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The Polysemy of the Verb *wystarczać/wystarczyć* [to suffice] in Polish

ABSTRACT

This paper examines the syntax and semantics of the unaccusative verb *wystarczać/wystarczyć* [to suffice] in Polish. We argue that this verb is polysemous. Besides its idiosyncratic meaning 'to suffice', it may also mean 'to be enough' or 'to have enough'. The three above-mentioned meanings of the verb *wystarczać/wystarczyć* are associated with three different syntactic structures. The idiosyncratic meaning of this verb is found with the nominative argument. The second meaning of the verb surfaces in existential clauses with the genitive nominal argument and an optional locative PP. The third – possessive meaning – arises when the verb appears with the dative possessor and the genitive theme.

Keywords: polysemy, unacccusative verbs, existential structures, possessive constructions, the Polish language

1. Introduction

In Polish, the imperfective verb *wystarczać* [to suffice] and its perfective counterpart *wystarczyć* may co-occur with a nominal argument marked either for nominative or genitive, as in (1) and (2), respectively, taken from *Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego* (henceforth: *NKJP*) [The National Corpus of Polish]:

(1)

Wystarczały	bowiem	niewielkie
suffered.IMP.3PL.NON-VIR	because	small
ilości	drewna […]	
quantities.3PL.NOM.NON-VIR	wood.GEN[1]	

[Because small quantities of wood sufficed …]

(2)

Wystarczyło	pieniędzy.
suffered.PVF.3SG.NEU	money.3PL.GEN.NON-VIR

[There was enough money.]

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[1]   The following abbreviations have been used: ACC – accusative, DAT – dative, F – feminine, GEN – genitive, IMP – imperfective, LOC – locative, M – masculine, NEU – neuter, NOM – nominative, NON-VIR – non-virile, PFV – perfective, PL – plural, SG – singular.

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In (1), the past form of the imperfective verb *wystarczać* [to suffice] agrees in person, number and gender with the nominative plural non-virile Determiner Phrase (DP) *niewielkie ilości drewna* 'small quantities of wood'[2]. In (2), which contains the genitive plural non-virile DP *pieniędzy* [money], the perfective form *wystarczyć* [to suffice] surfaces in the default 3rd singular neuter form. In the two above-mentioned patterns, *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV 'to suffice' may appear with an additional dative argument, as shown in (3) and (4):

(3)

Wystarczyły	mu	pisemne
sufficed.PFV.3PL.NON-VIR	him.DAT	written

oświadczenia.
statements.3PL.NOM.NON-VIR
[Written statements sufficed him.]

(4)

Wystarczało	mu	sił.
sufficed.IMP.3SG.NEU	him.DAT	strength.3PL.GEN.NON-VIR

[He had enough strength.]

The sentences such as (3) and (4) with the verb *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV [to suffice] have been treated by Saloni & Świdziński (1998, p. 127) as distinct at the structural level, but identical in meaning[3]. In contradistinction to Saloni & Świdziński (1998), Linsztet (2016) treats sentences like (3) and (4) (as well as (1) and (2)) as variants of the same syntactic pattern. Linsztet (2016) argues that the verb *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV [to suffice] does not represent a lexical item, but is just an element forming a few multi-segmental structures in which its meaning remains the same. In other words, neither Saloni & Świdziński (1998)

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[2] We remain agnostic as to whether Polish has a Determiner Phrase or just a Noun Phrase. We use the label 'DP' to refer to any nominal expression for the sake of convenience, without committing ourselves to the exact category of the nominal phrase.

[3] Saloni & Świdziński (1998, p. 127) analyse just two examples, depicted in (i) and (ii) below with the verb *starczać* [to suffice]:

(i)	Pensja	starcza	mi	do dwudziestego.
	salary.3SG.NOM	suffices	me.DAT	till twentieth.

[The salary suffices me till the twentieth.]

(ii)	Pensji	starcza	mi	do dwudziestego.
	salary.3SG.GEN	suffices	me.DAT	till twentieth

[I have enough salary till the twentieth.] (Saloni & Świdziński, 1998, p. 127)

The verb *starczać*/*starczyć* [to suffice] behaves like *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV [to suffice] (cf. Linsztet, 2016, p. 177). Actually sentence (i) corresponds to example (3) above, while sentence (ii) patterns like (4). The dative DP in both (i) and (ii) is optional, in a way similar to (1) and (2).

nor Linsztet (2016) consider *wystarczać*.ɪᴍᴘ/*wystarczyć*.ᴘꜰᴠ [to suffice] to be polysemous in sentences like (1) – (4) above.

