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Institut Lingwistyki Stosowanej

Redaktorzy serii  
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**ON SOME ASPECTS  
OF THE SYNTAX  
OF OBJECT EXPERIENCERS  
IN POLISH AND ENGLISH**

WYDAWNICTWO NAUKOWE UAM

ON SOME ASPECTS OF THE SYNTAX  
OF OBJECT EXPERIENCERS  
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# JĘZYK KULTURA KOMUNIKACJA

## 16

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UNIWERSYTET IM. ADAMA MICKIEWICZA W POZNANIU

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Sylwiusz Żychliński

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OF OBJECT EXPERIENCERS  
IN POLISH AND ENGLISH



Poznań 2016

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# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

---

ACC	Accusative
Adv	adverb
AFF	affixal
arb	arbitrary
ASP	aspectual projection
CAUS	causative (morphology)
COMP	complementizer
DAT	Dative
DS	Deep Structure
ec	empty category
ELA	Elative
EXP	Experiencer
FEM	feminine
GEN	Genitive
IMP	impersonal
IMPF	imperfective
INSTR	Instrumental
LF	Logical Form
MLC	Minimal Link Condition
MSC	masculine
NEG	negation
NOC	Non-Obligatory Control
NOM	Nominative
ObjExp	object Experiencer
OC	Obligatory Control
Op	operator
PART	Partitive
PASS	passive
PAST	past tense
PERC	perception verb
PERF	perfective
PF	Phonetic Form
PL	plural
POVP	Point-of-View Phrase
PROGR	progressive
PRT	participle
Q	question marker
REFL	reflexive
S	singular
SS	Surface Structure
SubjExp	subject Experiencer
SUG	Suggestor
t	trace
T/SM	Target/Subject Matter

# INTRODUCTION

---

“[...] the syntactic and semantic structure of natural languages evidently offers many mysteries, both of fact and of principle, and [...] any attempt to delimit the boundaries of these domains must certainly be quite tentative.”

*Aspects of the Theory of Syntax,*  
Noam Chomsky

The motto, taken from one of Chomsky's early books, goes back to the formative period in the history of the transformational grammar, and yet it should be a gesture of humility for linguists to remember how strongly it still holds with respect to a multitude of linguistic phenomena. The answers and solutions offered, year after year, by keen language scientists are still for the most part provisional and are frequently subject to revisions and reassessments with every turn of the linguistic cycle. Thus, it should come as no surprise that the realm of the so-called psychological predicates is also a murky territory where mysteries still abound. The aim of this work is to elucidate a few selected aspects of the syntax of psychological predicates in Polish and English and in this way contribute to the ongoing discussion which, in all likelihood, will continue for some time to come.

The title of this book features prominently the word *Experiencer*. It may appear paradoxical, then, that although the word is central to the present work, just as it has been to a number of other works on the topic, no clear, unambiguous, universal definition of the term has yet been offered. Moreover, it seems that the limits of the universal grammar are being pushed when one tries to organize the sea of apparently conflicting data resulting from the cross-linguistic quest for 'psychological' order in an area which seems to be a little short of it. Notwithstanding all that, my long-forgotten Latin classes came in handy when I remembered the saying *nihil ausus, nihil acquisitus*. Below is my go at the syntax of object Experiencers. I start the Introduction by presenting a succinct historical sketch of the main approaches to psychologi-

---

<sup>1</sup> Interestingly enough, the word 'psychological' has not been in universal circulation, either. As Bloem et al. (2009) note, referring to Ruwet (1995), "the terminology is vague and confusing" (Bloem et al. 2009: 1), in French ranging from 'verbes de sentiment' to 'verbes psychologiques'.

cal constructions, which have attracted myriads of analyses over the years. Next, the seminal work by Adriana Belletti and Luigi Rizzi (1988) will be presented, which, even though it has drawn lots of criticism since its publication, must be regarded as a powerful driving force behind the increased generative interest in the syntax of psychological verbs and one whose influence can still be detected in a number of works. One of the likely reasons why Belletti and Rizzi's unaccusative analysis of object Experiencer constructions remains so highly regarded is that these authors were among the first who tried to embrace all peculiarities of the syntactic behavior of psychological verbs (instead of singling out isolated quirks, such as backward binding or reversibility of arguments) and construct an impressively comprehensive and strictly syntactic theory (based on many diverse diagnostic tests) that would cast light on and explain the diversity of data (and also in a language different than English, which has always been appreciated as a way of providing additional credibility to the generative enterprise). Thus, despite the ultimate failure of the unaccusative approach (at least in its strong, universally cross-linguistic version), Belletti and Rizzi are still considered as innovators and receive their due acknowledgment. At the end of the Introduction I will give an outline of the structure of the book.

One of the early discussions of psychological predicates goes back to the times when the adjective 'psychological' was yet to become commonly associated with the class of verbs in question. In Postal (1971) *psych-movement* is first postulated<sup>2</sup>. As Postal argues, "[t]his rule is formally rather similar to passive in that it moves an NP from grammatical subject position into the predicate and causes it to be supplied with a preposition" (1971: 39), as demonstrated below (after Postal's 1971 examples 6.(9a-b): 41):

- (i) a. I am amused with (at) (by) Harry.
- b. Harry is amusing to me.

Postal does not restrict *psych-movement* to psychological predicates, including in the same category perception and sensation verbs. Although he acknowledges the similarity that passivization and *psych-movement* seem to exemplify, his claim is that distinct transformations must be at play and what seems to resemble a verbal passive form must be adjectival in the light of (ii):

- (ii) a. I am annoyed with myself.
- b. Tony is frightened of himself.

(Postal's 1971 examples 6.(61a-b): 48)

---

<sup>2</sup> A short note on chronology is in place. One could argue that *psych-movement* is already present in Postal (1970). There, however, Postal makes explicit reference to an earlier version of Postal (1971), which must have been in circulation as a manuscript back then.

In Postal's words, "[i]f these were passives, therefore, they would be an exception to the otherwise flawless regularity that passive and reflexive are incompatible within the same minimal clause" (1971: 48). So, there is enough motivation to establish *psych-movement* as an independent syntactic operation.

Around the same time, the operation of 'flip' was introduced in Lakoff (1972) when trying to account for the relationship that the subject and the object engage in in the following pairs of sentences:

- |       |    |                               |    |                                      |
|-------|----|-------------------------------|----|--------------------------------------|
| (iii) | a. | What he did amused me.        | b. | I was amused at what he did.         |
|       |    | What he did surprised me.     |    | I was surprised at what he did.      |
|       |    | What he had done pleased her. |    | She was pleased at what he had done. |

For Lakoff the underlying intuition was that there must be a transformation that literally *flips* the objects and subjects in (iii<sub>a</sub>) to produce sentences in (iii<sub>b</sub>). Not only that, Lakoff also proposed that the same transformation was responsible for the alignment of arguments in (iv):

- |      |    |                               |
|------|----|-------------------------------|
| (iv) | a. | What he had done pleased her. |
|      | b. | She liked what he had done.   |

Although these issues were not further investigated in these early generative works, credit is certainly due to Postal and Lakoff, whose work was surely inspiring.

The advent of the modern era analyses is often linked to the work of Belletti and Rizzi<sup>3</sup> (1988). B&R identified the three<sup>4</sup> classes of psychological predicates that have become the standard method of reference when discussing these constructions. The canonical patterns manifested by psych verbs are presented in (v-vii) (B&R 1988: 291):

- |      |                             |                            |
|------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| (v)  | Gianni teme questo.         | (Class I, or SubjExp verb) |
|      | Gianni-NOM fears this-ACC   |                            |
| (vi) | Questo preoccupa Gianni.    | (Class II, or ObjExp verb) |
|      | this-NOM worries Gianni-ACC |                            |

<sup>3</sup> Belletti and Rizzi (1988) will be henceforth referred to as B&R.

<sup>4</sup> In the typological study of English verb classes, Levin (1993) distinguishes 4 classes: *amuse*, *admire*, *marvel* and *appeal* classes of psychological verbs, with exhaustive lists of respective group members. In what follows, however, I refer to B&R's classes.

- (vii) a. A Gianni piace questo. (Class III)  
to Gianni-DAT piace questo-NOM  
b. Questo piace a Gianni.  
this-NOM pleases to Gianni-DAT

At first blush the same  $\theta$ -roles are distributed arbitrarily, with the Nominative Experiencer in the subject position and the Accusative Theme in the object position in (v) (frequently referred to as Class I of psychological verbs or subject Experiencer (SubjExp) verbs), the Nominative Theme in the subject position and the Accusative Experiencer in the object position in (vi) (Class II, or object Experiencer (ObjExp) verbs), and the Dative Experiencer and the nominative Theme in both orderings in (vii) (Class III). On the crucial assumption that B&R make that the structures in (v-vii) are related in that all three predicates select identical thematic roles for their arguments, such freedom of syntactic positioning is unexpected and unattested in non-psychological constructions. Thus, the urgent problem emerged as to how to reconcile the thematic structure of psychological verbs with the flagship principle of argument projection, i.e. the Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis (UTAH) (Baker 1988)<sup>5</sup>, which reads as follows:

- (viii) The Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis (UTAH)  
Identical thematic relationships between items are represented  
by identical structural relationships between those items at the  
level of D-structure.

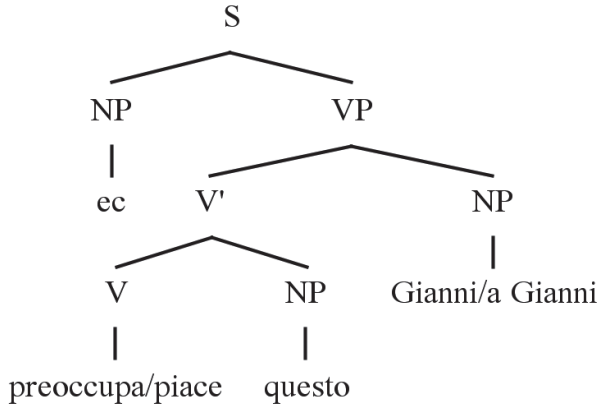
(Baker 1988: 46)

As UTAH was assumed to be strictly applicable, admitting no exceptions, a convincing argument to explain this phenomenon was much needed. On the basis of a thorough investigation of Italian facts, B&R (1988: 293) proposed one uniform underlying representation for sentences (vi-vii) (they treat (v) in an uncontroversial way, with the surface arguments marking their DP positions):

---

<sup>5</sup> Strictly speaking, B&R dealt with an earlier argument mapping hypothesis, which was the Universal Alignment Hypothesis devised by Perlmutter and Postal (1984) in the Relational Grammar framework. However, I use UTAH as more authors refer to it. Both hypotheses, however, are quite similar in that individual thematic roles were believed to map onto specific positions in the phrase structure.

(ix)



The diagram in (ix) shows that psych verb sentences with different surface structures project the same configuration at the underlying level, with the Experiencer asymmetrically c-commanding the Theme, formalized in (x) (B&R 1988: 344):

(x) Given a  $\theta$ -grid [Experiencer, Theme], the Experiencer is projected to a higher position than the Theme.

As the formalization in (x) does not reflect the surface order of arguments, an additional derivational step had to be accounted for. The motivation for the movement out of the VP to the subject position comes from B&R's interpretation of Burzio's Generalization (1988: 332, adapted from Burzio 1986: 178):

(xi) V is a structural Case assigner iff it has an external argument.

The practical implementation of (xi) leads to the conclusion that verbs of the *preoccupare* and *piacere* type (vi-vii) do not have external arguments, with the subject position considered as athematic. To derive (vi), then, we assume that the Experiencer receives the inherent Accusative, and the Theme, by virtue of (xi), moves to the subject position to obtain Case. In (vii), since Dative is assigned by a preposition, the Experiencer is free to stay in the VP or move to the subject position.

The analysis supplied by B&R is by no means a straightforward one and it only becomes tenable on one central assumption. This assumption is to treat Class II and Class III psych verbs (the Italian *preoccupare* and *piacere* classes) as unaccusative. If on the right track, this claim would allow for the unification of the two superficially distinct classes of verbs. To make a convincing case for the unaccusative scenario, B&R start out by pointing to

a number of syntactic phenomena suggesting that the subject of *preoccupare* class is derived. Later, they present evidence which they claim unambiguously shows that the Experiencer object is not a regular object either. This is what will be presented shortly in the following chapter.

Apart from the Introduction, this work consists of four Chapters and the Conclusion. Chapter One, as signaled in the previous paragraph, details the arguments used by B&R (1988) and Grimshaw (1990) to argue for and defend the unaccusative approach to ObjExp constructions. The underlying goal of this chapter, however, is to show how these arguments cannot cross-linguistically describe the whole class of Experiencer-taking constructions, which is presented in the subsequent part of the chapter, using arguments made by Pesetsky (1987, 1995), Campbell and Martin (1989), Áfarli (1992), Tenny (1998), Bouchard (1995), Arad (1998a-b), Bennis (2004) and Landau (2010).

Chapter Two is devoted to the description and discussion of the so-called psych effects. In the literature on psychological verbs attention of the readers is often drawn to a number of puzzling phenomena which characterize them. As most of these phenomena are highly idiosyncratic and limited to a small set of languages (or only one language), the chapter focuses on those which are more representative, i.e. backward binding and T/SM restriction. The arguments used are meant to illustrate that no linguistic magic (which psychological verbs are often believed to possess) is necessary to explain certain phenomena, and even if not everything can be explained, it is shown that the missing piece of the explanation is not only characteristic of psychological constructions but seems to be involved in non-psychological ones as well.

Chapter Three is specifically dedicated to Polish and the behavior of Polish ObjExp constructions. The diagnostics employed in Chapters One and Two are used again, this time to substantiate in Polish the intuitions made and judgments passed earlier on for English. Not only are the passives in Polish carefully examined, but also the status of the subject and object arguments, as well as binding phenomena and thematic restrictions, which are given proper scrutiny.

Finally, Chapter Four is a field experiment of sorts. The data described in this chapter settle the impossibility of the implementation of the unaccusative analysis in Polish (and, to a lesser degree, English) once and for all. The exhaustive survey of adjunct control, scoping over a few languages with a primary emphasis on Polish, unambiguously shows that there are no reasons to assume any unconventional projection sites for object Experiencers, which have been assumed throughout this book to be regular syntactic objects (leaving inevitable and unquestionable semantic entailments

aside). Also, the interpretations obtained with ObjExp verbs in Super-Equi constructions, which were argued by Landau (2010) to exemplify the locative nature of the Experiencer, are identical with the interpretations obtainable with non-psychological verbs, which further confirms the inadequacy of Landau's claims.

The summary of the thesis and the important points made in the four Chapters are all presented in the Conclusion.

Last but not least, anticipating the critical remarks of those who may discover notable (in their view) omissions in this work, I would like to spare a few words on the intended scope of the discussion. My major objective has always been to bring to light all the diverse evidence in favor of object Experiencers acting as ordinary objects of transitive verbs in syntax. Therefore, I have naturally been much less interested in subject Experiencers and Dative-marked Experiencers of Class III psychological predicates (which, by virtue of being arguments of unaccusative verbs, are characterized by a different set of properties). Nevertheless, the latter group has received attention in Chapters Three and Four, which in my opinion was necessary to illustrate the phenomena under discussion more efficiently. Especially in Chapter Four, it can be seen more clearly how certain differences in the interpretation of adjunct control come about for Accusative and Dative Experiencers. Another conscious omission concerns the notions related to the event structure of predicates (although the event structure is invoked on a few occasions whenever it is necessary). Even though the event structure of predicates carries substantial significance, it is important mostly for the detailed decompositional analysis of causation and the derivational structure of psychological constructions, which are undoubtedly significant topics, yet peripheral to the investigation of the Experiencer argument *per se*. The premise on which my analysis is being developed is that the Experiencer argument is identical irrespective of the exact type of an ObjExp predicate (B&R's Class II), i.e. whether it is stative or eventive, causative or agentive<sup>6</sup>. At the same time, though, it has been recognized that the agentive reading of ObjExp constructions is identical to regular transitive constructions, so throughout the book special attention is given to nonagentive/causative use of ObjExp verbs and whenever agentive uses are invoked, it is mostly alongside causative uses for comparative purposes. Also, to the best of my knowledge it has never

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<sup>6</sup> A reviewer points out that in Greek, following Anagnostopoulou (1999), the Experiencer has a structural Accusative Case if the psych verb takes the Agent as the second argument, or an inherent Accusative if the Causer is present instead of the Agent. There is absolutely no evidence, however, that a similar phenomenon takes place in Polish, which will be shown throughout this book.

been argued in the literature on the topic that the Experiencer argument is projected as an argument of a different head relative to the event structure of a psychological predicate. This is predicted given that the Experiencer is the argument of the lexical projection of a verb, and the event structure of a predicate is established on top of it. Furthermore, I must frankly admit that I would not be able to add much more insight to the discussion of the event structure of psychological predicates than is already present in Biały (2005) for Polish. For similar reasons, I have decided not to repeat the earlier discussions of Polish nominalization facts regarding psychological predicates, which can be found in extensive studies by Rozwadowska (1992, 1997, 2005) and Klimek and Rozwadowska (2004), to mention a few. I hope that the mostly syntactically-flavored issues that I have decided to include in this book complement the previous analyses and together form a more coherent picture of the Experiencer argument.

## Chapter One

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# THE UNACCUSATIVE APPROACH TO OBJECT EXPERIENCER PREDICATES AND WHY IT IS WRONG

As hinted at in the Introduction, the underlying intuition behind this book is to show that object Experiencers in ObjExp predicates are (in a syntactically relevant sense) ordinary objects, contra numerous analyses which see Experiencer arguments as special in different ways (to mention only B&R 1988; Baker 1997; Landau 2010). As one of the seminal works on ObjExp predicates (and psychological verbs in toto) suggests treating these constructions as unaccusative, the early stage of my efforts consists in showing that the unaccusative approach to ObjExp verbs is incorrect (bearing in mind that if it were in fact the right analysis, it would preclude treating Experiencer objects as ordinary since the unaccusative verb does not structurally Case-mark its object). Luckily for me, although B&R's unaccusative analysis of ObjExp verbs has constituted the driving force behind a considerable amount of research that has followed their seminal work ever since the late 1980s, with time it appears that the opponents of the original idea have outweighed its adherents, providing bulk of evidence against the unaccusativity of Experiencers (Campbell and Martin 1989; Pesetsky 1987, 1995; Bennis 2000, 2004, among others). At the outset of this chapter I will revise the arguments put forth by B&R (1988) and then I will offer a selection of arguments to refute their central claim, thus keeping my assumption concerning the ordinariness of object Experiencers alive.

## 1.1. Belletti and Rizzi's (1988) and the unaccusativity of ObjExp verbs

As the novelty of B&R's approach to ObjExp constructions consisted in assuming their unaccusative internal structure, I begin this chapter by reviewing the relevant arguments used in the original work.

### 1.1.1. The derived status of the subject

The five aspects of the behavior of ObjExp verb subjects that are purportedly characteristic of a derived subject<sup>7</sup> behavior come from the domains of anaphoric cliticization, the use of arbitrary *pro*, causative constructions (of two types) and passive participles. The subsequent subsections provide an overview of each of these aspects.

#### 1.1.1.1. Anaphoric cliticization

First of all, the possibility (or the lack thereof) of the subject binding a reflexive clitic is taken to be a reliable diagnostic for the base-generated status of the subject argument (the examples in section 1.1, unless indicated otherwise, are taken from B&R 1988):

- |     |                |              |
|-----|----------------|--------------|
| (1) | Gianni si e    | fotografato. |
|     | Gianni himself | photographed |
| (2) | Gianni si      | teme.        |
|     | Gianni himself | fears        |
| (3) | *Gianni si     | preoccupa.   |
|     | Gianni himself | worries      |

B&R's argument follows the assumption that the subject position of ObjExp verbs is neither canonical nor thematic. In fact, in their approach the subjects of ObjExp verbs are thematically linked to the object position of the predicate, unlike the canonical subjects (which also include subjects of SubjExp verbs). As for Experiencer objects, their ungrammaticality results from the reflexive clitic intervening between the subject in the derived position and its trace in the object position. Importantly, (3) could be still considered gram-

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<sup>7</sup> Following PISH (the Predicate Internal Subject Hypothesis, Koopman and Sportiche 1991), it is standardly assumed that all subjects are derived. To accommodate the intuition of B&R in more contemporary terms then, I suggest that a derived subject is an underlying object moving to the surface subject position.

matical, but in the irrelevant sense, that is not with *si* referring to the subject and meaning that the cause of Gianni's worry is Gianni himself, but rather that Gianni gets worried.

### 1.1.1.2. Arbitrary *pro*

A *pro* subject, inflected for 3rd person plural but with the referential meaning alternating freely between singular and plural, can apparently be used in the place of canonical subjects (4a), but never in the place of subjects of unaccusatives (4b) or ObjExp verbs (which, as B&R claim, are precisely that, i.e. unaccusative, as in (4c)).

- (4) a. *pro* *ti* stanno chiamando  
 they you are calling  
 b. \**pro* sono arrivati a casa mia.  
 somebody arrived at place you  
 c. Qui *pro* hanno sempro ammirato / apprezzato gli americani.  
 here people always excited / moved the American people

Quite importantly, to illustrate B&R's point, SubjExp verbs allow for the *pro* subject.

- (5) Qui *pro* hanno sempre ammirato / apprezzato gli americani.  
 'Here, people always liked / admired the American people.'

### 1.1.1.3. The causative construction<sup>8</sup>

Following up on the work of Burzio (1986), B&R adopt the view that a derived subject cannot be embedded under a causative construction in Italian. Thus, a fully grammatical example (6), with the subject in its base position, is contrasted with the ungrammatical example (7), which features a derived (as B&R claim) subject:

- (6) Gianni ha fatto telefonare (a) Mario.  
 'Gianni made Mario call.'  
 (7) \*Questo lo ha fatto preoccupare/commuovere/attrarre ancora di più a Mario.  
 'This made Mario worry/move/attract him even more.'

<sup>8</sup> B&R bring up one more argument related to another type of causative construction in Italian, namely infinitival VPs with *fare*.

Again, no such contrast is visible with a SubjExp verb, which is believed to have its subject derived in the subject position:

- (8) Questo lo ha fatto apprezzare/temere/ammirare ancora di più  
a Mario.  
'This made Mario estimate/fear/admire him even more.'

#### 1.1.1.4. Verbal passive participles

The last diagnostic used by B&R for the derived status of the subject argument in ObjExp verbs is actually also the one that has been employed most frequently in order to argue for or against the unaccusativity of this class of verbs. Following this argument, no verbal passive form is expected of ObjExp verbs, as the passive consists in the demotion of the subject argument, which, for unaccusatives, is not there; hence, such passives should be ruled out.

Superficially, an apparent contradiction emerges once the following sentences are observed:

- (9) Gianni e disgustato dalla corruzione di questo paese.  
Gianni is disgusted by-the corruption of this country  
(10) Gianni e affascinato da questa prospettiva.  
Gianni is fascinated by this prospect.

After all, they both contain passive participles derived from active verbs. For B&R, however, passives in both of these examples are not verbal but adjectival. This is supported by the possibility of typically adjectival morphology, such as the superlative suffix *-issimo* ('very'). Furthermore, they claim that only verbal passives can host a clitic pronoun in reduced relatives (1988: 309):

- (11) La notizia comunicatagli.  
the news communicated to him  
(12) \*La notizia ignotagli  
the news unknown to him

Finally, B&R try to show that the selection of the auxiliary in passive constructions has a direct bearing on the adjectival as opposed to verbal interpretation. It is shown first on a pair of identical sentences, distinct only with respect to the auxiliary, as in (13-14) (B&R 1988: 310):

- (13) La porta e chiusa alle cinque.  
'The door is closed at five.'  
(14) La porta viene chiusa alle cinque.  
'The door comes closed at five.'

In (13), auxiliary *essere* allows for a degree of ambiguity between the adjectival interpretation, with the door being in the state of being closed, and the verbal interpretation, with somebody closing the door at a given time. In (14), where the auxiliary is *venire*, only verbal interpretation is attainable. Next, to show how psych verbs of Class I differ from their counterparts of Class II, these examples are invoked (after B&R 1988: 310-311):

- (15) Gianni viene temuto da tutti.  
Gianni comes feared by everyone
- (16) Gianni viene apprezzato dai suoi concittadini.  
Gianni comes appreciated by his fellow-citizens
- (17) \*Gianni viene preoccupato da tutti.  
Gianni comes worried by everybody
- (18) \*Gianni viene affascinato da questa prospettiva.  
Gianni comes fascinated by this perspective

Since verbs from Class I are not considered unaccusative, verbal interpretation is the expected one, and these expectations are confirmed in (15) and (16). Verbs of Class II, however, as in (17) and (18), should stay incompatible with the verbal interpretation, and indeed this is the case.

### 1.1.2. The derived status of the object argument

On top of demonstrating the derived status of the subject argument in Obj-Exp constructions, B&R also provide evidence for a similarly not-canonical position of the object argument. As the canonical object in the theory devised by B&R is realized by the Theme argument, which subsequently moves to the subject position in the course of the derivation, one would expect the surface Experiencer object, adjoined to the  $V'$  projection, to lack some of the properties typically associated with canonical objects. One such property noticed by B&R is full transparency of base-generated objects to extraction processes, in which they differ from subjects, prepositional objects and adverbials.

- (19) La ragazza di cui Gianni teme il padre.  
the girl of whom Gianni fears the father
- (20) \*La ragazza di cui Gianni preoccupa il padre.  
the girl of whom Gianni worries the father

In SubjExp constructions, as in (19), the extraction of the material from the object yields a grammatical sentence, which suggests that the object is a typical, base-derived argument. As can be observed in (20), such transparency is

not achieved with the Experiencer object, whose resistance to extraction could indicate that it may be derived<sup>9</sup>.

Apparently, a counterargument to the non-standardized position of the object Experiencer could come from Case considerations. As noted by B&R, the Case of the Experiencer is Accusative, which is a default Case marking on the object. The way-out of this conundrum is by suggesting that the Case on the Experiencer is inherent instead of structural. This is, in fact, B&R's only way to keep in agreement with Burzio's Generalization, repeated below for convenience:

- (21) V is a structural Case assigner iff it has an external argument.

To sum up, a seemingly solid body of empirical and theoretical evidence is built up by B&R to bolster the unaccusative theory of Class II psychological predicates. Before turning a critical eye on the relevance of the tests and the judgments made by these authors, let me introduce another influential work whose author, in the process of developing an alternative theory of object Experiencer constructions, seems to share (at least in certain respects) B&R's unaccusative sentiment for them.

## 1.2. Grimshaw (1990) and further support for the unaccusativity of ObjExp verbs

Grimshaw (1990) partly subscribes to the view that *preoccupare/frighten* class of psych verbs is unaccusative<sup>10</sup>. Strictly speaking, she assumes the unaccusativity of these verbs only on the weaker assumption, i.e. one where unaccusative verbs are seen as lacking the external argument. The part of the B&R's claim which Grimshaw sees as unnecessary is the postulate that the Theme argument originates as the underlying object of the predicate. In fact,

<sup>9</sup> Unnecessary details aside, B&R follow Chomsky's system of barriers, claiming that "a maximal projection counts as a barrier for subadjacency if it is not *lexically theta-marked* (L-marked); in addition, a maximal projection immediately dominating it inherits barrierhood" (B&R 1988: 327).

<sup>10</sup> Also Anagnostopoulou (1999) argues for ObjExp constructions to be analyzed as unaccusative. The evidence that is amassed to this effect is based on the study of these constructions in Greek, with diagnostic tests including word order, a clitic left dislocation, control in absolute constructions, subject ellipsis and anaphor binding, among others (Anagnostopoulou 1999: 73-75). Since in Chapters Three and Four I argue that Polish ObjExp constructions do not contain a quirky subject-like Accusative Experiencers, I can only say that Anagnostopoulou's findings further prove Landau's (2010) generalization introduced in section 1.7., which basically admits the existence of at least two different types of languages with respect to unaccusativity and the behavior of ObjExp verbs. A view contesting the reality of similar constructions being unaccusative or not based on language-particular factors is presented in Abraham (2001).

her theory strongly objects to such a perception of the derivation, which she explains by emphasizing the nature of the aspectual makeup of the Theme argument. As she notices, following similar earlier observations in Chomsky (1970), Ruwet (1972) or Pesetsky (1987), what sets *preoccupare/frighten* class and *temere/fear* class apart is the causative nature of the former. Accordingly, the meaning of the sentence in (22a) is effectively (22b) (Grimshaw 1990: 22):

- (22) a. The storm frightened us.  
b. The storm caused us to experience fear.

This fact, namely the causative element involved in the derivational makeup<sup>11</sup> of the ObjExp verb, has by now become a well-established part of any theory of ObjExp verbs and has been confirmed by a number of researchers (Arad 1998a-b; Pesetsky 1995; McGinnis 2000, 2002; Pytkäinen 1999, 2000, 2008, among others) and apart from the indirect morphological evidence that English offers (prefix *en-*, as in *enrage*, or suffix *-en*, as in *frighten*), there are also languages, such as Finnish or Japanese, where ObjExp predicates are derived from their SubjExp counterparts<sup>12</sup> by means of adding overt causative morphology onto the verb (example (23) after Kuroda 1965, cited by Pesetsky 1995; examples (24-25) after Nelson's 1999 examples (7-8): 147):

- (23) a. Tanaka-ga sono sirase-o yorokon-da.  
Tanaka-NOM that news-ACC be pleased-past  
'Tanaka was pleased at that news.'  
b. Sono sirase-ga Tanaka-o yorokob-ase-ta.  
that news-NOM Tanaka-ACC be pleased-CAUS.PAST  
'That news pleased Tanaka.'

<sup>11</sup> Although it is not the goal of this book to analyze in great detail the structure of causative constructions, see Chapter Two, section 2.2.2. for some proposals of how they may be syntactically represented.

<sup>12</sup> Facts from a language such as Finnish, where the transition from SubjExp to ObjExp predicate can be precisely traced (in Polish the reverse transition can be observed by the presence of a reflexive *się* in SubjExp predicates), may be revealing or misleading, depending on what we make of it. On the one hand, they are revealing if on the basis of such 'transparent' languages one speculates, in the spirit of the universal grammar, that even in languages not showing any semblance between the two types of predicates they are in fact related. On the other hand, Finnish or Polish may be misleading, suggesting that such relation is present, while in fact the *fear* and *frighten* pairs are very rare in English (Levin and Grafmiller 2013: 23). The issue of whether there exists any derivational kinship between SubjExp and ObjExp predicates and, if so, its directionality is far from settled. Alexioudou and Iordachioaia (2011) argue that only certain SubjExp predicates are derived from ObjExp predicates as a species of the causative-anticausative alternation. The availability of such an alternation is directly linked to the presence of causative (as distinct from agentive) psych nominalizations, which are absent from English or Hebrew but are attested in Greek or Romanian.

- (24) Pekka häpeä-ä minu-a.  
 Pekka-NOM be ashamed-3S me-PART  
 'Pekka is ashamed of me'
- (25) a. Minu-a häve-tt-i (tämä-n kuvalehde-n ostaminen).  
 me-PART be ashamed-CAUS.PAST.3S this magazine-ACC  
 buying-NOM  
 'I felt ashamed (to buy this magazine)'
- b. Tämä-n kuvalehde-n ostaminen häve-tt-i minu-a.  
 this magazine-ACC buying-NOM be ashamed-CAUS-  
 PAST/3S me-PART  
 'Buying this magazine made me feel ashamed'

The significance of identifying the Cause<sup>13</sup> argument lies in the fact that Causers are always subjects<sup>14</sup>. That explains the surface word order in Obj-Exp predicates, but the question which is still unanswered concerns the exact reasons why the underlying Theme object has to embark on the derivational journey to its surface subject position. Driven by the desire to get to the bottom of the uncharacteristic alignment of arguments in psychological predicates, Grimshaw is inspired by the earlier proposal by Jackendoff (1987, 1990), who advances the idea that the prominence relations, which are instrumental in predicting the exact order of arguments in a sentence structure, do not necessarily unfold on a single dimension of the thematic hierarchy, but may include other dimensions, or tiers, as well. And so, the thematic hierarchy, which has already been suggested before, and which situates Experiencers before Themes, has to be confronted against the aspectual hierarchy, which places the Cause in front of all other arguments (Grimshaw 1990: 24):

- (26) a. (Agent (Experiencer (Goal/Source/Location (Theme))))  
 b. (Cause (other (...)))

For a non-psych verb, such as *break*, the arrangement of arguments proceeds smoothly as the Agent role from the thematic hierarchy coincides with the Cause role from the aspectual hierarchy, which results in this argument being nominated for the subject position as a consequence of its greatest prominence on both scales (Grimshaw 1990: 24):

<sup>13</sup> Grimshaw uses the term Cause with reference to a thematic role; however, I adopt the name Causer for the thematic role in question in the rest of this book (except when I directly quote Grimshaw).

<sup>14</sup> In modern terms, Causers (and Agents) originate in vP (cf. Chomsky 1995; Kratzer 1996, among others).

- (27) a. Chłopiec zabił muchę.  
           boy       killed   fly  
       b. zabić (kill)       (x    (y))  
                                   Agent Patient  
                                   Cause

Such a system of predicting the most prominent argument will also work positively for a sentence such as (28a):

- (28) a. Nóż ranił kobietę.  
           knife wounded woman  
       b. ranić (*wound*)       (x    (y))  
                                   Source Theme  
                                   Cause

Even though the subject of (28a) is not an Agent, its position on the thematic hierarchy relative to the position of the Theme argument is higher, and being the Cause of the action expressed by the predicate, it is also most prominent on the aspectual scale. Hence, it is the subject and the external argument of the sentence.

As can be expected, the problem arises with the *frighten* class of verbs. For a member of this class of verbs, there is no matching correspondence between the thematic and aspectual hierarchies:

- (29) a. Burza wystraszyła turystów.  
           storm frightened tourists  
       b. wystraszyć (*frighten*)       (x    (y))  
                                   Experiencer Theme  
                                   Cause                    ...

It is the mismatch that the two hierarchies produce which lies at the heart of the problem with ObjExp predicates. A brief look at (29a) informs us that as a result of the mismatch, the Theme argument is promoted to the position of the subject. The promotion cannot be motivated by the thematic hierarchy as that one put the Experiencer before the Theme. To understand the reasoning applied by Grimshaw (1990), an excursion into an event structure of predicates is unavoidable, as the event structure is ultimately the representation of the aspectual composition of the predicate (Grimshaw follows here, among others, Vendler 1967; Dowty 1979; Bach 1986; or Pustejovsky 1988). Given that we are looking at a case of an eventive causative verb, its structure consists of two sub-events, where a causal relation connects

the first sub-event with the second sub-event. The generalization that Grimshaw provides stipulates that “an argument which participates in the first sub-event in an event structure is more prominent than an argument which participates in the second sub-event” (Grimshaw 1990: 26). Assuming that two arguments participate in the first sub-event (both the Cause and the Experiencer) and the resulting state includes only one (the Experiencer), greater prominence is assigned to the argument which is part of the first sub-event only. All this makes the Theme argument the most prominent argument of an ObjExp predicate, which is reflected by its subject position. Let us make this point clear once again, the Cause argument is not the external argument, as to be the external argument maximal prominence is necessary on both hierarchies, whereas the Cause is only maximally prominent on the aspectual one. Not having an external argument then, ObjExp predicates may be assumed to pattern with unaccusatives.

### 1.2.1. The verbal status of English passive participles

Assuming B&R’s predictions about the inexistence of verbal passives in Italian, Grimshaw (1990) proceeds to examine English passives with an eye to verifying if verbal passives are possible in this language. Her basic intuition is that they are not, which she explains with the following example (Grimshaw’s 1990 example (8): 113):

(30) Mary was frightened by the situation.

To explain (30), it would have to be assumed that the argument that was suppressed in the course of passivization was the Theme, hence not an external argument. As we remember, following the Thematic Hierarchy it is the Experiencer in (30) which is thematically more prominent, but the mismatch between the Thematic Hierarchy and the Aspectual Hierarchy promotes the internal argument to the subject position. Be that as it may, the Theme never becomes the external argument, and only external arguments can undergo suppression in the passive. Thus, the conclusion that follows is that *frightened* cannot be a verbal passive. It is important to bear in mind that the same reasoning cannot be extended to the agentive context of the verb *frighten*:

(31) Mary was frightened by John.

In (31) *John* is not the underlying Theme but is taken to be the Agent. In accordance with the Thematic Hierarchy, it is the most prominent argument, thus the external one too, and can undergo passivization.

On top of showing that non-agentive Themes cannot be suppressed, Grimshaw points to traditional tests confirming the adjectival status of the passives in question. To avoid the ambiguity between agentive and non-agentive readings, the verbs she picks are “more or less unambiguously non-agentive” (Grimshaw 1990: 113-114):

- (32) a. The situation worries/concerns/perturbs/preoccupies Fred.  
 b. Fred is worried/concerned/perturbed/preoccupied by the situation.  
 c. Fred seems unworried/unconcerned/unperturbed/preoccupied by the situation.

Also, she shows that progressive cannot be reconciled with stativity, and ObjExp passives are claimed to be stative (the use of the continuous aspect is taken to diagnose stativity):

- (33) a. The situation was depressing Mary.  
 b. \*Mary was being depressed by the situation.  
 c. \*Mary was being depressed about the situation.

A valid question could be asked concerning the examples in (33). After all, verbal passivization should not affect the stativity of the predicate, but the progressive (33a), which indicates eventiveness, apparently cannot preserve its aspectual attribute in the passive. This can, however, be explained exactly if the passivization is assumed to be adjectival.

To conclude, Grimshaw’s evidence<sup>15</sup> corroborates B&R’s unaccusative treatment of ObjExp verbs inasmuch as in both approaches they are assumed not to project the external argument. Where the two approaches diverge is the underlying position of the Theme/Cause argument, which B&R assume to be the direct object position of the verb, and Grimshaw takes to be the underlying subject.

### 1.3. Campbell and Martin (1989) and arguments against the unaccusativity

As early<sup>16</sup> as in (1989), already the unaccusative basis of object Experiencers came in for criticism from Campbell and Martin (1989). Two facts in their

<sup>15</sup> Grimshaw’s empirical base is wider, also embracing facts ranging from nominalizations to anaphoric binding.

<sup>16</sup> The emphasis on chronology is to show the dynamics of the early debate on the unaccusative treatment of psychological verbs. In earnest, however, the dates do not reflect that dynamics very truthfully as they are the dates of publications. Already in Pesetsky (1987) some arguments are voiced which run counter to a subsequent analysis by B&R. This is not to say that Pesetsky

analysis make the unaccusative approach difficult to defend. For one thing, the PP extraposition facts do not favor object Experiencer subjects as derived; then, following Stowell (1987), similar conclusions concerning the status of the aforementioned subject are derived from the behavior of gapped *as* constructions.

First of all, Campbell and Martin analyze the PP extraposition from NPs. They present a set of examples which shows that only NPs which are lexically governed<sup>17</sup> at DS allow for the PP extraposition. Crucially, examples provided by Campbell and Martin feature derived subjects as elements allowing PP extraposition. Consider first the sentences which show the subject/object asymmetry in the domain under discussion, and then the sentences with derived subjects (Campbell and Martin's examples (39-40): 53):

- (34) a. I showed [three movies  $t_1$ ] to the students [about the mafia]<sub>1</sub>  
 b. \*three movies  $t_1$  detailed crimes [about the mafia]<sub>1</sub>  
 c. \*three movies  $t_1$  made money [about the mafia]<sub>1</sub>
- (35) a. three stories  $t_1$  were circulating (among NP) [about John]<sub>1</sub>  
 b. three movies  $t_1$  appeared [about the mafia]<sub>1</sub>  
 c. three movies  $t_1$  were shown (to NP) [about the mafia]<sub>1</sub>  
 d. three movies  $t_1$  seem to have been shown [about the mafia]<sub>1</sub>

Just as the internal object in (34a) allows for the PP extraposition, this syntactic operation is unavailable to the subjects of transitive verbs in (34b-c). However, subjects which are uncontroversially derived, as in the sentences with, respectively, an unaccusative verb (35a), a raising verb (35b) and a passive verb (35c-d) all make PP extraposition possible. The bad news for the proponents of the derived status of ObjExp verb subjects is that they do not pattern with the subjects in (35a-d), which casts a shadow over their status:

- (36) a. \*three movies  $t_1$  upset us [about the mafia]<sub>1</sub>  
 b. \*three movies  $t_1$  interested us [about the mafia]<sub>1</sub>

Secondly, another lexical l-government requirement is postulated by Stowell (1987) for CP gaps in *as* constructions. Thus, base-generated internal argu-

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necessarily anticipated the then future line of argumentation, as he lists in his bibliography B&R's handout, "Psych verbs and  $\theta$ -theory", presented at MIT already in 1985.

