

PREFACE

This volume of *Poznań Studies in Contemporary Linguistics* constitutes records of the Syntax Session at the 34th Poznań Linguistic Meeting held on the 1st and 2nd of May, 2003, in Poznań. All but one of the contributions in this volume evolved from the presentations given at the session.

Despite the fact that five presentations dealt with issues connected with minimalist analyses, the session was rather eclectic in nature, reflecting current trends and frameworks in theoretical linguistics, such as Government and Binding, Optimality Theory, compositional semantics and Head-driven Phrase Structure Grammar. This richness of approaches gives considerable credit to the field of contrastive, mostly Polish-English, linguistics, which seems to be thriving at Polish universities, academies and in English Departments. The multitude of approaches is welcome in the current era of research diversity.

Topics also range across a wide spectrum: from the Genitive of Negation, Quantification, Partitive case and Aspect (in the contributions by Joanna Błaszczak, Bożena Rozwadowska and Ewa Willim), through agreement with predicative adjectives (in the contribution by Adam Przepiórkowski), syntax and semantics of psych predicates (in the contribution from Dorota Klimek and Bożena Rozwadowska) to conceptual speculations on the role of the phrasal relation of c-command and the interaction of the phonological component and information structure with narrow syntax (in the contributions by Michael Moss and Przemysław Tajsner).

The largest number of the contributions use as their medium certain aspects of the Minimalist Program in its various stages and guises. Joanna Błaszczak (*The riddle of 'X was not at Y' constructions in Polish*) carries out an analysis of the Nominative-to-Genitive shift on the subject in existential constructions in Polish and observes that the shift takes place only when the verb *być* 'be' is not used in the iterative mood. She associates this fact with analyses of ergative and split ergative languages and proposes that the existential construction with *być* 'be' should best be treated as a residue of the ergative strategy.

Maja Lubańska (*Wh-scope marking in Polish*) presents an analysis of *wh*-scope marking questions in Polish. Her major proposal is that the construction involves an integrated parenthetical structure rather than subordination. The analysis includes an examination of the contrast between corresponding Polish and German constructions, and leads to the conclusion that the two languages differ with respect to the syntactic realisation of scope marking; the former involves a parenthetical structure,

the latter subordinated structure. She argues further that such a conclusion is compatible with Dayal's (2000) claim that scope marking is a universal phenomenon, subject to cross-linguistic variation, and that the variation is syntactic, not semantic in nature.

Rather than centring on one empirical issue, the paper by Michael Moss (*Expanding Agree*) addresses a conceptual issue of the theory internal role of the relation of c-command underpinning Agree. The structural relation of c-command, present, discussed and modified in the generative theory of syntax for over three decades, has risen to the status of an optimal, primitive and irreducible property of syntactic relations in recent radically derivational and phase-based minimalist analyses. The main theoretical thrust of the paper is the reduction of three central modules of the former Government and Binding Theory: anaphora and case and thematic licensing to the pivotal relation of c-command and Agree holding between a probe (a functional head) and a lexical category (the goal).

Przemysław Tajsner (*Object shift and movement in the phonological component in the DBP framework*) examines Chomsky's (1999) accounts of *Thematization/Extraposition* and *Object Shift*. He argues that the formulation of the operations of the phonological component as proceeding *in parallel* to narrow syntax gives rise to a conceptual problem; some overt computations of narrow syntax would have no effect on the PF. He proposes an alternative under which the operations of the phonological component only have access to the completed strong phase, i.e. to the output of all overt computation at each (strong) phase. With respect to *Object Shift* the author notes that Chomsky's (1999) account reveals unwanted discourse-linking and global 'look ahead', through the introduction of features INT and INT'. Tajsner's alternative is to leave the determination of interpretation entirely to an interface level of 'information structure'.

Expletive constructions in English and other languages have always been regarded as the litmus paper for every new development in the theory of generative syntax. In his contribution (*Raising expletives*) Jacek Witkoś presents an innovative but controversial analysis of expletive constructions, in which, unlike in the standard approaches adopted in the literature, the expletive and the associate form a constituent at an early stage of the derivation and the expletive moves away from its associate in overt syntax as a result of raising required for (case) feature checking. Such an analysis can easily explain lack of any independent evidence for associate raising at LF but needs to rely on the assumption that both the expletive and the associate require separate case licensing procedures.