In turn, in dictionaries of the Polish language, including *Słownik języka polskiego* [The dictionary of the Polish language] by Doroszewski (1958-1969) and *Słownik syntaktyczno-generatywny czasowników polskich* [The syntactic-generative dictionary of Polish verbs] by Polański (1992), the verb *wystarczać*.ɪᴍᴘ/*wystarczyć*.ᴘꜰᴠ [to suffice] is taken to be polysemous. Its meanings cover the following: (i) to suffice, (ii) to be a sufficient reason for, (iii) to replace somebody, to have somebody's function, and (iv) to satisfy somebody's needs. The first of these four meanings may be associated with the data in (1) and (3) above, whereas examples (2) and (4) do not fall under any of the four meanings mentioned above.

The aim of this paper is to analyse the syntax and semantics of the verb *wystarczać*.ɪᴍᴘ/*wystarczyć*.ᴘꜰᴠ [to suffice]. We intend to show that the verb under scrutiny in the two patterns illustrated in (1) – (3) and (2) – (4) above is associated with different meanings, and thus it is polysemous. In the pattern with the nominative DP, the verb *wystarczać*.ɪᴍᴘ/*wystarczyć*.ᴘꜰᴠ has the meaning 'to suffice/to be sufficient', and an additional dative argument may be interpreted as a beneficiary (cf. (3)) or an experiencer (cf. (15) below). In the pattern with the genitive DP, the verb *wystarczać*.ɪᴍᴘ/*wystarczyć*.ᴘꜰᴠ is semantically bleached (Borschev et al., 2010). Its meaning corresponds to 'to be enough' in (2) or 'to have enough' in (4), and an additional dative is then interpreted as a possessor. In other words, we will argue that the verb *wystarczać*.ɪᴍᴘ/*wystarczyć*.ᴘꜰᴠ in Polish lexicalises the following three meanings: (i) to suffice, (ii) to be enough, and (iii) to have enough. In Lithuanian, these three meanings are expressed by three different lexical items, viz. *pakakti* [to suffice], *ganėti* [to be enough], and *užtekti* [to have enough] (Šereikaitė, 2020, p. 272). We will demonstrate that in a way typical of unaccusative verbs (Moro, 1997), the semantically bleached verb *wystarczać*.ɪᴍᴘ/,*wystarczyć*.ᴘꜰᴠ may appear in existential structures like (2), and in closely related possessive sentences like (4).

The paper consists of five sections. In Section 2, we provide evidence that *wystarczać*.ɪᴍᴘ/*wystarczyć*.ᴘꜰᴠ [to suffice] is an unaccusative verb. In Section 3, we focus on *wystarczać*.ɪᴍᴘ/*wystarczyć*.ᴘꜰᴠ, followed by the nominative DP, with or without the dative DP. In Section 4, we analyse *wystarczać*.ɪᴍᴘ/*wystarczyć*.ᴘꜰᴠ, accompanied by the genitive DP, with or without the dative DP. We address the question whether the genitive in this case is structural or lexical. We also examine the syntactic and semantic properties of the dative argument. Finally, Section 5 concludes the paper.

2. *Wystarczać*.ɪᴍᴘ/*wystarczyć*.ᴘꜰᴠ [to suffice] as an unaccusative verb

Cross-linguistically, verbs corresponding to the English verb *to suffice*, have been classed as unaccusatives (cf., Anagnostopoulou & Sevdali, 2020 for Greek;

Fernández-Soriano, 1999 for Spanish, and Wood & Livitz, 2012 for Icelandic).
In order to check whether the Polish verb *wystarczać*.ɪᴍᴘ/*wystarczyć*.ᴘꜰᴠ [to
suffice] represents an unaccusative predicate, we will subject it to a number of
unaccusativity diagnostics.

The first unaccusativity test is based on -*no*/-*to* impersonals, which cannot be
formed of unaccusatives in perfective aspect, in contradistinction to unergatives[4].
However, -*no*/-*to* impersonals can be formed of unaccusatives in imperfective
aspect, and then they have a habitual/iterative interpretation (Cetnarowska, 2002)[5].
The verb *wystarczać* [to suffice], which is imperfective, can appear in
-*no*/-*to* impersonals, as in (5), and so can its perfective variant *wystarczyć*
[to suffice], as exemplified in (6):

(5)
Wystarczano   nam.
sufficed-*no*.ɪᴍᴘ   us.ᴅᴀᴛ
[They have sufficed us.]