<sup>17</sup> The logic of the argument harks back to the assumption that lexical government is a relation between a lexical head and its complement. In the spirit of Chomsky (1986a: 13), "a zero category *a* directly theta-marks *b* only if *b* is the complement of *a* in the sense of X-bar theory. It is only this form of theta-marking that is relevant to L-marking, not indirect theta-marking of the subject of a clause by its main verb". On this interpretation, subjects are not included among lexically governed elements, but subjects of unaccusatives, raising verbs and passives are, as they originate in the complement position.

ments, but also derived subjects of raising and passive verbs, are expected to admit CP gaps (Campbell and Martin's examples (42-44): 53):

- (37) a. Mary said that John failed, as we all knew [t]  
 b. Joe proved that the earth was round, as I had always suspected [t]  
 c. Joe proved that the earth was round, as Fred had long claimed [t]  
 (38) a. Mary said John was a fool, as seemed [t] obvious to everybody  
 b. Mary claimed that John was a fool, as was subsequently proven [t] to us all

Yet again, psych subjects (40a-b) pattern with base-generated subjects (39a-b) in not allowing the CP gap to occur:

- (39) a. \*Mary said that John failed, as [t] demonstrates his lack of competence  
 b. \*Mary said that John failed, as [t] shows us that he is incompetent  
 (40) a. \*Mary proved that John liked onions, as [t] horrified us  
 b. \*Mary proved that John liked onions, as [t] upset us greatly

To recapitulate, then, the evidence amassed by Campbell and Martin (1989) indicates that the wholesale unaccusative approach to ObjExp constructions is not without problems. As is shown in the sections that follow, there are many more inconvenient data that any adherent of the unaccusative analysis would have to account for.

#### **1.4. Pesetsky (1995) and the rejection of the unaccusativity of ObjExp verbs**

Although Pesetsky (1995) acknowledges the pioneering aspect of the B&R's unaccusative proposal, praising many observations made by the researchers and agreeing with some of their conclusions, the results of his own research into ObjExp predicates lead him to reject the wholesome unaccusative solution, retaining it only for a subgroup of ObjExp verbs (i.e. Dative Experiencers), while postulating a finer semantic distinction among theta roles and a bi-clausal, cascade structure of sentences for the remaining verbs. Thus, his standpoint assumes a lower level of syntactic explanation and a higher level of syntax-semantics interaction.

Pesetsky's argumentation starts with a meticulous presentation of facts which are in opposition to one of the important assumptions made by the advocates of the unaccusative treatment of ObjExp verbs, namely the

adjectival nature of passive participles. To this end, he presents not only troublesome (for B&R and Grimshaw) facts from English, but also closely scrutinizes the selection of arguments in Italian as featured in B&R's account. Next, the concept of stativity is discussed with regard to ObjExp verbs. Finally, other arguments for the athematic position of subjects and the relation between subjects and objects are shown in a new light, which casts a long shadow on the prospect of keeping the unaccusative scenario intact.

### 1.4.1. Pesetsky's reassessment of English passive participles

One of the key arguments supporting the uniform unaccusative hypothesis for ObjExp verbs comes from the observed facts on verbal passivization. As observed by Marantz (1984: 144-149), the incompatibility of unaccusative verbs with passive morphology stems from two facts<sup>18</sup>:

- (41) a. Passive morphology absorbs the external (underscored)  $\Theta$ -role.  
 b. Vacuous dethematization is impossible.

However, contrary to predictions made by B&R, in English ObjExp passives are relatively frequent (Pesetsky 1995: 22, selected examples):

- (42) a. Bill was angered by Mary's conduct.  
 b. The paleontologist was pleased by the discovery of the fossil.  
 c. Bill was irritated by the loud noises coming from the next door.  
 d. Bill would not be satisfied by half measures.  
 e. Sue was embittered by her experiences with discrimination.  
 f. Mary was cheered by the French victory.

This observation has already been made by B&R, who noticed that in Italian a similar transformation is possible for "ObjExp verbs that take *avere* 'have' in the active" (1988: 309):

- (43) a. Gianni e disgustato dalla corruzione di questo paese.  
 Gianni is disgusted by-the corruption of this country  
 b. Gianni e affascinato da questa prospettiva.  
 Gianni is fascinated by this prospect

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<sup>18</sup> Somewhat differently, Baker et al. (1989) reach the same conclusion that a verb without an external argument cannot be passivized.

B&R argue that what appears to be a regular instance of passive in (43a-b) are in fact adjectival passives. Pesetsky does not fail to notice that the assertion about the adjectival status of the participles comes with no explanation whatsoever why this should matter. However, he proceeds to find examples of adjectival passives from unaccusative verbs, which can fairly easily be found in English (the following list is the abridged version of Pesetsky's example (48): 23):

- (44) a. elapsed time  
 b. departed travelers  
 c. newly arrived packages  
 d. newly appeared book  
 e. capsized boat  
 f. a fallen leaf

However, as Pesetsky continues, the existence of such forms cannot be taken to form a generalization on unaccusatives, as "many seemingly unaccusative verbs in English do not form adjectival passives" (Pesetsky's example (49): 23):

- (45) a. \*an (already) occurred event  
 b. \*(recently) left travelers  
 c. \*(newly) come packages  
 d. \*(recently) grown interest  
 e. \*a (recently) surfaced problem  
 f. \* (recently) descended balloon  
 g. \* (recently) peeled skin  
 h. \* (often) stunk paint  
 i. \* (recently) succeeded writer

All in all, Pesetsky recapitulates by claiming that it is not the ill-formedness of the adjectival passives in (45) but rather the well-formedness of the passives in (44) that seeks further explanation. As B&R provided two arguments supporting the adjectival reading of the ObjExp passive participles, Pesetsky takes them under scrutiny next.

First of all, the argument coming from Italian reduced relatives is judged irrelevant and discarded. It is a familiar observation in Italian that clitic pronouns get attached only to verbal participles (46b) and not to adjectival ones (47b) in reduced relatives:

- (46) a. [<sub>DP</sub> la notizia che *gli* è stat a comunicata]  
 the news that to him was communicated  
 b. [<sub>DP</sub> la notizia comunicat*agli*]

- (47) a. [<sub>DP</sub> la notizia che *gli* è ignota]  
 the news that to him was unknown  
 b. \* [<sub>DP</sub> la notizia ignota*gli*]

By showing that a *by*-phrase (*ne*) cannot attach to the ObjExp verb passive participle, as in (48), B&R reach the conclusion that this participle must be adjectival (B&R's example (51): 310):

- (48) a. (?) [op la sola persona che *ne* è affascinata]  
 the only person who by it is fascinated  
 b. \* [op la sola persona affascinata*ne*]  
 the only person fascinated by it

However, as Pesetsky notes, the examples involving the Italian *by*-phrase have no import for the current discussion as they never cliticize to passive participles in reduced relatives, as demonstrated below, which is a fact "independent of verb class" (Pesetsky 1995: 26):

- (49) a. [<sub>DP</sub> la sola persona che *ne* è stata uccisa]  
 the only person that by it was killed  
 b. \*la sola persona uccisane  
 (50) a. [<sub>DP</sub> la sola persona che *ne* è stat a colpita]  
 the only person that by it was struck  
 b. \*la sola persona colpitane  
 (51) a. [<sub>DP</sub> la sola persona che *ne* è stata toccata]  
 the only person that by it was touched  
 b. \*la sola persona toccatane  
 (52) a. ? [<sub>DP</sub> la sola persona che *ne* è stata arrestata]  
 the only person that by it was arrested  
 b. \*la sola persona arrestatane

Next, the auxiliary choice for passives is scrutinized. As has been discussed before, the choice of the auxiliary (*essere* vs. *venire*) helps distinguish between adjectival and verbal interpretations (B&R's example (52): 310):

- (53) a. La porta è chiusa alle cinque. [stative or eventive]  
 the door is closed at five  
 b. La porta viene chiusa alle cinque. [only eventive]  
 the door comes closed at five

As the next step, B&R subject psychological verbs to the auxiliary test to verify their prediction:

- (54) a. Gianni viene apprezzato da suoi concittadini.  
Gianni comes appreciated by his fellow citizens  
b. \*Gianni viene affascinato da questa prospettiva.  
Gianni comes fascinated by this perspective  
c. \*Gianni viene preoccupato da tutti.  
Gianni comes worried by everybody

Indeed, SubjExp passive participles can freely combine with *venire*, as in (54a), but the same cannot be said about object Experiencer passive participles, which yield ungrammatical structures (54b-c). This serves as another noteworthy clue to B&R to the effect that only adjectival passives obtain with ObjExp verbs. An important detail seems to have slipped B&R's attention, though. As noticed by Pesetsky, "the impossibility of *venire* does not diagnose adjectival passives; it merely diagnoses noneventiveness, a property shared by adjectival passives, some verbal passives, and other forms as well" (1995: 27). So, making (54b) a bit more eventive considerably increases its acceptability (Pesetsky's example (66a): 27):

- (55) (?) Il pubblico venne affascinato dalla conclusion di quel concerto.  
the public came fascinated by the conclusion of that concerto

The same effect can also be obtained with other verbs from the same *preoccupare* group, as confirmed by Pesetsky's Italian informants (1995: 27):

- (56) a. Gianni venne spaventato da questa prospettiva alle cinque.  
Gianni came frightened by this perspective at five  
b. ?Gianni venne terrificato da questa prospettiva (alle cinque).  
Gianni came terrified by this perspective at five

Having disarmed the arguments in favor of there being no verbal passives available to ObjExp verbs, Pesetsky switches to English with an eye to closely inspecting the claim made by Grimshaw (1990: 114ff.) and related to stativity of ObjExp passives. In fact, it is stativity that Grimshaw takes to be a deciding argument against ObjExp verbal passives, arguing that ObjExp passives are always stative and as such, they can only be adjectival. The logic of Pesetsky's argumentation follows the belief that since noneventiveness/stativity is not necessarily identifiable with adjectival passives, then finding other characteristics of verbal passives and matching them with passives produced by psych verbs of Class II will abolish their unaccusative treatment. To start with, it has already been suggested in (42) that passives produced by psych predicates of Class II are adjectival and stative. Stativity can be further demonstrated by employing such adjectival modifiers as *much* and *very* (1995: 29):

- (57) a. This idea was much discussed in the '70s.  
 b. The invasion was much condemned by the press.  
 c. John is much maligned.  
 d. The much awaited performance lived up to expectations.
- (58) a. This edition is very abridged.  
 b. The circle was very elongated.  
 c. His reply was very balanced.  
 d. The tree limp was very bloated.

Also, stativity clashes with a progressive aspect, as shown below (Pesetsky 1995: 29):

- (59) a. The book was still being (\*very) abridged when the order came through to publish it in its entirety.  
 b. This idea was being (\*much) talked about in the '70s.

But the picture becomes more blurred when ObjExp verbs are taken under inspection. As Pesetsky claims, "some ObjExp predicates are often most comfortable as statives, even in the active" (1995: 29). Among such verbs is *depress*, which resists progressive interpretation<sup>19</sup>, although the questionable status of the active sentence is not any worse in the passive (1995: 29-30):

- (60) a. ??Odd noises were continually depressing Sue.  
 b. ??Bill was sitting around happy as a lark, when an unexpected groan from the next room suddenly depressed him.
- (61) a. ??Sue was continually being depressed by odd noises.  
 b. ??Bill was sitting around happy as a lark, when suddenly he was depressed by an unexpected groan from the next room.

There are, however, ObjExp verbs<sup>20</sup> that are acceptable in the progressive or punctual past, and, by extension, with the passive (Pesetsky 1995: 30):

<sup>19</sup> An insightful take on the supposedly inherent stativity of certain ObjExp verbs, such as *depress*, is presented in Grafmiller (2013). The author relies heavily on corpus and Internet data and provides scores of examples which show that basically any verb can be found in the progressive context, as in (i), (after Grafmiller's 2013 example (3.65c): 112, found through web search via Google):

- (i) Our boys are constantly being depressed by watching their elder sister go off to Disney, on cruises, to Europe this summer with family,...

I do not address here the validity of online data in scientific analysis.

<sup>20</sup> Other verbs behaving like *scare* and listed by Pesetsky include *terrify*, *alarm*, *startle* and *surprise*. Verbs which resist progressive, in which they are similar to *depress*, include *worry* and *bore* (the lists are not meant to be exhaustive).

- (62) a. Odd noises were continually scaring Sue.  
 b. Bill was sitting around calm as he could be, when an unexpected groan from the next room suddenly scared him.
- (63) a. Sue was continually being scared by odd noises.  
 b. Bill was sitting around calm as he could be, when he was suddenly scared by an unexpected groan from the next room.

The fact that sentences such as (60-61) and (62-63) are attested shows that passivization cannot be taken as a reliable diagnostic for adjectival versus verbal passives. A possible semantic explanation for the existence of the two groups of verbs with regard to the availability of progressive may come from the observation that “emotions that typically come on suddenly and consciously (e.g., frights and surprises) allow the iterative progressive, whereas emotions that typically grow imperceptibly (e.g., boredom and depression) do not” (Pesetsky 1995: 30).

In light of the observation that the possibility of active and passive constructions of the same predicate does not seem to be linked (i.e. if the active is possible in the progressive, then the passive should also be expected to be available in the progressive, and vice versa), Pesetsky (1995) considers again one of Grimshaw’s arguments against verbal passives (Grimshaw 1990: 114):

- (64) a. The situation was depressing Mary.  
 b. \*Mary was being depressed by the situation.

Pesetsky aptly observes that the ill-formedness of (64b) is understandable as *depress* is stative, and statives clash with the progressive. But knowing already that actives and passives behave identically with regard to the progressive, the acceptability of (64a) is what should really be explicated.

En route to understanding (64a), Pesetsky observes the uncharacteristic acceptable status of some of the SubjExp verbs. Since it has been previously argued that they are stative, and stativity is not compatible with the progressive, such results are surprising:

- (65) a. Karen is finally understanding this proof.  
 b. Donald is finding your accusations ludicrous.  
 c. I think Bill is really liking the performance.  
 d. Sue is truly hating the sea-urchin sushi.  
 e. Harry is clearly fearing an outbreak of the flu.

To provide an account of this phenomenon, Pesetsky makes recourse to Baker (1989: 489-490), who justifies the well-formedness of these forms by saying that they

appear to assert the existence of a judgment of some sort concerning an individual or a set of entities ... imply[ing] that the judgment is an intermediate one based on only part of the available evidence. Sentence [(65a)] would typically be used if Karen was only partly done going through the proof, [(65c)] would be appropriate at an intermediate point in the performance, and [(65b)] would be used if Donald had heard only some of the accusations.

Clearly, the progressive in (64a) is only possible on this “judgment” reading and not the iterative reading, enforced by the adverbial *continually* in (60a). As explained by Pesetsky, “[i]f someone says “the situation is depressing Mary”, we naturally infer that this person is making a judgment (...) about some situation that has not played itself out at the time of the utterance” (1995: 31). What is worth noting, verbs in (65) disallow the passive progressive, even though they do not pass any tests for unaccusativity and are thus said to produce verbal passives (Pesetsky 1995: 31):

- (66) a. ??Your proof is finally being understood by Karen.  
 b. \*Your accusations are being found ludicrous by Donald.  
 c. \*I think this performance is really being liked by Bill.  
 d. \*The sea-urchin sushi is truly being hated by Sue.  
 e. \*An outbreak of flu is clearly being feared by Harry.

The problem vanishes when the progressive is left out:

- (67) a. This proof is understood by Karen.  
 b. Your accusations were found ludicrous by Donald.  
 c. I think this performance was really liked by Bill.  
 d. The sea-urchin sushi was truly hated by Sue.  
 e. An outbreak of flu is clearly feared by Harry.

What seems to be the correct prediction for Pesetsky is that “progressive forms of stative predicates require a particular interpretation that is for some reason incompatible with the passive” (1995: 31). But this does not imply any obvious connection with unaccusativity. On the contrary, the facts that he assembles are “an argument against the unaccusativity of ObjExp predicates, since they form fully verbal passives that, under the right conditions, also participate in the progressive” (1995: 31-32).

The fact that the progressive passive forms of eventive ObjExp verbs exist (see (69b)) should be borne out by the unavailability of the adverbial modifiers, such as *much* or *extremely*. This is exactly what happens as both *much* and *extremely* can freely combine with the adjectival forms of passive participles, but once progressive or punctual use eliminate the adjectival interpretation (because both the progressive and punctual use are related with eventiveness, which is incompatible with adjectives), neither of the modifiers is possible (Pesetsky’s examples (78-79): 32):

- (68) a. Bill was (much) frightened by my remark.  
 b. In those days Bill was very often (\*much) frightened by one thing or another when I would come home from work.
- (69) a. Sue was (extremely) annoyed by Bill's behavior.  
 b. In those days Sue was often being (\*extremely) annoyed by Bill's behavior.

Lastly, the selection of the preposition in constructions with ObjExp verbal passives is fairly instructive and provides additional support for their verbal categorial status (Pesetsky's examples (80-81): 32):

- (70) a. Sue is continually being scared by sudden noises.  
 b. \*Sue was continually being scared of sudden noises.
- (71) a. Bill was often being enraged by totally innocent remarks.  
 b. \*Bill was often being enraged at totally innocent remarks.

The idiosyncratic preposition *of* typical of adjectives is impossible in (70b) and (71b), which ties in neatly with the predictions about the verbal nature of these elements.

#### 1.4.2. Against the athematic positions in ObjExp verbs

The recoverability of the underlying word order is one of the firmly established arguments in the discussion of unaccusatives (cf. Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995: 218ff.). Pesetsky's (1995) argument in this respect goes that the base-generated object of the unaccusative predicate should in principle be able to stay put in its original position in a situation when an expletive element, such as *there* in English, is inserted, as illustrated below:

- (72) a. Three men arrived yesterday.  
 b. There arrived three men yesterday.

Free inversion is, however, unattested with ObjExp predicates:

- (73) \*Preoccupano le tue idee Gianni.  
 worry your ideas Gianni  
 'Your ideas worry Gianni.'

The unaccusative approach would suffer a blow from (73) were it not for noticing by B&R that it is a more general fact about Italian that "the order Verb Theme Experiencer is always deviant":

- (74) \*Teme le tue idee Gianni.  
       fears your ideas Gianni  
       ‘Gianni fears your ideas.’

B&R assume that the possible explanation may be linked to the observation that a “noneventive sentence must always involve a nonvacuous predication at S[urface]-structure (with a referential subject)” (B&R 1988: 340). Be that as it may, Pesetsky acknowledges that verbal passivization, which has been shown to take place with verbs of the *preoccupare* class, renders the correlation between (73) and (74) dubious (let alone the fact that, as demonstrated in the previous section, the sets of arguments in these two examples are not identical).

### 1.4.3. Tenny (1998) and the support for ObjExp verbal passives

We have already discussed Pesetsky’s (1995) take on the issue of verbal passives derived from psych verbs. Recognizing the causative nature of the argument undergoing suppression (see Chapter Two, section 2.2.2.) makes his account different from Grimshaw’s account as she assumed agentive versus non-agentive nature of the Theme argument to be decisive. To strengthen the account put forth by Pesetsky, Tenny (1998) cites interesting data from Pittsburghese. Among the characteristics of this dialect of American English is a construction which allows a verbal passive participle to follow certain matrix clause predicates, most notably *need*<sup>21</sup>. Following sentences are provided as examples of the Pittsburghese idiosyncrasy (Tenny 1998: 592):

- (75) a. The transmitter needs fine-tuned.  
       b. It’s not anything that needs stored in memory.  
       c. Flowering shrubs need pruned now.

The verbal character of the participles coupled with an eventive reading is argued for by means of a few typically used tests, excluding the possibility of adjectival passives, which are stative. First of all, adverbials incompatible with stativity can be used in this construction (all examples are taken from Tenny 1998: 592-595):

- (76) a. The car needs washed very carefully.  
       b. The dog needs scratched for an hour.  
       c. The house needs painted by the owner.

<sup>21</sup> Tenny (1998) mentions that the construction is also possible, albeit much less productive, with *want* and *could*.

What is more, the progressive aspect, which as we have seen before disagrees with stativity, is acceptable in these modal-participial constructions:

- (77) a. The car has been needing washed for a long time now.  
 b. The car might have been needing washed since last year; I'm not sure.

The third diagnostic test shows the impossibility of adjectives filling in for the passive participles:

- (78) a. \*The clown needs funny.  
 b. \*The wall needs clean.

Then, the unequivocally adjectival passive participles, formed by inserting the prefix *un-*, cannot be used in such constructions in Pittsburghese:

- (79) a. \*The car needs unwashed.  
 b. \*The house needs unpainted.

Also, degree modifiers, such as *much* or *very*, should not agree with verbal passives and do not agree with the passives in question:

- (80) a. \*The car needs much washed when a teenager owned it.  
 b. \*The house needs much painted when the paint was cheap.

Finally, the evidence from idiom chunks confirms the predictions already fairly firmly established by all the previous tests. As a reminder, the adjectival passives do not tolerate idiom chunks as their subjects (example from Levin and Rappaport 1986: 626, after Tenny 1998: 593):

- (81) \* $\text{Tab}_1$  remain  $t_1$  kept on the subject.

Yet, idiom chunks produce well-formed sentences in the company of verbal passives, also in the construction characteristic of the Pittsburghese dialect:

- (82) a.  $\text{Tab}_1$  need kept on the suspect.  
 b. The cat needs let out of the bag.

Having scrupulously presented the syntactic context in which eventive verbal passives can be found, Tenny (1998) proceeds to examining the behavior of ObjExp constructions. As she notices (1998: 594), neither B&R (1988) nor

Grimshaw (1990) would expect ObjExp verbs to passivize on their account. The linguistic reality, however, shows that these arguments are well-formed as subjects of passive constructions, making a serious dent in the unaccusative approach to ObjExp verbs:

- (83) a. Some people need saddened by tragedy, in order to achieve wisdom.  
 b. Nobody needs angered by the truth.  
 c. Nobody needs irritated by the truth.  
 d. Nobody needs discouraged by the truth.  
 e. Nobody needs dismayed by the truth.  
 f. Nobody needs alienated by the truth.

However, there are also psych verbs with which the construction raises doubts as to its level of acceptability (Tenny 1988: 594-595):

- (84) a. ?The actor needs excited by the play.  
 b. ?The actor needs fascinated by the play.  
 c. ?The actor needs frightened by the play.

Although it is clearly shown that agentivity, as Grimshaw would have preferred it, plays no role in the grammaticality of these constructions, it is Tenny's conclusion that in fact it is eventiveness which determines the level of acceptability of the constructions. As she writes, "there is a felicity condition (at least in English) that verbal passives are more felicitous the more eventive the verb. A complex of factors influences the degree of eventiveness, including not only agentivity but also volitionality, punctuality, and the affectedness or change of state in the Experiencer" (1998: 595).

#### 1.4.4. Åfarli (1992) and verbal passives in Norwegian

Examining passive constructions, Åfarli (1992) notes that the tests brought into play by B&R are largely inapplicable in Norwegian. One test, however, can be successfully used as a diagnostic of whether there is an external argument available in ObjExp constructions or not. The test in question is passive constructions, as exemplified in (85) below:

- (85) a. Jon bekymres av store pengesorger. (B<sup>22</sup>)  
 'Jon is worried by big financial troubles.'

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<sup>22</sup> As Norwegian has two official written standards, 'B' references one of them, Bokmål, as opposed to Nynorsk.

- b. Jon tynGES av store pengesorger. (B)  
'Jon is weighed on by big financial troubles.'
- c. Marit imponeres alltid av nye teorier. (B)  
'Marit is always impressed by new theories.'
- d. Jon skremmes alltid av skarpe lyder. (B)  
'Jon is always frightened by sharp sounds.'
- (Åfarli's 1992 examples (75a-d): 124-125)

That the examples cited above contain verbal passives is evidenced by the form of the passive. With the morphological (named s-passive after the passive *-s* morpheme) and periphrastic (characterized by the use of auxiliary *å bli* verb) passives in use in Norwegian, never are adjectival passives formed by means of the former. Hence, (85a-d) must all be verbal, which for obvious reasons does not sit well with the unaccusative hypothesis for ObjExp constructions.

#### 1.4.5. Bouchard (1995) and the discussion of French passives

In the chapter on psychological predicates Bouchard (1995) extensively criticizes the approach to psychological predicates based on the notion of unaccusativity. Drawing largely on arguments accumulated by Pesetsky (1987, 1995), Bouchard enriches the body of evidence against B&R's and Grimshaw's account by providing two more arguments from French.

The first argument offered by Bouchard (1995) shows that adverbial modifiers cannot distinguish between verbal and adjectival passives in French, as in this language there is a typically verbal modifier *beaucoup* (86a) and a typically adjectival modifier *très* (86b), but with passive participles both are generally possible to pre-modify the participle (87a-b), which makes the identification of the type of the participle impossible, but, importantly, shows that if anything, it is not adjectival only, as B&R and Grimshaw would have liked (Bouchard's examples (114-115): 309):

- (86) a. Jean a beaucoup/\*très lu cette semaine.  
'Jean read a lot/\*very this week.'
- b. Jean est très/\*beaucoup heureux.  
'Jean is very/\*much happy.'
- (87) a. Jean a été beaucoup dégoûté/impressionné par Paul. (verbal)  
John was much disgusted/impressed by Paul.'
- b. Jean a été très dégoûté/impressionné par Paul. (adjectival)  
'John was very disgusted/impressed by Paul.'

Another construction which is sensitive to the verbal/adjectival distinction is the *tant...que* construction for verbs and *si...que* construction for adjectives (Bouchard's examples (116a-b): 309-310):

- (88) a. Jean a tant/\*si lu cette semaine qu'il n'a pas pu voir Zoé.  
'Jean read so much/\*so this week that he couldn't see Zoé.'  
b. Jean est si/\*tant distrait qu'il a oublié sa canne à pêche.  
'Jean is so/\*so much absentminded that he forgot his fishing rod.'

Yet again, passives of ObjExp verbs cannot be used to diagnose their verbal or adjectival status as they can appear with either of the two constructions (Bouchard's example (117a-b): 310):

- (89) a. Jean a été tant dégoûté/impressionné par Paul qu'il a immédiatement rejeté/adopté sa théorie. (verbal)  
'Jean was disgusted/impressed by Paul so much that he immediately rejected/adopted his theory.'  
b. Jean a été si dégoûté/impressionné par Paul qu'il a immédiatement rejeté/adopté sa théorie. (adjectival)  
'Jean was so disgusted/impressed by Paul that he immediately rejected/adopted his theory.'

As can be seen, the facts from French are far from indicative of the adjectival status of ObjExp passive participles, contra to the predictions articulated by B&R (1988) and Grimshaw (1990).

### 1.5. Arad (1998) and more arguments against the unaccusative claim

Apart from the arguments against the unaccusative treatment of ObjExp verbs mentioned before, Arad (1998a-b) contributes to the discussion by offering a few additional arguments.

First of all, Arad draws on the results obtained by Dowty (1991), Davis and Demirdache (1995) or Hale and Keyser (1997) (see also ft.14), who all reach the conclusion that causation lies in the domain of the external argument and cannot be linked to the position of the internal argument, which is precisely what happens on the unaccusative story in the B&R's version. By the same token, she claims, following Dowty (1991) and Tenny (1992), that "a prototypical Theme is taken to be an affected argument, an undergoer, a participant which measures out the event by the change of state it undergoes" (Arad 1998a: 224), thus providing conceptual ground against the Theme originating in the underlying object position.

Another potent argument consists in what Arad refers to as “psych [vs.] non psych alternations” (Arad 1998a: 218). After Ruwet (1972), Arad notices that there exist a great number of verbs which easily alternate between a psychological versus non-psychological readings. The example below illustrates such an alternation in English (Arad’s example (68): 219) and in Polish:

- (90) a. John disturbed the table.  
 b. John’s behavior disturbed everyone.
- (91) a. Janek poruszył taboret.  
 John moved stool  
 ‘John moved the stool.’  
 b. Opera poruszyła widownię.  
 opera moved audience  
 ‘The opera moved the audience.’

Seeing that (90a) and (91a) can both appear in a regular, transitive use as well as in a psychological context (90b) and (91b) makes any theory postulating a special underlying position for the surface subject considerably uneconomical. In practice, it would necessitate the existence of two radically different structures within these two pairs of examples.

## 1.6. Bennis (2004) and the arguments against derived Experiencers

Bennis (2004) joins the discussion concerning the unaccusative treatment of ObjExp predicates. Although the bulk of his arguments becomes most relevant in Chapter Three, where it will be shown how his theory translates into the analysis of the facts from Polish, let me present now the two points he makes against the derived status of the Experiencer argument, which, indirectly, form evidence against the unaccusative scenario as argued for at the beginning of this chapter.

Drawing on examples from Dutch, Bennis (2004) adopts the logic that the possibility of passivization is one argument against the non-structurally marked Experiencer:

- (92) a. Jan ontmoet mij met dat gedrag.  
 John moves me with that behavior  
 b. Ik werd door Jan ontmoerd met een serenade.  
 I was by John moved with a serenade

(modified from Bennis’s (42) and (43b): 105)

Following the mechanics of the passive as outlined in Baker et al. (1989), Bennis assumes that in the passive example (92b) the passive morpheme absorbs the structural Accusative, which forces the Experiencer to move up to the TP.

Next, Bennis (2004) argues that the behavior of past participles is also indicative of Experiencers conceived of as regular objects. Drawing a parallel between ditransitive and psychological constructions, it is shown that the latter behave in such a way as expected from verbs taking a structurally marked direct object, producing the grammatical (94c) in parallel to the non-psychological (93d):

- (93) a. De jongen overhandigt de voorzitter een cadeau.  
           the boy gives the chairman a present  
       b. \*de overhandigde jongen  
           the given boy  
       c. \*de overhandigde voorzitter  
           the given chairman  
       d. het overhandigde cadeau  
           the given present
- (94) a. De jongen amuseert het publiek met een redevoering.  
           the boy amuses the audience with a speech  
       b. \*de geamuseerde jongen  
           the amused boy  
       c. het geamuseerde publiek  
           the amused audience

(Bennis's 2004 examples (44-45): 105)

## 1.7. Landau (2010) and the move towards a unification of conflicting approaches

Landau (2010) pieces together all the facts compiled by his predecessors and takes his conclusions one step further, offering a cross-linguistic generalization on unaccusativity among Class II psych predicates. A painstaking analysis of verbal/adjectival passives in a cross-linguistic perspective allows him to divide languages into two groups with respect to the status of their Class II psych predicates:

- (95) Psych Passives  
       Type A Languages: Only eventive (non-stative) Class II verbs have verbal passive. (English, Dutch, Finnish)  
       Type B Languages: Class II verbs have no verbal passive. (Italian, French, Hebrew)

(Landau 2010: 47)

His predictions depart from the reasoning offered by Pesetsky, as Pesetsky assumed that all languages are basically similar with respect to verbal/adjectival passives, and pointed out flaws in the selection of examples in B&R, whereas Landau partly agrees with both sides. What is an important piece of Landau’s analysis, however, is the preservation of B&R’s assumption that the Case of the Experiencer is inherent (see Chapter Two for more details of this proposal). With the Case on the object Experiencer being determined as inherent, Landau starts out by explaining what two strategies can be employed to passivize a quirky<sup>23</sup> object.

- (96) Strategies for passivization of quirky objects
- a. P-stranding<sup>24</sup>: The preposition that governs the object is stranded and reanalyzed with the verb.  
*Pseudopassive*: [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> Exp]<sub>1</sub> [<sub>T'</sub> Aux [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>V</sub> V<sub>PASS</sub> + Ø ] [<sub>DP</sub> t<sub>1</sub> ] ] ] ] ]
  - b. Pied-Piping: The preposition that governs the object is carried along to the subject position.  
*Quirky passive*: [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>PP</sub> Ø [<sub>DP</sub> Exp]]<sub>1</sub> [<sub>T'</sub> Aux [<sub>VP</sub> V<sub>PASS</sub> [<sub>PP</sub> t<sub>1</sub> ] ] ] ]  
 (Landau 2010: 48)

English and Dutch are among languages showing the former strategy, whereas Finnish uses the latter one (Landau 2010: 48):

- (97) This bed was slept in.
- (98) Daar werd over gepraat. (Dutch)  
 there was about talked
- (99) Sinu-sta pidetään. (Finnish)  
 you-ELA like-PASS  
 ‘You are liked.’

This leads Landau to formulate a cross-linguistic generalization about the availability of verbal passives in ObjExp verbs (Landau 2010: 49):

- (100) Verbal passives of non-agentive ObjExp verbs will only be available in languages allowing either pseudopassives or (oblique) quirky passives.

<sup>23</sup> I take ‘quirky’ to mean ‘not-canonical’. In the case of objects, the canonical Case is structural Accusative, so the inherent Accusative is quirky.

<sup>24</sup> It is worth pointing out that should it be empirically proven that object Experiencers are uniformly inherently Case-marked, preposition stranding would be an unlikely transformation responsible for the passivization of quirky objects on a large, cross-linguistic scale. As argued, among others, by Maling and Zaenan (1990) and Truswell (2008), P-stranding “by movement is a crosslinguistically rare operation, attested only in a dozen or so (primarily Germanic) languages” (Truswell 2008: 132).

Neither of the strategies described above for the passivization of quirky objects is attested in Italian, French and Hebrew (these three were tested by Landau), which is taken as a clear indication that they do not have verbal passives and, thus, belong to Type B Languages. Contrary to Pesetsky's criticism of B&R's treatment of Italian participles, Landau is able to show that even though their analysis is not adequate for English, it still passes muster in Italian.

## 1.8. Summary

The aim of Chapter One was to demonstrate that despite its comprehensive treatment of a number of syntactic phenomena, it is highly unlikely to maintain the wholesale<sup>25</sup> unaccusative analysis of ObjExp predicates cross-linguistically. Closer inspection has revealed that not all of the arguments discussed in B&R can be successfully used to defend their central claim. Also, it has been shown that the cross-linguistic data provided by the authors and discussed in this chapter practically eliminate the possibility of the sweeping generalization that all ObjExp verbs are unaccusative<sup>2627</sup>. Thus, with one of the potentially very inconvenient theoretical obstacles removed, I can proceed with the task at hand, which is to show that object Experiencers are no different from non-Experiencer objects. In Chapter Two I will try to show that certain syntactic quirks associated with ObjExp verbs do not necessarily follow from any extraordinary status of Experiencer arguments.

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<sup>25</sup> Nothing in this chapter undermines the unaccusative treatment of Dative-marked Experiencers of Class III psychological predicates, which I take to be unaccusative (see the discussion in Chapters Three and Four).

<sup>26</sup> More arguments against object Experiencer constructions as unaccusative are discussed in Cançado and Franchi (1999). I present their arguments in Chapter Two, though, as these authors also argue directly against explaining away backward binding through the unaccusative re-configuration of arguments.

<sup>27</sup> Although it is my conviction that enough evidence has been presented to support the transitive derivation of ObjExp verbs, there are syntactic studies available which take advantage of the unaccusative hypothesis. An example of such a study is the discussion of the *wh*-scope interpretations in English and Korean questions (Kim and Larson 1989).

## Chapter Two

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# THE STRUCTURE OF OBJECT EXPERIENCER CONSTRUCTIONS AND ITS CONSEQUENCES FOR THE OBSERVED 'PSYCH EFFECTS'

### 2.1. Preliminaries

Having provided ample evidence in disfavor of the unaccusative treatment of object Experiencers in Chapter One, let me review what alternative internal representations of the structure of these verbs have been put forth over the last two decades. In the process of sketching out those representations, I will also try to verify how successful they have been at explaining certain psych effects, which are well known and amply described in the literature on this topic. Basically, we can classify so called 'psych effects' involving psychological predicates into two types. One type seems to be more language-particular as it lumps together various effects which appear in one language or another, but do not form a uniform group. Another group of effects concerning the behavior of psychological predicates appears to be more systematic and includes, among others, the phenomena of backward binding and T/SM restriction<sup>28</sup>. In the following sections of this chapter I will occasionally look at isolated examples of psych effects which generally concern only an individual language or a small group of languages. However, the bulk of the discussion will be devoted to the analysis of the global psych-related<sup>29</sup> effects, i.e. backward binding and T/SM

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<sup>28</sup> The term T/SM restriction stands for Target of Emotion/Subject Matter restriction and is due to Pesetsky (1995), for discussion see section 2.1.1.2.

<sup>29</sup> I use 'psych-related' deliberately as some authors, e.g. Landau (2010), consider backward binding and T/SM restriction only peripheral effects which are not strictly tied to psych predi-

restriction. After familiarizing the reader with the said psych effects, I will proceed to the proper part of this chapter, which is the review of various approaches to the internal structure of object Experiencer constructions. In general, there are two types of approaches posited to account for the properties these linguistic objects are identified with. On the one hand, there are non-structural approaches seeking to explain some of the attested phenomena (Grimshaw 1990). On the other hand, there are approaches which strive to connect the behavior of arguments with their structural position, and these can be roughly subdivided into the Theme/Causer raising approaches and the Experiencer raising approaches. While the former assume that the Theme/Causer argument is structurally lower and raises to the initial position as a result of movement during the derivation (Pesetsky 1995), the latter see the Experiencer as the lower argument, which – driven by motivation which depends on any particular theory – moves up covertly to a position from which it can c-command the Theme/Causer argument (Campbell and Martin 1989; Stowell 1986; Fujita 1993, 1996; more recently Sato and Kishida 2009; Landau 2010<sup>30</sup>).

## 2.2. The attested psych effects in Polish and English

Although there has been a fair deal of the so called psych effects described in the literature on psychological verbs, many of them are not applicable in the two languages which are in the primary focus of this book. That is why I will concentrate in this chapter on those which are in need of being accounted for, assuming that the rest manifest local idiosyncrasies of individual languages or groups of languages<sup>31</sup>.

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cates and are characteristic of causatives in general. In Landau's case, such a view is dictated by the specifics of his proposal, which does not see strong parallelism between causatives and psych predicates, suggesting a very unique understanding of Experiencers as locatives. I believe that the structure of causatives is very similar to the structure of ObjExp predicates and thus consider backward binding and T/SM restriction as important diagnostics for the structure of these verbs.

<sup>30</sup> Landau's (2010) approach is more complicated as it assumes the movement of the Experiencer along with a governing preposition, hence a transformation akin to the locative inversion, in which sense the c-command relation cannot be established. More about the details of Landau's proposal is presented later in this chapter.

<sup>31</sup> In Landau (2010) a convenient list of psych effects is compiled, individual members of which however very often only apply to a narrow set of languages. As Landau admits (personal communication), despite the numerous attempts at solving the mystery of psychological predicates, what remains unanswered is why certain psych effects crop up in certain languages and not in others. Below a full list of the psych effects mentioned by Landau is shown for B&R's Class II nonagentive psych verbs (Landau 2010: 75):

### 2.2.1. Backward binding

Backward binding, as its name suggests, can be observed in a construction in which the antecedent follows the anaphor that it binds (unlike the conventional reverse configuration). The flagship example of backward binding is presented in (101a), followed by (101b), which shows that not every sentence allows for this type of relation to obtain:

- (101) a. Pictures of himself<sub>1</sub> annoyed Mark<sub>1</sub>.  
 b. \*Pictures of himself<sub>1</sub> killed Mark<sub>1</sub>.

