

Clausal Gerunds as CPs – Evidence from Polish

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This paper aims to examine the status of clausal gerunds (CG) and their peculiar features in Polish. Specifically, it is assumed that CGs should be interpreted as CPs rather than bare TPs (as suggested on a different occasion by Landau 2007), the postulate that runs counter to the analysis proposed by Reuland (1983), recently reviewed and developed by Pires (2007) in his Movement Theory of Control (MTC)-based account of CG. The discussion starts with a brief evaluation of Reuland's and Pires's most powerful arguments, notably the fact that CGs (a) are not selected by overt complementisers, and (b) they seem to offer no 'escape hatch' position for *wh*-movement. It is argued that both (a) and (b) are stipulative, as they leave open some alternative analyses of the presented facts and, at the same time, fail to address other pertinent, quantifier and *wh* – scope related syntactic phenomena. The claim that CGs be reanalyzed as CPs is subsequently supported with Case-transmission facts from Polish. Specifically, the Instrumental (default) Case marking on the predicative complement inside the object CG seems indicative of the presence of a CP projection, impenetrable to external Case-related probing, dominating the TP_{GER}. If the analysis is on the right track, it may have far-reaching consequences for Pires's proposal; his derivation of CGs is based crucially (and to my mind – misleadingly) on the idea that the subject of the TP_{GER} is an active goal for the matrix probe v^0 as well as that the gerund checks its Case feature against the matrix T^0 . Such a mechanism seems unattainable in light of the presence of the intermediate CP-phase that would force Spell-Out/Transfer *before* the matrix T^0 is merged, thus, ultimately, leading the derivation to crash. Finally, the reanalysis of object CGs as CPs allows to account for the availability of their 'Non-Obligatory Control' (NOC) readings, the option otherwise discarded by Hornstein (1999) and Pires (2007).

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