(6)
Wystarczono   nam.
sufficed-*no*.ᴘꜰᴠ   us.ᴅᴀᴛ
[They sufficed us.]

However, as noted by one of the reviewers, the acceptability of the two impersonal
forms in (5) and (6) is highly questionable, and neither of these forms can be found
in the National Corpus of Polish. Consequently, we consider the data in (5) and (6)
as irrelevant for determining the unaccusative status of the verb *wystarczać*.ɪᴍᴘ/
wystarczyć.ᴘꜰᴠ [to suffice].

The second unaccusativity diagnostic relates to distributive *po*-phrases. These
phrases are licit with objects of transitive verbs, as in (7):

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[4]   The contrast can be seen in (i) and (ii) below, which contain an unergative and an unaccusative
verb, respectively, reproduced after Cetnarowska (2002, p. 64):

(i)   Zadzwoniono   po   lekarza.
         phoned-*no*.ᴘꜰᴠ   for   doctor.ᴀᴄᴄ
         [They phoned for a doctor]

(ii)   *Wyrośnięto   w atmosferze   terroru.
         grew-up-*no*.ᴘꜰᴠ   in atmosphere   terror.ɢᴇɴ
         [They grew up in an atmosphere of terror.]

[5]   The sentence in (i) below from Cetnarowska (2002, p. 64, fn. 19) contains an unaccusative
verb in imperfective aspect, which clearly contrasts in grammaticality with example (ii) from
footnote 4 above, which contains the same verb in perfective aspect:

(i)   Wyrastano   w atmosferze   terroru.
         grew-up-*no*.ɪᴍᴘ   in atmosphere.ʟᴏᴄ terror.ɢᴇɴ
         [They were growing up in an atmosphere of terror.]

(7)

Przeczytaliśmy	po	książce.
read.1PL	po	book.LOC

[We have read a book each.]

Distributive *po*-PPs are also felicitous with unaccusative verbs, as in (8):

(8)

Z każdej	klasy	przyszło	po rodzicu.
from each	class	came	po parent.LOC

[There came a parent from each class/grade.] (Cetnarowska, 2000, p. 41)

With unergative verbs, in turn, distributive *po*-phrases are much less acceptable, as shown in (9):

(9)

?*Z każdej klasy	zadzwoniło	do szkoły	po rodzicu
from each class	phoned	to school	po parent.LOC

[A parent from each class/grade phoned the school.] (Cetnarowska, 2000, p. 41)

The verb *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV [to suffice] behaves on a par with unaccusatives (cf. (8)) since it can appear with distributive *po*-PPs, as demonstrated in (10):

(10)

Każdemu	z nas	wystarczyło/wystarczało	po	100 złotych
each.DAT	of us	sufficed.PFV/sufficed.IMP	po	100 zlotys.LOC

[Hundred zlotys was sufficient for each of us.]

The final unaccusativity test concerns verb agreement. Babyonyshev (1996, p. 158) notes that unaccusative verbs in Russian show singular or plural agreement when the plural subject occurs VP-internally at Spell-out. This is also true of Polish unaccusatives, as shown in (11):

(11)

Na stole	stał/	stały	kubek	i	szklanka.
on table	stood.3SG.M	stood.3PL.NON-VIR	mug.3SG.M	and	glass.3SG.F

[On the table there stood a mug and a glass.]

The variable verb agreement typical of unaccusatives may also occur with the verb *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV [to suffice], as illustrated in (12):

(12)

Sądzę,	że	wystarczyła	wystarczyły
I.think	that	suffice.3SG.F/	sufficed.3PL.NON-VIR

opieka	i	hart	ducha	pani Małgorzaty.
care.3SG.NOM.F	and	strength.3SG.NOM.M	spirit.gen	miss Margaret.GEN

[The care and fortitude of Miss Margaret sufficed.] (modelled on the example from the *NKJP*)

In (12), the perfective form *wystarczyć* [to suffice] appears in the singular or plural form in the presence of the nominative case marked plural subject in the VP-internal position. This way the verb under scrutiny resembles unaccusative predicates like the one in (11)[6].