A considerable number of authors carried out their research in generative frameworks either complementary or alternative to minimalism. Ewa Bułat (*Reflexive verbs as null object licensors in Polish. Similarities between the reflexive się and small pro*) investigates the question of phonetically unrealized objects (Object Drop), along the lines of Rizzi (1986), and proposes an extension of the analysis to the cases of Polish reflexive verbs occurring with *się* and featuring arbitrary inter-

pretation. She suggests that in some cases the reflexive clitic shares certain properties with *pro* or an indefinite object pronoun. The author argues that this view is generally compatible with Rivero and Sheppard's (2003) proposals, though some modification and extension of the latter is necessary.

In her paper (*The scale of pronominal strength in Polish: An OT analysis of unstressed and weak pronouns*), Bożena Cetnarowska analyzes the class of personal pronouns in Polish from the perspective of their varying strength and mobility. Within the framework of the Optimality Theory, the author proposes to rely on the Animacy Hierarchy to explain some double duty functions, for instance weak and strong, of certain pronouns. This paper is a contribution to a long and significant discussion of the character and properties of personal pronouns in Slavic.

The major concern of Bożena Rozwadowska and Ewa Willim's paper (*The role of the accusative/partitive alternation in aspectual composition in Polish*) is the examination of the function of accusative/partitive case alternation on the nominal object in aspectual composition in Polish. They propose, contrary to some earlier approaches (e.g. Piñón 1993), that the role of the alternation is not to mark the *part-of* relation but rather to mark the *mass semantics* of inherently uncountable nouns. Another interesting claim made by the authors is that in Polish the combination of perfective predicates with partitive noun objects results in a telic/bounded sentence. This contradicts Kiparsky's (1998) and Verkuyl's (1998) generalisations that a telic predicate/sentence requires a quantitatively determinate object.

Dorota Klimek and Bożena Rozwadowska (*From Psych adjectives to Psych verbs*) focus on the argument structure of psychological predicates in Polish. They argue that the analysis of such predicates proposed by Bennis (2003) has to be modified, given the facts from Polish. They claim, contrary to Bennis, that of the two types of constructions involving psych verbs, the ergative one with a Theme argument as subject, and the unergative one with a Possessor as subject, the former is not derived from the latter by the lexical 'stripping' of the Possessor argument. They propose a reverse analysis by which the latter construction is derived by 'splitting' of the internal argument and the raising of the Possessor to an external argument. Their analysis, which they believe to be compatible with Pylkkänen's (2000) account of psych verbs for Finnish, provides also a new principled explanation of some restrictions on the occurrence of roles such as Target and Subject Matter with psych predicates, discussed earlier by Pesetsky (1995).

Adam Przepiórkowski (*On case transmission in Polish control and raising constructions*) makes several interesting observations concerning predicative adjectival agreement in various types of raising and control constructions in Polish and Czech. Working within the formal apparatus of Head-driven Phrase Structure Grammar (HPSG), he notes that when predicative adjectival agreement is taken as a criterion, the so-called subject control constructions in Polish pattern together with raising constructions but object control constructions form a homogenous class with non-obligatory control constructions.

Ewa Rudnicka-Mosiądz (*The role of the perfective aspect in the interpretation of NPs*) addresses the question of the interaction of aspectual properties of verb phrases with semantic properties of their subjects. She examines a range of data from Polish which reveal interesting correlation: (i) perfective aspect forces a non-generic, existential interpretation of bare plural subject noun phrase; (ii) ordinary imperfectives allow for both universal and existential interpretation of their subjects; and (iii) secondary imperfectives allow for existential reading only. The author maintains that these interactions corroborate Dahl's (1995) postulate of *minimal marking tendency*.

Finally, Jacek Witkoś' review paper (*Reviewing phases: some concepts and consequences of phase-based derivations*), presenting and critically reviewing some aspects of Chomsky's recent work, deals with its two central proposals: that derivations run in small cycles, called phases, and that the cycles cannot freely 'communicate' with each other, the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC). The author highlights Chomsky's attempt at eliminating derivational 'look-ahead' as the motivation for introducing both the phases and the PIC and tries to provide some empirical support for the closer interweaving of the rules of syntax, phonology and semantic interpretation. However, he also documents cases of intransigent non-local operations spanning phase boundaries and constructions where 'look-ahead' cannot be avoided even when derivations run in phases. In conclusion, the notions of the phase and the PIC may still require more empirical support.

We sincerely hope that this volume faithfully reflects some of the current areas of interest in modern theoretical linguistics in Poland.

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Guest Editors
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