What transpires is the fact that in (101a) the anaphor contained in the subject is co-indexed with the antecedent which follows it (thus does not c-command it). In (101b), on the other hand, the same situation does not obtain, the difference between the two examples being that Mark in (101a) is an Experiencer, while in (101b) a Patient. Interestingly enough, (101b) can be salvaged if *kill* is not taken to mean *put to death* but *cause to be depressed*. Therefore, it seems that there is something special about the grammar of psychological predicates with the object Experiencer which clearly sets them apart from non-psychological predicates. With Postal (1970, 1971) being one of the first scholars to research this phenomenon, backward binding has been widely present in the literature ever since (Giorgi 1984; Belletti and Rizzi 1988; Campbell and Martin 1989; Pesetsky 1987, 1995; Grimshaw 1990; Bouchard 1992; 1995; Iwata 1995; Fujita 1993, 1996; Sato and Kishida 2009; Landau 2010; and for Polish, Tajsner 2008; Witkoś 2008b). The two major lines of explanation are configurational and prominence-related (or logophoric). The former posits that the c-command relation is in fact observed on the assumption that the surface ordering of arguments does not reflect either the base-derived or the LF ordering. The latter adopts the view that backward binding is not governed syntactically; instead, it falls into the category of long-distance anaphoric relations which are either prominence-driven or logophoric in nature. Below, in

- 
- (i) a. Overt obliqueness of experiencer (Navajo, Irish, Scottish Gaelic)  
 b. Accusative-Dative alternations (Italian, Spanish)  
 c. Islandhood of experiencer (Italian, English)  
 d. PP-behavior in *wh*-islands (English, Hebrew)  
 e. No synthetic compounds (English)  
 f. No Heavy NP Shift (English)  
 g. No Genitive of Negation (Russian)  
 h. Obligatory clitic-doubling (Greek)  
 i. Obligatory resumption in relative clauses (Greek, Hebrew)  
 j. No *si-se* reflexivization (Italian, French)  
 k. No periphrastic causative (Italian, French)  
 l. No verbal passive in type B languages (Italian, French, Hebrew)

section 2.2., I will present the classic approach by B&R (1988), which will be later confronted with more recent approaches, each time with the emphasis placed on the strengths and weaknesses of each approach.

### 2.2.1.1. Belletti and Rizzi (1988)

B&R notice that unusual binding relations can be observed when analyzing constructions with object Experiencers. “The anomalous behavior”, as B&R (1988: 312) call it, concerns anaphors which are contained within the Theme subjects and can be bound by Experiencer objects.

- (102) a. Questi pettegolezzi su di sé preoccupano Gianni più di ogni altra cosa.  
 ‘These gossips about himself worry Gianni more than anything else.’
- b. \*Questi pettegolezzi su di sé descrivono Gianni meglio di ogni biografia ufficiale.  
 ‘These gossips about himself describe Gianni better than any official biography.’

(B&R’s examples (57a-b): 312)

Having acknowledged earlier attempts at explaining these atypical binding relations, e.g. by Akatsuka (1976), Giorgi (1984), Pesetsky (1987a) and most notably Jackendoff (1972), who sets about accounting for examples such as (102a) by resorting to the prominence of arguments and claiming that the Experiencer is more prominent than the Theme, which matters for binding, B&R assert that their view of the structure of object Experiencer predicates is fully compatible with cases of ‘backward binding’ without resorting to the semantic notion of prominence. After all, in their system the underlying position of the Theme is lower than the position of the Experiencer, which can easily explain the superficially strange state of affairs in (102a). In (102b), which has no Experiencer but the Patient argument in the object position, this is no longer possible, which is why the example is ungrammatical.

Another observation that B&R make on the basis of examples (102a-b) sheds light on the timing when binding happens. Given that the configuration which puts the binder and the bindee in a proper binding relation holds only at the DS, it is postulated that once binding has taken place, the changed order of constituents over the course of a derivation has no effect on it<sup>32</sup>.

<sup>32</sup> This issue is discussed more widely by B&R. More about the exact time when binding happens is gathered on the basis of examples such as (i) and (ii) below (B&R’s examples (59-60): 313-314):

That this simple and seemingly elegant account of backward binding may not be flawless is pointed out in a number of subsequent analyses, some of them discussed later in this chapter. Apparently, the system developed by B&R faces problems when presented with examples of backward binding in non-psychological causative constructions as well as periphrastic causative constructions (see following sections).

### 2.2.1.2. Giorgi (1984) and Grimshaw (1990)

Grimshaw (1990) tackles the issue of backward binding from a different, non-syntactic angle<sup>33</sup>. Partly based on findings presented in Giorgi (1984) regarding the antecedent for Italian *proprio* ('self's'), her approach seeks to explain the exceptional binding patterns by relating to the notion of thematic prominence already introduced in Chapter One. And so, it is the maximally prominent argument of a predicate which may serve as an antecedent for an anaphor. Keeping in mind how there is a clash between the two dimensions of thematic and aspectual prominence in psychological-causative construc-

- (i) They<sub>i</sub> seem to each other<sub>i</sub> [<sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub> to be intelligent].  
 (ii) Which picture of himself<sub>i</sub> do you think [that Bill<sub>i</sub> likes t best]?

As B&R notice, (i) shows a case where Binding Principle A ("an anaphor is bound in a local domain", Chomsky 1986b: 166) is only satisfied at the level of the Surface Structure; in (ii), on the other hand, Reconstruction is necessary to allow the nominal to bind the anaphoric pronoun inside the moved *wh*-phrase. On the strength of such examples, B&R conclude that Principle A seems to be the "anywhere principle" (B&R 1988: 314), which is not affected by movement operations over the course of the derivation.

There are two more cases which are taken under scrutiny by B&R, illustrated below as (iii) and (iv):

- (iii) \*Himself<sub>i</sub> worries John<sub>i</sub>/him<sub>i</sub>.  
 (iv) \*Each other<sub>i</sub> worried themselves<sub>i</sub>.

As for (iii), its ill-formed status is understood to result from a violation of Principle B and C of the binding theory (B&R 1988: 317). These Binding Principles require that pronominal and referential expressions must not be (locally) bound anywhere in the course of the derivation ("a pronominal is free in a local domain", "an r-expression is free in the domain of the head of its chain", Chomsky 1986b: 166). Thus, (iii) is different than (v) below, where *himself*, embedded in a DP, does not c-command its antecedent.

- (v) Pictures of himself<sub>i</sub> worry John<sub>i</sub>/him<sub>i</sub>.

In (iv), on the other hand, a phenomenon described as "the circularity in the assignment of a referent to the anaphors" (B&R 1988: 319) takes place. In the spirit of Higginbotham (1983), X cannot function as the antecedent of Y if Y is later assumed to be the antecedent of X.

<sup>33</sup> As stated by Grimshaw (1990: 163), a similar intuition, whereby binding is subject to rules which go beyond syntactic configurations, is also present in Jackendoff (1972), Giorgi (1984) and Hellan (1988).

tions, the fact that it is the thematic prominence which matters in establishing binding relations is quite critical for this approach to work. This way, in object Experiencer predicates the Causer, aspectually the most prominent argument, will not be expected to bind anaphors and the Experiencer, thematically the most prominent argument, will be taken to be a default binder for anaphors.

To understand the reasoning behind this proposal, let me backtrack a little and see how Giorgi (1984) comes to the conclusion which inspired Grimshaw. The original study by Giorgi (1984) concerned the behavior of long-distance anaphors. While generally subject-oriented (103a-b), these anaphors select objects as their antecedents with object Experiencer predicates (104a-b).

- (103) a. Gianni<sub>i</sub> ritiene che Osvaldo<sub>j</sub> sia convinto che quella casa appartenga ancora alla propria<sub>i/j</sub> famiglia.  
'Gianni believes that Osvaldo is persuaded that that house still belongs to self's family.'
- b. \*Ho convinto Maria<sub>i</sub> che la propria<sub>i</sub> casa era andata in fiamme.  
'I persuaded Maria that self's house had gone up in flames.'  
(Grimshaw's examples (26a-b): 163)
- (104) a. La propria<sub>i</sub> salute preoccupa molto Osvaldo<sub>i</sub>.  
'Self's health worries Osvaldo a lot.'
- b. \*La propria<sub>i</sub> moglie ha assassinato Osvaldo<sub>i</sub>.  
'Self's wife murdered Osvaldo.'
- c. La salute di quelli che amano la propria<sub>i</sub> moglie preoccupa molto Osvaldo<sub>i</sub>.  
'The health of those who love self's wife worries Osvaldo a lot.'  
(Grimshaw's examples (27a-c): 164)

In (103a) two subjects are available as antecedents for *propria* and both have the capacity to serve as ones, which is not the case in (103b), where the forced object binding causes the derivation to crash. A reverse situation emerges from the examples under (104). (104a) shows the familiar configuration where the object binds the anaphor inside the subject, in (104b) it is shown that the same cannot take place when the verb is not psychological and (104c) proves that locality is not an issue when it comes to backward binding of *propria* in a construction with a psychological verb. To sum up, Giorgi's reasoning led her to assume thematic prominence as the ultimate criterion responsible for antecedent selection. In regular non-psychological verbs this is tantamount to subject binding, but in object Experiencer verbs it is not the subject but the object which has a more prominent status and, hence, counts as an antecedent<sup>34</sup>.

<sup>34</sup> Strictly speaking, thematic prominence always favors the external argument as the most prominent argument. However, it has to be remembered that under the thematic prominence

As Grimshaw shows, the Italian facts can also be rendered in English and even though the grammaticality of (105a) may appear less than perfect, a similar sentence with a non-psychological verb (105b) is markedly worse.

- (105) a. ?Stories about herself generally please Mary.  
 b. \*Stories about herself generally describe Mary accurately.  
 (Grimshaw's 1990 examples (31b-33b): 165, based on examples from Pesetsky 1987)

As expected, subject Experiencer verbs, or Class I verbs in the B&R's typology, should not display the behavior typical of object Experiencer/Class II verbs precisely because their Experiencer argument is assumed to be base-generated in the subject position and hence is the most prominent argument in the thematic dimension. As such, it cannot be bound by any other argument, which can be seen in (106a) contrasted with a grammatical (106b).

- (106) a. \*Each others' students fear the professors.  
 b. Each others' students frighten the professors.

Finally, let me look at structures with the passive, which, as Grimshaw points out, may be especially troublesome for the approach advanced by B&R. Let me look first at (107):

- (107) \*Gianni<sub>i</sub> preoccupa chiunque dubiti della propria<sub>i</sub> buona fede.  
 'Gianni worries whoever doubts of his own good faith.'  
 (B&R's example (79b): 321)

The ungrammaticality of (107) stems from the fact that the subject is derived and derived subjects cannot bind<sup>35</sup>. This is where the thematic prominence approach makes a different prediction. In the passive, where the external argument is syntactically suppressed and either absent or relegated to the *by*-phrase, it is the derived subject which should be capable of serving as antecedent. This is, in fact, true, as shown in (108):

- (108) a. Osvaldo<sub>j</sub> è stato convinto da Gianni<sub>i</sub> de fatto che la propria<sub>j/\*i</sub> casa e la più bella del paese.  
 'Osvaldo has been convinced by Gianni of the fact that self's house is the nicest in the village.'

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theory of Grimshaw (1990), subjects in object Experiencer verbs are not base-generated, but derived. Thus, they are excluded as binders.

<sup>35</sup> Actually, it is not the derived status per se, but rather the fact that the derived argument in (107) is not in a theta position, which is a requirement B&R impose on arguments in order to control (B&R 1988: 322).

- b. They were told that it would be reasonable for pictures of each other to be available.  
(Grimshaw's example (37): 166, based on Giorgi 1984)

If so, Grimshaw legitimately sees it as a flaw in B&R's argumentation, forcing them to distinguish between the derived status of the subject in (107) versus the derived status of subjects in (108a-b). Needless to say, the prominence theory handles such cases naturally.

Apart from the standard cases of backward binding as discussed above, Grimshaw also confronts her theory with more problematical cases of control into complex causatives, as she labels the Japanese *-sase* construction<sup>36</sup>. Consider (109) below:

- (109) Taroo wa Hanako o zibun no kuruma kara ori *-sase* *-ta*.  
'Taro made Hanako come out of his/her own car.'  
(Grimshaw's example (40): 168, based on Shibatani 1976)

It is a well-known fact about the Japanese *zibun* ('self') that it only allows the subject as its antecedent, as evidenced in (110) below:

- (110) Taroo<sub>1</sub> ga Hanako<sub>2</sub> o zibun<sub>1/\*2</sub> no heya de mi *-ta*.  
'Taro saw Hanako in his own room.'  
(Grimshaw's example (41): 168, based on Shibatani (1976))

The fact that *zibun* in (109) can be related to either Taroo or Hanako may suggest that Hanako is also a subject, but that would be more difficult to explain in the prominence theory. Hence, Grimshaw suggests an alternative explanation. She assumes that *-sase* causatives project two independent argument structures, one of the base verb and another one of the causative morpheme. On this assumption, it follows that there are two most prominent arguments in each of the two structures and both are authorized to serve as antecedents. This lets Grimshaw argue her way out of an otherwise problematical situation.

### 2.2.1.3. Campbell and Martin (1989)

Soon after its publication, the analysis of backward binding presented by B&R was subject to scrutiny in Campbell and Martin (1989). These authors followed a different route in their explanation of the exceptional binding re-

<sup>36</sup> More about *-sase* causatives follows in section 2.2.6. Suffice it to say now that *-sase* is the causative morpheme in Japanese which is roughly equivalent to the periphrastic causative *make* in English.

lations found with psychological predicates. The central deviation from the theory of their predecessors was to assume that the Experiencer is the element that moves up at LF to a position from which it can c-command the Causer located below<sup>37</sup>. The premise of their proposal consists of two points:

- (111) a. An NP receiving the Experiencer role optionally rises at LF.  
 b. Stative predicates have a second subject position available at LF.  
 (Campbell and Martin 1989: 46)

Surely the extra subject position made available for the movement of the Experiencer requires further justification. The justification that Campbell and Martin supply relates to a more articulate structure of the inflectional phrase, which in stative predicates accommodates at least two functional projections, TENSE and Agreement (the latter is the source of morphological tense and a Case assigner)<sup>38</sup>.

The support for the movement of the Experiencer is taken from Japanese. It is reported in Kuno (1973) that with a stative predicate there is a construction with a Nominative object in Japanese, which is absent from nonstative predicates (examples (112-113) after Campbell and Martin's examples (17-18): 47):

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<sup>37</sup> Campbell and Martin acknowledge the work of Stowell (1986) as another analysis which assumes a similar type of movement.

<sup>38</sup> The exact mechanics of the system rests on the distinct characteristics of states/events with regard to time delimitation. Campbell and Martin cite Enç (1985), who shows that examples (i) and (ii) below differ as far as delimiting time is concerned.

- (i) John works at 10 o'clock.  
 (ii) John was in town at 10 o'clock.

Just as a bounded reading is possible with an event in (i) (a clear point can be made between John's not working and the onset of his work), no such bounded reading is available in (ii), whose meaning does not convey any particular point in time which would tell us when John arrived at the town. These observations lead Campbell and Martin to formulate (iiia-b) (1989: 52):

- (iii) a. TENSE is a delimiter iff TENSE incorporates V at LF  
 b. Nominative Case is governed by AGR at LF

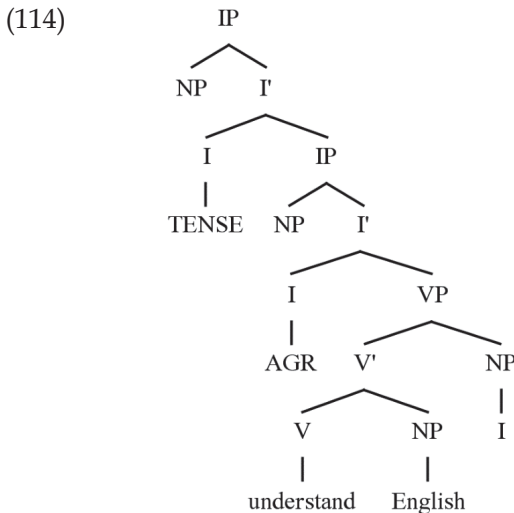
Now let us imagine a structure which has a lower projection of Agreement and a higher projection of TENSE. Since states are not delimiters, there is no TENSE incorporation, which effectively means that the verb, having raised to Agreement, does not move any further up. Agreement then licenses Nominative Case on its Spec position, while the higher specifier of TENSE remains as an available position. In events, Agreement-Verb complex incorporates onto TENSE (later moving to COMP), thus governing the position of the specifier of TENSE, and assigning Nominative to the argument which lands there, which must be the surface subject. Thus, no position is left for the Experiencer.

- (112) a. dare ga hon o yonde iru ka?  
 who NOM book ACC reading is Q  
 'Who is reading a book?'
- b. dare ga eigo ga wakaru ka?  
 who NOM ENGL. NOM understand Q  
 'Who understands English?'

As *ga* and *o* are Nominative and Accusative markers, respectively, it is only in the case of a stative predicate in (112b) that two Nominatives can be licensed, unlike the example with a nonstative verb in (112a), where the usual distinction between Nominative and Accusative is observed. What is even more intriguing, the Nom-Nom pattern in (112b) can alternate with a Dat-Nom<sup>39</sup> pattern:

- (113) watakushi ni eigo ga wakaru  
 I DAT English NOM understand  
 'I understand English.'

For Campbell and Martin, the account of the Japanese syntactic idiosyncrasy follows straightforwardly from a double subject tree structure. The Experiencer argument starts out as an indirect object, which gets Dative. The direct object moves up to the lower subject position, where it gets Nominative, and the Experiencer is free to move to a higher subject position, which is now available (see ft.38), having the option of surfacing as Dative or getting Nominative, as schematized below in (114) (adapted from Campbell and Martin's example (19): 48):



<sup>39</sup> See also section 2.2.7. for further reference.

This approach seems to provoke a number of questions, but before I look at it critically, let me see what can be gained by adopting this view of mechanics of psychological predicates. First of all, Campbell and Martin argue that B&R's account is unsuccessful with the cases of periphrastic causatives (Campbell and Martin's example (8b): 45).

(115) Stories about himself always make John worry.

This is because B&R would need to assume that both arguments belong to the same thematic set while it clearly shows that the matrix subject is in a separate clause from a lower Experiencer argument, with the two verbs taking their own set of arguments each. However, if (111) is true, then the subject of the lower clause in (115), by virtue of being the Experiencer, can move up to the second subject position of the matrix clause, thus landing in a position from which the subject can be bound.

Another puzzle that is argued to be handled quite smoothly by the double subject approach concerns the difference between (116a) and (116b) (Campbell and Martin's examples (10b, 11): 11):

- (116) a. stories about herself give Mary the chills  
 b. \*pictures of himself sent John a message

As the idiomatic *give the chills* requires the indirect Experiencer object, it should thus be possible for Mary to rise to a higher subject position from which the anaphor inside the subject could be bound. The same cannot be stated about (116b), as *send a message* does not select an Experiencer, but a Recipient, which means that it never moves up to a higher position from which it could bind the anaphor within the subject.

#### 2.2.1.4. Fujita (1993, 1996)

An approach which makes use of the early minimalist mechanics of subject and object checking in the spirit of Chomsky (1993, 1995) is presented in a system developed in Fujita (1993, 1996). The starting point for the author is to reconsider the pattern of binding which distinguishes Dative double object constructions from regular double objects constructions, as in (117-118) below:

- (117) a. John showed Bill and Mary to each other's friends.  
 b. ?John showed each other's friends to Bill and Mary<sup>40</sup>.

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<sup>40</sup> From the way Fujita assesses the grammaticality of a sentence it has to be gathered that a question mark is used to suggest an acceptable, albeit less common, structure.

- (118) a. John showed Bill and Mary each other's friends.  
 b. \*John showed each other's friends Bill and Mary.  
 (Fujita's 1996 examples (6-7): 148)

Examples (117) and (118) show that only in a Dative construction can the second object bind an anaphor which is a part of the first object (117b), such a possibility being absent from a regular double object construction in (118b). What can be drawn from the above examples is that in (117b), but not in (118b) both objects must be able to c-command each other at certain stages of the derivation. For Fujita, similarly as for Pesetsky later on in this chapter, this calls into question the traditional VP-shell analysis of double object constructions familiar from papers by Larson (1988, 1990), which does not include such a proviso.

In the next step Fujita correlates binding facts from Dative double object constructions with the familiar by now cases of backward binding in psychological predicates and in non-volitional causative constructions (citing examples after Pesetsky 1995).

- (119) ?Each other's pictures annoy Bill and Mary.  
 (120) ?Each other's remarks make Bill and Mary laugh.

These observations, coupled with Oehrle's observations pertaining to the lack of causative interpretation in Dative constructions (reviewed in section 2.2.2.1.1.), lead Fujita to propose two different subject positions for a Causer and an Agent. Thanks to these two distinct positions, it can be relatively easily demonstrated why backward binding applies to causative constructions only, excluding Agents in this context. The general idea seems to be the following. In constructions with an Agent, there are only two verbal projections, the lower one is the projection of the lexical verb/root and the higher one is the functional causative projection. The Experiencer is  $\theta$ -marked by the lexical verb and occupies its specifier projection; however, its Case needs to be checked in the covert syntax against the  $\text{Agr}_o$  head<sup>41</sup>, which is situated above the causative projection. Given that the Causer is compositionally  $\theta$ -marked by the duo of a lexical verb and a causative head in the specifier position of the causative projection, there is a point in the covert syntax where the Experiencer c-commands the Causer, thus legitimizing any backward binding readings as exemplified in this section. The difference that has been observed in the agentive reading is that the complex head (a lexical verb head plus a causative head), has no Causer  $\theta$ -role to discharge but instead they move up together to the highest verbal projection, present only in agentive contexts

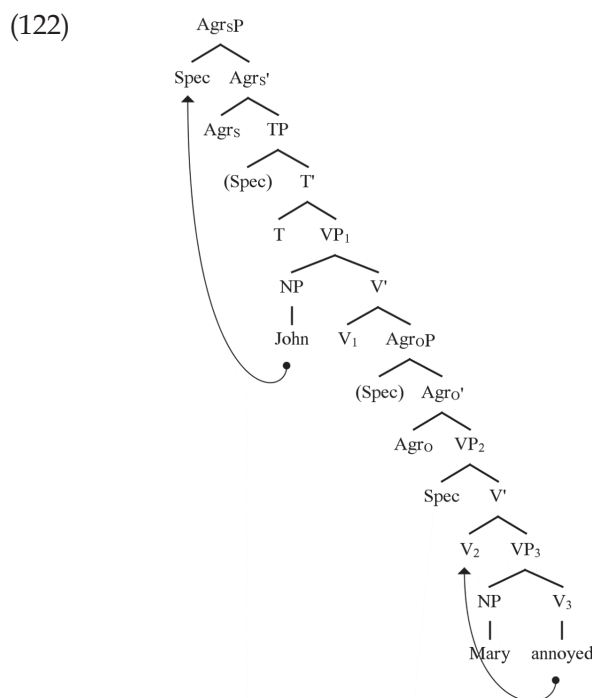
<sup>41</sup>  $\text{Agr}_o\text{P}$  is the early minimalist functional projection allowing the checking of the object Case (respectively,  $\text{Agr}_s\text{P}$  has the equivalent function for subjects).

and speculatively responsible for the licensing of sentence<sup>42</sup>, where an Agent  $\theta$ -role is assigned to the specifier of that functional projection. As  $\text{Agr}_O\text{P}$  is below the highest verbal projection, there is never a situation when the Experiencer head c-commands the Agent.

Let me now look at a sentence with an Agent/Causer subject and then analyze the syntactic structure that is proposed for the two interpretations.

- (121) a. John annoyed Mary.  
 b. The rumor annoyed Mary.  
 (adapted from Fujita's 1996 example (18a): 151)

Let us proceed first with the structure of the agentive sentence in (121a):

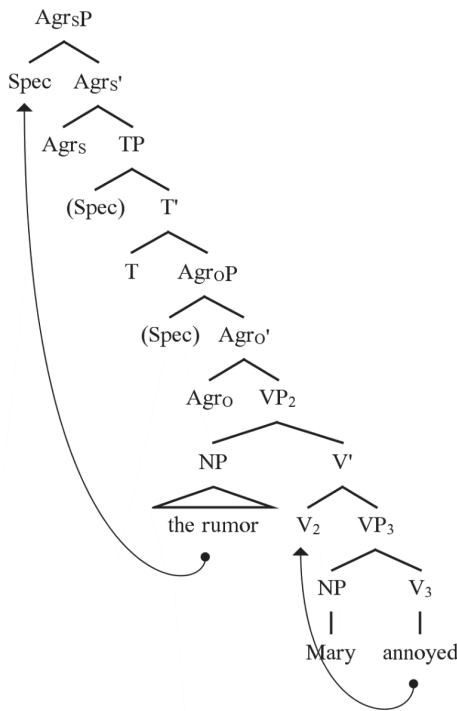


<sup>42</sup> That sentence as a feature (in a strict, non-syntactic sense of the word) may have to be licensed is a hypothesis which gains plausibility in any of the approaches which posit an internally complex structure of arguments. One such theory is the theory of Proto-roles developed by Dowty (1979, 1991). Dowty holds that "thematic roles are simply not discrete categories at all, but rather are cluster concepts" (1991: 571). His theory is different from Rozwadowska (1988) in that Rozwadowska assumes 'feature decomposition of roles', which allows for drawing very precise distinctions among thematic roles. For Dowty, thematic roles are associated with entailments which specify their semantic contribution, but oftentimes are insufficient to provide black-and-white contrast. Thus, a thematic role may be said to have more Proto-Agent or Proto-Patient features. What is more, combinations of entailments produce familiar roles, so if Agent is usually characterized by (volition) + causation + (sentience) + (movement) (Dowty 1979), Experiencer is sentience + change of state but no volition (Dowty 1991). Also cf. ft.47.

As can be seen, an articulate structure of VP is assumed by Fujita (1996). The way the author sees the derivation in (122) is as follows. First, a lexical verb is merged,  $V_3$ , which  $\theta$ -marks the Experiencer as its subject. Next, an abstract causative verb is merged as  $V_2$ . Given that there is no Causer argument in this sentence, the complex head  $V_1$ - $V_2$  does not  $\theta$ -mark its subject position, but instead will move up shortly to  $V_1$ , where the complex  $V_1$ - $V_2$ - $V_3$  head will  $\theta$ -mark the subject of  $V_1$  as the Agent. In the meantime,  $\text{Agr}_O\text{P}$  is merged as a functional head that checks the Case on the object Experiencer. Higher functional projections, such as TP and  $\text{Agr}_S\text{P}$  are uncontroversially merged last.

Let us now see how a structure with a Causer instead of an Agent is generated within this system.

(123)



The crucial difference in the derivation of (123) is that the structure contains a Causer argument. The early step of the derivation is identical to the previous structure, but once  $V_3$  adjoins  $V_2$ , the presence of the Causer makes it possible to discharge this thematic role to the subject of  $V_2$ . Once this role is discharged, there is no reason motivating the projection of  $V_1$ , associated with the thematic role of the Agent, and hence no such projection is present in this derivation. The functional head checking the Case on the Experiencer object is merged next, facilitating the movement of the Experiencer in the covert syntax and establishing the proper environment for binding the Causer argument.

### 2.2.1.5. Cançado and Franchi (1999)

Cançado and Franchi (1999), who focus primarily on the exceptional binding-related issues in Brazilian Portuguese (BP), supply evidence which also puts the unaccusative treatment of ObjExp verbs in trouble. Subjecting *preocupar*, the BP equivalent of the Italian *preoccupare* ('worry'), to similar tests as used by B&R in their original analysis, Cançado and Franchi initially arrive at a conclusion similar to that of their Italian predecessors. However, a closer look at a wider range of ObjExp verbs quickly produces examples of verbs which, despite their membership in the same category, are characterized by different properties<sup>43</sup>. Drawing on Cançado (1995), it is shown that *acalmar* ('calm') and *assustar* ('frighten') do not conform to the unaccusative scenario and thus present a serious obstacle for those trying to preserve that line of explanation (examples below show that *acalmar* and *assustar* allow for reflexive cliticization<sup>44</sup> (124), arbitrary *pro* (125), impersonal *se* (126), all of which makes them incompatible with unaccusative verbs as predicted by B&R):

- (124) a. Maria se acalma.  
 Maria self calms  
 'Maria calms herself.'  
 b. ??Maria se assusta.  
 Maria self frightens  
 'Maria frightens herself.'
- (125) a. Acalmaram Maria.  
 (they) calmed Maria  
 b. Assustaram Maria.  
 (they) frightened Maria

<sup>43</sup> The lack of homogeneity in the *preoccupare* class in Italian is argued for in Varchetta (2010). Varchetta analyzes the ObjExp class of psych verbs in Italian to reach the conclusion that with respect to the usual set of diagnostics, which include nominalizations, intransitive use, present participle, passivization and preposition selection, Italian registers considerable variation (Varchetta 2010: 113), contra the neat, across-the-board unaccusative treatment advanced by B&R. A different type of the lack of homogeneity within the *preoccupare* class is considered in Áfarli (2002). The analysis of this class of ObjExp verbs in Norwegian leads Áfarli to the conclusion that it must be further subdivided into two groups based on their behavior with regard to a set of diagnostic tests. However, seeing that Áfarli (2002: 129) distinguishes between *irritere* 'irritate' verbs (where verbs such as *bekymre* 'worry', *ergre* 'annoy', or *plage* 'bother' can be found) and *forekomme* 'occur' verbs (*tykkes* 'seem' and *foresveve* 'appear'), what appears to be the case is that Norwegian psychological verbs combine the traditionally assumed Classes II and III (in B&R's tripartite classification) into morphologically identical class of Accusative-marked object Experiencers. The expectation would be that *irritere* verbs should mark the structural Accusative on their complements, whereas *forekomme* ones inherent. Unfortunately, I do not have information to support that.

<sup>44</sup> The availability of reflexive cliticization as an indication of the presence of the external argument has been widely discussed, cf. Reinhart 1996, 2004. See also Chapter Three, section 3.2.2.

- (126) a. Acalmou-se Maria com drogas.  
calm-IMPERS Maria with drugs  
'Maria was calmed with drugs.'
- b. Assustou-se Maria com gritos.  
frighten-IMPERS Maria by cries  
'Maria was frightened by cries.'
- (Caçado and Franchi's 1999 examples (7-9): 134-135)

What is more, unlike *preocupar*, which only forms adjectival passives, *acalmar* and *assustar* both allow verbal passives (strictly speaking, *acalmar* exhibits verbal passives only and *assustar* can form both adjectival and verbal passives). All these facts taken together lead Caçado and Franchi to the conclusion that the subjects of *acalmar* and *assustar* are real external arguments, not derived as on the unaccusative interpretation<sup>45</sup>. Surprisingly enough, however, they all the same allow for backward binding just like *preocupar* does, as shown in (127-129):

- (127) Estórias sobre si mesma geralmente preocupam Maria/-a.  
stories about herself generally worry Maria/her
- (128) Referências a si mesma/própria no jornal acalmaram Maria/-a.  
references to herself in the newspaper calmed Maria/her
- (129) Uma fofoca sobre si mesma/própria assustou Maria/-a.  
a gossip about herself frightened Maria/her
- (Caçado and Franchi's 1999 examples (15,16a,17a): 135-136)

Well-equipped to refute the unaccusative explanation of backward binding, Caçado and Franchi seek an alternative. The observation that there are other Causer-taking non-psychological constructions allowing for backward binding (mentioned before in the context of Pesetsky 1995) hints at the possible correlation between the Causer as an external argument and the possibility of the antecedent preceding its binder (cf. section 2.2.2.1., ft.59):

- (130) Uma estória sobre si mesmo levou João ao cinema  
a story about himself brought João to the cinema.
- (Caçado and Franchi's 1999 example (23c): 139)

<sup>45</sup> This conclusion is further strengthened by the fact that both *acalmar* and *assustar*, but also *preocupar*, allow for the *se*-marker in their intransitive use, a property typically ascribed to the absorption of the external argument (Caçado and Franchi 1999: 136-137):

- (i) a. As notícias preocuparam/acalmaram/assustaram Maria/-a.  
the news worried/ calmed/ frightened Maria/her
- b. Maria/Ela se preocupou/acalmou/assustou.  
Maria/she became worried/ calmed/ frightened

For a similar proposal see also Chapter Three, sections 3.1-3.2.

However, it is hard to substantiate any hypothesis validating the special status of the Causer in light of the examples from BP which show that backward binding is also possible between arguments none of which are either Causers or Experiencers:

- (131) a. Estórias sobre si têm a aprovação do vaidoso mestre.  
 stories about himself have the approval of the vain master  
 b. Fofocas dos próprios amigos não convêm a quem assuma  
 gossip about one's own friends do not suit whoever assumes  
 tão importante cargo.  
 such an important job  
 c. Uma foto de si mesmo na primeira página do jornal vale o  
 a photo of himself on the first page of the newspaper is a real  
 dia para um político  
 boost for a politician

(Cançado and Franchi's 1999 ex. (24-26): 140)

On top of this evidence, the ultimate blow to any syntactic analysis of backward binding is dealt by a construction represented in (132):

- (132) Rumores sobre si explicam a insegurança mostrada por João.  
 rumors about himself explain the insecurity shown by João

(Cançado and Franchi's 1999 ex. (28): 140)

In (132) Cançado and Franchi show that the binder is not even required to be the argument of the matrix verb (João is contained in an adjunct *by*-phrase of the passive participle that is itself an adjunct to the object argument of the matrix verb).

To sum up, Cançado and Franchi (1999), present evidence which puts any purely configurational analysis of backward binding, including those discussed earlier in this chapter, in serious trouble. Instead, what seems to be a less desirable but close to inevitable conclusion is that syntactic constraints, and most of all Principle A<sup>46</sup>, are inactive in computing this syntactic phenom-

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<sup>46</sup> Even more examples showing that Principle A is not operative in the case of backward binding are reproduced in Pollard and Sag (1992). It is argued that certain anaphors, which include picture noun anaphors and possessive reciprocals (Jackendoff 1972 first observed this property of picture noun anaphors), are exempt from the requirement of c-command (Sag and Pollard 1992: 263):

- (i) a. The picture of herself<sub>i</sub> on the front page of the Times made Mary<sub>i</sub>'s claims seem somewhat ridiculous.  
 b. The picture of herself<sub>i</sub> on the front page of the Times confirmed the allegations Mary<sub>i</sub> had been making over the years.

(Pollard and Sag's 1992 examples (7d,f): 264)

enon. Therefore, any attempt at solving the puzzle of backward binding in both syntactic or semantic (prominence) terms only is bound to fail as it will inevitably over- or undergenerate. I tentatively concur with Landau (2010), then, that the *modus operandi* behind backward binding is likely to be logophoric in nature. Perhaps this solution is not sufficiently explanatory, but it must suffice in the absence of a better one. However, I will also present an overview of an alternative solution which resorts to a point-of-view projection.

### 2.2.1.6. Sato and Kishida (2009) and hyperprojections

As mentioned before, a selection of approaches seeks to unravel the mystery of backward binding by postulating the movement of the Experiencer argument to a position higher than the Causer at LF which establishes the proper binding configuration. One of such approaches is Sato and Kishida (2009)<sup>47</sup>, who argue for the hyperprojection of a Point-of-View<sup>48</sup> functional category, in so doing claiming to have answered many questions which were left unanswered in other approaches.

A central assumption is in order before we move on to the syntactic representation of the POVP. Along the lines articulated in Brekke<sup>49</sup> (1976), Sato and Kishida see the difference between psychological and non-psychological predicates in that only the former “denote a subjective mental (change of) state on the part of a sentient human being capable of undergoing his/her internal experience that is beyond the reach of objective observation” (Sato and Kishida 2009: 124). Such a description nominates Experiencer arguments for the role of the Pivot in the sense of Sells (1987), that is one of the primitive discourse roles, which refers to a person “from whose point of view the report is made” (Sells 1987: 455).

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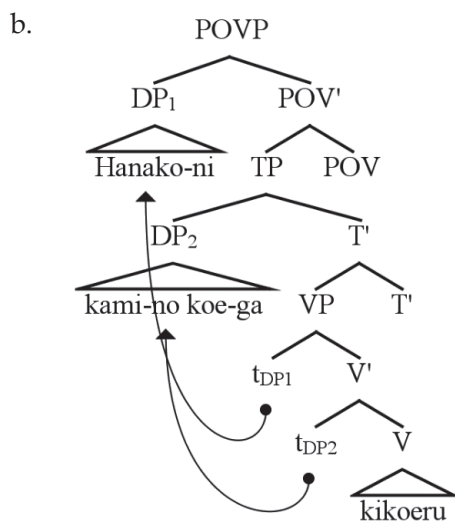
<sup>47</sup> Other works that utilize the idea of Experiencers moving to a higher position are Stowell (1986), Tenny (2004, 2006), or Endo (2007). Tenny (2004), for instance, argues for the existence of the *Sentience Projection* located in the CP area, which would be a landing site for arguments endowed with the [+sentient] feature. This operation of *Sentience Raising* (Tenny 2004: 16) that allows for a covert upward movement of the Experiencer would be responsible for the uncommon binding relations available for object Experiencers.

<sup>48</sup> The Point-of-View projection appears to be a development of the earlier idea developed in Sato (2002), where it was a *Sentience Projection* that attracted elements marked [+sentience] to a higher position in a clause structure. Point of view as a pragmatic factor facilitating binding was discussed before, e.g. in Zribi-Hertz (1989) or Reinhart and Reuland (1993), among others.

<sup>49</sup> Brekke’s (1976) work related to psychological predicates only, but Sato and Kishida extend his reasoning to “constructions including non-psychological predicates when certain cognitive-semantic conditions related to subjectivity and topicality are met” (Sato and Kishida 2009: 125).

Somewhat inspired by the work of Campbell and Martin (1989) discussed before, Sato and Kishida (2009) are not fully satisfied with the account which postulates an optional LF movement to the higher IP subject position without supporting it with any proper motivation. Also, the fact that in the previous approach no connection is established with the psychological nature of predicates which display the Dative subject constructions<sup>50</sup> seems to undermine its explanatory power. Instead of assuming extra subject landing sites, Sato and Kishida propose that exactly in constructions which feature “a subjective experience/evaluation of a sentient human being” (2009: 126), there is a special functional projection, POVP, on top of TP which necessitates the LF movement of the Experiencer to check its [+Person] feature, which in turn makes it into the Pivot. To illustrate schematically how the example (133a) that the authors take from Kuno (1973) can be represented in their system, let us analyze (133b)<sup>51</sup>:

- (133) a. Hanako-ni kami-no koe-ga kikoeru  
 Hanako-Dat God-Gen voice-Nom hear  
 ‘Hanako can hear God’s voice.’



<sup>50</sup> The fact that the movement of the Experiencer argument to the higher subject position is unrelated to the psychological nature of the argument involved in the movement is what Sato and Kishida (2009) criticize Fujita’s (1994, 1996) accounts for.

<sup>51</sup> (133b) is an example of Dative-Experiencer Nominative-Theme construction discussed in Kuno (1973). It is allowed in “certain semantically definable classes of predicate in this language, including verbs of competence and verbs of non-intentional perception” (Sato and Kishida 2009: 125).

Instead of presupposing the existence of two specifier positions of the same projection (as Campbell and Martin (1989) did), the two subject positions are made available by two different functional heads and motivated by disparate requirements. While [Spec,TP] is the usual position of the sentential subject, in (133b) hosting the Causer argument, the higher [Spec,POVP] position is only projected because the sentence contains a subjective predicate, which needs to be licensed in [Spec,POVP] as the Pivot. Given that the Japanese example shows the Dative argument overtly in the Pivot position, it seems valid to assume that the movement to [Spec,POVP] is subject to parameterization, in Japanese taking place in the overt syntax, in English being relegated to LF.

When we look at examples (101a-b), repeated below for convenience as (134a-b), the system developed by Sato and Kishida can easily explain the observed facts.

- (134) a. Pictures of himself<sub>1</sub> annoyed Mark<sub>1</sub>.  
 b. \*Pictures of himself<sub>1</sub> killed Mark<sub>1</sub>.

Only in (134a) is the POVP projected, as only the psychological verb contains “a subjective description of an event/state” (Sato and Kishida 2009), which prompts the merger of the POVP projection and induces the movement of the Experiencer argument all the way up. If such semantic-cognitive factors are indeed at play in the course of the derivation, the ambiguity of (134b) should not present a problem for the analysis as the system should dynamically assess the type of object argument on the basis of the inherent semantics of the verb, and accordingly project – or not, the POVP.

### 2.2.1.7. Landau (2010) and the locative make-up of Experiencers

Last but not least, I will present a syntactic approach to ObjExp constructions which does rely mainly on the special status of the Experiencer argument and, if proved valid, could deal with cases of backward binding. The theory built up by Landau (2010<sup>52</sup>) does in a way hark back to Campbell and Martin’s (1989), although, as Landau claims, his approach provides answers that the previous approach was silent about. The point of convergence is surely the belief that it is the Experiencer argument which LF-moves<sup>53</sup> to a higher subject position for licensing reasons. However, unlike Campbell and Martin,

<sup>52</sup> Although Landau’s *The locative syntax of Experiencers* was published in 2010, the manuscript version had been in circulation since 2005, which means that it predates the theory of hyperprojections from the previous section.