Summarising, the verb *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV behaves like unaccusatives with respect to two out of the three diagnostics discussed in this section. Fristly, *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV [to suffice] may occur with distributive *po*-PPs. Secondly, this verb may surface in the singular or plural form when the nominative plural subject remains in the VP-internal position. However, the ability of this verb to form -*no*/-*to* impersonals does not yield conclusive results due to the dubious acceptability status of its impersonal forms.

3. *Wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV [to suffice] with nominative DPs

As noted in Section 2, the verb *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV is unaccusative, and therefore it has just an internal argument, but it lacks an external argument altogether (Burzio, 1986; Perlmutter, 1978). Consequently, the nominative DP found in *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV [to suffice]-clauses, such as (13) below, functions as a derived subject:

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[6]   One of the reviewers notes that unergative verbs also allow the singular or plural agreement with the VP-internal subject, and gives the following data in support of this claim:

(i) | Reakcja | była | natychmiastowa, | do Temkinów | zadzwonił |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| reaction.NOM | was | instantaneous, | to theTemkins | called.3SG.M |
| wiceminister | i | | szef MSWiA Ludwik Dorn | |
| Vice-Prime Minister | and | | head MSWiA Ludwik Dorn.3SG.M | |

[The reaction was instantaneous. The vice Prime Minister and the head of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Administration, Ludwik Dorn, called the Temkins.]

(ii) | Około | godz. | 11.00 | do jednego | z mieszkań | zadzwonili |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| around | hour | 11 | to one | of flats | called.3PL.VIR |
| kobieta | i | mężczyzna | narodowości | romskiej. | |
| woman.3SG.F | and | man.3SG.M | nationality | romany | |

[Around 11 o'clock a woman and a man of Romany nationality called one of the flats.]

Although the unergative verb *zadzwonić* [to call] in (i) and (ii) above appears in the singular and plural form, respectively, we believe that this is related to the different status of the coordinate phrase in these two examples. In (i) the two conjuncts refer to one and the same person, hence the verb shows up in the singular, whereas in (ii) two different persons are involved and the verb appears in the plural. All in all, the data in (i) and (ii) do not argue in favour of that claim that unergatives can show variable agreement with the plural subject, in a way analogous to unaccusatives (cf. (11) and (12)).

(13)

Takie	strzępy	informacji	wystarczyły […].
these	fragments.3.PL.NOM	information.gen	sufficed.*pfv.3pl.non-vir*

[These bits of information sufficed.]

In (13), the past tense form of the verb *wystarczyć*.PFV 'to suffice' agrees with the nominative subject *takie strzępy informacji* [these bits of information] in person, number and gender, which supports the surface subject status of the nominative DP.

In addition to the nominative DP, the verb under scrutiny may appear with the dative DP, as exemplified in (14) and (15):

(14)

Wystarczyły	jej	same	te	możliwości.
sufficed.PFV.3PL.NON-VIR	her.DAT	alone	these	opportunities.3PL.NOM.NON-VIR

[These very opportunities were sufficient for her.]

(15)

Do szczęścia	wystarczały	mu
to happiness	sufficed.IMP.3PL.NON-VIR	him.3PL.DAT.NON-VIR

karty	i	ukochany	Szekspir
cards.3PL.NOM.NON-VIR	and	beloved	Shakespeare.3SG.NOM

[Cards and his beloved Shakespeare sufficed him to be happy.]

The dative may be interpreted as a beneficiary in (14) or as an experiencer in (15).

The nominative DP may bind the subject-oriented anaphor within the dative DP, as in (16), which indicates that the former acts as a subject, while the latter functions as an additional argument introduced by an applicative phrase (Cuervo, 2003, 2020):

(16)

Dzieci₁	wystarczają	swoim₁	rodzicom.
children.3PL.NOM	suffice.IMP.3PL	self's	parents.3PL.DAT

[Parents are satisfied with their children.]

In (16), the nominative DP *dzieci* [children] binds the subject-oriented possessive anaphor *swoim* 'self's' within the dative DP, which in this case is interpreted as an experiencer. In turn, the dative DP cannot bind the subject-oriented anaphor, as shown in (17):

(17)

Pieniądze	wystarczają	Markowi₁	na	*swoje₁	/jego₁	podróże.
money.3PL.NOM	suffice.IMP.3PL	Mark.DAT	for	self's	his	travels

[Money suffices Mark for his travels.]

