It was not worth to go there.'

(79) *Warto nie było tam pójść.
be.worth not was there go

The data in (68-77) seem to pattern with the assumption that the element *to* and the verbal copula *być* 'be' are base generated in two different (and distant syntactically) positions—compare the structure in (49).

It also seems that Linde-Usiekniewicz's (2006) analysis of *to* as a verb runs into trouble when confronted with examples such as the following:

(80) *Amor* to znaczy "miłość".
amor TO means love
'*Amor* means "love".'

(81) Dwa plus dwa to się równa cztery.
two plus two TO REFL equals four
'Two plus two equals four.'

(82) Adam to staje się coraz większa
Adam TO becomes REFL more.and.more bigger
pierdoła.
old-fart
'Adam is becoming more and more of an old fart.'

All the above sentences conform to the *to*-pattern, which could be schematized in the following way:

(83) NP1 TO VERB NP2

Therefore, it is plausible to analyze them on a par with copular expressions such as (20-21). However, if Linde-Usiekniewicz's (2006) proposal were applied to constructions such (80-82), the

verbs *znaczyć* 'mean', *równać się* 'equal', *stawać się* 'become' would have to be analyzed as auxiliaries attached to the main verb *to* (which seems to be an undesirable conclusion from the semantic point of view).

Interestingly, the Polish *to*-structure exemplified in (44-46) has an exact parallel in German. Similarly to *to* in Polish, the German word *das* in structures such as (84-85), taken from Diessel (1999), derives from a neuter demonstrative. However, it differs from regular demonstratives because it never inflects; in other words, it does not agree in gender or number with the following NP.

(84) Das ist meine schwester.
this.NEUT is my sister.FEM
'This is my sister.'

(85) Das sind meine freunde.
this.NEUT are my friends.MASC
'These are my friends.'

If we applied Linde-Usiekniewicz's (2006) analysis to the above German data, we would have to say that *das* is a copular verb. However, Diessel's (1999) comparative survey shows that *das* should rather be interpreted as an identificational demonstrative. Although Diessel (1999) argues that such demonstratives often give rise to copulas (see Section 2 of the present paper), there seems to be no reason to claim that this development has taken place in German. In identifying constructions (such as (84-85)), the demonstrative *das* is always accompanied by a copula verb *sein* 'be'. On the other hand, *das* never appears in regular copular expressions of the type NP *sein* 'be' NP. Thus, I conclude that the only copular element in German is the verb *sein*.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, I have discussed the issue of pronoun-to-copula development and the syntax of Polish *to*-expressions, i.e., copular constructions which involve the use of the element *to*. Historically, *to* is a demonstrative pronoun. I have shown, that this status is reflected in the syntactic properties of *to*-expressions (note that these properties pattern with certain assumptions of Diessel's (1999) cross-linguistic model). I have also proposed a generative analysis of the structure of *to*-expressions. The crucial assumption of this proposal is that NP1 is a left dislocated phrase, whereas NP2 is a VP-internal subject.

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