<sup>53</sup> Movement at LF is simply taken by Landau to be an instance of covert movement, which, for PF reasons, leaves lower copies pronounced (2010: ft.9, p.145, for references see Groat and O’Neil 1997; Bobaljik 2002; Bošković 2004).

Landau makes this movement obligatory and applicable to all Experiencers, not only those present in stative predicates. Moreover, a clear motivation is given for the Experiencer movement, which is a point slightly neglected in Campbell and Martin.

The idea voiced in Landau (2010) is that all object Experiencers are not only inherently Case-marked, but also governed by prepositions, thus oblique<sup>54</sup>. This applies equally well to Dative arguments and, albeit in a less obvious way, to Accusative ones. Such an assumption, i.e. to treat the source of Dative and (inherent) Accusative on a par, is not necessarily novel as it basically follows the argumentation of Emonds (1985), who noticed that inherent Case is assigned by either overt or null prepositions, depending on language-specific factors. But this is not where Landau's original contribution stops. The author goes on to present evidence that Experiencers are in fact mental locations<sup>55</sup> and, as such, have a locative<sup>56</sup> structure. To make it more illustrative, periphrastic psych constructions are cited (Landau 2010: 11):

- (135) a. Nina is in love (with Paul).  
 b. There is in me a great admiration for painters.  
 (Arad's 1998a example (83): 228)

However, apart from conceptual reasoning Landau amasses more empirical evidence to corroborate the locative nature of Experiencers, drawing heavily on the cross-linguistic adjunct control and Super-Equi facts (discussed in

<sup>54</sup> In the prepositional structure of object Experiencers, Landau's approach is predated by Baker (1997). Baker semantically decomposes *frighten* to conclude that the meaning expressed by this verb is "x cause [[FEAR (of z)] to go to y]" (Baker 1997: 111). Thus, instead of assuming the internal change in the Experiencer (or independently of it), the emotion, *fear* in this case, is taken to move onto the Experiencer, making it a Goal-like prepositional argument. This is, however, where Baker's analysis stops; no LF movement is postulated.

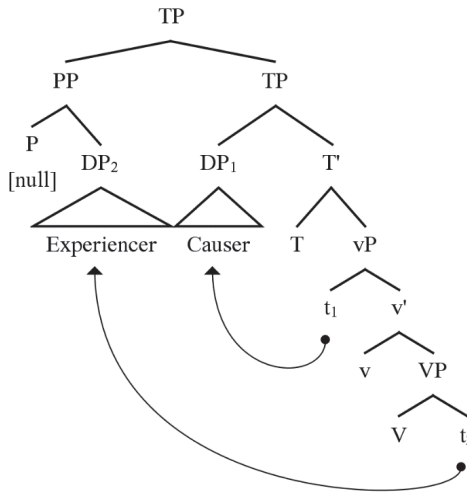
<sup>55</sup> Landau follows here the tradition of Jackendoff's (1990) decompositional analysis of mental states, refined in the works of Bouchard (1995) and Arad (1998a-b), among others.

<sup>56</sup> Although it is partly my intention in this work to point out the weaknesses of the locative treatment of object Experiencers which ultimately make it untenable, it must also be acknowledged in all academic fairness that also more recent analyses involving Experiencer arguments do not necessarily reject the locative system. Working on the Italian data, Varchetta (2010, 2011) develops a system which, although it discards the unaccusative structure of ObjExp verbs, explains the unsystematic properties of Experiencers through their locative structure embedded in a richly articulated verbal projection. Adger and Ramchand (2006) notice that in Scottish Gaelic, which is a Celtic VSO language, Experiencers are contained in prepositional phrases serving as arguments to nouns. In their proposal they suggest that certain unique properties observed in the behavior of these prepositional Experiencers do not come from their prepositional/locative nature, though, but rather from their combined possessive nature (rather than mental locations or states, Experiencers are seen as possessors of mental experiences) plus their animacy (which is only natural given that inanimate objects cannot be expected to possess any mental experiences) (Adger and Ramchand 2006: 90).

detail in Chapter Four). The very practical consequence of the locative treatment of Experiencers is that they undergo covert locative inversion, which promotes them to the subject position, from which they can easily c-command other elements. Below is the relevant representation:

(136) a. The storm frightens Bill.

b.



If on the right track, Landau's locative nature of Experiencers could provide explanation to many unresolved issues surrounding the distribution of these arguments. As we will see in the next chapters, though, there seems to be not enough evidence for preposition-governed Experiencers, at least in languages such as Polish or English.

### 2.2.2. T/SM restriction

T/SM restriction is an argument-realization phenomenon whose discovery is due to Pesetsky (1995). Having found enough evidence to disqualify the uniform unaccusative treatment of psych verbs from Class II (see Chapter One), Pesetsky decides to tackle the UTAH problem from a different vantage point. The question he entertains is whether the Theme is a consistently uniform thematic role to cover all underlying objects of psychological predicates. What he proposes is that "the subject argument with the ObjExp class always bears the role Causer, whereas the object argument with the SubjExp class always bears one of two entirely distinct roles, [...] Target of Emotion and Subject Matter of Emotion" (1995: 55).

To show the distinction between the Causer and the Target of Emotion, the following pair of sentences is invoked (Pesetsky 1995: 56):

- (137) Bill was very angry at the article in the Times.  
 (138) The article in the Times angered/enraged Bill.

While (137) includes an opinion on the article, in (138) a possible interpretation, although perhaps not the most immediate one, is that Bill didn't read the article, but the very fact of its publication stimulated his anger.

As for the Causer and Subject Matter distinction, it is presented in (139) and (140) below (Pesetsky's examples (36a-b): 57):

- (139) John worried about the television set.  
 (140) The television set worried John.

In (139) the television set *per se* presents the object of worry to John, whereas in (140) the television set might, but not necessarily is, at the center of John's worry. It may well be that its presence induces emotions which are quite unrelated to the piece of equipment in question.

The empirical evidence for the existence of the Causer, Target and Subject Matter of Emotion roles makes it possible to retain UTAH. The relevant hierarchy of thematic roles would be:

- (141) Causer – Experiencer – Target/Subject Matter

The problem that immediately arises, however, is why the Causer and the Target/Subject Matter cannot co-occur in the same clause (the restriction has been dubbed the T/SM restriction) (adapted from Pesetsky's example (171): 60):

- (142) a. \*The article in the Times angered Bill at the Government.  
 b. \*The Chinese dinner satisfied Bill with his trip to Beijing.

Interestingly enough, as Pesetsky argues, these sentences are semantically fairly transparent and no similar restriction holds when all three arguments co-occur in complex, periphrastic or verb-particle constructions:

- (143) a. The article in the Times made Bill angry at the government.  
 b. The Chinese dinner made Bill satisfied with his trip to Beijing.  
 (144) a. \*The election results really irritated Sue at the media.  
 b. The election results really riled Sue up at the media.  
 (145) a. \*The check calmed Bill about the accident.  
 b. The check calmed Bill down about the accident.

(Pesetsky's 1995 examples (172a-b), (173a-b), (174a-b): 61)

At first glance the accounts which do not differentiate between the Target of Emotion and the Subject Matter of Emotion (B&R 1988; Grimshaw 1990, *inter alia*) appear superior as all they require to assume is a prohibition on projecting two Theme roles in the same sentence, which is a well known source of ill-formedness<sup>57</sup>:

(146) \*Bill ate a sandwich a pizza.

(147) \*Bill Mary went out.

For the time being, suffice it to say that Pesetsky is not willing to renounce his conviction that the thematic roles that SubjExp and ObjExp predicates respectively select are at least two different species. In the process of developing a fairly elaborate theory of psych verbs, the strange fact of the impossibility of the Target/Subject Matter co-occurrence will be given a straight answer.

### 2.2.2.1. Zero morphemes, cascades and a handful of long-awaited answers

Pesetsky's (1995) approach to the puzzles presented by psychological predicates ultimately amounts to a complex and multi-layered theory<sup>58</sup>, but in the end he is able to show why backward binding does not violate any

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<sup>57</sup> Following this line of reasoning, Pesetsky suggests that such a prohibition could be taken to be part of some rule of grammar that demands Thematic Diversity, formalized as follows:

- (i) Thematic Diversity  
If  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  are distinct arguments of a predicate P, the thematic role assigned to  $\alpha$  must be distinct from the thematic role assigned to  $\beta$ . (Pesetsky 1995: 62)

To exclude the periphrastic and verb-particle constructions from the scope of Thematic Diversity, they are taken to be biclausal (after Kayne 1985).

In fact, Pesetsky admits that even maintaining Thematic Diversity one can still explain T/SM restriction by claiming that the syntax is so coarse-grained in interpreting the semantic differences among arguments that it treats the Causer, Target and Subject Matter as nondistinct (Pesetsky 1995: 62). However, a counter-argument to such a claim is a construction which features both the Target and Subject Matter, whose grammaticality suggests that these two thematic roles must be conceived of as distinct by the syntax after all (based on Pesetsky's example (180a): 63):

- (ii) Sue is angry at Bill (Target) about the party (Subject Matter).

Another alternative, which Pesetsky mentions briefly (1995: ft.60: 301), is to deconstruct thematic roles as features (Rozwadowska 1988, also see ft.42). On the simplest of assumptions, if each of the three roles in question carries two features, it is possible that Causer shares a feature with both Target and Subject Matter, but the latter do not share features. That way Thematic Diversity could also remain intact.

<sup>58</sup> The key assumption in Pesetsky's approach is the existence of zero morphemes, which are overtly invisible, yet crucially contribute to the meaning of words to which they attach. A central motivation for zero morphemes comes from Myer's Generalization, cf. ft.61.

principles of grammar and why the T/SM restriction holds. In short, it could be stated that the Head Movement Constraint (Travis 1984) is what precludes generating both Target and Subject Matter as two arguments of one predicate, but the way to show how it works in detail is long and requires a step-by-step analysis<sup>59</sup>.

Firstly, Pesetsky notices that the restriction on co-occurrence of certain non-identical thematic roles is not limited to psychological predicates but can be traced back at least to the 1970s and Higgins's analysis of *SUG* morpheme. To put it briefly, Higgins (1973) observed that there is a clash in the co-occurrence of certain thematic roles:

- (148) John was proud (of his son).  
 (149) John's manner was proud (\*of his son).

Higgins noticed that in the latter example the adjectival predicate is more complex than in the former one. The difference between the two breaks down to an additional element of meaning present on the predicate of the latter clause, the 'suggestive' part. Example (149) means that John's manner suggested that he was proud, a piece of additional information missing from (148). Psychological predicates of Class II lack the 'suggestive' meaning, but they do show an overt 'causative' element which sets them apart from subject Experiencer predicates, as seen in examples from Pesetsky (1995: 68, after Akatsuka 1976):

- (150) Tanaka-wa otoko-no ko-no tanzoo-o yorokon-da.  
 Tanaka-NOM baby-Gen boy-Gen birth-ACC be pleased-past  
 'Tanaka was pleased with the birth of a baby boy'  
 (151) \*Sato-wa Tanaka-ni otoko-no ko-no tanzoo-o  
 Sato-NOM Tanaka-DAT baby-GEN boy-GEN birth-ACC  
 yorokob-ase-ta  
 pleased-CAUSE-PAST

This evidence, namely the facts observed by Higgins, which do not restrict the T/SM restriction to psychological verbs, as well as the overt CAUS morpheme visible in Japanese, lead to the conclusion that the explanation of the T/SM restriction solely in terms of the Theme thematic role is insufficient.

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<sup>59</sup> As for backward binding, the generalization which the rest of this section will try to shed light on is the following:

- (i) A Causer argument of a predicate  $\pi$  may behave as if c-commanded by an argumental DP governed by  $\pi$ . (Pesetsky 1995: 49)

Thus, a plausible scenario appears to be one where the internal composition of the verb *annoy* is bimorphemic, where the root morpheme is the actual word which is pronounced *annoy*, “containing a SubjExp root meaning ‘be annoyed’ or ‘get annoyed’ and a causative morpheme that [Pesetsky] will call CAUS” (Pesetsky 1995: 67)<sup>60</sup>. Furthermore, it seems equally plausible that phonologically invisible morphemes<sup>61</sup> do play a vital role in derivations, and it may be their interaction with other elements in a tree representation that is crucial in explaining the T/SM restriction. In the following subsection we will try to retrace the steps necessary for Pesetsky to understand precisely how this happens.

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<sup>60</sup> As Pesetsky emphasizes, a bimorphemic treatment of ObjExp verbs, apart from languages where both morphemes are overtly visible, was also acknowledged as a possibility by Chomsky. As Chomsky (1965) writes, “[in] the case of such words as *frighten*, one might seek syntactic justification for a transformational analysis from an underlying causative construction so that “it frightens John” would derive from the structure underlying “it makes John afraid” (Chomsky 1965: 189). The same idea is reiterated in Chomsky (1972), where it says that (ii) is derived from (i) and has a structure similar to (iii) (Chomsky 1972: 24).

- (i) He was amused at the stories.
- (ii) The stories amused him.
- (iii) The stories [+cause] [<sub>S</sub> he was amused at the stories]<sub>S</sub>

<sup>61</sup> Strictly speaking, Pesetsky (1995) finds the facts related to *SUG* and *CAUS* morphemes as having only “initial plausibility” (1995: 69) for a theory of zero morphemes. In fact, he goes to much greater lengths showing that his theory carries enough weight. To start with, there are only non-causative nominalizations of psych verbs:

- (i) a. Bill’s continual agitation about the exam was silly.
- b. \*The exam’s continual agitation of Bill was silly.

With more examples examined, Pesetsky concludes that what makes (ib) ungrammatical is the fact that a noun cannot be derived from a zero-derived word. Assuming that  $\sqrt{\text{agitate}}$  (the symbol  $\sqrt{\text{ }}$  is used to mark roots which are not yet words) is a bound morpheme, no causative interpretation of the derived nominal strongly suggests that the nominal suffix *-ion* could not attach to the causative verb *agitate*. This ties in neatly with the observation due to Myers (1984), after Pesetsky (1995: 75):

- (ii) *Myers’s Generalization*  
Zero-derived words do not permit the affixation of further derivational morphemes.

The way this generalization can be schematized for our familiar *SUG* and *CAUSE* morphemes is the following:

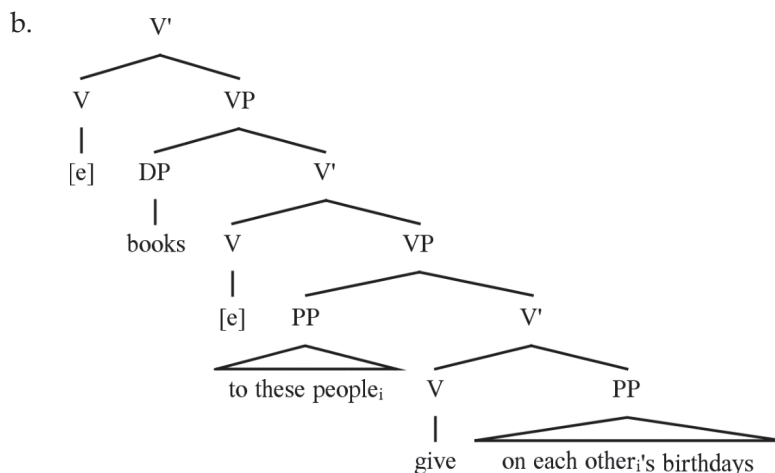
- (iii) a. \*[[[ $\sqrt{\text{SubjExp-predicate}}_{\text{V}}$ ]  $\emptyset_{\text{CAUS}}$ ] nominalizer]
- b. \*[[[ $\sqrt{\text{SubjExp-predicate}}_{\text{V}}$ ]  $\emptyset_{\text{SUG}}$ ] nominalizer]

Although the reasoning behind the validity of Myers’s Generalization offered by Pesetsky is different than in the original work by Myers (1984) and drifts towards observations regarding the distribution of derivational morphemes presented by Fabb (1988), the central fact remains the same, namely the reality of zero morphemes seems reasonably justified.

### 2.2.2.1.1. The evolution of VP shells into cascades: T/SM solved

A completely new take on the tree architecture in the form of cascades grew out of the insufficiency with which the traditional then VP shell construction (Larson 1988) dealt with a number of syntactic puzzles. First of all, VP shells seemed to be quite helpless explaining c-command relations in binding configurations, such as in (152a-b) below (Pesetsky's examples (441-442): 166):

(152) a. Sue gave books to these people<sub>i</sub> on each other<sub>i</sub>'s birthdays.



The problem that Pesetsky notes with regard to (152) is that when it comes to licensing the reciprocal element at the bottom of the tree, the only element that c-commands *each other* is the PP, but not the DP *these people* (as Pesetsky informs, neither Reinhart (1981, 1983) nor Jackendoff (1990) were able to deal with this conundrum successfully). It seems that the only available explanation would have to be a stipulation, thus not explanatory<sup>62</sup>. Faced with a question whether to reformulate the definition of c-command so as to accommodate the unruly behavior of PPs, or to redefine the structure so as to eliminate the problematical c-command issues caused by PPs, Pesetsky decides that the latter, i.e. the redefinition of the structure, will yield more promising results.

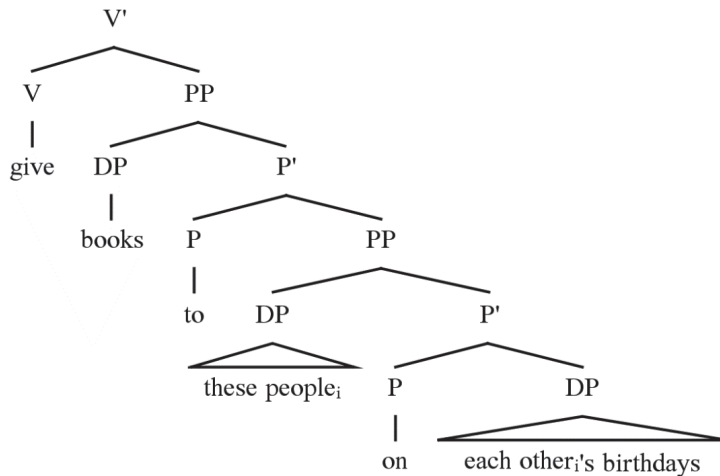
<sup>62</sup> Pesetsky points out another problem for the VP-shell type constructions, namely coordination. If conjunction only applies to constituents, (ib) seems to pose a problem (Pesetsky's example (457-458): 175):

- (i) a. Sue will speak to Mary [about linguistics on Friday] and [about philosophy on Thursday].  
 b. Sue will speak to Mary about [linguistics on Friday] and [philosophy on Thursday].

The cascade structures as illustrated in (153) have no problem accounting for (ib).

The end product of Pesetsky's considerations is a cascade structure. Let us first have a look at (152) presented in the cascade-way<sup>63</sup> as (153) (Pesetsky's example (456): 174):

(153)



Apparently, the central deviation from the standard theory concerns the status of internal arguments. Apart from the familiar configuration, which renders the element that is a sister to a theta-marking head the internal argument, in cascade structures also the element that is a specifier of the sister to a theta-marking head also counts as an internal argument.

To explain the T/SM restriction, Pesetsky sets out by drawing readers' attention to a phenomenon known as Oehrle's Observation (Oehrle 1976). Oehrle notices that of the three readings available for (154a), only two, the ones which involve Nixon as a performer of a physical action, are preserved in (154b):

- (154) a. Nixon gave Mailer a book.  
b. Nixon gave a book to Mailer.

(Pesetsky's 1995 examples (491, 493): 193)

The reading which becomes unavailable for (154b) is the one which Oehrle paraphrases as (155):

- (155) "Mailer wrote a book which he wouldn't have been able to write if it hadn't been for Nixon."

(Pesetsky's 1995 examples (492): 193)

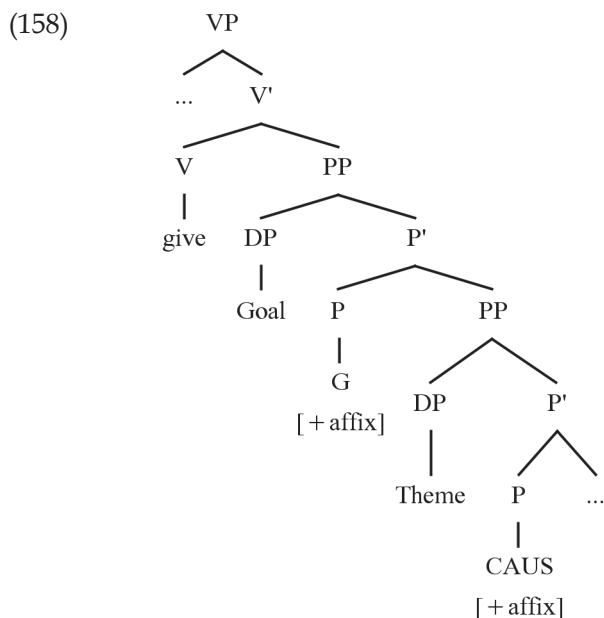
The reading which disappears in the example with the reverse order of arguments (154b) is described by Oehrle as causative. This interpretation is strengthened by the following examples:

<sup>63</sup> The fact that in double object constructions there is a null affixal preposition G which is selected by the verb and in the derivation attaches to it is discussed in Pesetsky (1995, Chapter 5).

- (156) a. The war years gave Mailer his first big success.  
 b. \*The war years gave his first big success to Mailer<sup>64</sup>.
- (157) a. Interviewing Nixon gave Mailer a book.  
 b. \*Interviewing Nixon gave a book to Mailer.
- (Pesetsky's 1995 examples (494-495): 193)

In (156) and (157) the element in the subject position can only be a Causer, but not an Agent. The ungrammaticality of (156b-157b) suggests that the reversely ordered construction does not accept a Causer argument<sup>65</sup>.

This is where the crux of the argument comes. Assuming the existence of null morphemes (see previous discussion, especially ft.61), Pesetsky believes CAUS to be one of such elements. A causative verb is formed by the null CAUS preposition adjoining to the verb. Where is the structural position of CAUS? Pesetsky takes CAUS to be a clause-internal preposition, which, by a PF requirement, has to attach to the verb (Pesetsky 1995: 196). As will be shown shortly, CAUS is not to be treated as an obligatory element but rather as an adjunct-like one, which would explain why verbs alternate between agentive and causative readings. Let us consider what a cascade structure for a causative reading of *give* could look like (Pesetsky's diagram (511): 197):

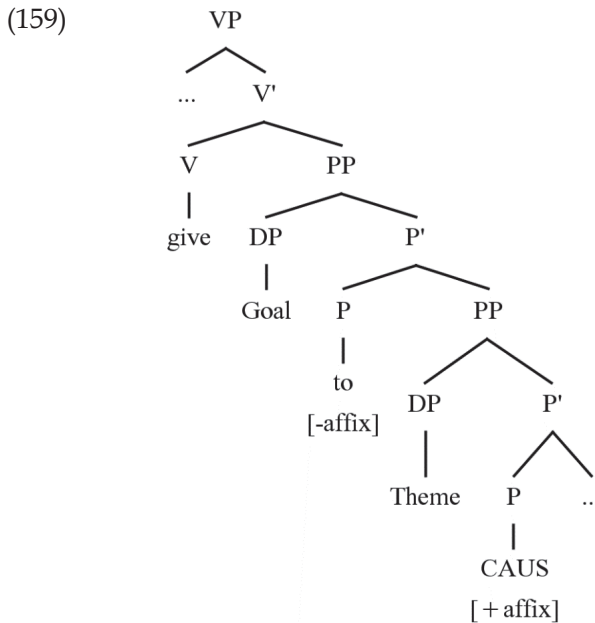


<sup>64</sup> That speakers' intuitions about grammaticality judgments differ is well exemplified here. Ernst (1998) writes that "everyone [he has] consulted finds [156b] slightly odd at worst, and perfect with a *big success*" (Ernst 1998: 268).

<sup>65</sup> More double object constructions exemplifying the same restriction are offered in the original work by Oehrle (1976).

Given that CAUS is not thematically selected by the predicate, its position is lower in the structure. But in the light of what has been said before, the desired causative reading will only hold upon the attachment of CAUS to the verb. Following the Head Movement Constraint, which disallows any head movement skipping over intermediate heads (Travis 1984), the only way to perform such a feat is by attaching first to the intermediate, affixal G<sup>66</sup>, and then move up together to V.

Under this account the absence of a causative reading with the reversely ordered objects also receives an easy explanation, as seen below in (159):



Unlike the null G from the previous example, (159) has an overt preposition *to*, which is not affixal, hence blocking the movement path for the CAUS on its way to the main verb *give*. That way, *give* stays agentive and the causative reading is out, and, as Pesetsky concludes, Oehrle's observations are given a neat explanation.

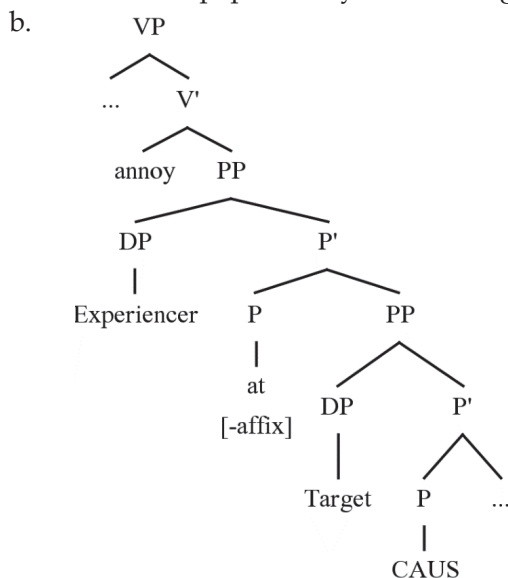
Armed with observations that have led us up to this point, the solution to the T/SM restriction seems now to follow quite naturally. First of all, Pesetsky must assume that a root  $\sqrt{\text{annoy}}$  is not inherently causative, and it acquires its causativity by having CAUS incorporated into it (see ft.61). However, as we noted earlier, CAUS is an adjunct-like preposition, which means that it is nei-

<sup>66</sup> Pesetsky postulates G morpheme as a morphologically null (zero) preposition found in double object constructions, which yields the structure in (i) (also see ft.61):

(i) give Mary [<sub>PP</sub> G a book]

ther selected nor obligatory (hence, it is perfectly conceivable and attestable in certain languages (e.g. Polish, also Russian or French) that  $\surd$ *annoy* may function as a non-causative, SubjExp verb, often characterized by reflexive morphology<sup>67</sup>). So CAUS merges into the lowest position in the tree below a T/SM argument<sup>68</sup>, and then tries to climb up the tree to a higher v head. On its way, though, the zero morpheme comes across the head preposition introducing a Target argument, which is non-affixal in nature (the situation is thus almost identical to (159), the only difference being that the intervening head is the non-affixal prepositional head introducing a Target argument). This obstacle proves insurmountable and spells the end of CAUS's journey. The derivation of (160a) crashes, as shown in (160b) (the representation in (160b) based on Pesetsky's example (513): 199).

(160) a. \*The newspaper annoys Bill at the government.



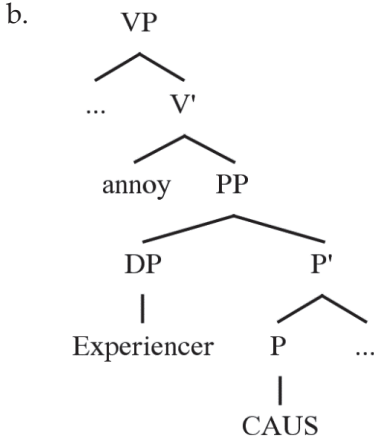
<sup>67</sup> The Polish equivalent of *annoy* is *denerwować*. Example (ia) shows the case where CAUS has incorporated into  $\surd$ *denerwować*, whereas in (ib) no such operation has taken place.

- (i) a. Igrzyska                      denerwują              sąsiada.  
Olympic games              annoy              neighbor  
'Olympic games annoy the neighbor.'
- b. Sąsiad                      denerwuje              się.  
neighbor              annoy              REFL  
'The neighbor gets annoyed.'

<sup>68</sup> The lowest position is a simplification as arguments are given by Pesetsky which suggest that this position is the lowest relative to  $\theta$ -marked arguments, but higher than locative and temporal expressions (which would otherwise block the affixal movement of CAUS were they to be generated higher) (Pesetsky 1995: ft.175).

Now let us analyze a well-formed structure, this time with a Target argument missing from the representation:

(161) a. The newspaper annoys the neighbor.



The part of the derivation which put an end to the well-formedness of the previous example is not present here, as CAUS on its way up meets no intervening heads (Pesetsky 1995: 199). As expected, the derivation proceeds smoothly.

A legitimate objection may concern the suppression of the Agent thematic role of the main verb upon the adjunction of CAUS to it. After all, it would appear that changing the thematic structure of a verb during the derivation is a major violation of the Projection Principle<sup>69</sup>. The way Pesetsky's theory handles this potential hindrance is by assuming that elements are taken from the lexicon fully inflected, with strong or weak features which need then to be checked by relevant heads under proper checking conditions. That means that strictly speaking, CAUS never gets attached to  $\sqrt{\text{annoy}}$ , only the relevant features must be in a feature-checking configuration before the derivation is sent off to PF (Pesetsky takes PF to be the relevant level as the nonaffixal preposition – once inserted into the derivation – leads to its crash).

One more issue needs to be addressed, namely the thematic role of the Causer and its syntactic placement within a cascade structure. According to Pesetsky, there are two occurrences of the Causer, as first the Causer is thematically selected as the external argument by the verb plus CAUS complex, and next the same thematic role is selected by the null preposition heading the CAUS projection lower in the structure. Pesetsky argues that generating two

<sup>69</sup> In its classic formulation the Projection Principle “requires that lexical properties be represented by categorial structure in syntactic representations” (Chomsky 1986b: 82).

identical thematic roles does not violate the Thematic Diversity<sup>70</sup> and adds that the movement of the lower Causer onto the higher Causer is legitimate<sup>71</sup>.

- (162) Movement may not proceed from a position in which  $\theta$ -role  $R_1$  is  $\theta$ -selected into a position in which a distinct  $\theta$ -role  $R_2$  is selected. (Movement from a position in which  $R_1$  is selected into a position in which  $R_1$  is also selected is not prohibited.) (Pesetsky 1995: 210)

To sum up, the approach put forward by Pesetsky assumes the existence of novel structures which, thanks to their architecture, explain the interactions among morphemes which take place in causative/psychological constructions.

### 2.2.2.2. McGinnis (2000, 2002)

McGinnis (2000) offers a different take on the structure of psychological predicates, which again is a departure from the original B&R's idea that the Theme argument originates lower than the Experiencer. Unlike the movement approach, which has the subject argument move from a thematically lower position to a position above the Experiencer, McGinnis convincingly argues for a more elaborate internal structure of the VP, which, depending on the exact type of a functional head involved, can explain, among other issues, the T/SM restriction.

<sup>70</sup> 'Two identical thematic roles' refers not to the categorial identity but the identity of contents (cf. ft.57).

<sup>71</sup> Naturally something has to be said about the proposed movement of the Causer, which not only crosses several intermediate positions on its way to the matrix subject, but also proceeds from within an adjunct (I said before that the projection of the CAUS is not thematically selected, thus an adjunct). In fact, a whole chapter in Pesetsky (1995) is devoted to the discussion of conditions and provisos that make such a movement possible. As the details of this discussion are immaterial to our discussion at this point, let me just briefly sketch out the ingredients of the solution proposed by Pesetsky. As I stated in this section, a cascade structure has been suggested as the relevant structure for the representation of the thematic structure of predicates. However, Pesetsky assumes that apart from a cascade structure there are also other possible levels of syntactic representation, one such level being a layered structure, which to all intents and purposes resembles the traditional, pre-cascade representation. In the course of the derivation, the levels, dubbed as the Dual System, interact with each other, their work being based on a division of labor, which Pesetsky (1995: 248) lays out as in (i):

- (i) a. Layered Syntax: XP-movement, island conditions on XP-movement, XP-ellipsis, interpretation of modification relations  
b. Cascade Syntax: everything else

Although intuitively it might seem that such a dual system is overcomplicated, Pesetsky goes to great lengths trying to show how various kinds of syntactically obscure phenomena, Heavy Shift being the most important of them, can be dealt with successfully in this framework. It must also be mentioned that syntactic frameworks operating within more than one level of syntactic representation are not completely new, Pesetsky himself refers to unpublished work by Groat (1992), and more recently there is, among others, a system developed by Williams (2003).

One important piece of information that has already been brought up is the fact that the T/SM restriction in English seems to be activated only in the case of the synthetic causative. Hence, both the Causer and the Target/Subject Matter can be overtly realized syntactically if a periphrastic causative is used instead.

- (163) a. \*The article in The Times angered Mary at the government.  
 b. \*The distant rumbling frightened Bill of another tornado.
- (164) a. The article in The Times made Mary angry at the government.  
 b. The distant rumbling made Bill frightened of another tornado.
- (McGinnis's 2000 examples (41-42): 127)

For McGinnis, the fact that a change in the grammaticality of these examples is observed follows from a distinction between root-external and category-external causatives. The distinction corresponds to another two-way split known as monoclausal constructions (here root-external) and biclausal ones (category-external)<sup>72</sup> (Harley 1995; McGinnis 2000). Both types differ in terms of the characteristics they are identified with (McGinnis 2000 cites Miyagawa 1980, 1989, 1994, 1998 and Marantz 1997 for references).

Root-external causatives are considered as "involving a more 'manipulative' notion of causation than category-external causatives" (McGinnis 2000: 128). As observed by Marantz (1997) and Ruwet (1991), idioms can only be formed with a single causative *v*, unless the second verb is Agent-less (thus, *Make ends meet* is fine but *Make X fly* works only in its literal, non-idiomatic meaning, as reported by Marantz 1997: 7). This diagnostic can also be used to argue for the category-external status of the *-(s)ase* causatives in Japanese. Harley (1995: 92), reporting on findings by Miyagawa (1994), gives the example of the Japanese verb *tobas*, which literally means *to fly*, but can also be used idiomatically as *to dismiss*. When causativized with *-sase*, the blocking effect is activated, which leaves only the literal meaning *to make someone fly*.

Having established the dichotomy in the typology of causatives, McGinnis goes on to show how root-external causatives can be distinguished by their morphology. By principle, root-external causatives have idiosyncratic morphology, which is largely dependent on the lexical root, while category-external causatives are typically set by default, in Japanese taking on the form of *-(s)ase* morpheme, in English surfacing as causative *make*, in Polish, similarly as in English, assuming the form of an independent verb, *sprawić*<sup>73</sup>. The idiosyncratic nature of root-external causatives can be illustrated with examples of causative/inchoative alternation from Japanese in (165) (from Miyagawa 2012: 2, after Jacobsen 1992) and Tagalog in (166) (Travis 2010: 163, after McLachlan 1989):

<sup>72</sup> Harley (1995: 90) additionally refers to lexical and syntactic causatives.

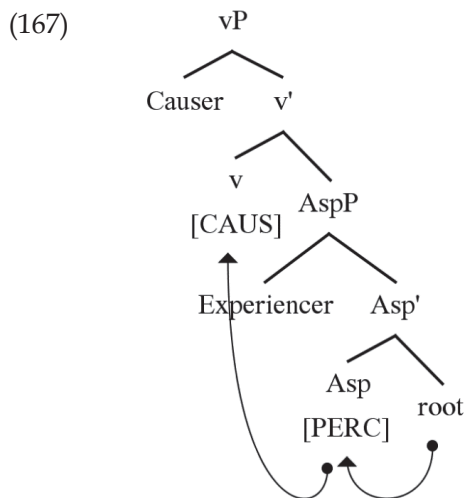
<sup>73</sup> A comprehensive discussion of Polish causative/inchoative alternating verbs can be found in Rościńska-Frankowska (2012).

(165)	Class	unaccusative		lexical causative
(i)	-ar-/-e-	ag- <i>ar</i> -u 'rise'		ag- <i>e</i> -ru 'raise'
(ii)	-re-/-s-	hazu- <i>re</i> -ru 'come off'		hazu- <i>s</i> -u 'take off'
(iii)	-ri-/-s-	ta- <i>ri</i> -ru 'suffice'		ta- <i>s</i> -u 'add, supplement'
(iv)	-e-/-as-	kog- <i>e</i> -ru 'become scorched'		kog- <i>as</i> -u 'scorch'
(v)	-i-/-os-	ok- <i>i</i> -ru 'get up'		ok- <i>os</i> -u 'wake (someone) up'
(vi)	∅/-as-	nar-u 'ringINTR'		nar- <i>as</i> -u 'ringTR'
(vii)	∅/-e-	ak-u 'openINTR'		ak- <i>e</i> -u 'openTR'
(viii)	-e-/∅	kir- <i>e</i> -ru 'be cut'		kir-u 'cut'
(ix)	-ar-/∅	matag- <i>ar</i> -u 'sit astride'		matag-u 'straddle'

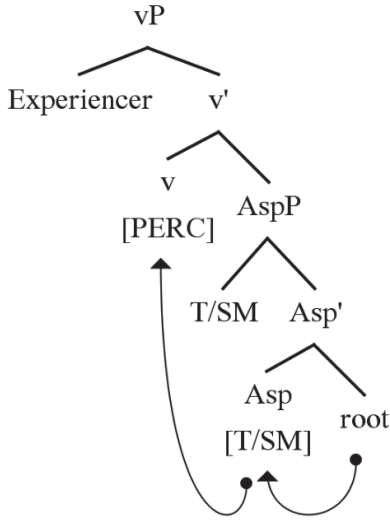
(166) a.	tumba	X fall down	b.	pagtumba	Y knock X down
a.	sabog	X explode	b.	pagsabog	Y scatter X
a.	luwas	X go to the city	b.	pagluwas	Y take X to the city
a.	sabit	X be suspended	b.	pagsabit	Y hang X
a.	sali	X join	b.	pagsali	Y include X

McGinnis (2002), drawing on Travis (1991), Marantz (1997) and Pylkkänen (1998), postulates the following structures for ObjExp (167) and SubjExp (168) predicates<sup>74</sup>:



<sup>74</sup> McGinnis uses the term 'flavors of v' (drawing on Arad 1998a) to distinguish among  $v_{ag}$  (eventive, agentive v: transitives and unergatives),  $v_{caus}$  (stative causative: ObjExp verbs),  $v_{unacc}$  (unaccusative v: unaccusatives) and  $v_{perc}$  (stative perceptive v: SubjExp verbs) (2000: 109).