In (17), the dative DP *Markowi* 'Mark' may only be co-referential with the possessive pronoun *jego* 'his', but it can never bind the possessive reflexive *swoje*

'self's'. This indicates that the dative in the structure containing *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV [to suffice], accompanied by the nominative DP, never acts as a subject.

4. *Wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV [to suffice] with genitive DPs

The verb *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV may co-occur with a genitive DP, as in (18) (cf. also (2) and (4) above):

(18)
Wejściówek   wystarczy   dla   wszystkich   chętnych (*NKJP*).
tickets.GEN.PL   suffice.PFV.3SG   for   everyone   willing
[There are enough tickets for everyone interested.]

In (18), the verb under scrutiny appears in an existential sentence, and its meaning corresponds to 'to be enough'[7]. Cross-linguistically, unaccusative verbs are frequently used in existential clauses (Irwin, 2018; Levin & Rappaport Hovav, 1995; Moro, 1997). Likewise, Polish unaccusative verbs such as *ubyć*.PVF/*ubywać*.IMP [to disappear, to decrease] and *przybyć*.PVF/*przybywać*.IMP [to arrive, to increase] are commonly found in existential clauses (cf. Bondaruk, in press), as illustrated in (19):

(19)
W portfelu   ubyło/   przybyło   pieniędzy.
in wallet.LOC   decreased.PFV.3SG.NEU/increased.PFV.3SG.NEU   money.3PL.GEN.NON-VIR
[There was less/more money in the wallet.]

Let us compare (19) with (20) below:

(20)
W portfelu   wystarczyło   pieniędzy.
in wallet.LOC   sufficed.PFV.3SG.NEU   money.3PL.GEN.NON-VIR
[There was enough money in the wallet.]

(20) patterns like (19) in that both of these sentences contain the locative PP and the genitive DP, where the former corresponds to the Location and the latter represents the Thing whose existence is asserted in the sentence (Borschev & Partee, 2002, p. 19). Borschev & Partee (2002) emphasise that existence is always relative to Location. Consequently, in sentences like (18), where location is not explicitly stated, it is implied. The Location may be explicitly stated, as demonstrated in

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7   Likewise, the English verb 'to suffice' is classed as expressing existence of a state on a par with *to be*, *to exist*, and *to seem* by Sorace (2004, p. 256).

the corpus example in (21), where the PP *na świecie* 'in the world' realises the Location argument:

(21)
Czy	nie	wystarczy	nieszczęścia	na	świecie? (*NKJP*)
if	not	suffices.PFV	unhappiness.3SG.GEN	on	world

[Is there not enough unhappiness in the world?]

The existential clauses in (18) and (20) – (21) (and in (19)) are different from existential clauses with *być* [to be], as in (22) below, in that they contain a genitive, not a nominative DP[8].

(22)
W pokoju	jest	porządek.
in room.LOC	is	order.3SG.NOM

[There is order in the room.]

The genitive on the DP whose existence is asserted in (18) and (20) – (21) is structural, not lexical. This is because it may be replaced with the phrase modified by *dużo* 'a lot', which is only admissible in structural case positions (Przepiórkowski, 1999, p. 112). This is illustrated in (23):

(23)
Dużo	wysiłku	nie	wystarczy.
a.lot	effort.3SG.GEN	not	suffices.PFV.3SG

[A lot of effort does not suffice.]

The genitive on the DP in existential clauses with *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV is partitive, because the DP in question must represent a homogenous object, viz. either a plural DP (cf. (18) and (20)) or an abstract entity, as in (21) above and (24) below, and can never be a proper noun or a singular DP, as can be seen in (25):

(24)
Pracy	wystarczy	jeszcze	na	około	dwa	miesiące. (*NKJP*)
work.GEN	suffice.PFV	still	for	about	two	months

[There will be enough work for two months.]

(25)
*Wystarczy	dobrego	pracownika	/Marka.
suffices.PFV	good	worker.GEN	Mark.GEN

[literally: There is enough of a good worker/Mark.]

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8   The genitive case marking on the DP whose existence is asserted is regularly attested in Serbian existential clauses (Hartmann & Milićević, 2008).

In existential sentences with *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV, the partitive genitive is taken to be assigned by a null quantifier by Wierzbicka (1966) and Linsztet (2016).