(168)



To derive a structure<sup>75</sup> that would contain the Causer and the Experiencer, plus the T/SM, one would have to find a way how to combine both diagrams. Such a structure is presented below (McGinnis 2002: 2):

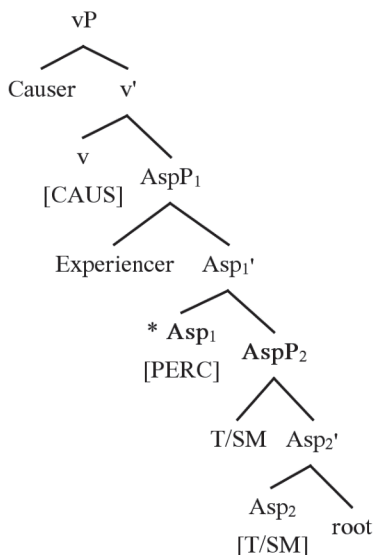
<sup>75</sup> Evidence for *v* heads abounds across languages. McGinnis cites examples from Aronson (1990), who notices phonological variation in perception *v* of SubjExp verbs in Georgian, which depending on the person of the subject to which *v* assigns Dative Case can be pronounced *i-* or *u-* (McGinnis 2002: 4). In Finnish, Pylkkänen (1998) shows the causative *v* as *-tti* morpheme added to the SubjExp root:

- |     |    |  |                          |          |
|-----|----|--|--------------------------|----------|
| (i) | a. | Maija  | inhoa-a                  | Matti-a. |
|     |    | M.-NOM   | find.disgusting-3SG      | M.-PART  |
|     |    | 'Maija <sub>Exp</sub> found Matti <sub>T/SM</sub> disgusting.' |                          |          |
|     | b. | Matti  | inho-tti                 | Maija-a. |
|     |    | M.-NOM   | find.disgustin-Caus.PAST | M.-PART  |
|     |    | 'Matti <sub>Caus</sub> disgusted Maija <sub>Exp</sub> .'       |                          |          |

As for the aspectual projection, McGinnis cites Polish nominalizations (based on Schoorlemmer 1995, Alexiadou 1999), where the contrast between perfective and imperfective aspect shows overtly:

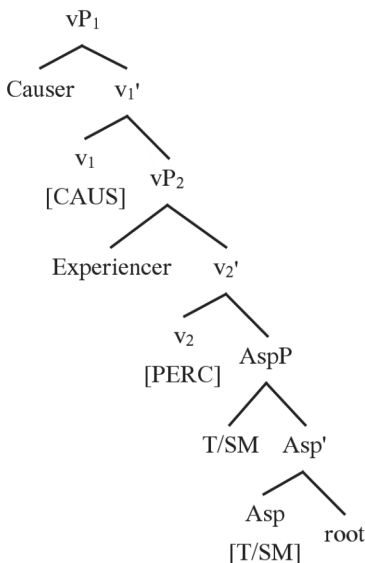
- |      |    |   |              |       |             |              |                     |
|------|----|---|--------------|-------|-------------|--------------|---------------------|
| (ii) | a. | Oceni-enie  | studentów    | przez | nauczycieli | nastąpiło    | szybko.             |
|      |    | evaluation-PERF   | students-GEN | by    | teachers    | occurred     | quickly             |
|      |    | 'Evaluation of the students by the teachers occurred quickly.'      |              |       |             |              |                     |
|      | b. | Oceni-anie  | studentów    | przez | nauczycieli | ciągnęło się | przez cały tydzień. |
|      |    | evaluation-IMP  | students-GEN | by    | teachers    | lasted REFL  | through whole week  |
|      |    | 'Evaluation of the students by the teachers lasted the whole week.' |              |       |             |              |                     |

(169)



The reason why (169) is ungrammatical in English follows for McGinnis from a semantic restriction, which excludes the possibility of Asp selecting another category different than a lexical root (McGinnis 2002: 2). However, as the author hastens to add, there is one more possible derivational route, one where light *v* selects another vP projection. That such a derivation is possible is shown in (170) below, although apparently only analytic causatives will allow for such a configuration, which is a fact widely borne out cross-linguistically.

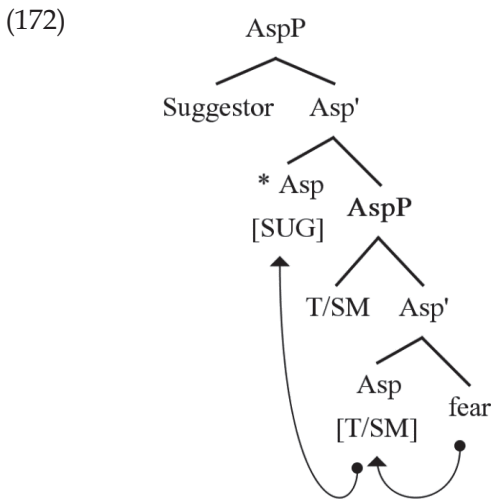
- (170) a. \*The article in the paper feared/frightened Bob (of) the future.  
 b. The article in the paper made Bob fear the future.  
 c.



A convincing argument in favor of the claim that Asp cannot select another Asp is illustrated with examples featuring a Suggestor (Higgins 1973; Pesetsky 1995; cited below after McGinnis's 2002 example (9): 5).

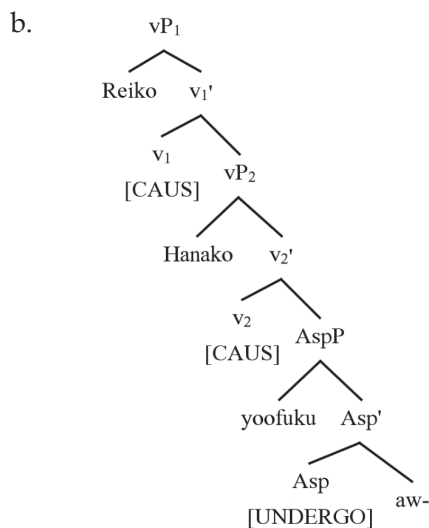
- (171) a. [<sub>Exp</sub> Carol] was fearful ([T/SM of earthquakes]).  
 b. [<sub>Sug</sub> Carol's expression] was fearful.  
 c. \* [<sub>Sug</sub> Carol's expression] was fearful [T/SM of earthquakes]

McGinnis maintains that both the Experiencer in (171a) and the Suggestor in (171b) are both generated as specifiers of AspP. The ungrammaticality of (171c) then is a natural consequence of the unavailability of Asp selecting another aspectual projection, as schematized in (172) (after McGinnis 2002: 5). Also, given that there is no way of salvaging a structure with a Suggestor and a T/SM argument, the role of the semantic selectional restriction is further strengthened.



The other derivation which is offered by McGinnis as the correct prediction for the predicate featuring both an Experiencer and a T/SM argument is the one which has a vP projection selecting another vP projection. The recursive nature of vP can be shown in Japanese, where a causative verb can be further causativized (Harley 1995):

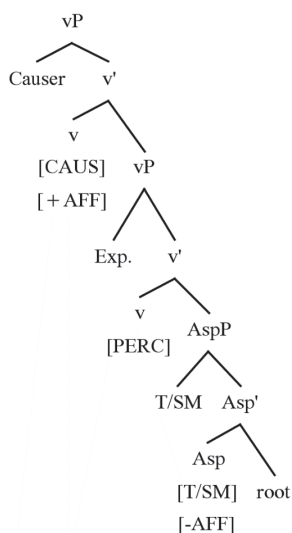
- (173) a. Reiko-ga Hanako-ni yoofuku-o aw-ase-sase-ta.  
 Reiko-NOM Hanako-DAT clothing-ACC meet-CAUS-CAUS-  
 PAST  
 'Reiko made Hanako match her clothing.'



The observed restriction on doubly-causativized constructions in Japanese seems to be that its lexical, idiosyncratic forms cannot be used as the *v* head selected by another *v* head. In such contexts, only the default causative is allowed, which in Japanese is *-(s)ase*. Its English equivalent is a free morpheme, *make* (as McGinnis explains, “locality restrictions on lexically specified causative Vocabulary items ensure that a default causative item is used to spell out the causative *v* in this environment” (2002: 8)).

As evidenced by McGinnis’s account, Pesetsky’s way of accounting for the impossibility of a synthetic causative with both an Experiencer and a T/SM argument in English can be relatively easily translated into her terms (example (174) after McGinnis’s 2002 example (14): 8):

(174)

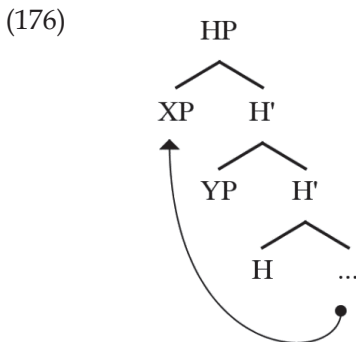


Assuming that  $v_{perc}$  is non-affixal, that would explain why only analytic, and not synthetic causative is operative in constructions with all three arguments. Unfortunately, the affixation account is more problematic to maintain in the light of cross-linguistic data. The prediction that only analytical causatives will permit a T/SM argument along with a Causer comes across an obstacle in the previously mentioned Japanese, where it is not the synthetic-analytical distinction which seems to be of importance, but the lexical versus default. As a matter of fact, default equals analytical in Japanese, but this is by no means a rule and English testifies to it. Also in Chinese, contrary to predictions made under the affixation account, a standard analytical causative cannot be used with a Causer, an Experiencer and a T/SM, as in (175) (after example (16c) from McGinnis 2002: 10):

- (175) \*Ni shi wo dui zengfu wang.  
 you<sub>Caus</sub> V1 me<sub>Exp</sub> with government<sub>T/SM</sub> V2-disappoint  
 'You disappointed me with the government.'

On Pesetsky's money the impossibility of an analytical causative in (175) is surprising. All that the account based on selection needs to assume is that this analytical causative is not default in Chinese.

Another problem that McGinnis associates Pesetsky's account with concerns the movement of the Causer past the Experiencer argument to a higher subject position. In all fairness, Pesetsky (1995) does not elaborate on that nitty-gritty part of the derivation<sup>76</sup>. McGinnis claims that the alternative to a blatant violation of locality by moving the Causer directly to [Spec,TP] is to assume that the Causer first lands in the position of another specifier to the head that the Experiencer is a specifier of (Ura 1996). That creates a situation where both arguments are equidistant (in the sense of Chomsky 1995) for further movement. Such a configuration is illustrated in (176):



<sup>76</sup> Cf. ft.71.

However, as argued independently by McGinnis (1998a-b), that leads to Lethal Ambiguity, stated below (McGinnis 2000: 120):

- (177) Lethal Ambiguity  
An anaphoric dependency cannot be established between two specifiers of the same head.

Thus, it should be expected that no anaphoric dependency can ever be established between the two arguments of the object Experiencer predicate, which is not the case either in English (178a) or in Japanese (178b) (McGinnis 2000: 126-127):

- (178) a. John frightens himself.  
b. Taroo-ga zibunzisin-o odorok-asi-ta.  
T.-NOM self-ACC surprise-CAUS-PAST  
'Taroo surprised himself.'

### 2.3. Summary

In this chapter various approaches to the puzzling grammar of ObjExp predicates have been presented, with an eye to pointing out their strengths and weaknesses. I hope it has been shown during the discussion of backward binding that a proposal seeking to provide explanatory adequacy cannot rest solely on the syntactic principles as these fail to explain backward binding in all relevant instances. By the same token, Grimshaw's idea to look at the prominence of arguments is also short of accounting for those examples where the binder is not the most prominent element, as shown in Pesetsky (1995) and especially in Caçado and Franchi (1999). Thus, I concluded that we may be forced to put the mystery behind these constructions down to the logophoric nature of binding. However, I also see the appeal of the solution advanced in Sato and Kishida (2009). Although the exact nature of the motivation for movement may need further refinements (I am not sure that the "subjective mental change on the part of a human being" handles all examples provided in Caçado and Franchi 1999), it seems very plausible that what unifies all diverse cases of backward binding is a certain property of the object argument (which is not necessarily the Experiencer) and not the subject argument, as has been standardly assumed in literature. Admittedly, this is also the gist of Landau's approach, but again, the locative scenario sees the Experiencer as special (in being prepositional and undergoing the locative inversion), and as we have seen this is apparently not the case (I hope to show ample evidence in

Chapters Three and Four why the locative Experiencers cannot be real in Polish on different grounds). As for the T/SM restriction, I believe in simple solutions, and the one that seems to fit in this case is a restriction on the valence of ObjExp predicates. It is true that Pesetsky (1995) ultimately gives an explanation for the non-occurrence of the Target and Subject Matter in one clause, but burying the Experiencer inside a non-lexical prepositional phrase does not seem to be well-supported in a language such as Polish (along with the Case-related implications it has). The intuition expressed in McGinnis (2000, 2002) is to my mind on the right track in dividing constructions into root-external and category-external, which basically amounts to saying that the root-external constructions, which are monoclausal, obey the T/SM restriction (because their predicate is monotransitive), whereas category-external constructions (biclausal) do not obey it as there are two predicates that can accommodate more than two arguments. In the next chapter, I will subject Polish to a critical analysis, trying to reconcile the conflicting (at times) analyses and provide a unified description.

## Chapter Three

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### THE DESCRIPTION OF POLISH OBJECT EXPERIENCERS: PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS

The purpose of this chapter is to show how Polish object Experiencers behave in the light of the cross-linguistic discussion presented in the previous chapters. We will see that the Polish evidence runs counter to intuitions based on the cross-linguistic data. The chapter begins with the meticulous examination of Polish passive participles. As was indicated in Chapter One, the success of the unaccusative treatment of object Experiencer constructions rests on whether a language has verbal passives or not. It is my intention to show that verbal psychological passives are in fact in the repertoire of the Polish language, which should firmly rule out any analysis based on unaccusativity (however, a novel look at the phenomenon of unaccusativity will also be presented based on the work of Bennis 2004). Furthermore, I will critically examine the existing analysis of Dative Experiencers as recounted in Bondaruk and Szymanek (2007). Although Dative Experiencers are beyond the immediate scope of this work, it is worthwhile to devote some space to their overview as the authors' claim is that their internal structure mirrors that of Accusative Experiencers. That this is not necessarily true will be the humble goal of this work to ascertain. In the course of examining the arguments used in Bondaruk and Szymanek (2007), I will touch upon the issue of control into adverbial clauses, which the authors treat as one of the diagnostics for a particular treatment of Dative and Accusative Experiencers. As the phenomenon of control into adverbials carries a lot of import with regard to establishing the internal structure of psychological constructions, this chapter only hints at a variety of issues which are scrupulously considered and substantially expanded in Chapter Four. Finally, the discussion in this chapter moves to

the reconsideration of the Theme argument (also known as the Target/Subject Matter in Pesetsky 1995, among others) and the status of object Experiencer verbs. I start with a presentation of the account by Bennis (2002, 2004), where object Experiencer verbs are claimed to represent a complex ergative class of verbs, distinct from traditionally recognized ergative verbs. Bennis (2004) inspired a corresponding account of similar facts in Polish encapsulated in Klimek and Rozwadowska (2004). Having familiarized readers with the main tenets of their account, I proceed to point out certain complications that the authors have failed to recognize and which necessitate a rejection of their original proposals. By the end of this chapter, I will have shown that object Experiencer verbs, despite their reputation as the recalcitrant verbal category, display many characteristics which they share with regular transitive constructions. Specifically, the arguments cited throughout the book and concerning the exceptional status of object Experiencers appear to be unwarranted. Syntactically, object Experiencers behave like regular objects in transitive constructions.

### 3.1. Verbal passives as a diagnostic of unaccusativity

The availability of a verbal passive for any given predicate has traditionally been taken to be a solid argument against the unaccusative analysis of that predicate. This is because the central characteristic of passives is the realignment of thematic positions, with that of a subject being demoted to a prepositional phrase<sup>77</sup> while that of an object being promoted to the structural subject position (see, among others, Keenan and Dryer 2007). It is impossible, however, to demote a subject which is not there to start with. Thus, as observed by Marantz (1984: 144-149), unaccusative verbs are incompatible with passive morphology (example (179) repeated after (41) for convenience):

- (179) a. Passive morphology absorbs the external (underscored)  $\Theta$ -role.  
 b. Vacuous dethematization is impossible.

In the light of (179), the presence of verbal passives should rule out the possibility of a verb having the unaccusative status. One last issue to be addressed is the reliable identification of a verbal passive as opposed to an adjectival one. Given that in the prior discussion there have been quite a few different tests used to tease these two types of passives apart, let me focus on the tests that the diagnostic list should include.

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<sup>77</sup> Subject demotion is canonically linked to passivization, but that should not rule out exceptions. For arguments that in the indigenous Northern Californian language Central Pomo there is no subject demotion in the passive see Mithun (2008).

### 3.1.1. Diagnostic base for the identification of verbal passives

Among first linguists to observe and describe the distinctive behavior of the two types of passives were Siegel (1973) and Wasow (1977); their analyses were subsequently used and revised by many other linguists, to mention only Emonds (2000, 2006). Unfortunately, the idiosyncratic behavior of passive participles cross-linguistically makes the task of teasing apart adjectival passives from verbal passives fairly ambitious. As Landau (2010: 47) puts it, “in many languages, passive participles are ambiguous between a verbal and an adjectival form”. Landau goes on to say that “the evidence bearing on the debate is often indirect, consisting of tests that are supposed to distinguish the two uses”. Yet, “those tests are themselves not clear-cut, adding to the overall confusion” (Landau 2010: 47). Notwithstanding the imperfect nature of the methodology as suggested by Landau, below is a list of central characteristics of the two forms of passive participles that have been used for their proper identification (based primarily on Emonds 2006: 19-25, but also Grimshaw 1990 and Pesetsky 1995):

- (180) a. the interpretive difference (ongoing vs. completed activity),  
 b. selection by different classes of V,  
 c. the possibility of using degree words to modify (certain) adjectival passives,  
 d. the possibility of using the adjectival prefix *un-*,  
 e. only verbal passives have external arguments,  
 f. unrestricted appearance in the progressive.

The first feature differentiating verbal and adjectival passives is the difference in the interpretation of the activity or state expressed by the verb. As seen in the examples taken from Emonds (2006), “[t]he verbal passives in [181a] lack the sense of completed activity conveyed by the adjectival passives in [181b]” (Emonds 2006: 19) (Polish examples in (182) and (183) taken from Kibort 2004: 176):

- (181) a. The door {got/was} closed during the noon hour. (door can be open at noon)  
 The door is being (\*un)ainted. (painting incomplete)  
 b. The door {remained/was} closed during the noon hour. (door closed by noon)  
 The door looked (un)ainted. (painting complete)
- (182) a. Sklep był otwarty.  
 shop was open(ed)  
 ‘The shop was open.’

- b. O drugiej godzinie sklep był otwarty przez policję.  
at two hour shop was open by police  
'At two o'clock the shop was opened by the police.'
- (183) a. Sufit był pomalowany.  
ceiling was painted  
'The ceiling was painted.'
- b. Sufit był pomalowany w zeszłym roku przez fachowca.  
ceiling was painted in last year by professional  
'The ceiling was painted last year by a professional decorator.'

Another distinction between adjectival and verbal passives is the selection by different classes of verbs. As explained by Emonds (2006), who cites Wasow (1977), adjectival passives generally allow to be selected by any verb which subcategorizes for an AP complement (Wasow's list includes *act*, *appear*, *be*, *become*, *look*, *remain*, *seem*, *smell*, and *sound*), while verbal passives are usually selected by only one or two such verbs (in English *be* and *get*, in Polish *być* ('be') and *zostać*<sup>78</sup> ('become')).

Degree words, such as *too* or *more*, cannot freely occur with all adjectival passives, but they cannot occur at all with verbal passives. Thus, the following examples are ungrammatical:

- (184) \*New York is more avoided by tourists than other cities.  
(185) \*That prison doesn't seem very escaped these days.  
(186) \*How handed around to students did the clay feel?

The *un-* prefix can only appear with adjectival passives, never with verbal ones, as was first noted by Siegel (1973):

- (187) a. This author is more unknown than you would think judging by the number of awards he has received.  
b. \*He was uncriticized for the statements he made in his latest book.
- (188) a. Ten autor jest w tym kraju zupełnie nieznan.  
this author is in this country completely unknown  
'This author is completely unknown in this country.'  
b. \*On został nieskrytykowany za swoje radykalne poglądy.  
he became uncriticized for his radical views  
'He was not criticized for his radical views.'

<sup>78</sup> The claim that the auxiliary *zostać* can be used with verbal passives may seem unorthodox (because morphologically the passive complement of *zostać* must be perfective and is thus indistinguishable from an adjectival passive) but in (205) I give the example supporting it (see also Jabłońska 2004: 381). For a detailed diachronic perspective on the development of the passive auxiliary *zostać* in Polish see Wiemer (2004).

Drawing on Wasow (1977: 341), verbal passives have the same internal structure as their active counterparts, save for the subject gap due to its demotion to the *by*-phrase:

- (189) a. They elected Mary President.  
 b. Mary was elected t President.  
 c. \*Mary was unelected t President.  
 d. Mary appeared/seemed/was/remained/got unelected.
- (190) a. Członkowie klubu ogłosili Piotra przewodniczącym.  
 members club announced Peter chairperson  
 'The club members announced Peter the chairperson.'  
 b. Piotr został ogłoszony (przez członków klubu) przewodniczącym.  
 Peter became announced (by members club) chairperson  
 'Peter was announced the chairperson (by the club members).'

The next widely accepted characteristic of verbal passives is the fact that their demoted subject can still be projected in syntax. Although the overt *by*-phrase is optional, the evidence exists that it remains accessible to syntax even after the process of passivization has taken place and regardless of whether it is projected in the surface syntax or not. The example from Manzini and Roussou (2000) and its analogue from Polish show that a non-overt subject preserves its capacity to control into a purpose clause:

- (191) a. The boat was sunk in order to obtain insurance.  
 b. Łódź została/była zatopiona po to, by uzyskać odszkodowanie.  
 boat became/was sunk for to so-as obtain insurance  
 'The boat was sunk so as to obtain insurance.'

With all these diagnostic tests in mind, let us proceed now to a scrupulous analysis of ObjExp passive participles in Polish. Although the two conflicting views of B&R and Pesetsky are partially reconciled by the observation followed by a generalization made by Landau, it will be shown that the data from Polish pose a classificatory difficulty.

### 3.1.2. Polish passive participles examined<sup>79</sup>

In the light of the data regarding passive participles discussed in the preceding sections, Polish participles are now considered in greater detail. If Landau is on the right track with his generalization about Type A and Type B languages, the working hypothesis for Polish should be that there are not ver-

<sup>79</sup> Parts of sections 3.1.2. and 3.2. were previously published in Żychliński (2011, 2013).

bal passives in this language. Similarly as in the prior discussion, only Class II ObjExp verbs are under scrutiny, as they belong to the only problematic group as regards the question of unaccusativity<sup>80</sup>. Verbs of this class include<sup>81</sup>, among many others, *gnębić* ('depress'), *irytować* ('irritate'), *straszyć* ('frighten'), *niepokoić* ('worry'), *kłopotać* ('embarrass'):

- (192) Krzyki                    za    oknem irytują Piotra.  
shouts-NOM behind window irritate Peter-ACC  
'The shouting outside irritates Peter.'
- (193) Burza                    z piorunami przstraszyła dzieci.  
storm-NOM            with thunders scared            children-ACC  
'A thunderstorm scared the children.'
- (194) Wieści                    o kryzysie niepokoją obywateli.  
news-NOM            about crisis worry    citizens-ACC  
'The news about the crisis is worrying to citizens.'
- (195) Brak                    biletu zakłopotał pasażera.  
lack-NOM            ticket embarrassed passenger-ACC  
'Not having a ticket embarrassed the passenger.'

Before I look at the detailed analysis of Polish passives, let us try to predict the behavior of Polish on the basis of principle (96) from Chapter One, repeated below as (196):

- (196) Strategies for passivization of quirky objects
- a. P-stranding: The preposition that governs the object is stranded and reanalyzed with the verb.  
*Pseudopassive*: [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> Exp]<sub>1</sub> [<sub>T'</sub> Aux [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>V</sub> V<sub>PASS</sub> + Ø ] [<sub>DP</sub> t<sub>1</sub> ] ] ] ] ]
- b. Pied-Piping: The preposition that governs the object is carried along to the subject position.  
*Quirky passive*: [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>PP</sub> Ø [<sub>DP</sub> Exp]]<sub>1</sub> [<sub>T'</sub> Aux [<sub>VP</sub> V<sub>PASS</sub> [<sub>PP</sub> t<sub>1</sub> ] ] ] ] ]
- (Landau 2010: 48)

Along the lines of (196) Polish would need to show pseudopassives or (oblique) quirky passives in order to allow verbal passives of non-agentive ObjExp verbs. This, however, is not true, as Zabrocki (1981) clearly states<sup>82</sup>.

<sup>80</sup> As pointed out by reviewers, one has to recognize the role of aspect and event structure while analyzing passive participles in Polish. The relevant discussion follows example (205).

<sup>81</sup> A fairly comprehensive list of Polish ObjExp verbs can be found in Biały (2005: 76).

<sup>82</sup> Although making a claim against pseudo-passives, Zabrocki (1981) acknowledges the un-systematic presence of 'quasi pseudo-passives' (1981: 127):

- (i) a. Ten kościół był rzadko uczęszczany przez miejscową ludność.  
'This church was rarely frequented by local people'.  
b. Miejscowa ludność rzadko uczęszczała do tego kościoła.  
'Local people rarely frequented this church'.

With quirky passives the issue remains equally straightforward. Apparently, quirky Dative resists passivization:

- (197) Koledzy zabrali Jankowi książkę.  
classmates took Janek book  
'Classmates took Janek's book.'
- (198) \*Jankowi został zabrany książkę<sup>83</sup>.  
Janek was taken book  
'Janek was taken a book.'

The unavailability of either of the two strategies for passivization in Polish predicts the absence of verbal passives in this language. However, nothing seems to confirm this prediction. In fact, it has been argued for Polish that this

Also, in colloquial speech constructions as in (ii) below may be marginally accepted:

- (ii) W tym łóżku było spane.  
in this bed was slept.  
'Someone slept in this bed.'

<sup>83</sup> As noticed by Jacek Witkoś (personal communication), it may be worthwhile to examine the possibility of a passive formation with the auxiliary *mieć* ('have'), which yields a grammatical result:

- (i) Jan miał zabraną książkę.  
John had taken book  
'John had his book taken away.'

Caha (2009) discusses the use of a similarly 'special' passive auxiliary, *dostać* ('get') for Dative passives in Czech (Caha's 2009 example (42a-b): 165):

- (ii) a. Petr vynadal Karl-ovi.  
Peter-NOM scolded Charles-DAT  
'Peter has scolded Charles.'
- b. Karel dostal vynadáno.  
Charles-NOM got scolded  
'Charles has been scolded.'

Not all scholars agree, however, on the precise status of constructions featuring the auxiliary *mieć*. Kibort (2011) cites the following examples from Korytkowska (1993: 172):

- (iii) a. Pacjentka ma/miała zrobioną operację przez znanego chirurga.  
patient-FEM.NOM has/had done operation-ACC by known surgeon  
'The patient had (her) operation done by a well-known surgeon.'
- b. Znany chirurg zrobił pacjentce operację.  
known surgeon-MASC.NOM did patient-FEM.ACC operation-ACC  
'A well-known patient performed an operation on the patient.'

Despite the acknowledgment of the subject-like flavor of the passive in (iii), Kibort (2011: 376-377) concurs with Górski (2008: 44) in claiming that the participles in (iii-b) differ so considerably that a standard passive - active alternation account cannot account for it.

language possesses verbal passives for ObjExp verbs (Biały 2005). However, given what was hinted at before, namely the problems with the disambiguation between the two classes of passive participles, a careful analysis of Polish Class II psychological constructions will nevertheless be carried out, following the tests mentioned before and repeated below for convenience:

- (199) a. the interpretive difference (ongoing vs. completed activity),  
 b. selection by different classes of V,  
 c. the possibility of using degree words to modify (certain) adjectival passives,  
 d. the possibility of using the adjectival prefix *un-*,  
 e. only verbal passives have external arguments,  
 f. unrestricted appearance in the progressive.

With regard to the first characteristic in (199a), the interpretive difference is clearly visible:

- (200) Mieszkańcy są straszeni każdego dnia.  
 citizens are frightened every day  
 'Citizens are frightened every day.'  
 (201) Mieszkańcy są przestraszeni każdego dnia.  
 citizens are afraid every day  
 'Citizens are afraid every day.'

While in (200) there is a clear sense of an ongoing activity, with some external force being the constant source of fear among citizens, the meaning in (201) suggests the state of being in fear that constantly accompanies citizens (as mentioned before, the *prze-* prefix additionally signals the adjectival nature of this passive form, although consider the discussion following example (205)).

The second test to differentiate adjectival passives from verbal ones concerns the use of different classes of auxiliaries. As in other languages, the selection of passive auxiliaries is restricted, and comprises verbs *być* ('be') and *zostać* ('become'). The aspectual requirement on the participial complement to *zostać* is that the participle bears perfective morphology:

- (202) Więźniowie byli wiezieni/przewiezieni do innego  
 prisoners were transported.IMP/transported.PERF to another  
 zakładu karnego.  
 penitentiary  
 'Prisoners were being transported/were transported to another  
 penitentiary'.

- (203) Więźniowie zostali \*wiezieni/przewiezieni do  
 prisoners became transported.IMPF/transported.PERF to  
 innego zakładu karnego.  
 another penitentiary  
 'Prisoners got (\*being) transported to another penitentiary'.

Thus, (204) with *zostać* instead of *być*, by virtue of the participle being imperfective, is not well-formed in Polish:

- (204) Mieszkańcy byli/\*zostali straszani każdego dnia.  
 citizens were/became frightened every day  
 'Citizens were frightened every day'.

The perfective form, on the other hand, is often indistinguishable from the adjectival form, which could create an impression that *zostać* is incompatible with verbal passive participles. However, a purpose clause serves as a confirmation of the verbal status of the participle:

- (205) Świadkowie<sub>1</sub> zostali przestraszeni, żeby wydobyć od nich<sub>1</sub> zeznania.  
 witnesses became frightened to obtain from them testimony  
 'Witnesses were frightened to obtain testimony from them'.

The fact that a purpose clause can be used is important because it implies that the implicit argument of the verbal passive (the Agent) is a possible controller of the PRO subject of the adverbial clause. Generally, the perfective forms of passives following the auxiliary *zostać* beg the question of the role of perfectivity (in Polish realized by means of prefixes) and how it bears on the event structure of a verb. A rule of thumb seems to be that perfective participles, which are prefixed in Polish, are typically adjectival, while unprefixed ones verbal. However, example (205) seems to provide counterevidence as the perfective form is clearly verbal (apart from the suppression of the external argument, which controls the implicit subject, its verbal status is additionally evidenced by the impossibility of using a modifier, such as *zbyt*). To sum up, verbal passives may follow both *być* and *zostać* auxiliaries, but *zostać* requires a perfective yet non-progressive participle<sup>84</sup>.

<sup>84</sup> That is not to say that prefixed forms are always incompatible with the progressive aspect. Consider the following set of sentences:

- (i) Janek jest przestraszony.  
 John is scared-PERF.NON-PROGR  
 (ii) \*Janek jest przestraszany.  
 John is scared-PERF.PROGR

Another test consists in the possibility of using words such as *zbyt* 'too' or *bardzo* 'very', which are symptomatic of the adjectival use:

- (206) Mieszkańcy są (\*zbyt/\*bardzo) straszeni każdego dnia.  
citizens are too/ very frightened every day  
'Citizens are frightened every day.'
- (207) Mieszkańcy<sub>1</sub> są zbyt przestraszeni, by PRO<sub>1</sub> cokolwiek powiedzieć.  
citizens are too afraid to anything say  
'Citizens are too afraid to say anything.'

No modification by a degree word is possible in (206), whereas a selection of degree words can freely modify the participle in (207). On a side note, it can be observed that in (207) the only possible controller for the PRO subject of the adverbial clause is the matrix subject. This means that there is most probably no implicit Agent in the syntax of this sentence because if there were, we

- 
- (iii) Janek został przestraszony (przez swojego kolegę).  
John became scared-PERF.NON-PROGR by his friend
- (iv) \*Janek został przestraszany.  
John became scared-PERF.NON-PROGR
- (v) Janek jest zastraszony.  
John is intimidated-PERF.NON-PROGR
- (vi) Janek jest zastraszany.  
John is intimidated-PERF.PROGR
- (vii) Janek został zastraszony.  
John became intimidated-PERF.NON-PROGR
- (viii) \*Janek został zastraszany.  
John became intimidated-PERF.PROGR

In (i) the perfective passive form is clearly adjectival (which can be easily demonstrated with the diagnostics discussed in this section) and it is stative (denotes a state). The *prze-* prefixed progressive form in (ii) is ungrammatical, which suggests that the *prze-* participle is in this example incompatible with the progressive. In (iii) we deal with a perfective verbal participle (again, the diagnostics will prove it), yet this time it is an event rather than a state (the sentence describes a specific situation in which Janek was scared and knowing the context we would probably be able to specify what exactly it was that scared him). Example (iv) confirms that the progressive aspect clashes with auxiliary *zostać*. In (v) there is another prefixed passive form (prefix *za-* changes its meaning to *intimidate* rather than *scare*), both perfective and non-progressive, and clearly adjectival (for proof see diagnostics). However, (vi) comes somewhat unexpected as the same prefixed form (which I earlier described as typically adjectival, thus stative), is this time used in the progressive aspect, which immediately changes the event structure from noneventive (stative) to eventive. Finally, (vii) and (viii) illustrate the familiar by now situation where only the non-progressive verbal passive will survive as the complement of *zostać* (v), whereas the progressive form is out (vi). What all these examples show is that the role of prefixes has to be dealt with more comprehensively as simple generalizations ('prefixed forms suggest adjectival nature') often lead to wrong conclusions. As stated in the text, if possible, I prefer unprefixed forms in the examples as their characteristics seem to be more predictable.

would expect such an Agent to control into the adverbial, as in (205). Thus, *przestraszeni* can function either as a verbal or adjectival passive participle.

The adjectival prefix *un-* is at odds with the verbal passive, which the following examples illustrate for Polish:

- (208) Wczasowicze są niepokojeni przez gwałtowne ulewy.  
 holidaymakers are worried-IMPF by heavy rainfalls  
 'Holidaymakers are worried by heavy rainfalls'.  
 (209) Wczasowicze są niezaniepokojeni (\*przez gwałtowne ulewy)<sup>85</sup>.  
 holidaymakers are unworried by heavy rainfalls  
 'Holidaymakers are not worried by the reports about hurricanes'.

Example (209) shows that verbal passives resist the *un-* prefixation and as soon as a *by*-phrase enters the derivation, a conflict arises between the passive participle and the *by*-phrase, which leads to the ill-formedness of the example.

The next test to ascertain the status of the passive participle consists in looking at the possibility of projecting an external argument. As adjectival passives are not expected to have an external argument, this property should be reserved for verbal passives only:

- (210) a. Wieści o nadchodzącym kryzysie niepokoją właścicieli  
 news-NOM about incoming crisis worry owners-ACC  
 hoteli.  
 hotels  
 'The news about the incoming crisis worry hotel owners.'  
 b. Właściciele hoteli są niepokojeni \*(przez wieści o nadchodzącym  
 kryzysie)<sup>86</sup>.

<sup>85</sup> The perfective form has been used in this example as Polish seems to prefer perfective forms with *nie-* prefix. However, it is possible to find instances of *nie niepokojony*, even followed by *przez* preposition, which would suggest that the participle is verbal, as in (i) below (the source of the example is the National Corpus of Polish found at <http://nkjp.pl>):

- (i) Złodzieje nie niepokojeni przez nikogo zdemontowali...  
 thieves not worried by anybody dismantled  
 'The thieves, undisturbed by anybody, dismantled...'

However, although the corpus does produce several similar examples, in all of them the *przez*-phrase is identical to (i) above. That suggests that the construction has been lexicalized in Polish and should not be used as a diagnostic for a verbal passive.

<sup>86</sup> It has been pointed out to me by a reviewer that the *by*-phrases to introduce the Cause argument are questionable. Personally, I find them completely acceptable, which is further proved by the following examples from the National Corpus of Polish:

- (i) W ostatnich dniach w kilku punktach Krakowa mieszkańcy byli niepokojeni przez  
 in last days in several points Cracow citizens were worried by

- owners-NOM hotels are worried by news about incoming crisis  
 'Hotel owners are being worried (by the news about the incoming crisis).'
- c. Właściciele hoteli są zaniepokojeni (przez wieści o nadchodzącym owners-NOM hotels are worried by news about incoming kryzysie).  
 crisis  
 'Hotel owners are worried (by the news about the incoming crisis).'

Although at first blush the form considered here a verbal passive (210b) and an adjectival passive (210c) both accept the presence of the *by*-phrase, it seems that only in (210b) the *by*-phrase is obligatory, whereas the same phrase in (210c) appears to act as an adjunct.

Finally, let us consider the progressive aspect as one more test to tease apart the verbal passives from the adjectival ones:

- (211) a. Miejscowa ludność jest wciąż niepokojona przez ciągłe  
 local citizens-NOM.S is still worried-IMPF by constant  
 podwyżki cen żywności.  
 rises prices food  
 Lit. 'Local citizens are still being worried by the constant rises of food prices.'

- 
- gnieźdzące się w pobliżu domostw szerszenie.  
 nesting REFL in proximity houses hornets  
 'Over the last days in several places in Cracow citizens were worried by hornets nesting around their houses.'
- (ii) Dzieci wracające ze szkoły są straszone przez psy biegające przy ośrodku zdrowia.  
 children returning from school are scared by dogs running near facility health  
 'Children returning from school are scared by dogs running near the health care facility.'
- (iii) Obywatele tego kraju, straszeni przez propagandę, boją się zmian na wzór zachodni, a więc konkurencji, bezrobocia itd.  
 western and so competition unemployment etc.  
 'Citizens in this country, scared by propaganda, are scared of Western-style changes, such as competition, unemployment, etc.'

It is true, however, that in non-Agentive contexts the Instrumental Case can often replace the *by*-phrase (and to many it sounds more natural this way). Although it goes beyond the scope of this book, I may speculate that the Causer argument in Polish, after suppression in the passive, may surface as either the Instrumental phrase (default) or *przez*-phrase (marked yet acceptable, as the sentences above show). Whenever possible, I prefer the *przez*-phrase versions as they unmistakably identify the passive as verbal.

- b. Miejscowa ludność jest wciąż zaniepokojona (przez ciągle  
local citizens-NOM.S is still worried-PERF by constant  
podwyżki cen żywności).  
rises prices food
- (212) a. Inwestorzy są wciąż niepokojeni przez doniesienia z  
investors-NOM are still worried-IMPF by reports from  
giełdy.  
stock exchange  
Lit. 'Investors are being worried by reports from the stock  
exchange.'
- b. Inwestorzy są wciąż zaniepokojeni (przez doniesienia  
investors-NOM are still worried-PERF by reports  
z giełdy).  
from stock exchange

It seems that yet again (211a) and (212a) serve as vital evidence of the verbal character of the passive participles used in these examples, whereas their adjectival counterparts in (211b) and (212b) systematically fail to be compatible with the progressive, as predicted (the optionality of the *przez*-phrases suggests that no external argument is present).

To conclude, Polish unequivocally seems to possess verbal passives. In this respect, it patterns with English, Dutch and Finnish, which all have also been diagnosed to have verbal passives, and is unlike Italian or Hebrew, which are said not to have them. However, the generalization made by Landau appears to be in dire need of revision, as neither of the two strategies which have been shown to be accompanying the passivization of quirky objects obtains in Polish.

## 3.2. Further arguments against the inherent status of object Experiencers

Although the presence of verbal passives seems to be an unequivocal argument defeating the unaccusative structure of object Experiencers, below I present additional evidence to the same effect.

### 3.2.1. Inherent vs. structural Case of the Experiencer

The classification of languages into Type A and Type B with regard to the presence of psych verbal participles (Landau 2010) put forth in the last section will only hold water on the assumption that object Experiencers are PPs.

What if they are not? All evidence leads to the inevitable conclusion that the nature of Case on the object Experiencer is different (i.e. not prepositional) in Polish. It has been commonly assumed that the object Experiencer bears an inherent Case. One of the universally accepted diagnostics for that is Case suppression. Case suppression is clearly manifested in Russian, where the Genitive of Negation<sup>87</sup> rule is in full operation (although its application is optional, as stated in Pesetsky 1982: 40):

- (213) a. ja ne polučał pis'ma  
I NEG received letters-ACC.PL  
b. ja ne polučał pism  
I NEG received letter-GEN.PL  
(Pesetsky's 1982 examples (1a-b): 40)

This means that objects, which in positive sentences come in Accusative, may switch to Genitive in negated sentences. The rule does not work with Class II psych predicates, in which Genitive is not possible:

- (214) Ètot šum ne pobespokoil ni \*odnoj devočki/odnu devočku.  
that noise-NOM not bothered not one girl-GEN/not one girl-ACC  
'That noise did not bother a single girl'  
(215) Ego neudača ne ogorčila \*materī/ mat'.  
his failure-NOM not upset mother-GEN/mother-ACC  
'His failure did not upset mother'  
(based on Legendre and Akimova's 1993 examples (40a-b): 300)

This is to be expected given that "(a) standard account for this contrast exploits the fact that inherent Case is fixed in the lexicon; GN, which is a syntactic rule, cannot override this Case" (Landau 2010: 25). Polish, however, despite the fact that the Genitive of Negation rule is also operative<sup>88</sup>, surprisingly produces well-formed sentences (a similar observation is made in Biały 2005: 84-85):

<sup>87</sup> Genitive of Negation is an extensively covered topic in literature. For Russian, Timberlake (1975) describes NPs that undergo this rule as belonging to the set of common, abstract, mass, inanimate, plural, indefinite, non-topicalized, not modified by an adjective, pronominal or possessive nouns. The fact that Russian Experiencers can undergo it suggests that Timberlake's list is in need of revision. For Polish, important generative contributions include Willim (1990), Franks (1995), Błaszczak (2001, 2003), Witkoś (1996, 2006, 2008a), among others.

<sup>88</sup> For a comparative look at the Genitive of Negation in Slavic languages (mostly in Polish and Russian, with some information on Czech, Slovenian and Serbo-Croatian) see Franks (1995). The two main differences, according to Franks, are the obligatory nature of the phenomenon in Polish and the fact that objects of unaccusative and passive verbs do not undergo it (Franks 1995: 203).

- (216) a. Ten hałas zaniepokoił \*jednej dziewczyny/jedną dziewczynę.  
this noise-NOM worried single girl-GEN/ one girl-ACC  
'This noise worried one girl.'
- b. Ten hałas nie zaniepokoił ani jednej dziewczyny/\*ani jedną dziewczynę.  
this noise-NOM not worried any single girl-GEN/any single girl-ACC  
'This noise did not worry a single girl'
- (217) a. Jego porażka zdenerwowała \*matki/ matkę.  
his failure-NOM upset mother-GEN/mother-ACC  
'His failure upset his mother.'
- b. Jego porażka nie zdenerwowała matki/\*matkę.  
his failure-NOM not upset mother-GEN/mother-ACC  
'His failure did not upset his mother'

The obligatoriness of Genitive on the object NPs in (216b-217b) rules out the possibility of this Case being inherent<sup>89</sup>.

### 3.2.2. Reflexivization of Experiencers

Apart from Case suppression, the non-inherent nature of Case is also further substantiated by reflexivization facts. I have already referred to the reflexivization of object Experiencer verbs in Chapter One, section 1.1.1.1., where it was shown how B&R used this phenomenon as an argument in favor of the derived subject position. Landau (2010) shows how the same argument can be used to argue for the inherent status of the object Experiencer. Neither in English-type languages<sup>90</sup> nor in Italian-type languages can object Experiencer verbs reflexivize:

<sup>89</sup> That Dative Experiencer objects are different from their Accusative counterparts can also be gathered on the basis of their behavior under the Genitive of Negation:

- (i) a. Malownicze uliczki podobały się turystom.  
picturesque streets-NOM appealed REFL tourists-DAT  
'Picturesque streets appealed to the tourists.'
- b. Malownicze uliczki nie podobały się \*turystów/turystom.  
picturesque streets-NOM not appealed REFL tourists-GEN/tourists-DAT  
'Picturesque streets appealed to the tourists.'

Unlike Accusative Experiencers, Dative ones do not allow for the Genitive to suppress their inherent Dative Case.

<sup>90</sup> English-type languages and Italian-type languages are used as a reference to Landau's typology of languages with regard to the presence of psych passives presented in Chapter One, section 1.7.

- (218) a. Tedious talks irritate me.  
 b. \*I irritate myself.
- (219) \*Gianni si preoccupa.  
 Gianni REFL worries  
 ‘Gianni worries himself.’

A standard account for such a state of affairs involves the restriction on reflexivization (Landau 2010: 35):

- (220) Reflexive *si/se* may absorb Accusative or Dative Case, but not oblique Case<sup>91</sup>.

Given that Accusative in Polish has all the hallmarks of a structural Case, it seems to be a correct prediction to assume that Polish reflexives should be well-formed<sup>92</sup>. This is, indeed, the case, as shown below:

- (221) a. Nauczyciel w przebraniu przestraszył dzieci.  
 teacher in disguise scared children  
 ‘The teacher in disguise scared the children.’  
 b. Dzieci straszą się/siebie (nawzajem).  
 children scare REFL/each other  
 ‘The children are scaring each other.’

Following the rule in (220), the fact that the Accusative Experiencer in (221) can be absorbed by the reflexive indicates that it must be structurally Case-marked in the first place. A fair objection to (221) could be that the verb is used agentively, thus it acts as a regular transitive verb – however, throughout this book it is assumed that the object Experiencer remains in a structurally identical position be it in an agentive or a causative construction. Thus, all that (221b) is meant to demonstrate is that the Case on the object cannot be inherent.

<sup>91</sup> Alternatively, it is argued in Reinhart (1996) (and subsequent works, to mention only Reinhart and Siloni 2004) that reflexivization (which is viewed as a reduction of the internal argument) cannot target an argument specified [+mental state].

<sup>92</sup> In preparing Żychliński (2011) for publication, I received a comment from an anonymous abstract reviewer who pointed out that in Russian similar reflexivization facts obtain:

- (i) Ivan volnuetsja.  
 Ivan worries-himself.

This may be a further fact obscuring Landau’s analysis. Alternatively, it may suggest that the clitic reflexivization is not a true instance of reflexivization.

### 3.2.3. Islandhood of Experiencers

As already stated, it is Landau's underlying assumption that all object Experiencers are introduced by prepositions and marked as oblique. As prepositional phrases are islands, extraction out of them is predicted to yield ungrammatical results. The examples from Polish do not give straightforward results, the judgments being at least divided<sup>93</sup>.

- (222) ?Czyją irytowało to siostrę?  
 whose irritated it sister
- (223) ?Czyją straszyleś siostrę?  
 whose frightened you sister
- (224) \*Czyją irytują nocne telefony siostrę?  
 whose irritate night calls sister?

Interestingly enough, the (at least partial) acceptability of (222) and (223) seems to be related to the (phonologically) light status of the subject more than to their agentive versus non-agentive subjects. In (224), whose subject is phonologically heavier, the judgment is straightforwardly ungrammatical<sup>94</sup>. For English, Baker (1997) notices that the extraction from an object Experiencer is a rather mild island violation (1997: 112), citing the following example:

- (225) ?Which company does the international unrest frighten  
 [the president of t].
- (Baker's 1997 example (67a): 112)

It is suggested that the questionable status of (225) may derive from a Left Branch Violation, to which effect (226) is given (Baker 1997: 112):

- (226) ??Which company did John give [the president of t] a bribe?

<sup>93</sup> Similarly, different facts corroborating the locative nature of object Experiencers are not unambiguous in Polish, e.g. object control into adjunct clauses and Super-Equi control facts, both phenomena extensively discussed in Chapter Four.

<sup>94</sup> Jacek Witkoś (personal communication) suggests that changing the word order in (224) may produce a more acceptable example:

- (i) ?Czyją irytują siostrę nocne telefony?  
 whose irritate sister night calls  
 'Whose sister is irritated by the night calls?'

This seems to give further support to the idea that the islandhood of Experiencers may be epiphenomenal.

Both (225) and (226) are highly marked (or ungrammatical) in Polish, as shown below, which may suggest that the reason behind their ill-formedness is different than Landau's intuition.

- (227) a. ?Której spółki niepokoi międzynarodowy kryzys prezesa?  
 which company worries international crisis president  
 b. ?Której spółki Janek dał prezesowi łapówkę?  
 which company John gave president bribe

### 3.3. Bondaruk and Szymanek's (2007) view of Polish Experiencers

Bondaruk and Szymanek (2007, henceforth B&Sz) set their sights on providing an analysis of Polish Dative Experiencers in the first place. However, in the process of arguing for their particular vision of what position these arguments occupy in the syntax of Polish Experiencer constructions, the authors also remark that Accusative Experiencers, which are in the primary focus of this book, manifest similar characteristics to their Dative counterparts, briefly providing evidence for this, otherwise counterintuitive, claim. The aim of this section is to check whether the tests discussed in B&Sz (2007) are on a firm empirical footing in Polish. As in the course of this work Dative Experiencers have never been classified as having the same status as Accusative ones, it is all the more crucial for the analysis to be carried out with an eye for detail. However, as stated before, the conclusion inferred by B&Sz follows their discussion of Dative Experiencers in Polish. With the set of empirical tests employed for both Dative and Accusative Experiencers being identical, I will first summarize the tests and their application to Dative arguments and only then proceed to Accusative ones.

#### 3.3.1. Dative Experiencers in Nominative-less constructions

B&Sz (2007) analyze Polish Dative Experiencer arguments with the aim of verifying their subject status. The claim is rather unorthodox as Dative arguments lack one of the salient features of canonical subjects, i.e. they do not determine the subject-verb agreement. Nevertheless, the authors proceed with their analysis, hoping for there to be enough evidence for this bold claim. The tests used to this end are formed on Zaenen, Maling and Thráinsson (1985) and Sigurðsson (2002) and for Polish – Dziwirek (1994) and include: 1) ana-

phor binding, 2) control, 3) raising, 4) conjunction reduction, and 5) resumption. I will show below what each of the tests diagnoses with respect to Dative Experiencers in Polish.

The first test applied to Dative Experiencers assesses their capacity to bind subject-oriented anaphors. The anaphor tested in B&Sz is *swój*<sup>95</sup> 'self's', which the authors claim can be bound exclusively by the subject<sup>96</sup>, as shown in (228):

- (228) a. Piotr zgubił swój klucz.  
Peter lost his key  
'Peter lost his key.'
- b. Piotr<sub>1/2</sub> oddał klucz swojej<sub>1</sub>/jego<sub>2</sub> współlokatorce.  
Peter returned key self's /his roommate  
'Peter returned the key to his/its owner.'
- c. Piotr<sub>1</sub> przekazał Marii<sub>2</sub> swój<sub>1/\*2</sub> zestaw kluczy.  
Peter handed Maria self set keys  
'Peter handed his set of keys over to Maria.'

The relevant examples feature a Dative argument along with a *swój* anaphor located inside a prepositional phrase in (229) and a Genitive phrase in (230).

<sup>95</sup> A thorough analysis of the syntactic behavior of *swój* features prominently in Tajsner (2008). Tajsner examines instances of what he calls inverse binding (which is synonymous with what I refer to as backward binding in this book) in Polish. One of the most insightful parts of Tajsner's analysis is the acknowledgment of the asymmetry in binding of the nominal elements containing an anaphor in the position of the complement of a noun and those where the anaphor functions as a possessive adjective (Tajsner 2008: 413):

- (i) a. Marii<sub>1</sub> spodobały się nowe historie o sobie<sub>1</sub>.  
Mary-DAT appealed REFL new stories-NOM about self  
'Mary liked new stories about herself.'
- b. \*Marysi<sub>1</sub> spodobały się swoje<sub>1</sub> siostry.  
Mary-DAT appealed REFL self sisters-NOM  
'Mary liked her own sisters.'

Tajsner speculates that the nature of the asymmetry may be linked to what he calls 'anaphoric transparency' (2008: 419) and goes on to argue that an element in the specifier position of a nominal expression allows its anaphoric content to percolate onto the whole nominal phrase, whereas an element in the complement position of a nominal cannot do this (Tajsner 2008: 419). On the standard assumption that the Theme argument of Class III psychological verbs, such as *podobać się*, is base derived lower than the Experiencer, its Case movement (to get Nominative) to a higher position causes a Principle C violation in those cases where the anaphoric content has percolated onto the nominal phrase (ib), while no such violation is triggered in (ia), where there is no anaphoric content percolation. As for Accusative Experiencers, I return to Tajsner's approach in section 3.3.3.

<sup>96</sup> One may assume that *swój* 'self' also allows for non-subject binding. I hold off providing relevant examples until later in the chapter.

- (229) Jest jej<sub>1</sub> przyjemnie w swoim<sub>1</sub> własnym towarzystwie.  
is her-DAT pleasant-Adv in self 's own company  
'She feels pleasant in her own company.'
- (230) Jest jej<sub>1</sub> żal swojej<sub>1</sub> młodości.  
is her-DAT pity self 's youth  
'She feels pity for her youth.'
- (B&Sz's examples (16-17): 74)

The verdict after the first test points to Dative Experiencers as showing a subject-like property in their capacity to bind subject-oriented anaphors.

The next test consists in observing the behavior of Dative Experiencers with regard to their ability to control into adjuncts. The specific adjunct constructions which form the basis of this test are gerundive adjunct clauses, adversative adjunct clauses and participial adjunct clauses (all first discussed in Dziwirek 1994). The evidence from a gerundive clause (231), adversity clause (232) and participial clause (233) suggests that in all three cases the Dative argument is a valid controller of the PRO subjects of adjunct clauses:

- (231) Po PRO<sub>1</sub> przyjsciu do domu, zrobilo nam<sub>1</sub> sie przyjemnie /  
after coming to home started us-DAT REFL nice-Adv /  
wstyd.  
shame  
'After coming back home, we started feeling nice/ashamed.'
- (232) Mimo PRO<sub>1</sub> sluchania wesołej muzyki, bylo mu<sub>1</sub> nadal  
despite listening cheerful music was him-DAT still  
smutno/żal.  
sad-Adv/pity  
'Despite listening to cheerful music, he was still sad/pitiful.'
- (233) PRO<sub>1</sub> Wróciwszy do domu, zrobilo mu<sub>1</sub> sie smutno/żal.  
coming to home started him-DAT REFL sad-Adv/pity  
'On coming back home, he started feeling sad/pitiful.'
- (B&Sz's examples (19-21): 74-75)

The grammatical (231-233) are contrasted with (234-237), which show that a non-Experiencer (Goal) Dative object (234) and non-Dative arguments (235-237) are incapable of occurring in a similar control context:

- (234) \*Po PRO<sub>1</sub> przyjsciu do domu, kawa pomogła Marii<sub>1</sub>  
after coming to home coffee-NOM helped Mary-ACC  
nabrać energii.  
to get energy  
'Upon returning home, Mary had some coffee to build up her energy.'

- (235) \*Po PRO<sub>1</sub> złożeniu podania, pracodawca wezwał Marka<sub>1</sub>.  
after submitting application employer-NOM called Mark-ACC  
'After submitting an application, an employer called Mark.'  
(B&Sz's example (22): 75)
- (236) Mimo PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> otrzymania stosownych wyjaśnień, zatrzymany<sub>1</sub>  
despite receiving proper explanations detainee-NOM  
nie przekonał sędziego<sub>2</sub> o swojej niewinności.  
not convinced judge-ACC about own innocence  
'Despite receiving a proper explanation, the detainee did not  
convince the judge about his innocence.'
- (237) PRO<sub>\*1/22</sub> Wróciwszy do domu, otwarte okno<sub>1</sub> zaciekało  
returning to home open window-NOM interested -  
Marka<sub>2</sub>.  
Mark ACC  
'Upon returning home, the open window made Mark curious.'

The third test that B&Sz employ to argue for the subject-like nature of Dative Experiencers concerns the phenomenon of Raising. What B&Sz claim is that the apparent Raising examples in Polish in (238) do not, in fact, involve any movement of the embedded subject to the matrix subject position. This conclusion is reached on the basis of the observation that when an explicit Experiencer argument of the raising verb *wydawać się* 'seem' is inserted into the structure, the sentence becomes unacceptable (239). This, for B&Sz, is a straightforward indication that the Dative argument of the main clause verb is one of its base-generated arguments and not an embedded argument raised to the matrix clause:

- (238) Markowi wydawało się [być smutno / żal, że przegrał].  
Mark-DAT seemed REFL to-be sad-Adv / sorry that he-lost  
'Mark seemed to feel sad/sorry that he had lost.'
- (239) Markowi wydawało się (\*nam) [być smutno / żal, że  
Mark-DAT seemed REFL (\*us-DAT) to-be sad-Adv / sorry that  
przegrał].  
he-lost  
'Mark seemed to us to feel sad / sorry that he had lost.'  
(B&Sz's examples (34-35): 78-79)

The fact that Raising seems not to obtain with Dative Experiencers is in fact an argument against Dative arguments acting as subjects. However, two more tests remain to be applied before the ultimate conclusion can be drawn.

The fourth subjecthood test used in the literature (cf. Dylą 1981) is related to the conjunction reduction. It has been observed that in coordinate clauses the subject of the second conjunct does not have to be overtly expressed if it is identical with the subject of the first conjunct, as in (240):

- (240) Marek wyszedł z domu i zamknął drzwi na klucz.  
 Mark-NOM went-out of home and closed door with key  
 'Mark left home and locked the door.'  
 (B&Sz's example (36): 79)

The conjunction reduction seems to target arguments of the same type. If the referential identity is assumed between the subject in the first conjunct and the object in the second conjunct, the resulting structure is ill-formed:

- (241) Marek wyszedł z domu i Maria spotkała \*(go) na ulicy.  
 Mark-NOM went-out of home and Mary met him-ACC in street  
 'Mark left home and Mary met him in the street.'  
 (B&Sz's example (37): 79)

Having presented the basics of the mechanism underlying the conjunction reduction, B&Sz move on to structures which are of central interest to the proposal they are constructing, i.e. Dative Experiencers:

- (242) Marek uderzył Marię i było \*(mu) smutno /żał.  
 Mark-NOM hit Mary and was him-DAT sad-Adv/sorry  
 'Mark hit Mary and felt sad /sorry.'  
 (B&Sz's example (38): 79)

That the status of regular Nominative subjects and Dative Experiencers is not equal can be seen in (242). However, in (243) the subject of the second conjunct can be omitted under identity with the subject of the first conjunct, the important difference being that this time the morphological identity holds between these arguments as well, unlike in (242):

- (243) Jest mi smutno i robi (mi) się żal, że przegrałem.  
 is me-DAT sad-Adv and becomes me-DAT REFL sorry that I-lost  
 'I am sad and am beginning to feel sorry that I have lost.'  
 (B&Sz's example (39): 80)

What is more, example (244) below shows that given the identical morphological make-up, Accusative arguments can also undergo the conjunction reduction:

- (244) Spotkałam go na ulicy a potem odwiedziłam (go) w domu.  
 I-met him in street and then visited him at home  
 'I met him in the street and then visited him at home.'  
 (B&Sz's example (40): 80)

Thus, the validity of the conjunction reduction as a diagnostic for subjecthood is dismissed by B&Sz.

Polish resumption facts make up the basis for the last subjecthood test discussed by B&Sz<sup>97</sup>:

- (245) a. Dziewczyna, co ją widziałem na ulicy, jest moją koleżanką  
 girl what her I-saw in street is my colleague  
 z pracy.  
 from work  
 'The girl that I saw in the street is my colleague.'  
 b. Dziewczyna, co (\*ona) rozmawiała ze mną, jest moją koleżanką  
 girl what she talked to me is my colleague  
 z pracy.  
 from work  
 'The girl that was talking to me is my colleague.'
- (246) To jest ten człowiek, co \*(mu) było smutno / żal, że przegrał.  
 this is the man what him-DAT was sad-Adv / sorry that he-lost  
 'This is the man that felt sad/sorry that he had lost.'  
 (B&Sz's examples (41-42): 80-81)

Examples (245a-b) depict a contrast in the distribution of resumptive pronouns. Whereas it is possible for a relative clause to realize the object by means of a resumptive pronoun (245a), the same mechanism cannot be carried over to the realization of subjects and if it is, the resulting structure is ill-formed (245b). Example (246) confirms that the Dative Experiencers do not

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<sup>97</sup> Relative clauses with the complementizer *co* 'what' are a less formal, uninflected variant of the more standard, inflected complementizer *który* 'which, that'. They are mostly used in spoken language but are grammatically fully correct (for more discussion about Polish resumptive pronouns see Bondaruk 1995; Mykowiecka 2001; Szczegielniak 2005; Skwarski 2010):

- (i) a. To jest ten człowiek, któremu mówiłeś, żeby tu nie przychodził.  
 this is this man whom you-told that here not come  
 'This is the man to whom you said not to come here.'  
 b. To jest ten człowiek, co mu mówiłeś, żeby tu nie przychodził.  
 this is this man what him told that here not come  
 'This is the man whom you told not to come here.'

behave as subjects given that their omission<sup>98</sup> is fatal to the grammaticality of the sentence.

The behavior of Dative Experiencers and the results of the tests to which these arguments have been subjected lead B&Sz to the conclusion that they are not subjects but subject-like elements that undergo obligatory topicalization from their verb-internal domain. The topicalization movement results in their landing in the A'-position above the TP projection. This high position explains their behavior, which often mirrors the behavior of subjects. In claiming that Experiencers end up in a structurally high position, this account ties in with Landau's locative approach to the derivation of Experiencer constructions, which is a fact also noted by B&Sz. What is not explored in B&Sz, however, is that for Landau the position to which Experiencers move must be an A-position (after all, Landau wants Experiencers to be able to both bind and control, cf. Chapter Two, section 2.2.1.7. and Chapter Four). This is not the result that B&Sz's analysis obtains<sup>99</sup>. For the purpose of this book the important insight of B&Sz's analysis is that the behavior of Dative Experiencers without a Nominative argument is, in their view, similar to the behavior of those arguments when accompanied by Nominative arguments and, more importantly, to the behavior of Accusative Experiencers. This is what I set out to validate in sections 3.3.2. and 3.3.3.

### 3.3.2. Dative Experiencers in constructions with a Nominative argument

The crucial question for this book is whether the discussion of Nominative-less constructions (Dative Experiencer only) can be transposed in its entirety to Dative Experiencer constructions with Nominative arguments? What makes the answer to that question more relevant is the fact that Nominative arguments are traditionally the ones associated with subjects, so showing subject-like properties of Dative Experiencers in the presence of Nominative arguments would raise serious questions about the function of the latter. By the same token, however, the lack of subject-like properties in Dative Experi-

<sup>98</sup> It may be useful to point out that the sentence is somewhat rectified (or at least it sounds less bad) when the clefted element in the main clause is marked for Dative:

- (i) Temu człowiekowi, co było tak smutno po stracie przyjaciela, nikt nie był  
 this man-DAT what was so sad after loss friend nobody-NOM not was  
 w stanie pomóc.  
 in condition help

'No-one could help this man who was so sad after losing his friend.'

<sup>99</sup> The two opposing views concerning the A-/A'-status of the position to which Experiencers (potentially) move to are discussed in Witkoś (2008b) and Tajsner (2008).

encers projected along with Nominative arguments would also be puzzling, pointing to a possible, albeit improbable, difference in the nature of Dative Experiencers depending on whether they co-occur with Nominative arguments or not. Regardless of the answer, then, the enterprise we are about to embark on promises to yield noteworthy results<sup>100</sup>. Let me start by answering the question posed above by applying the same set of tests to Polish Dat-Nom constructions. I will model my examples on the Dative Experiencer verb *podobać się*<sup>101</sup> ‘appeal’.

As before, the anaphor binding test will be employed first. Before relevant examples are presented, an observation is due regarding the nature of *swój* ‘self’ pronoun. It has been suggested before that this anaphoric pronoun is subject-oriented. However, the sentence in (247) seems to present counterfactual evidence:

- (247)      Piotr<sub>1</sub> poprosił Marię<sub>2</sub> o PRO<sub>2</sub> przekazanie swoich<sub>1/2</sub> oszczędności dla  
 Peter asked    Mary about giving      own    savings      for  
 wybranego hospicjum.  
 chosen      hospice  
 ‘Peter asked Mary to donate his/her savings to a chosen hospice.’

The interpretation of (247) is ambiguous and both subject-oriented and object-oriented readings are equally acceptable. Although one could argue that the strength of this test must thus be considered weaker, it is nevertheless standardly assumed now in the control literature that the anaphor in the complement clause is in fact subject-oriented, except that it is not the matrix subject but the PRO subject of the complement clause which binds it (the matrix verb *prosić* ‘ask’ allows for PRO to be coreferential either with its subject or object)<sup>102</sup>. Let me then proceed with the relevant examples.

<sup>100</sup> B&Sz (2007: ft.28) make the suggestion that Dative Experiencer constructions with Nominative arguments do behave in a similar way to their Nominative-less counterparts. In the same place, the authors assert that Accusative Experiencer constructions (obligatorily with Nominative arguments) are identically characterized.

<sup>101</sup> The verb *podobać się* ‘appeal’ as an instance of an unaccusative verb is also discussed in Miechowicz-Mathiasen and Scheffler (2008).

<sup>102</sup> Another example of a sentence where the subject-orientation of *swój* is put to test is illustrated below:

- (i)      Piotr<sub>1</sub>      oddał    klucz<sub>2</sub> swojemu<sub>1/2</sub>/jego<sub>1/2</sub> właścicielowi.  
 Peter-NOM    returned key    self’s      /its      owner  
 ‘Peter returned the key to its owner.’

In (i), the presence of the Agent in the subject position does not prevent the direct object from binding the anaphor inside the indirect object. Thus, I nevertheless assume that the anaphoric binding of *swój* is not the most reliable diagnostic test for subjecthood.

- (248) a. \**Swój* charakter pisma nie podoba się Piotrowi.  
 own character handwriting not appeal REFL Peter-DAT  
 b. \**Swój* charakter pisma nie podoba mi się.  
 own character handwriting not appeal me REFL  
 c. Jego charakter pisma nie podoba się Piotrowi.  
 his character handwriting not appeal REFL Peter-DAT  
 'His handwriting doesn't appeal to Peter.'  
 d. *Mój* charakter pisma nie podoba mi się.  
 my character handwriting not appeal me-DAT REFL  
 'My handwriting doesn't appeal to me.'

Unlike the results of anaphor binding in Nominative-less constructions, the anaphor *swój* 'self' contained in the Nominative argument cannot be bound by the Dative Experiencer, at an early stage undermining the claim that Dative Experiencers resemble subjects.

Control into gerundive adjunct and participial clauses, due to the length of the discussion, is subjected to an exhaustive analysis in Chapter Four. Suffice it to say that grammaticality judgments regarding these constructions are highly nuanced and most normative Polish textbooks instruct speakers not to use them. Therefore, this diagnostic should not play a decisive role in determining the status of Experiencer arguments. In short, then, before a detailed description is offered, we have another proof of the dubious subject status of Dative Experiencers.

Raising has been shown by B&Sz not to take place in Nominative-less Dative Experiencer constructions. Thus, we do not expect the situation to improve in similar constructions with a Nominative element:

- (249) \**Markowi* wydawało się podobać uliczki Starego Miasta.  
 Mark-DAT seemed REFL appeal streets Old Town  
 'The streets of the Old Town seem to appeal to Mark.'

Indeed, (249) is completely ungrammatical, which excludes Raising as an operation available for a Dative Experiencer in this construction. Therefore, it becomes yet another argument that adds to the growing body of evidence against the subject nature of Dative Experiencers.

For the sake of completeness we include an example showing the implementation of the conjunction reduction test, although B&Sz themselves point out that its application is of limited usefulness with regard to diagnosing subjecthood:

- (250) *Markowi* podoba się malarstwo holenderskie lecz nudzi (się) rzeźba antyczna.

Mark-DAT appeal REFL painting Dutch but bore REFL  
sculpture ancient  
'The Dutch painting appeals to Mark but he is bored with the  
ancient sculpture.'

Indeed, the Dative element may be absent from the second conjunct under identity with a co-referential argument in the first conjunct, yet as the discussion in the previous section indicated, all it illustrates is the possibility of conjunction reduction obtaining under morphological identity, which is further confirmed by the reduction of the Nominative element in a similar clause, as shown below:

- (251) Markowi wciąż podoba się malarstwo holenderskie choć Ewie  
Mark-DAT still appeal REFL painting Dutch although Ewa-DAT  
dawno się znudziło.  
long REFL bored  
'The Dutch painting still appeals to Mark, although Ewa has had  
enough of it.'

The last diagnostic test designed to indicate whether Dative Experiencers manifest subject properties is resumption. As presented in section 3.3.1., resumptive pronouns in Polish show that they are always present in non-subject *co* relative clauses, whereas they are impossible whenever they are linked to the subject position. Let us see what kind of syntactic behavior characterizes Dat-Nom psychological constructions:

- (252) To jest ten człowiek, co \*(mu) podobały się uliczki Starego Miasta.  
this is this man what him appealed REFL streets Old Town  
'This is the man who liked the Streets of the Old Town.'
- (253) To tutaj są właśnie uliczki Starego Miasta, co (\*one) mu się  
podobały.<sup>103</sup>

<sup>103</sup> It seems that a slightly modified relative clause can host a subject resumptive pronouns; what is necessary is the additional expletive pronoun *it*, which makes the sentence even more colloquial, but seems nevertheless fairly acceptable as compared to its counterpart without it:

- (i) a. To jest ten człowiek, co to on nas wtedy wyrolował.  
this is this man what it he us then conned  
'This is the man who conned us then.'
- b. ?To jest ten człowiek, co on nas wtedy wyrolował.  
It is this man who he us then conned  
'This is the man who conned us then.'

it here are just streets Old Town what they him REFL appeal  
 'It is here where the Old Town streets are, which appealed to him so  
 much.'

Example (252) above presents in an unambiguous way that *mu* must necessarily appear in the sentence, which will otherwise be marked as ungrammatical<sup>104</sup>. Thus, the Dative Experiencer behaves identically to regular Accusative arguments, which must also be expressed through resumptive pronouns in the context of relative clauses. Additionally, what (253) also demonstrates is that *one* ('they'), which is a resumptive pronoun referring to the Nominative argument of the embedded clause, cannot be overtly present in the structure. This is a familiar characteristic of subjects, which gives further weight to the claim that Dative arguments are not quirky subjects in Polish.

### 3.3.3. Accusative Experiencers as subjects

Striking as the findings discovered by B&Sz may first appear in regard to Dative Experiencers in Nominative-less constructions, we have just observed that the alleged subject-like traits of Dative Experiencers do, in fact, stumble upon significant obstacles. What is more, contrary to B&Sz's expectations (2007: 81), they do not easily translate into constructions featuring a Nominative argument. Thus, what the authors suggest, namely that Accusative Experiencers are no different than Dative Experiencers in showing certain subject-like properties, must probably be reexamined<sup>105</sup>. As only a brief amount of

<sup>104</sup> Again, as mentioned in ft.92, Case concord between the phrase in the main clause and the element that is to be realized through a resumptive pronoun in the embedded clause appears to improve the acceptability of the sentence (no Case concord in (i) vs. Case concord in (ii)):

- (i) To jest ten człowiek, co \*(go) widziałem tutaj wczoraj.  
 this is this man what him saw here yesterday  
 'This is the man that I saw here yesterday.'
- (ii) Tym ludziom, co podobały się uliczki Starego Miasta, polecam odwiedzić  
 these people what appealed REFL streets Old Town I-recommend visit  
 okolice Śródk.  
 areas Śródk  
 'For those people who liked the streets of the Old Town, I recommend visiting the  
 Śródk area.'

<sup>105</sup> Anagnostopoulou (1999) shares a similar view for equivalent structures in Greek (see ft.10), yet an opposite view is presented in Filip (1996) for Czech. Another Polish study where the syntactic affinity between Dative and Accusative Experiencers is postulated is Tajsner (2008). Tajsner develops an elegant approach to the phenomenon of inverse (backward) binding (cf. ft.95), yet certain elements of his analysis make it incompatible with my predictions and results. In Tajsner (2008), the similarity of Dative and Accusative Experiencers is built mainly on the inverse binding characteristics of these arguments (and their reconstruction potential). The important element of the proposal rests on the assumption that the prominence of arguments determines the merge

space is dedicated to supporting this claim, I will cite and discuss the relevant examples.

Let us yet again inspect anaphor binding in the context of Accusative Experiencers. The prediction is that these arguments should be proper binders for the anaphor contained in the Nominative argument. This, indeed, seems to be the case in the example cited by B&Sz (2007: 82):

- (254) Ewę<sub>1</sub> fascynuje swoje<sub>1</sub> własne dzieciństwo.  
 Eve-ACC fascinates self's own childhood  
 'Eve is fascinated by her own childhood.'

However, the judgments tend to become more out of focus the moment one examines a 1st person singular Accusative pronoun in the Experiencer position:

- (255) a. ??Mnie fascynuje swoje własne dzieciństwo.  
 me-ACC fascinates self's own childhood  
 'I am fascinated with my own childhood.'  
 b. Mnie fascynuje moje własne dzieciństwo.  
 me-DAT fascinates my own childhood  
 'I am fascinated with my own childhood.'

If we consider the unacceptability of the anaphor binding by the Accusative Experiencer in conjunction with the same unacceptability exemplified by the Dative Experiencer (and presented in section 3.3.2.), it becomes tempting to conclude that anaphor binding has little to do with diagnosing subjecthood. Furthermore, the binding configuration can also be established in the reverse direction, as in (256):

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order, with the less prominent arguments being merged first and the more prominent arguments last. While this works nicely for Class III psychological constructions, the unaccusative *podobać się*-type verbs, where the Theme argument is merged as the complement of the verb and the Experiencer argument in the specifier position of the verbal projection, it is less clear with Class II psych verbs, the *irytować* (*frighten*)-type ones. Even in non-agentive Accusative Experiencer object constructions the Nominative argument is assumed to be the Causer. In the prominence-based analysis this makes it a more prominent argument than the Experiencer. For Tajsner, however, this argument is argued to be merged as the Theme first (thus lower than the Experiencer), which then moves up to [Spec,vP], where it acquires its causative semantics. The first-merge position of the Theme argument in a position lower than the Experiencer allows Tajsner to account for inverse binding observed in these constructions. However, it is uncertain why the Accusative Case is not available for the Theme (I have shown before that Class II psych constructions are not unaccusative, and that the Accusative of the Experiencer is not inherent). Furthermore, it has been shown before that causation is unlikely to be derived in VP (see the discussion in section 1.5 and ft.14). On top of everything else, the bulk of Chapter Four serves to show that there are crucial differences in control phenomena as regards Dative and Accusative Experiencers.

- (256) Złowrogi portret<sub>1</sub> wciąż przeraża swego<sub>1</sub> autora.  
 sinister portrait still frightens self's author  
 'The sinister portrait keeps frightening its author.'

Thus, if anaphoric binding were to diagnose subjecthood, examples such as (254) and (256) would present us with conflicting data.

The next subjecthood test is adjunct control. As noted before, a careful analysis of adjunct control is presented in Chapter Four. For the time being, however, let us acknowledge the example listed by B&Sz (2007: 82) as fully grammatical:

- (257) ?Po PRO<sub>1</sub> obejrzeniu zdjęć, Meksyk zafascynował Ewę<sub>1</sub>.  
 after seeing photos Mexico-NOM fascinated Eve-ACC  
 'Having seen photos, Mexico got to fascinate Eve.'

Although probably tolerated by some speakers, such constructions are not part of the standard language and should be treated tentatively at best, especially if meant to serve as a showpiece for the paradigm of Accusative control into adjuncts.

The fact that Accusative Experiencers do not rise to the subject position tallies with the behavior of Dative Experiencers, in each case showing that these arguments act as objects in their clauses. In fact, the example that B&Sz use to illustrate the impossibility of raising (repeated below as (258) after B&Sz's example (45): 82) is inaccurate as what it shows is the Nominative subject raising, while it is the intention of the authors to prove (or disprove) if the Accusative element (the object Experiencer) can move. However, the conclusion drawn by the authors is correct, as established in the ungrammatical example (259):

- (258) Marek wydaje się fascynować Ewę.  
 Mark-NOM seems REFL to-fascinate Eve-ACC  
 'Mark seems to fascinate Eve.'
- (259) \*Ewa wydaje się fascynować Marek.  
 Ewa-NOM seems REFL to-fascinate Marek-NOM  
 'Mark seems to fascinate Eve.'

Finally, let us one more time investigate the options made available for resumptive pronouns, this time in the context of Accusative Experiencer psychological constructions. The sentence used to this end (B&Sz's example (46): 82) also does not show exactly what it is supposed to be illustrating:

- (260) To jest mężczyzna, co \*(j)ą fascynuje.  
 this is man what her-ACC fascinates  
 'This is a man that fascinates her.'

What (260) shows is only the fact that no resumptive pronoun is possible for the Nominative subject of the embedded clause. However, the point of the test is to show whether the Accusative Experiencer behaves the same way:

- (261) To jest ta kobieta, co on \*(j)ą fascynuje.  
 this is that woman what he her fascinate  
 'This is the woman that he fascinates.'

Unsurprisingly, the resumptive pronoun *ją* ('her') is not optional and its absence causes the sentence to become ungrammatical, as would be expected from an object.

To sum up, the tests employed above do not seem to strongly corroborate the analysis of either Dative Experiencers or Accusative Experiencers as arguments whose behavior has the makings of sentential subjects. This ties in neatly with the view advanced in this work, which strongly argues for the object Experiencer to be no different from the regular transitive object. The fact, however, that there is no full symmetry between the behavior of Dative Experiencers and Accusative Experiencers with regard to adjunct control will be further discussed in Chapter Four.

### 3.4. Klimek and Rozwadowska (2004) and the structure of ObjExp verbs in Polish

Deriving the general framework of their inquiry from Bennis (2000, 2004), Klimek and Rozwadowska (2004, henceforth K&R) adopt in a broad outline the main points of the earlier analysis and also postulate the ergative treatment of Polish object Experiencer verbs. However, the authors depart from the earlier work by Bennis when it comes to the assumption concerning the 'stripping' hypothesis (the hypothesis is summarized below; in a nutshell it explains why complex ergative constructions with no agentive Causer argument do not project an external argument). Instead, it is shown that a viable alternative, i.e. the 'splitting' approach, suffices to account for object Experiencer distributional facts. In this section I will first briefly summarize the main points made by Bennis (which are relevant to the discussion by K&R). Next, I will describe K&R's (2004) mechanism of tweaking Bennis's analysis to make it compatible with the Polish data and, in the process of doing so, I will show

how K&R explain away the long-standing and still unraveled T/SM restriction (though I will not fully agree with their explanation and will present an alternative). Throughout this section and, mostly, in its final part I will submit several reservations of my own, which will ultimately call for a revision of K&R's conclusions and a modified interpretation of the Polish facts.

### 3.4.1. Bennis's tripartite decomposition of psych adjectives and verbs

Drawing on Cinque's (1989, 1990) classification of adjectives into ergative<sup>106</sup> and non-ergative ones, Bennis (2004) proposes a finer-grained analysis of the former class. He studies the possible configurations of the verbal domain with a view to highlighting the differences in argument realizations of certain groups of verbs (and, by analogy, adjectives on the plausible and grounded-in-evidence assumption that they also project the shell structure, with the functional projection of the aP on top of the AP<sup>107</sup>). His central assumption is that given the three attestable verbal configurations (see below in (262)), with each of them we obtain a different class of ergativity (Bennis 2004: 88). And so, the first class comprises cases of a VP projection which is not

<sup>106</sup> Ergative in Bennis's sense refers to the absence of an external argument.

<sup>107</sup> That similar distinction can be illustrated for adjectives is important in that it shows that Burzio's Generalization must be divorced from the notion of Accusative Case (which is absent from the domain of adjectives anyway). For further support against the correlation between structural (Accusative) Case and thematic roles as formulated in Burzio's Generalization, see Guilfoyle et al. (1992: 408-409), who argue that Austronesian languages such as Tagalog or Malagasy, project both the Agent (as an argument, not a *by*-phrase adjunct) and the Theme in the passive, against Burzio's observations. There are also constructions from Slavic languages which are sometimes invoked as problematical for Burzio's Generalization. Lavine and Freidin (2002) provide examples of the so-called Accusative unaccusatives from Russian and Ukrainian (ia-b, respectively, after Lavine and Freidin's examples (6a) and (7a): 258), which show Accusative-marked arguments with no external thematic role. In Polish such examples can also be easily construed (ic):

- (i) a. Soldata                    ranilo                    pulej.  
       soldier-ACC            wounded-IMP            bullet-INSTR  
       'A soldier was wounded by a bullet.'
- b. Vetrom                    i doždjami                    sbilo                    seti.  
       wind-INST            and rains-INST            knocked-downIMP            nets-ACC  
       'Wind and rains knocked down some nets.'
- c. Przewróciło            łodzie.  
       capsized-IMP            boats-ACC  
       'The boats got capsized.'

Whether the impersonal passive constructions manifest real cases of the passive is beyond the scope of this work, but extensive literature is available on this topic (cf., inter alia, Comrie 1977; Wolińska 1978; Sobin 1985; Jabłońska 2007).

dominated by a vP projection. As it is the vP projection that, by its association with the semantic properties of agentivity and causation, requires the Agent or Causer arguments to sit in its specifier position, a vP-less configuration produces the effect of simple ergativity. The second configuration, perhaps most notably, features a vP projection which does not project an external argument. According to Bennis (2004), constructions of this sort belong to the complex ergative class. Finally, there are configurations where a vP projection is present with an external argument in its [Spec], which is a regular transitive construction. The relevance of Bennis's work lies in the fact that the three types of (non)ergativity are linked to the three types of psychological verb types: simple ergative verbs include the *piacere* type (Polish *podobać się* 'appeal' type), complex ergative verbs are exemplified by the *preoccupare* type (Polish *niepokoić* 'worry' type) and the subject Experiencer verbs, the *temere* type (Polish *obawiać się* 'fear' type) are treated as regular transitive verbs.