The verb *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV, followed by the genitive DP, may co-occur with the dative DP, as illustrated in (26) (cf. also (4)):

(26)

Wystarczy	mu	cierpliwości	i	opanowania.
suffices.PFV	him.DAT	patience.3SG.GEN.F	and	calm.3SG.GEN.NEU

[He will have enough patience and calm.]

The sentence in (26) is no longer existential, but it represents a possessive structure, with the possessor realised as a dative DP *mu* 'him'[9]. Cross-linguistically, existence and possession are closely related (cf., for instance, Błaszczak, 2007; Freeze, 1992; Kayne, 1993,), and therefore it should not come as a surprise that the verbs attested in existential clauses may also show up in possessive structures. The verb *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV in possessive structures like (26) has the meaning 'to have enough'. The dative in sentences like (26) is structurally higher than the genitive. This is supported by the fact that the dative QP may bind the pronominal variable within the genitive DP, as in (27):

(27)

[Każdemu	bezrobotnemu]₁	nie	wystarczy	środków	na jego₁	potrzeby.
each	unemployed.DAT	not	suffices.PFV	means.GEN	for his	needs

[Each unemployed won't have enough means for his needs.]

In (27), the dative case marked QP *każdemu bezrobotnemu* 'each unemployed' c-commands and binds the pronominal variable *jego* within the genitive DP, which supports the claim that the dative DP is structurally higher than the genitive DP.

The dative possessor may also bind the subject-oriented anaphor, as in (28):

(28)

Markowi₁	wystarczy	pieniędzy	na	swoje₁/	jego₁	podróże.
Mark.DAT	suffice.PFV	money.GEN	for	self's	his	travels

[Mark will have enough money for his travels.]

Example (28) contrasts in grammaticality with (17) above, since only the dative possessor as in (28) can bind the subject-oriented possessive anaphor *swój* [self's],

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9   Polish differs from Lithuanian, in which the dative possessor of the verbs *pakakti* [to suffice] and *užtekti* [to have enough] may alternate with the nominative one (Šereikaité, 2020).

whereas the dative beneficiary, as in (17), cannot do so. The dative possessor DP in (28) behaves like a subject (cf. (16) above) in that it can bind the subject-oriented anaphor. The problem of how to reconcile the external argument status of the dative possessor in structure like (28) with the unaccusativity of the verb *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV is tackled by Bondaruk and Prażmowska (in press) within the Minimalist Program (Chomsky, 2008), and we leave this problem aside here.

   In the existential and the possessive use, the verb *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV is semantically bleached. According to Rappaport Hovav and Levin (1998, p. 105), bleaching involves "the loss or weakening of the idiosyncratic aspect of verb meaning […] and […] never involves removal of grammatically relevant aspects of verb meaning". Borschev et al. (2010, p. 18) specify that bleaching is most frequently manifested as a formal shift (e.g. the addition of the existential quantifier), but may also involve substantive meaning shifts. We would like to suggest that the idiosyncratic lexical meaning of *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV [to suffice] is bleached, which yields its existential meaning 'to be enough'. This meaning change is accompanied by the change of the category of the verb from the lexical to the functional one, viz. from V to v[10]. The third – possessive meaning – arises when the meaning of the v *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV occurs in conjunction with a specific functional projection that introduces the dative possessor DP (such as expletive VoiceP in Bondaruk and Prażmowska, in press).

5. Conclusions

The paper has presented evidence that the verb *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV is polysemous. In addition to its idiosyncratic lexical meaning 'to suffice', the verb may have an existential meaning 'to be enough' or a possessive meaning 'to have enough', which arise as a result of semantic bleaching. With all the three interpretations, the verb under scrutiny belongs to the same class of unaccusative predicates. However, each meaning of the verb *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV is associated with a different type of syntactic structure. Whereas the idiosyncratic meaning arises in case the verb co-occurs with the nominative DP, the two remaining meanings surface in the presence of the genitive DP. In existential clauses, the genitive DP may co-occur with an optional locative PP. In the possessive use, the genitive DP appears with the dative possessor. We have also argued that semantic bleaching of the verb *wystarczać*.IMP/*wystarczyć*.PFV is connected with the change of its category from V to v, and its different meanings result from the way V or v combines with the particular functional categories.

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[10]   The little v is a light verb which together with the lexical verb (V) forms a verb phrase. The light verb is a head of an outer shell of a verb phrase, whereas the lexical verb is a head of the inner core of the verb phrase (for details, cf. Chomsky, 1995, pp. 219–379; Radford, 2004, pp. 253–284).

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