- (262) a. Filipowi podobają się gale oskarowe.  
 Filip-DAT appeal REFL ceremony-NOM Oscar  
 'Oscar ceremonies appeal to Filip.'
- b. Gale oskarowe irytują Filipa.  
 ceremony-NOM Oscar irritate Filip-ACC  
 'Oscar ceremonies irritate Filip.'
- c. Filip obawia się nudnej ceremonii oskarowej  
 Filip-NOM fears REFL boring ceremony-GEN Oscar  
 'Filip fears that the Oscar ceremony will be boring.'

The way Bennis arrives at his conclusions is by way of subjecting each of the Dutch constructions to a selection of tests. However, given that object Experiencers are of special interest to us, let me follow more closely only the argumentation used to derive the complex ergative constructions (which, as will become clear shortly, are not a fully homogeneous class either).

The discussion begins with a contrastive look at the two structures typically associated with object Experiencers, where (263) will be argued to be a case of complex ergativity, whereas (264) is taken to show properties similar to those of regular transitive constructions (Bennis 2004: 105):

- (263) Dat gedraag amuseert/ontroert/verbaast/interesseert/ ... mij.  
 that behavior amuses/moves/astonishes/interests/ ... me
- (264) Jan amuseert/ontroert/verbaast/interesseert/ ... mir met dat gedrag.  
 John amuses/moves/astonishes/interests/ ... me with that behavior

Having illustrated Bennis's arguments in favor of the Experiencer argument sitting in the object position prior in the discussion (see Chapter One),

let me find out what other arguments underlie the different internal representations of examples in (263) and (264). For Bennis, the arguments pointing towards the ergative treatment of (263) are the following (2004: 106):

- (265) a. the fact that the internal argument in (264) appears in the subject position in (263),  
 b. the subject argument in (264) may be optionally realized in a PP,  
 c. inversion recognizes the two arguments in (263) as internal,  
 d. the *as* clauses test suggests that the subject in (264) is an underlying object.

Apart from (265a), which finds its illustration in (263) and (264), the rest of the diagnostics are presented below. Firstly, the *van* 'of' PP can be added to the ergative construction (Bennis's example (46)):

- (266) Dat verbaast/irriteert ... mij van hem.  
 that astonishes/irritates ... me of him

The importance of this example lies in the fact that it corroborates the intuition Bennis expresses about the derivation of complex ergative constructions, namely the stripping of the external argument. Bennis claims that the fact that the subject of (266) can be relegated to the optional PP is consistent with the behavior of passivized PP subjects, and from there conjectures that the complex ergative structure can suppress the external argument, or strip the vP projection of its external subject. This operation is referred to by Bennis as stripping (2004: 97-98).

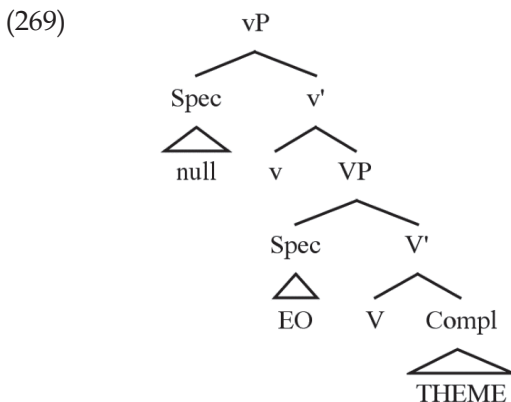
The inversion data in Dutch shows unambiguously that whenever the object can precede the subject, the subject must be base-generated as an object. That inversion is possible in (267b) would then lead to the same conclusion (Bennis's examples (47): 106):

- (267) a. dat die voorstelling mij amuseert/behaagt/irriteert/ ...  
 that that performance me amuses/pleases/irritates/ ...  
 b. dat mij die voorstelling amuseert/behaagt/irriteert/ ...  
 that me that performance amuses/pleases/irritates/ ...

Finally, the *as* clause test, dating back to Stowell (1987), shows that the gap occurring with this type of constructions reflects the unrealized object. Thus, if it can be shown that the *as* clause may be used with an object Experiencer verb, the possibility of leaving out the Theme argument should point to its object origin. As is shown, this is indeed what can be attested (Bennis's example (48): 106):

- (268) a. Zoals mij telkens weer verbaast, houdt Jan van slacken.  
 as me again-and-again surprises, loves John snails
- b. Zoals mij altijd irriteert, wast Jan zijn handen niet voor het eten.  
 as me always irritates, washes John his hands not before dinner

The conclusion at this juncture could be that Bennis (2004) speaks in unison with Belletti and Rizzi (1988), who, as was argued for extensively in Chapter One, presented arguments in defense of the unaccusative treatment of object Experiencers. Theirs, however, was a line of argumentation which treated the Accusative Case of the Experiencer argument as inherent. This is where Bennis departs from their reasoning. The Case on the object Experiencer argument in (263-264) is not inherent (see Chapter One for relevant arguments), which forces an alternative explanation. For Bennis, who follows in its outline the generative framework of the minimalist program (cf., among others, Chomsky 1995), the source of the Accusative Case is necessarily linked to the presence of the vP projection. This is already an apparent violation of Burzio's Generalization, which postulates that no Accusative is readily available in a structure where the external argument is not projected. This is not however, how Bennis interprets the empirical facts. For him, unaccusativity is not an inherent property of verbs but rather depends on the presence vs. absence of the vP. Thus, whenever a verb is traditionally described as unaccusative, what it means is, in fact, that the absence of the light v has made it impossible to distribute the Accusative Case. But another significant improvement to Burzio's Generalization that Bennis thinks fit is the acknowledgment of verbs which do not project an external argument and yet are not hampered in projecting the light v (therefore preserving their capacity to assign the Accusative Case). This is precisely the case of object Experiencers of the *preoccupare* type, which can be schematized as below (Bennis's example (40): 107):



In response to a more than likely question concerning the derivation of (269), Bennis adopts the minimalist framework (Chomsky 1995), where the Nominative Case is assigned in [Spec,TP], whereas for the Accusative Case the argument must land in the [Spec,vP]. The only way to reconcile the two arguments in [Spec,vP] (the Experiencer object which stays there and the Theme which stops there on its way to [Spec,TP]) is, according to Bennis (2004), to assume the multiple specifier approach. Also, he draws a distinction between movement for Case and  $\theta$  reasons. This is to ensure that the Theme is never Accusative or, vice versa, that the Experiencer object does not end up Nominative.

### 3.4.2. Klimek and Rozwadowska's rendition of Bennis's theory for Polish

K&R (2004) initially accept the view of object Experiencer verbs as ergative (though not unaccusative, as explained in the previous section), citing examples from Polish (K&R's examples (19a-d): 66):

- (270) a. Janek zdumiał Marysię dziwnym zachowaniem.  
John amazed Mary his strange behavior-INST  
'John amazed Mary with his strange behavior.'
- b. Dziwne zachowanie Janka zdumiało Marysię.  
'John's strange behavior amazed Mary.'
- c. Marysia była/\*została zdumiona dziwnym zachowaniem Janka.  
Mary was/\*got amazed strange behavior-INST John-GEN  
'Mary was amazed with John's strange behavior.'
- d. \*Marysia była/została zdumiona dziwnym zachowaniem przez Janka.  
Mary was/got amazed strange behavior-INST by John  
'Mary was amazed with the strange behavior on the part of John.'

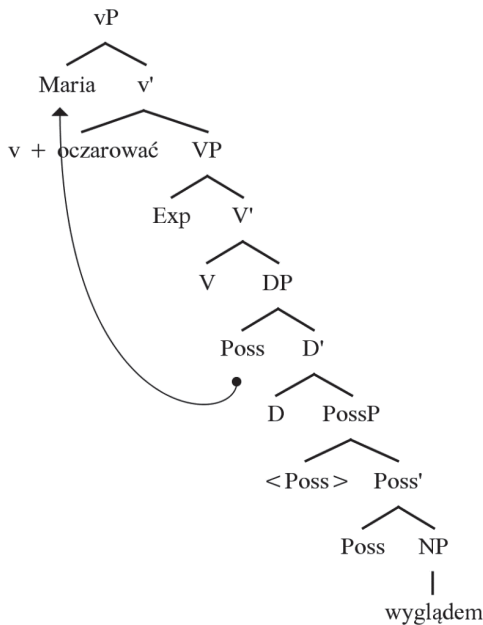
Following Bennis (2004), K&R take (270a) to be a regular transitive construction (the subject is base-generated in the [Spec,vP] as the external argument), whereas (270b) presents a case of complex ergativity, where both arguments are internal to the verbal domain. Crucially, the use of ergative is not tantamount to unaccusative as the light *v* projection is still generated, to which the internal argument moves, and the Accusative is available to the Experiencer. The point of difference for K&R is the operation of 'stripping' (discussed in the previous section) postulated by Bennis for complex ergative constructions. Not only are the facts amassed by Bennis concerning the inversion and *as* clauses inconclusive with regard to stripping the external argu-

ment, K&R also predict that were stripping correct, the stripped argument should be free to surface in an optional PP, which they judge ungrammatical in Polish (K&R's examples (23): 67):

- (271) \*To zachowanie denerwuje mnie ze strony Janka.  
'That behavior irritates me on the part of John.'

In the light of such argumentation, K&R posit a revised version of Bennis's complex ergativity, namely the authors suggest that what Bennis treats as a regular transitive construction is in fact a structure resembling (272), with the important difference being that the complex DP projects a Possessor argument, which then undergoes "splitting of the internal argument" (K&R 2004: 67) and moves up to [Spec,vP], as below:

(272)



The authors treat 'splitting' as the opposite of 'stripping', by which they mean that it is not the external argument which is ever made void in the course of the derivation, but rather that in certain derivations a Possessor part of the Theme argument separates from its host phrase and moves up to [Spec,vP] to serve as an external argument (K&R 2004: 67).

### 3.4.2.1. Complications for the splitting analysis

Despite the initial appeal and elegance of the proposal, once empirically tested this account also faces a few stumbling blocks. First of all, K&R may have failed to notice that Polish does provide an argument for the stripping

of the external argument. Unlike the ungrammatical example (271) above, the stripped external argument, in parallel to a passive construction, can surface in an optional PP. However, instead of *ze strony* ‘on the part’ one must use *u* ‘at’, as shown in (273):

- (273) a. Jan irytuje mnie swoim zachowaniem.  
 Jan-NOM irritates me-ACC own behavior-INSTR  
 ‘Jan irritates me with his behavior.’  
 b. To zachowanie denerwuje mnie u Jana.  
 this behavior-NOM irritates me-ACC at Jan-GEN  
 ‘This behavior irritates me in Jan.’  
 c. Wtrącanie się do rozmowy denerwuje mnie u Jana.  
 cutting in REFL to conversation irritates me-ACC at Jan-GEN  
 ‘Cutting in into conversations irritates me in Jan.’

Thus, the claim that no evidence for stripping is available remains to be substantiated. What is more, K&R do not address the optionality of the Theme argument<sup>108</sup>.

- (274) Jan irytuje mnie (swoim zachowaniem).  
 ‘Jan irritates me (with his behavior).’

Intuitively, (274) conveys a self-contained message, without leaving the recipient with a feeling of incompleteness. This is at odds with what the standard definition of argumenthood (for more extensive discussion see section 3.5.1.1.) says. Interestingly enough, what seems to be often overlooked (e.g. Biały (2005: 93) regards it as a specific property of Polish) is that English is not completely different from Polish in this respect, i.e. English can also project Instrumental phrases that could be interpreted as the Theme argument (all examples have been taken from the *Corpus of Contemporary American (CoCA)*<sup>109</sup>, numerous further examples are also to be found in popular search engines such as Google):

- (275) a. (..) a tiny black mole in the middle of her pink, soft cheek, which frightened them with its sadness.  
 b. I frightened them with stories about the missiles (...)  
 c. Father Myron frightened her with his fugue about the Sermon of the Mount.  
 d. He also tried to irritate them with a camel-hair brush, bits of quill, and dry cinder.

<sup>108</sup> Biały (2005) also notes that “there is a superficial way of overcoming the T/SM restriction [...] when the third argument is coextensive with the Cause”. Biały suggests, following Pylkkänen (1998), that looking at the event structure of non-stative object Experiencer verbs can explain their behavior (2005: 94).

<sup>109</sup> The corpus is available at <http://corpus.byu.edu/coca/>.

The position taken by K&R can still be maintained, namely these Instrumental phrases can be regarded as arguments, but in the light of the examples from English, which clearly show their adverbial status, it loses much of its appeal. In the next section I will show further complications of the account elaborated by K&R.

### 3.4.3. T/SM in Polish (Klimek and Rozwadowska 2004 and Biały 2005)

As one of the further consequences of their analysis, K&R show how the alleged T/SM restriction can be resolved within their system and using their splitting function. Superficially, Polish manifests the same limitation in the projection of arguments as English does (example (142) from Chapter Two repeated below as (276) for convenience, examples (277a-c) after K&R's examples (30a-c): 70):

- (276) a. \*The article in the Times angered Bill at the Government.  
 b. \*The Chinese dinner satisfied Bill with his trip to Beijing.
- (277) a. \*Artykuł (z)denerwował Marka na rząd.  
 'The article annoyed Mark at the government.'  
 b. \*Film (za)fascynował Basię muzyką.  
 'The film fascinated Barbara with music.'  
 c. \*Wykład (za)interesował studentów językoznawstwem.  
 'The lecture interested the students with linguistics.'

K&R claim that (276a-b) and (277a-c) are ill-formed because the Causer argument bears no Possessor relation with the internal argument (K&R 2004: 70). Whenever any relation of possession holds between the subject argument and the internal argument, whether it is alienable or inalienable possession, no T/SM violation is triggered (examples (278a-b) and (279a-b) after K&R's examples (32a-b) and (33a-b): 70-71):

- (278) a. Piotr zdenerwował mnie swoją wiadomością.  
 Peter irritated me-ACC self's message-INSTR  
 'Peter irritated me with his message.'  
 b. Zdenerwowała mnie wiadomość (Piotra).  
 irritated me-ACC message-NOM Peter-GEN  
 'Peter's message irritated me.'
- (279) a. Wojtek zafascynował mnie swą elokwencją.  
 Wojtek fascinated me-ACC self's eloquence-INSTR  
 'Wojtek fascinated me with his eloquence.'

- b. Zafascynowała mnie elokwencja Wojtka.  
 fascinated me-ACC eloquence-NOM Wojtek-GEN  
 'Wojtek's eloquence fascinated me.'

A similar observation is made in Biały (2005), who recognizes the ability of Polish object Experiencer verbs to realize three arguments, i.e. the Causer, the Experiencer and the T/SM, yet only two at a time in any given construction (Biały 2005: 93). However, as Biały goes on to observe, "when the third argument is coextensive with the Cause, all three can appear" (2005: 94), which is illustrated with (280):

- (280) a. Piotr zdenerwował nauczyciela swoim zachowaniem.  
 'Peter angered the teacher with his behavior.'  
 b. Maria zmartwiła Tomka swoim wyglądem.  
 'Mary worried Tom with her appearance.'

What Biały calls a peculiarity (2005: 94) K&R link to their splitting hypothesis, which posits the movement of the Causer (Possessor) argument out of the argumental DP containing it. Claiming that the Causer originates as part of the Theme argument allows K&R to assume the inherently dyadic structure of object Experiencer verbs, which explains why this superficial violation of T/SM restriction is not incurred in Polish.

#### 3.4.4. More evidence against the coextensive Theme as the argument of the verb

Although K&R's arguments look appealing, they do not seem to hold up to closer scrutiny. First of all, the authors believe that the T/SM restriction does not, in fact, exist as the Causer argument and the T/SM argument are in fact one and the same argument which has undergone splitting, resulting in the Causer's/Possessor's movement to a higher position, as schematized in (272) before. While this works in the case of those examples where the relation of possession can be established, it still leaves unexplained the ungrammatical examples where no such relation can be struck up, as in (281):

- (281) \*Jan zdenerwował Marię samochodem.  
 Jan-NOM upset Mary-ACC car-INSTR  
 'Jan upset Mary with a car.'

Fairly enough, it can be maintained that object Experiencer verbs are two-place predicates, in which case there is simply no slot ready to accommodate

a third argument; alternatively, two different subcategorization frames may be assumed for the same verb<sup>110</sup>. What if, however, the Theme argument is not a true argument in the case of non-stative object Experiencer verbs? The evidence in support of the argument status of these ‘coextensive arguments’ yields results which seem to be inconclusive at best, although they may also be regarded as tipping the scales towards the adjunct treatment of these elements.

### 3.4.4.1. On the argument-adjunct distinction

Most, if not all, introductory syntactic literature must at some point tackle the issue of the argument-adjunct distinction, central to any theory of argument realization. Intuitively, the distinction is well captured in the passages below:

Adjuncts are always optional, whereas complements are frequently obligatory. The difference between them is that a complement is a phrase which is selected by the head, and therefore has an especially close relationship with the head; adjuncts, on the other hand, provide optional, extra information, and don’t have a particularly close relationship with the head. (Tallerman 2011: 112)

Arguments are elements of a clause which have a close semantic relationship to their predicate. They are the participants which must be involved because of the very nature of the relation or activity named by the predicate, and without which the clause cannot express a “complete thought.” For example, any event named by the predicate ‘eat’ must involve at least two participants, the eater and the eaten. [...] But speakers often need to convey other elements of meaning as well, elements which are not closely related to the meaning of the predicate but which are important to help the hearer understand the flow of the story, the time or place of an event, the way in which an action was done, etc. Elements of this type are not arguments; they are called adjuncts. (Kroeger 2005: 58)

What is interesting, the distinction, albeit fundamental, is by no means easy to settle. Kroeger (2005) goes on to state that “[i]t is not always easy to distinguish adjuncts from oblique arguments” (2005: 58). A number of tests have been described in the literature which can help tease apart the two categories that will be looked at in the next section.

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<sup>110</sup> As was mentioned before in Chapter One, the assumption that identical verbs are stored in the lexicon with alternating thematic structures is debatable. Alternatively, as Reuland (2011) postulates, the thematic system is governed by the lexicon uniformity hypothesis (2011: 195):

- (i) Lexicon uniformity hypothesis  
Each verb concept corresponds to one lexical entry with one thematic structure. The various thematic forms of a given verb are derived by lexicon operations from one thematic structure.

Reuland goes on to specify that the lexicon operations affecting the arity of a predicate include valence reduction, saturation and entry-changing operations (e.g. causativization).

### 3.4.4.2. The argument/adjunct status of the Theme in Polish and English

The criteria which are standardly assumed to point to a difference between arguments and adjuncts are listed below, along with their implementation in the relevant cases of object Experiencer verbs (the tests are modeled on Wekker & Haegeman (1996) and Needham & Toivonen (2011)):

- (282) a. omissibility,  
 b. proximity to the head,  
 c. ordering of arguments,  
 d. uniqueness vs. iterativity,  
 e. passivization.

In Wekker & Haegeman (1996), objects (or using their terminology complements) are distinguished from adjuncts by the optionality of the latter (1995: 81). That the Theme argument can be omitted we have seen both in the Polish examples and, even more so, in the English ones.

- (283) a. Papież zasmucił/poirytował/zdenerwował wiernych (swą  
 pope saddened/irritated/upset congregation (self's  
 rezygnacją).  
 resignation)  
 b. The Pope saddened/irritated/upset the congregation (with his  
 resignation).

Next, arguments are typically said to be located close to the head, whereas adjuncts are closer to the clause-periphery. This is how the Theme argument behaves in Polish and English, respectively:

- (284) a. Jan poirytował nas swym głupim dowcipem.  
 'Jan irritated us with his silly joke.'  
 b. ?Jan poirytował swym głupim dowcipem nas.  
 '\*Jan irritated with his silly joke us.'
- (285) a. John upset us with his silly joke.  
 b. '\*John upset with his silly joke us.'

It is worth pointing out that in the case of arguments which are indisputable objects the relative order of arguments can be changed (in English along with the Dative alternation):

- (286) a. Nauczyciel podał książkę Staszкови.  
teacher gave book-ACC Steve-DAT  
b. Nauczyciel podał Staszкови książkę.  
teacher gave Steve-DAT book-ACC
- (287) a. The teacher gave Steve a book.  
b. The teacher gave a book to Steve.
- (288) a. Janek irytuje mnie swoim piskliwym głosem.  
John-NOM irritates me-ACC self's squeaky voice-INST  
'John irritates me with his squeaky voice.'  
b. ?Janek irytuje swoim złowrogim głosem mnie.  
John-NOM irritates self's ominous voice-INST me-ACC

Another distinctive feature which is an inherent property of arguments is uniqueness. As is well known, arguments are considered to be one-of-a-kind elements, whereas adjuncts are iterative:

- (289) Jan<sub>1</sub> poirytował nas swoim<sub>1</sub> głupim dowcipem wchodząc do pokoju  
John irritated us self's silly joke entering into room  
wczoraj wieczorem.  
yesterday evening  
'John irritated us with his silly joke last night.'
- (290) John frightened his friends with a silly prank call last night.

Unlike arguments, the order of adjuncts is predicted to be less rigid. Indeed, the order of the adverbial expressions in the examples presented below seems to be fairly unrestricted. Crucially, it appears that the Theme argument is not set in cement in the position immediately following the Experiencer argument:

- (291) a. Jan poirytował nas wczoraj wieczorem swoim głupim dowcipem  
Jan irritated us yesterday evening self's silly joke  
wchodząc do pokoju.  
entering to room  
'Jan irritated us last night with a silly joke upon entering the room.'  
b. ?Jan poirytował nas wchodząc do pokoju swoim głupim  
Jan irritated us entering to room self's silly  
dowcipem wczoraj wieczorem.  
joke last evening
- (292) John frightened his friends last night with a silly prank call.

What is more, objects can generally undergo passivization. Just as this is true of Experiencer objects, as in (293), the internal Theme does not passivize<sup>111</sup> (294):

- (293) Jestem ustawicznie irytowany przez sąsiadów z dołu.  
 am constantly irritated by neighbors from downstairs  
 'I am constantly being irritated by my downstairs neighbors.'  
 (294) \*Zachowanie Tomka zostało/było poirytowane dla mnie<sup>112</sup>.  
 behavior-NOM Tom was/got irritated for me  
 (295) \*Tom's behavior was irritated to me.

Analyzing the example in (296a), it is noteworthy that with the Experiencer passivized and surfacing as the subject (296b), the Theme argument seems to be suppressed:

- (296) a. Sąsiedzi z dołu ustawicznie irytują mnie swym głośnym  
 neighbors from downstairs still irritate me self's loud  
 zachowaniem.  
 behavior  
 'Downstairs neighbors keep irritated me with their loud behavior.'

<sup>111</sup> An interesting observation that one can make looking at (293) is that the Cause argument can be expressed in an optional passive PP phrase. On the assumption that both Bennis (2004) and K&R (2004) make that this argument originates as the object of the verb, it may be puzzling to see the object first promoted to the external argument, only to be demoted as a result of passivization to a right-peripheral position. Intuitively, this may be an argument against the Cause as the initial object hypothesis.

<sup>112</sup> Naturally, one could argue that a well-formed passivized sentence could read along the following lines:

- (i) Zachowanie Tomka było irytujące dla mnie.  
 behavior Tom's was irritating to me  
 'Tom's behavior was irritating to me.'

In (i), however, *irytujące* 'irritating' is clearly an adjectival participle, which can be assessed by 1) a possibility to modify it by an intensifier, as shown in (ii) and 2) the unavailability of Accusative Case on the Experiencer (Accusative being unavailable to adjectives), as illustrated in (iii):

- (ii) Zachowanie Tomka było bardzo irytujące dla mnie.  
 behavior Tom's was very irritating to me  
 'Tom's behavior was irritating to me.'  
 (iii) \*Zachowanie Tomka było irytujące mnie.  
 behavior Tom's was irritating me  
 'Tom's behavior was irritating to me.'

Thus, (i) cannot be interpreted as a true passive.

- b. Jestem ustawicznie irytowany (\*swym/ich) głośnym zachowaniem  
 I-am constantly irritated self's/their loud behavior  
 przez sąsiadów z dołu.  
 by neighbours from downstairs  
 'I am constantly being irritated by the loud behavior of my  
 downstairs neighbours.'

Yet another argument in favor of the Theme as the object of a psychological predicate has it that the Cause subject is a derived argument because it does not get reduced to an optional PP phrase (which resembles a passive PP Agent). This is what we have shown before in (271). However, it seems that Janek can, as a matter of fact, be expressed in an optional PP, as evidenced in (297):

- (297) To zachowanie denerwuje/irytuje/imponuje mi (u Janka).  
 'This behavior unnerves/irritates/impresses me on the part of John.'

Thus, it will be difficult to maintain either Bennis's or K&R's analysis of the internal structure of object Experiencers. What all these approaches, including the one suggested in this book, have in common is the status of the Experiencer argument as the structurally Case-marked object of the verb, which is in keeping with the main premise of this book. Where they differ, however, is in the way the Theme argument is perceived. However, in the light of the presented arguments it does not seem warranted to assume that in its causative interpretation the argument originates below the Experiencer as the object of the psychological verb.

### 3.4.5. The Theme is the adjunct in agentive causative ObjExp constructions

The discussion in the preceding section seems to lead to the conclusion that K&R (2004) cannot be right in their claim that the Theme argument in sentences such as (278a-279a) is an argument of the verb. Neither in English (which was not under discussion in K&R (2004), but I show that it behaves identically to Polish) nor in Polish do we have evidence that the Instrumental (Polish) or prepositional (English) Theme has all the familiar hallmarks that arguments typically display. To our mind, a true argument (or the true trigger of the T/SM restriction) in Polish would have to be a sentence similar to (298):

- (298) \*Fatalny wygląd Janka zdenerwował mnie na jego  
 miserable look Janek-GEN upset me-ACC at his  
 rodziców.  
 parents  
 'The fact that Janek looked so miserable made me upset at his  
 parents.'

In the passage cited above from Biały (2005), the author writes that "when the third argument is coextensive with the Cause, all three can appear" (2005: 94), but to us this is precisely why the third argument is not a true argument. Admittedly, all three arguments can be expressed in a subject Experiencer construction, but then it is clearly visible that only two phrases are arguments and the third is an adjunct:

- (299) a. Widząc w jakim stanie jest Janek, zdenerwowałem się na jego  
 seeing in which condition is Janek I-upset REFL at his  
 rodziców.  
 parents  
 'Seeing Janek in such a poor state, I got upset at his parents.'
- b. Seeing him in such a state, I got irritated at his parents.

The question that naturally comes to mind concerns the status of the third argument. The answer is more difficult and goes beyond the scope of this book, although it appears that logically there are not many options left available; if the Theme phrase is not an argument, it must be an adjunct, which the English subject Experiencer example in (299b) further confirms. Additionally, there are examples such as (300a-b) below which show that object Experiencer constructions are not to be exclusively credited with the availability of a 'co-extensive' phrase:

- (300) a. Marek pokazał nam swoją postawą, jak zachować się w takiej  
 Marek showed us self's attitude how behave REFL in such  
 sytuacji.  
 situation  
 'Marek show us with the way he behaved how to react in a such  
 a situation.'
- b. Postawa Marka pokazała nam, jak zachować się w  
 attitude-NOM Mark-GEN showed us how to behave REFL in  
 takiej sytuacji.  
 such situation  
 'Mark's attitude showed us how to react in such a situation.'

The conclusion, then, is that the Theme argument is nothing else than an adjunct<sup>113</sup>, which rules out the splitting account of K&R (2004) and is another argument in support of the claim that these constructions are regular transitive sentences.

### 3.5. Summary

This chapter began with firmly establishing that Polish object Experiencer verbs are not unaccusative (contra, among others, Belletti and Rizzi 1988). The winning argument to warrant this conclusion seems to be the presence of verbal passives in Polish, although additional arguments were also discussed. Next, the alleged subject status of Dative Experiencers was discussed (with reference to B&Sz 2007), mainly to relate that discussion to the case of Accusative Experiencers. It was shown that neither Dative nor Accusative arguments display subject-like qualities (although, as I argue in Chapter Four, Dative Experiencers, crucially unlike Accusative Experiencers, do seem to have some hybrid, subject-like properties with regard to adjunct control). Finally, I have entertained the suggestion made in Klimek and Rozwadowska and partly inspired by Bennis (2000, 2004), whereby the Possessor in non-stative object Experiencer constructions originates as part of the Theme argument, which then gets split in the course of the derivation. I have shown that this analysis is not grounded in empirical evidence and the said Theme argument is in fact an adjunct. The underlying assumption throughout this chapter has been that Experiencer objects seem to mirror the behavior of regular objects in transitive non-psychological constructions. This is further supported by extensive evidence from the realm of adjunct control, which constitutes the bulk of Chapter Four.

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<sup>113</sup> Investigating the function of *by*-phrases in passives, Bruening (2013) convincingly argues for the adjunct treatment of the demoted Agent phrases. What is interesting for the point being made here is the fact that Bruening offers identical treatment to Instrumentals and external argument-oriented Comitatives (2013: 3), which seems to tie in neatly with the prediction I make about the status of the Instrumental Theme argument in object Experiencer constructions in Polish (and also English).

## Chapter Four

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### ADJUNCT CONTROL AND SUPER-EQUI: ULTIMATE COMPLICATIONS FOR THE LOCATIVE HYPOTHESIS

As argued in Chapter Three, the derivation of Experiencer objects in Class II psychological constructions, or eventive object Experiencer constructions, appears to be largely the same as the derivation of objects in regular transitive constructions in languages such as Polish or English. The initial motivation for the last chapter of this book comes from Landau's (2010) locative approach to Experiencers and its implications for the syntax of adjunct control and Super-Equi constructions. From a skeptical viewpoint as regards the viability of locative Experiencers in Polish and English, the chapter was supposed to illustrate the relevant points of Landau's theory in languages which give it credibility and then confront these languages with languages such as Polish or English, in which the theory seems too difficult to maintain. In the process of finding the relevant examples, a range of illuminating data have been discovered in Polish which basically eliminate the possibility of the Experiencer locative inversion at LF, paving way for a more transparent and elegant solution to the observed facts. As for adjunct control in Polish, it is worth pointing out that the part of this chapter dedicated to this very domain of control is one of the first attempts at systematizing this vast empirical field in the Polish syntax, also a direct continuation of the work initiated (for constructions containing psychological verbs) in Żychliński<sup>114</sup> (2011, 2013) and

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<sup>114</sup> In this chapter, certain parts have been previously published. Although each time it is properly acknowledged, I would like to emphasize the fact that when I reproduce a part published in a co-authored work, I always specifically refer to my original input in that publication. So is the case in parts of sections 4.1.4.1.3., 4.1.4.2., 4.1.4.3. and 4.1.4.4. which were published as my contributions in Witkoś et al. (2011a) and Witkoś and Żychliński (2012).

more comprehensively developed for non-psychological verbs in Witkoś and Żychliński (2012). As more insight can be gained from setting the class of Accusative object Experiencers against the class of Dative Experiencers<sup>115</sup>, such a constructive comparative stance will be adopted whenever it is considered to help shed more light on the structure and distribution of object Experiencers. In itself, the analysis of the data concerning Dative arguments of Class III psychological predicates should also be treated as a novel contribution to the ongoing discussion of the nature of these arguments. The other important testing ground for the behavior of the arguments of psychological predicates is the domain called Super-Equi and although these facts have already been presented for Polish in Bondaruk (2004), it seems well-motivated to return to this discussion as 1) the range of available interpretations argued for by Bondaruk seems to be too limited (cf. Żychliński 2011), and 2) the refurbished theory of control presented in Landau (2010), whose original version (Landau 2001) provided the framework for Bondaruk, had to be acknowledged and implemented.

#### 4.1. Adjunct control

Adjunct control is a syntactic phenomenon which is very useful for the purpose of learning more about the structure of object Experiencer psych verbs. This is so because the control properties of arguments are relative to their position in the syntactic structure of a sentence, and typically subjects and objects do not behave symmetrically in terms of their control capacity (cf., *inter alia*, Boeckx et al. (2010); Polinsky (In press)). If, however, examples can be adduced showing identical control properties of subjects and objects with regard to adjunct clauses, it will call for a supplementary revision of the existent theories. Apparently, there are no known examples of a language which would allow any object to control the PRO of the adjunct clause, but there seem to be languages which make an exception to object Experiencers. English, but also Polish<sup>116</sup>, do not belong to this latter class of languages, whereas Russian and French, as shown in Legendre (1989) and Legendre and Akimova (1993) or Landau (2010), appear to be such languages. On top of that, there are arguments, such as Dative Experiencers, which escape any easy classification, sharing properties of both subjects and objects. Below, I look at the relevant behavior of control clauses in Russian and French on the one hand and Eng-

<sup>115</sup> I deliberately avoid the term 'Dative object Experiencers' as it will be shown that Dative arguments of Class III psychological predicates elude the prototypical definition of objects.

<sup>116</sup> That the situation in Polish presents a more complicated picture will be dealt with in detail in the section of this chapter dedicated to Polish.

lish and Polish on the other hand<sup>117</sup>. In the final part of this section, I suggest a fairly comprehensive explanation for the observed control configurations, which stems from an interplay among a few interrelated factors, the adjunction site of the given adverbial expression being the crucial one.

### 4.1.1. Adjunct control in French

A challenge to the unaccusative theory of object Experiencers as postulated by Belletti and Rizzi (1988) is posed in Legendre (1989, 1993), where it is shown that that Experiencer objects do show subject-like traits in being permitted to control into adverbial clauses.

- (301) a. La cuisine japonaise impressionne Pierre avant même d’y avoir goûté.  
 ‘Japanese food impresses Peter even before tasting it.’  
 b. Le parachutisme effraie/amuse Pierre avant même d’y avoir été initié.  
 ‘Sky diving scares/amuses Peter even before being initiated to it.’  
 c. Les soirées mondaines agacent Pierre avant même d’y avoir mis les pieds.  
 ‘Society affairs irritate Peter even before attending them.’  
 (after Legendre’s 1993 examples (3a-c): 375)

Thus, in terms of its slightly peculiar control characteristics, French patterns with Russian in allowing non-subject arguments to control the infinitival PRO in adjuncts. However, again only Dative<sup>118</sup> and Accusative Expe-

<sup>117</sup> In all fairness, a certain difficulty must be acknowledged related strictly to the analysis of control into infinitival adverbial participle clauses. It appears that this type of constructions is fairly rarely used in the spoken language, and one cannot say it is used robustly in the written language, either (this is at least true of Polish and Russian from among the languages under discussion in this work). Thus, informants’ lower level of familiarity with the said construction may be an issue in determining the well-formedness of particular examples. This, however, applies equally to other analyses under discussion in this chapter.

<sup>118</sup> Another example of a language which shows non-subject control of the participial PRO is Italian. Perlmutter (1979) (also cited by Landau (2010)) shows that this language allows for Dative Experiencers to control into adjunct clauses (Perlmutter defines the adjunct clauses below as gerund clauses to distinguish them from participial absolute clauses, which only differ in the absence of the gerundive form of the auxiliary verb in the former type; for my purposes I call them participial clauses) (Perlmutter’s examples (78-79) and (82-83)):

- (i) Avendo lavorato tutta la giornata, gli manca energia.  
 ‘Having worked all day, he lacks energy.’  
 (ii) Essendo appena tornado a casa, gli dispiaceva non trovare nessuno.’  
 ‘Having just returned home, he disliked not finding anyone there.’

riencers are capable of establishing such a control relation, which is further proved by examples from Landau (2010: 96, after personal communication with M.A. Friedemann):

- (302) a. [PRO<sub>1/2</sub> remis sur pied], son mari<sub>1</sub> manque à Yolande<sub>2</sub>.  
re-put-MSC on foot, her husband misses to Yolande  
'Once recovered, Yolande misses her husband.'  
b. [PRO<sub>1/2</sub> remise sur pied], son mari<sub>1</sub> manque à Yolande<sub>2</sub>.  
re-put-FEM on foot, her husband misses to Yolande  
'Once recovered, Yolande misses her husband.'
- (303) a. [PRO<sub>1/2</sub> remis sur pied], son mari<sub>1</sub> s'adresse à Yolande<sub>2</sub>.  
re-put-MSC on foot, her husband addressed to Yolande  
'Once recovered, her husband addressed Yolande.'  
b. \*[PRO<sub>1/2</sub> remise sur pied], son mari<sub>1</sub> s'adresse à Yolande<sub>2</sub>.  
re-put-FEM on foot, her husband addressed to Yolande  
'Once recovered, her husband addressed Yolande.'
- (304) a. [PRO<sub>1</sub> admis au gouvernement], son revenu a enchanté Pierre<sub>1</sub>.  
admitted to-the government, his income has delighted Pierre  
'Admitted to the government, his income delighted Pierre.'  
b. \*[PRO<sub>1</sub> admis au gouvernement], son revenu a enrichi Pierre<sub>1</sub>.  
admitted to-the government, his income has enriched Pierre  
'Admitted to the government, his income enriched Pierre.'

In the French examples (302-304) masculine and feminine agreement on the participles in adjunct clauses further disambiguates the available interpretations. The regularity that emerges allows for the adjunct control by Nominative subjects and Dative Experiencers in (302a-b), Nominative subjects but not Dative Goal in (303a-b) and Accusative Experiencer but not Accusative non-Experiencer in (304a-b).

The clitic *gli*, which is a Dative Experiencer, can control the PRO of the adjunct clauses. Similarly as in French and Russian and the languages that will be discussed in the latter part of this chapter, neither non-Dative arguments nor Dative non-Experiencers can control, as shown in these examples:

- (iii) a. Essendo appena tornata in città, Maria ha telefonato a Giorgio.  
'Having just returned to town, Maria called Giorgio.'  
b. \*Essendo appena tornata in città, Maria ha telefonato a Giorgio.
- (iv) a. Essendo appena tornato in città, Maria ha dato i soldi a Giorgio.  
'Having just returned to town, Maria gave the money to Giorgio.'  
b. \*Essendo appena tornato in città, Maria ha dato i soldi a Giorgio.

That the only interpretations available always link the subject of the matrix clause, *Maria*, with the PRO of the participial clause is strongly confirmed by the morphology on the participle. The only grammatical examples, (iiiia) and (iva), both bear the feminine suffix on the participle, and the ungrammatical examples (iiiib) and (ivb) are marked for masculine agreement.

### 4.1.2. Adjunct control in Russian

This section zooms in on aspects of control into adverbial participles in Russian (see also Babby 1979, Rappaport 1980, 1984, Greenberg 1983, 1996, Franks 1995, Babby and Franks 1998). The three distinctive features of adverbial participles in Russian include no specified tense, no inflectional marking and no overt subject (although the subject is always implied) (based on Babby and Franks 1998). As for control properties of object Experiencers with respect to adverbial participial clauses, they were mentioned in, among others, Babby (1979, 1996) or Rappaport (1980, 1984) but only received a more scrupulous treatment in Legendre and Akimova (1993). All examples below, unless acknowledged otherwise, will be identical with those featured in their original article.

Before turning to constructions which are less than self-explanatory, let me review all configurations of adverbial participle control in Russian. Among the authors mentioned above, there is complete unanimity that the interpretation of the implicit subject of the adverbial participle is strongly subject-oriented. This phenomenon is illustrated in examples (305-308) below:

- (305) [PRO<sub>1</sub> Vozvraščajas' domoj], Miša<sub>1</sub> razgovarival s druž'jami.  
going back home Misha-NOM talked with friends  
'While going back home, Misha was talking to his friends.'
- (306) [PRO<sub>1</sub> Vernuvšis' domoj], Miša<sub>1</sub> pozvonil na rabotu.  
coming home, Misha-NOM called on office.  
'Having come home, Misha called his office.'
- (307) [PRO<sub>1</sub> Tancuja s Olej], Miša<sub>1</sub> vspominal Veru.  
dancing with Olya Misha-NOM thought Vera  
'Dancing with Olya, Misha was thinking about Vera.'
- (308) [PRO<sub>1</sub> Čitaja Kolino pis'mo], Miša<sub>1</sub> emu zavidoval.  
reading Kolya's letter Misha-NOM him envied.  
'While reading Kolya's letter, Misha envied him.'

In all the examples the Nominative subject is the default controller of the PRO subject in participle clauses. Interestingly, the interpretation of control in examples (305-308) is not in any way affected by the position of the participle clause, be it to the left of the matrix clause, as in the examples (305-308), or to its right, as in (309-311)<sup>119</sup>:

<sup>119</sup> This is a fact that can be easily understood on the assumption that the left-adjoined position of the adverbial participle clause is in fact a derived position (adjunction and scrambling in Russian are discussed in Bailyn 1995), with the base-generated position being lower, possibly at the VP level (for more arguments see Babby and Franks 1998). The lower adjunction

- (309) Miša<sub>1</sub> govoril po telefonu [PRO<sub>1</sub> leža].  
Misha-NOM spoke on phone lying  
'Misha was speaking on the phone lying down.'
- (310) Saša<sub>1</sub> perevodit stat'u [PRO<sub>1</sub> ne pol'zujas' slovarem]  
Sasha-NOM translates paper NEG using dictionary  
'Sasha is translating the paper without using a dictionary.'
- (311) Kolja<sub>1</sub> proiznosil reč' [PRO<sub>1</sub> volnujas'].  
Kolya-NOM made speech agitating.  
'Kolya was making a speech agitatedly.'

As for Accusative non-Experiencer objects, they comply with the widely held cross-linguistic generalization according to which no control relation into the participial clause can be established with their mediation, which is illustrated in (312):

- (312) \*[PRO<sub>1</sub> Tancuja s Olej], ego<sub>1</sub> pozvali k telefonu.  
dancing with Olya he-ACC asked to phone  
'While dancing with Olya, (somebody) asked him to the phone.'

Although Dative Experiencers are, strictly speaking, not the primary object of analysis here, the examples involving these elements are also included in the presentation as Legendre and Akimova's generalization that follows is partly based also on their behavior<sup>120</sup>. And so, as the examples (313-317) depict, Dative Experiencers can well function as controllers, both for the left-adjoined adjuncts (313-314) and right-adjoined ones (315-317):

- (313) [PRO<sub>1</sub> Tancuja s Olej], Miše<sub>1</sub> xotelos' plakat'.  
dancing with Olya Misha-DAT wanted-sja to cry  
'While dancing with Olya, Misha wanted to cry.'
- (314) [PRO<sub>1</sub> Vozvrascajas' domoj], emu<sub>1</sub> nrazilos' idti cerez park.  
coming back home he-DAT liked-sja to go across park  
'While coming back home, he liked to go across the park.'
- (315) Ole<sub>1</sub> vspominalsja ètot večer [PRO<sub>1</sub> bez slez].  
Olya-DAT recalled-sja this party-NOM without tears  
'Olya remembered this party without tears.'

site also explains why the pronoun in (i) is properly bound and does not induce Principle C violation (for discussion of binding, see, inter alia, Chomsky 1981, 1986):

- (i) Not realizing he<sub>1</sub> was being followed, Peter<sub>1</sub> decided to break the display case and steal the diamond ring.

<sup>120</sup> Data related to the distribution and interpretation of Dative Experiencers are quite illuminating with regard to control into adverbial participle clauses and will also be used to account for the range of interpretations in Polish.

- (316) Emu<sub>1</sub> videlsja [PRO<sub>1</sub> bez straxa] razgovor s načalnikom.  
 he-DAT sees-sja without fear conversation-NOM with boss  
 'He visualizes his conversation with his boss without fear.'
- (317) [PRO<sub>1</sub> Pered tem kak prijti], emu<sub>1</sub> xotelos' pozvoniť ej.  
 before coming he-DAT wanted-sja to call her  
 'Before coming, he wanted to call her.'

Crucially, a non-Experiencer Dative argument cannot be used as a syntactic controller, which is the case in (318)<sup>121</sup>:

- (318) \*[PRO<sub>1</sub> Tancuja s Olej], Miše<sub>1</sub> peredali pismo.  
 dancing with Olya, Misha-DAT gave letter-ACC  
 'While dancing with Olya, (somebody) gave a letter to Misha.'

The most interesting piece of data has been discovered in sentences with Accusative object Experiencers. Unlike English, these arguments are apparently endowed with a capacity to control into adjunct clauses, as seen in (319-321):

- (319) [PRO<sub>1</sub> Čitaja Kolino pis'mo], Sašu<sub>1</sub> vozmutilo ego legkomyslije.  
 reading K's letter Sasha-ACC irritated his lightheartedness  
 'While reading Kolya's letter, his lightheartedness irritated Sasha.'

<sup>121</sup> Perhaps it is necessary to specify the thematic role of the Dative argument. The ungrammatical example (318) contains a non-subject Goal argument in Dative, but examples can be adduced where the non-subject Dative argument is a legitimate controller (from Rappaport 1980: 282):

- (i) Vozvraščajas' domoj, menja zastal dožd'.  
 returning home me found rain  
 'Coming back home, it started to rain.'

What is interesting, examples such as (i) are only grammatical if the adverbial participle clause is in the sentence initial position and the non-subject controller is in the subject position, which is confirmed by the ungrammaticality of (ii-iii) (Rappaport 1980: 282):

- (ii) \*Menja zastal dožd' vozvraščajas' domoj.  
 me found rain returning home
- (iii) \*Dožd' zastal menja vozvraščajas' domoj.  
 rain found me returning home

Babby and Franks (1998) speculate that the mechanism explaining these control and interpretive possibilities could be an instance of Williams's *logophoric control* (Williams 1992, 1994), although details of this interpretation are missing as the author himself makes the honest admission that "the logophoric interpretation is governed by a number of complex factors, most of which [he does] not understand" (Williams 1994: 88).

- (320) [PRO<sub>1</sub> Vojdja v komnatu], Kolju porazil besporjadok.  
 entering in room Kolya-ACC impressed mess-NOM  
 'Having entered the room, the mess impressed Kolya.'
- (321) ?[PRO<sub>1</sub> Tancuja s Olej], ego<sub>1</sub> rasstroili ee grustnye glaza.  
 dancing with Olya he-ACC upset her sad eyes-NOM  
 'While dancing with Olya, her sad eyes upset him.'

The question that emerges is whether sentences such as (319-321) are really widely acceptable in Russian. Timberlake (2004) points out that there is no consensus among Russian native speakers as to whether the Accusative controller yields well-formed constructions, and "such sentences are infrequent in texts, and many educated speakers do not consider them standard" (Timberlake 2004: 362). Babby and Franks cite Rappaport (1980), who indicates that example (322a) can only be used in nonstandard Russian and (322b) is its standard equivalent:

- (322) a. Peroxodja<sub>1</sub> čerez rel'sy, rebenka<sub>1</sub> ispugal [svistok paravoza].  
 crossing over track child-ACC frightened whistle locomotive-NOM  
 'Crossing over the tracks, a locomotive whistle frightened the child.'
- b. Peroxodja<sub>1</sub> čerez rel'sy, rebenok<sub>1</sub> uslyšal [svistok paravoza].  
 crossing over track child-NOM heard whistle locomotive-ACC  
 'Crossing over the tracks, the child heard a locomotive whistle.'

What is more, all sentences which are used to demonstrate the control capacity of the object Experiencer feature these arguments in the surface subject position and the Nominative arguments in the post-verbal position. That may suggest that without this scrambled order the sentences may be unacceptable. This is, in fact, borne out by a very basic survey carried out by Yakov Kronrod (personal communication). He and 4 other adult Russian native speakers were presented with examples (319-321) and their equivalents with Experiencer objects in post-verbal positions and pre-verbal Theme arguments. Just as (319-321) were judged marginal at best (with 3 speakers out of 5 judging them ungrammatical), the reversely ordered (or pre-scrambled) equivalents were uniformly rejected. With a descriptive attitude towards the study of language in mind, I will tentatively accept (319-321) as grammatical (at least among a section of native speakers cited by Legendre and Akimova (1993), although it becomes clear that a proper comprehensive research would be necessary given the conflicting judgments), but as we will see in section 4.1.4. on Polish, the mixed intuitions about the grammaticality of Accusative object Experiencer control seem to be typical of at least one more Slavic language.

### 4.1.3. Interim summary

To recap the story so far, it appears that there are two types of arguments which can control into adjunct constructions. Just as the first type, namely Nominative subjects, is far from striking as it is a property attested in many languages, the other type of arguments, including Dative Experiencers and Accusative Experiencers, is far less obvious. For Legendre and Akimova (1993), who work within the framework of Relational Grammar, the availability of Experiencer controllers stems from the fact that both are associated with the subject position at some level of the derivation<sup>122</sup>. In the latter part of this chapter we will see that my conclusion partly converges with that of Legendre and Akimova's, namely there is a subject-like flavor to Dative Experiencers in Polish (cf. Chapter Three, section 3.3.) which is in all likelihood responsible for a fairly (though not unanimously) high degree of acceptability of these arguments in the role of controllers. What I will also show is that no subject-like properties are easily discernible in the case of Accusative Experiencers.

A different conclusion is drawn by Landau (2010) on the basis of the presented data. He utilizes the insights arrived at by Legendre and Akimova (1993) but instead adopts a slightly different set of assumptions. For Landau, the following generalization obtains (Landau 2010: 169):

- (323) Given a structure [... X ... [<sub>S</sub> PRO ...]], where X is a matrix argument and S is a nonfinite adjunct:
- a. X may control PRO if X is a surface subject (i.e. deep or derived),
  - b. X may control PRO if X is a Dative/Accusative Experiencer,
  - c. X may not control PRO if X is anything else (e.g. Accusative Patient, Dative Goal).

Although the first impression is that (323) is only an assembly of unrelated distributional observations, Landau finds a way of systematizing the facts. Given the locative/prepositional nature of Experiencer arguments, it must be remembered that they are liable to the locative inversion in the covert syntax. Moving up to a higher subject position, which is precisely Landau's claim<sup>123</sup>,

<sup>122</sup> Details aside, as they are orthogonal to the current discussion, the two constructions exemplify the processes referred to in Relational Grammar terminology as Inversion (for Dative Experiencers) and Antipassive (for Accusative Experiencers). Inversion consists in the demotion of the underlying subject Experiencer to the indirect object position accompanied by the promotion of the stimulus to the subject position, whereas Antipassive involves the demotion of the underlying subject Experiencer to the direct object accompanied by the promotion of the Stimulus (using Relational Grammar terminology, I refer to this argument as the Causer, to the subject position).

<sup>123</sup> I have discussed that B&Sz's (2007) approach is similar in assuming the movement of the Experiencer, yet different in the identification of the movement involved (A-movement for Landau, A'-movement for B&Sz).

they inherit the scope and control properties of canonical subjects, which is what is needed to explain their seemingly exceptional behavior. The true test for locative Experiencers is, however, the cross-linguistic evidence for their presence. That is why in the next section we make a comprehensive survey of the adjunct control-related phenomena in Polish (and to a lesser extent in English) to see how Landau's theory can be implemented there. In the process of implementing the prepositional Experiencers as elements undergoing obligatory movement, we will see that the results obtained will be hard to maintain on the basis of the data from Polish and English.

#### 4.1.4. Adjunct control in Polish

As the analysis of Polish is crucial for this work, its adjunct control properties are subjected to a more rigorous analysis. And so, the three empirical domains of adjunct control under observation are adverbial participle control, control into adverbial clauses and control into gerunds<sup>124</sup>. As I have already tested these three types of adjunct control with regard to non-psych verbs in Witkoś et al. (2011a-b) and Witkoś and Żychliński (2012), a contrastive method will be employed now to see if adjunct control with psych verbs follows the same mechanics as adjunct control with non-psych verbs.

##### 4.1.4.1. Adverbial participle control

Two kinds of participles are involved in the construction of adverbial participial clauses in Polish: a present adverbial participle and past adverbial participle<sup>125</sup>. The two kinds of participles are distinguished by their inflectional morphology, the present adverbial participle taking the *-ąc* suffix and combining with imperfective verbs (e.g. Pol. *jedząc* – Eng. *eating*), while the past adverbial participle taking *-wszy* and *-wszy*<sup>126</sup> suffixes and combining with perfective verbs (e.g. Pol. *napisawszy* – Eng. *having written*, Pol. *zjadwszy* – Eng. *having eaten*). Polish grammar books do not cover the issue of control into participial clauses exhaustively and the number of linguistic articles dealing with the phenomenon in question is also limited. On top of the restricted availability of references, there are at least two main conflicting viewpoints among the researchers regarding the issue of which constructions are grammatically

<sup>124</sup> Gerunds in Polish are parts of Prepositional Phrases, which is why I will also refer to them as PPs.

<sup>125</sup> Bojałkowska and Saloni (2008) also mention the names *contemporary participle* and *previous participle*, respectively.

<sup>126</sup> The inflectional suffix *-wszy* is used when the stem ends with a vowel, *-wszy* appears when the stem ends with a consonant.

acceptable and which are not. Below I will review the two types of treatment as applied to participial clauses; next, abstracting away from the conclusions reached by the two camps, I will nonetheless analyze the equivalents of the Russian participle control constructions to reach a conclusion of my own. Perhaps unexpectedly, I will also show that Polish and Russian Accusative Experiencers are not identical.

#### 4.1.4.1.1. Traditional view of participle control in Polish

The rule that is very frequently invoked in Polish specifies that the semantic referent<sup>127</sup> of a participial clause has to be identical with the subject of the main clause, which is a rule known as subject co-referentiality or “the identity of subjects” (Pol. *Zasada tożsamości podmiotów*, see, inter alia, Klemensiewicz 1968; Musiołek 1978; Bartnicka and Satkiewicz 1990; Jaworski 1995; Nagórko 1996; Podracki 1999; Strutyński 2006; Saloni and Świdziński 2007<sup>128</sup>). The strict application of the „identity of subjects” admits only these occurrences of participle clauses which interpret the implicit argument of the participle as identical with the expressed Nominative subject of the main clause. Among the strict adherents to the role of “the identity of subjects” can also be found those who try to formulate rules about the well-formedness of participial constructions through the application of semantic criteria. Bańko (2002), among others, suggests that it is the Agent to which the implicit subject of the participial clause has to refer to<sup>129</sup>. Even without citing the contentious examples involving psychological predicates, one may notice that the strict semantic version of the “identity of subjects” excludes passivized subjects as they are never Agents.

A milder version of the “identity of subjects” is explicated in Bojałkowska and Saloni (2008). The authors contend that too much is left underspecified under the traditional view of this rule and propose that the subject identity should be assessed via the identification of the underlying subject arguments, or 1st actants<sup>130</sup> (the notion originally after Tesnière 1959, later developed by Mel’cuk 1974, 2004). The novelty of this approach lies in the fact that actants are mapped onto three levels, the Semantic Structure, the Deep Syntax Struc-

<sup>127</sup> In our terms, the semantic referent is PRO.

<sup>128</sup> That participles are understudied may be illustrated by the fact that among the comprehensive grammar books in Polish consulted by the author only Saloni and Świdziński (2007) dedicate two pages to their discussion, simultaneously remarking that the subtleties of the interpretation of the non-overt subject of participles are yet to be more thoroughly researched.

<sup>129</sup> For a comprehensive overview of different approaches to the analysis of participial clauses in Polish see Bojałkowska (2010).

<sup>130</sup> Mel’cuk (2004) provides a historical overview of the term actant and its extension largely due to the publications of the Moscow Semantic School. In plain terms, semantic actants are in main aspects equivalent to the argument structure and syntactic actants to grammatical relations.

ture and the Surface Structure. Apart from being explanatory in the prototypical cases of “the identity of subjects”, where the Deep Syntax Structure and Semantic Structure actants are mapped onto overt argument slots in the Surface Structure, this framework also efficiently handles cases inconvenient for the strict application of “identity of subjects”, such as the ones involving arbitrary interpretation in impersonal verb constructions:

- (324) Trzeba odpoczywać, śpiąc.  
is-needed rest sleeping  
'One has to rest while sleeping.'
- (325) Potrzeba cierpliwości, pisząc doktorat.  
is-needed patience writing PhD thesis  
'One needs patience, writing one's PhD thesis.'

Examples (324) and (325) are explained in this framework by appealing to an underlying arbitrary subject argument present at the Semantic and Deep Syntax Structures, which is associated with the implied subject of the adverbial participle clause.

Although the milder version of the “identity of subjects” can explain away a wider range of attested interpretations of control into adverbial participle clauses, its potential weakness lies in the fact that it only admits the 1st actants, i.e. subjects, as legitimate controllers. As we will see, this may incorrectly rule out examples involving non-subject (or not fully-fledged subject) arguments, such as Dative Experiencers, not to mention Accusative objects, which are never even considered to be legitimate controllers.

#### 4.1.4.1.2. Generative approach to participial control in Polish

Comrie (1997) and Bondaruk & Szymanek (2007) show grammaticality judgments regarding the familiar by now instances of participial control by Dative and Accusative arguments differing from the views expressed by the majority of authors briefly discussed in the previous section. In Bondaruk & Szymanek (2007) the following sentences are considered fully grammatical:

- (326) [Po PRO<sub>1</sub> przyjsciu do domu], zrobiło nam<sub>1</sub> się przyjemnie /  
after coming to home started us-DAT REFL nice-Adv/  
wstyd.  
shame  
'After coming back home, we started feeling nice/ashamed.'
- (327) [PRO<sub>1</sub> Wróciwszy do domu], zrobiło mu<sub>1</sub> się smutno/żal.  
coming to home started him-DAT REFL sad-Adv/pity  
'On coming back home, he started feeling sad/pitiful.'

Although the authors acknowledge that for some speakers (327) can be ungrammatical, the sentence is not marked as dubious or marginal<sup>131</sup>. What is more, in Comrie (1997), the following sentence with an Accusative controller is annotated as acceptable to some speakers:

- (328) [PRO<sub>1</sub> Słuchając zeznań świadków], ogarnia człowieka<sub>1</sub>  
 listening the-testimony of-witnesses overcomes one-ACC  
 przerażenie.  
 consternation  
 Lit. 'Listening to the testimony of the witnesses, consternation  
 overcomes one.'

Comrie (1997) asserts that it is "pervasive prescriptivism" that instantly rules out such sentences, rather than the native speaker's intuition, which very often rates them positively.

#### 4.1.4.1.3. The data set of Polish control constructions<sup>132</sup>

Given the earlier hints at the universal nature of the properties of control into adverbial participle clauses, it is not surprising that the grammaticality judgments concerning analogical sentences in Polish superficially converge with the intuitions about Russian (reported in section 4.1.2.) by Legendre and Akimova (1993). On close inspection, however, it turns out that the convergence only applies to those cases which seem to behave uniformly cross-linguistically. Let me first revise all configurations of control by Nominative subjects, as in (329-335).

- (329) [PRO<sub>1</sub> Wracając do domu], Piotr<sub>1</sub> rozmawiał z przyjaciółmi.  
 coming back home Piotr-NOM talked with friends  
 'Coming back home, Peter talked with his friends.'
- (330) [PRO<sub>1</sub> Wróciwszy do domu], Piotr<sub>1</sub> zadzwonił do biura.  
 having come back home, Piotr called to office  
 'Having come back home, Piotr-NOM called the office'

<sup>131</sup> Rosen and Wali (1989) give examples from Marathi, a language from a fairly distinct family of Indo-Aryan languages, to show that Dative Experiencers can control into adverbial participles (ia) and are different in that from Dative non-Experiencers (ib):

- (i) a. ravi-laa [PRO taajmahal paah-un] samaadhaan vaaTla  
 Ravi-DAT Tajmahal see-PRT satisfaction felt  
 'Ravi felt satisfaction [PRO having seen the Tajmahal].'  
 b. \*ravi-laa [PRO ghari jaa-un] he patra potel  
 Ravi-DAT home go-PRT this letter reach-fut.  
 'This letter will reach Ravi [PRO having gone home].'

<sup>132</sup> A preliminary outline of the differences in grammaticality judgments of control into participial clauses in Russian and Polish was published in Żychliński (2011) and as my contribution in Witkoś et al. (2011a-b).

- (331) [PRO<sub>1</sub> Tańcząc z Ewą], Piotr<sub>1</sub> wspominał swą poprzednią  
dancing with Ewa, Piotr-NOM remembered his previous  
dziewczyne.  
girlfriend  
'Dancing with Ewa, Piotr remembered his previous girlfriend.'
- (332) [PRO<sub>1</sub> Oglądając samochód Krzysztofa], Piotr<sub>1</sub> zazdrościł mu.  
watching car Krzysztof-GEN Piotr-NOM envied him  
'Watching Krzysztof's car, Peter envied him.'
- (333) Piotr<sub>1</sub> rozmawiał przez telefon [PRO<sub>1</sub> leżąc].  
Piotr talked on phone lying  
'Piotr was talking on the phone lying down.'
- (334) Piotr<sub>1</sub> tłumaczył artykuł [PRO<sub>1</sub> nie używając słownika].  
Piotr translated article not using dictionary  
'Piotr was translating the article not using a dictionary.'
- (335) Piotr<sub>1</sub> wygłaszał przemowę [PRO<sub>1</sub> gestykulując].  
Piotr made speech gesticulating  
'Piotr was making a speech gesticulating.'

In (329-332) we see left-adjoined adjuncts controlled by Nominative subjects of respective clauses, whereas in (333-335) the same control relations are recreated with right-adjoined adjunct clauses. The right- or left-adjunction site of the adverbial participial clause does not have any bearing on either the grammaticality or the interpretation of the examples, which all uniformly exemplify subject control into the participial clause.

Next, let me carry out a similar test on a set of sentences where semantically it is the Accusative argument which contends for the role of the controller. What is important, none of the verbs in (336-341) is a psychological predicate, which means that the Accusative argument is never the Experiencer (in the examples below I will test both present and past participles attached both to the left and to the right of the matrix clause):

- (336) \*Ranek<sub>1</sub> zastał Piotra<sub>2</sub> [PRO<sub>\*1/\*2</sub> rozmawiając przez telefon].  
morning-NOM saw Peter-ACC talking on phone  
'When the morning came, Peter was talking on the phone'
- (337) \*[PRO<sub>\*1/\*2</sub> Rozmawiając przez telefon], ranek<sub>1</sub> zastał Piotra<sub>2</sub>.  
talking on phone morning-NOM saw Peter-ACC  
'Peter was talking on the phone when the morning came.'
- (338) Szef<sub>1</sub> przywołał Piotra<sub>2</sub> do gabinetu [PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> rozmawiając przez  
boss-NOM called Peter-ACC to office talking through  
telefon]  
phone  
'The boss, talking on the phone, called Peter to his office.'

- (339) [PRO<sub>1/2</sub> Rozmawiając przez telefon], szef<sub>1</sub> przywołał Piotra<sub>2</sub>  
 talking through phone boss-NOM called Peter-ACC  
 do gabinetu.  
 to office  
 'Talking on the phone, the boss called Peter to his office.'
- (340) Premier<sub>1</sub> spytał pracownika<sub>2</sub> o plan kolejnego  
 Prime Minister-NOM asked employee-ACC about agenda next  
 dnia [PRO<sub>1/2</sub> skończywszy pracę]  
 day having finished work  
 'Having finished work, the Prime Minister asked his employee  
 about the agenda for the next day.'
- (341) [PRO<sub>1/2</sub> Skończywszy pracę], premier<sub>1</sub> spytał  
 having finished work Prime Minister-NOM asked  
 pracownika<sub>2</sub> o plan kolejnego dnia.  
 employee-ACC about agenda next day  
 'Having finished work, the Prime Minister asked his employee  
 about the agenda for the next day.'

That none of the sentences in (336-341) comes anywhere close to being acceptable with the non-subject argument as a controller is beyond any dispute. As before, the unacceptability is indifferent to the right- or left-adjunction site of the participial clauses or their particular type. So far, then, the control possibilities in Polish mirror the acceptability judgments of similar sets of examples in Russian (and French). Let us next see how scrambled arguments fare with respect to control. In the spirit of the generalization originating from Relational Grammar, which says that covert or overt subjects can control, let me check if scrambling the Accusative object to the surface subject position (of a non-psychological verb) will have any bearing on the control potential of this element.

- (342) \*[PRO<sub>1</sub> Tańcząc z Ewą], Piotra<sub>1</sub> poproszono do telefonu.  
 dancing with Ewa, Piotr-ACC was asked to telephone  
 'Dancing with Ewa, Piotr was asked to the telephone.'
- (343) \*Piotra<sub>1</sub> poproszono do telefonu [PRO<sub>1</sub> tańcząc z Ewą]  
 Piotr-ACC was asked to phone dancing with Ewa  
 'Peter was asked to the phone dancing with Ewa.'
- (344) Piotra<sub>1</sub> przywołał do gabinetu szef<sub>2</sub> [PRO<sub>1/2</sub> rozmawiając  
 Piotr-ACC called to office boss-NOM talking  
 jednocześnie przez telefon]  
 simultaneously through phone

- 'Peter was called to the office by his boss as the boss was talking on the phone.'
- (345) [PRO<sub>\*1/2</sub> Rozmawiając jednocześnie przez telefon], Piotra<sub>1</sub>  
talking simultaneously through phone Piotr-ACC  
przywołał do telefonu szef<sub>2</sub>.  
called to phone boss-NOM  
'As the boss was talking on the phone, he called Peter to his office.'
- (346) Pracownika<sub>1</sub> spytał premier<sub>2</sub> o plan kolejnego  
employee-ACC asked Prime Minister-NOM about agenda next  
dnia [PRO<sub>\*1/2</sub> skończywszy pracę]  
day having finished work  
'Having finished work, the Prime Minister asked his employee about the agenda for the next day.'
- (347) [PRO<sub>\*1/2</sub> Skończywszy pracę], pracownika<sub>1</sub> spytał  
having finished work employee-ACC asked  
premier<sub>2</sub> o plan kolejnego dnia.  
Prime Minister-NOM about agenda next day  
'Having finished work, the Prime Minister asked his employee about the agenda for the next day.'

Bearing in mind that the verbs used in examples (342-347) are all non-psychological, our facts still suggest that non-subjects, i.e. objects scrambled to pre-verbal position, are incapable of controlling into adjunct clauses, with no detectable difference between left- and right-adjoined ones.

As stated before, although Datives are not the primary focus of this work, let me verify the grammaticality judgments concerning these arguments for the sake of a complete comparison of Polish with Russian and French. Not only that, the data concerning the distribution and available interpretations of Dative Experiencers will contribute vital information to the discussion of Accusative Experiencers that follows. What emerges from the said comparison points to the conclusion that Dative non-Experiencer arguments follow suit in not being legitimate controllers of the infinitival subjects of adjunct clauses<sup>133</sup>, as shown in (348-355) below:

<sup>133</sup> Potentially inconvenient data from Hungarian which make a dent in the generalizations regarding the exceptional status of the Dative Experiencer are presented in Rákosi (2006). Rákosi claims that extra-syntactic factors must be taken into account in computing control as in sentences where no Nominative argument passes for a valid controller, a Dative non-Experiencer argument can also control (ic), although it is unacceptable whenever there is a semantically suitable Nominative controller (ib). In (ia), where the predicate is psychological, either Dative

- (348) [PRO<sub>1/2</sub> jedząc w pośpiechu śniadanie], mama<sub>1</sub> podała  
 eating in hurry breakfast mother-NOM passed  
 córce<sub>2</sub> plecak z książkami  
 daughter-DAT backpack with books  
 'Eating breakfast in a hurry, the daughter was passed by her  
 mother a backpack with schoolbooks.'
- (349) Mama<sub>1</sub> podała córce<sub>2</sub> plecak z książkami [PRO<sub>1/2</sub>  
 mother-NOM passed daughter-DAT backpack with books  
 jedząc w pośpiechu śniadanie]  
 eating in hurry breakfast  
 'The mother passed her daughter a backpack with schoolbooks  
 as she was eating breakfast in a hurry.'
- (350) [PRO<sub>1/2</sub> uzgodniwszy warunki kontraktu], firma<sub>1</sub>  
 having settled terms contract company-NOM  
 zaproponowała Piotrowi<sub>2</sub> kolejne spotkanie  
 offered Peter-DAT next meeting  
 'Having settled the terms of the contract, Peter was offered  
 another meeting with the company.'
- (351) Firma<sub>1</sub> zaproponowała Piotrowi<sub>2</sub> kolejne spotkanie [PRO<sub>1/2</sub>  
 company-NOM offered Peter-DAT next meeting  
 uzgodniwszy warunki kontraktu]  
 having settled terms contract  
 'The company offered Peter another meeting after having settled  
 the terms of the contract.'
- (352) \*[PRO<sub>1</sub> tańcząc z Ewą], Piotrowi<sub>1</sub> wręczono ważne pismo.  
 dancing with Ewa, Piotr-DAT was handed important document-ACC

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Experiencer or Nominative subject can control (Rákosi's examples (40a-c): 175, SUP in glosses stands for the suppressive Case in Hungarian):

- (i) a. A fá-k-on ugrál-va, Kati-nak tetsz-ett János.  
 the tree-PL-SUP jump-PART Kate-DAT appeal-PAST John  
 'Jumping on the tress, John appealed to Kate.'
- b. A fá-k-on ugrálva, Katinak segít-ett János.  
 the tree-PL-SUP jump-PART Kate-DAT help-PAST John  
 'Jumping on the tress, John helped Kate.'
- c. A fá-k-on ugrálva, Katinak nem segít-ett a mankó.  
 the tree-PL-SUP jump-PART Kate-DAT not crutch-PAST the crutch  
 lit. 'Jumping on the trees, the crutch did not help Kate.'

However, as is often the case with judging the well-formedness of examples involving non-Nominative participial control, Rákosi (2006) admits that (ic) is regarded as degraded by some speakers.

- (353) 'Dancing with Ewa, Peter was handed over an important document.'  
 \*Piotrowi<sub>1</sub> wręczono ważne pismo, [PRO<sub>1</sub> tańcząc  
 Piotr-DAT was handed important document-ACC dancing  
 z Ewą]  
 with Ewa  
 'Peter was handed over an important document, dancing with Ewa.'
- (354) [PRO<sub>1/2</sub> obejrzawszy film], małemu dziecku<sub>1</sub> kazali jego  
 having watched film little kid-DAT ordered his  
 rodzice<sub>2</sub> pójść spać.  
 parents-NOM go sleep  
 'After having watched the film, the little kid was ordered by his parents to go to sleep.'
- (355) Małemu dziecku<sub>1</sub> kazali jego rodzice<sub>2</sub> pójść spać [PRO<sub>1/2</sub>  
 little kid-DAT ordered his parents-NOM go sleep  
 obejrzawszy filmu]  
 having watched film  
 'The little kid was ordered to go to sleep after having watched the film.'

As in Russian, however, Polish Dative Experiencers seem to present an exception again, being legitimate controllers<sup>134</sup> of participial clauses adjoined to the left (356-357), or the right (358-359):

- (356) [PRO<sub>1</sub> tańcząc z Ewą], Piotrowi<sub>1</sub> zachciało się płakać.  
 dancing with Ewa, Piotr-DAT want REFL cry  
 'Dancing with Ewa, Piotr felt like crying.'
- (357) [PRO<sub>1</sub> wracając do domu], spodobało mu<sub>1</sub> się  
 coming back to home, appealed him-DAT REFL  
 wracać przez park.  
 come back through park  
 'Coming back home, he liked coming back through the park.'
- (358) Piotrowi<sub>1</sub> zachciało się płakać [PRO<sub>1</sub> tańcząc z Ewą]  
 Peter want REFL cry dancing with Ewa  
 'Peter felt like crying dancing with Ewa.'
- (359) Piotrowi<sub>1</sub> spodobało się iść przez park [PRO<sub>1</sub> wracając do domu].  
 Peter liked REFL go through park coming to home  
 'Peter liked walking through the park on his way home.'

<sup>134</sup> As mentioned before, in the tradition of the normative approach to the Polish usage, these sentences are ungrammatical. Their ungrammaticality, however, seems to be artificial (purely rule-based) and go against the high level of acceptability among the native speakers of Polish consulted by me so here I decide to rate these constructions as well-formed.



- (361) ?Nowy kontroler<sub>1</sub> mocno nie spodobał się Adamowi<sub>2</sub> [PRO<sub>1/2</sub>  
new inspector very not appeal REFL Adam-DAT  
jadąc pociągiem do pracy].  
going train to work  
'Adam didn't like the new ticket inspector as he was going to  
work by train.'
- (362) ?[PRO<sub>1/2</sub> Jadąc pociągiem do pracy], Adamowi<sub>1</sub> mocno nie  
going train to work Adam-DAT very not  
spodobał się nowy kontroler<sub>2</sub>.  
appeal REFL new inspector-NOM  
'As Adam was going to work by train, he didn't like the new ticket  
inspector.'
- (363) ?Adamowi<sub>1</sub> mocno nie spodobał się nowy kontroler<sub>2</sub> [PRO<sub>1/2</sub>  
Adam-DAT very not appeal REFL new inspector-NOM  
jadąc pociągiem do pracy].  
going train to work  
'Adam didn't like the new ticket inspector as he was going to  
work by train.'
- (364) ?[PRO<sub>1/2</sub> Obejrzawszy zmieniony format 'Wiadomości'], nowa  
having seen changed format news new  
prezenterka<sub>1</sub> spodobała się Piotrowi<sub>2</sub> bardziej, niż ta poprzednia.  
newscaster-NOM appeal REFL Piotr-DAT more than this previous  
'Having watched the new format of the news, Peter liked the new  
newscaster more than the previous one.'
- (365) Nowa prezenterka<sub>1</sub> spodobała się Piotrowi<sub>2</sub> [PRO<sub>1/2</sub>  
new newscaster-NOM appeal REFL Peter-DAT  
obejrzawszy zmieniony format 'Wiadomości'].  
having watched changed format news  
'Peter liked the new newscaster more after he had seen the new  
format of the news.'
- (366) [PRO<sub>1/2</sub> Obejrzawszy nowy format 'Wiadomości'], Piotrowi<sub>1</sub>  
having watched new format news Peter-DAT  
spodobała się nowa prezenterka<sub>2</sub> bardziej, niż ta poprzednia.  
appeal REFL new newscaster more than this previous  
'Having watched the new format of the news, Peter liked the new  
newscaster more than the previous one.'
- (367) Piotrowi<sub>1</sub> spodobała się nowa prezenterka<sub>2</sub> [PRO<sub>1/2</sub> obejrzawszy  
Peter-DAT appeal REFL new newscaster-NOM having watched  
zmieniony format 'Wiadomości'].  
changed format news  
'Peter liked the new newscaster after he had seen the new format  
of the news.'



- (371) \*Tylko jego wysoka cena dziwiła Piotra<sub>1</sub> [PRO<sub>1</sub> oglądając  
only its high price-NOM surprised Piotr-ACC watching  
samochód swoich marzeń]  
car his dreams-GEN  
Lit. 'Only the high price surprised Piotr watching the car of his  
dreams.'
- (372) \*Papierosy na podłodze irytowały rodziców<sub>1</sub> [PRO<sub>1</sub> wchodząc  
cigarettes-NOM on floor irritated parents-ACC entering  
do pokoju].  
to room  
Lit. 'The cigarettes on the floor irritated the parents entering the  
room.'
- (373) \*Jej podkrążone oczy smuciły Piotra<sub>1</sub> [PRO<sub>1</sub> tańcząc z Ewą].  
her tired eyes saddened Piotr-ACC dancing with Ewa  
Lit. 'Her tired eyes saddened Piotr dancing with Ewa.'

The left- or right-attachment site notwithstanding, all examples are rather ungrammatical despite the grammatical status of their French and Russian counterparts discussed in sections 4.1.1. and 4.1.2. One more interesting set of examples involves the same sentences but with Accusative Experiencer objects surfacing as subjects. This scrambled word order, for which Polish freely allows, seems to produce slightly changed grammaticality judgments.

- (374) ?[PRO<sub>1</sub> oglądając samochód swoich marzeń], Piotra<sub>1</sub> dziwiła  
watching car his dreams-GEN Piotr-ACC surprised  
tylko jego wysoka cena.  
only its high price-NOM  
Lit. 'Watching the car of his dreams, only its high price surprised  
Piotr.'
- (375) ?[PRO<sub>1</sub> wchodząc do pokoju], rodziców<sub>1</sub> irytowały  
entering to room parents-ACC irritated  
papierosy na podłodze.  
cigarettes-NOM on floor  
Lit. 'Entering the room, the cigarettes on the floor irritated  
the parents.'
- (376) ?[PRO<sub>1</sub> tańcząc z Ewą], Piotra<sub>1</sub> smuciły jej podkrążone oczy.  
dancing with Ewa Piotr-ACC saddened her tired eyes  
Lit. 'Dancing with Ewa, her tired eyes saddened Piotr.'
- (377) ?Piotra<sub>1</sub> dziwiła tylko cena [PRO<sub>1</sub> oglądając samochód  
Piotr-ACC surprised only price-NOM watching car  
swoich marzeń].  
his dreams-GEN

- Lit. 'Only the price surprised Piotr watching the car of his dreams.'
- (378) ?Rodziców<sub>1</sub> irytowały papierosy na podłodze [PRO<sub>1</sub>  
parents-ACC irritated cigarettes-NOM on floor  
wchodząc do pokoju].  
entering to room  
Lit. 'The cigarettes on the floor irritated the parents entering the room.'
- (379) ?Piotra<sub>1</sub> zasmuciły jej podkrążone oczy [PRO<sub>1</sub> tańcząc z  
Piotr-ACC saddened her tired eyes-NOM dancing with  
Ewą].  
Ewa  
Lit. 'Her tired eyes saddened Piotr dancing with Ewa.'

The conclusion after this last set of examples (374-379) is that Experiencer objects surfacing as subjects are at least subject to varied grammaticality judgments<sup>138</sup> in terms of their capacity to control into participial clauses. Less than perfectly well-formed, they still suggest that perhaps the crucial factor behind the ungrammaticality of (368-373) and more complicated grammatical acceptability in regard to (374-379) has to do with the overt position of these elements. The difference, then, would be that Russian and French Experiencer objects do, in fact, move covertly to the subject position, whereas Polish Experiencer objects do not. In Landau's terms, Polish Experiencer objects are not locative. Again, I will offer an explanation of these facts in section 4.1.4.4.

#### 4.1.4.2. Control into gerunds

Before turning to object Experiencers, let us first become familiar with three types of adverbial expressions in Polish which seem to exemplify three distinct attachment sites of these elements (examples after Witkoś and Żychliński 2012, henceforth W&Ż).

- (380) a. Szef zwolnił swego najlepszego pracownika bez zmruczenia  
boss<sub>1</sub> fired his best worker<sub>2</sub> [without PRO<sub>1/2</sub> batting  
oka.  
eyelid  
'The boss fired his best worker without batting an eyelid.'

<sup>138</sup> The same varied grammaticality judgments characterize (i) below in Bondaruk and Szymanek (2007: ft.30):

- (i) ?PRO<sub>i</sub> Opuściwszy więzienie, świat przestępczy nadal fascynował Ewę.  
leaving prison world-of-crime still fascinated Eve  
'On leaving prison, the world of crime continued to fascinate Eve.'

- b. Najlepszy pracownik został zwolniony bez zmruczenia oka.  
 best worker<sub>2</sub> was pro<sub>1</sub> fired [without PRO<sub>1/2</sub> batting eyelid]  
 'The best worker was fired without batting an eyelid.'
- (381) a. Nauczycielka podziękowała ojcu swego ucznia za podwiezienie  
 teacher<sub>1</sub> thanked father<sub>2</sub> her student [for PRO<sub>1/2</sub> taking  
 na przystanek.  
 to bus stop  
 'The teacher thanked her student's father for giving her a lift to a bus stop.'
- b. Najlepszy pracownik został zwolniony za picie w pracy.  
 best worker<sub>2</sub> was pro<sub>1</sub> fired [for PRO<sub>1/2</sub> drinking in work]  
 'The best worker was fired for drinking at work.'
- (382) a. Sędzia wysłał piłkarza poza boisko po przebiegnięciu kilkunastu  
 referee<sub>1</sub> sent a player<sub>2</sub> outside pitch [after PRO<sub>1/2</sub> running several  
 metrów.  
 meters]  
 'The referee sent the player off after having run for several meters.'
- b. Piłkarz<sub>2</sub> został wysłany poza boisko po przebiegnięciu  
 player<sub>2</sub> was pro<sub>1</sub> sent outside pitch [after PRO<sub>1/2</sub> running  
 kilkunastu metrów]  
 several meters  
 'The player was sent off after having run for several meters.'
- c. Bramkarz<sub>2</sub> został wysłany poza boisko po obejrzeniu  
 goalkeeper<sub>2</sub> was pro<sub>1</sub> sent outside pitch [after PRO<sub>1/2</sub> watching  
 15 minut jego fatalnej gry na przedpolu]  
 15 minutes his horrible play on goal area  
 'The goalkeeper was sent off after having watched his horrible performance in the goal area.'

The matrix subject and the PRO subject of the gerund are the only two coreferential elements in (380a). What transpires from (380b) is that in the passive it is still the implicit Agent that is the only legitimate candidate for a controller, even though the phrase *najlepszy pracownik* has been moved up to [Spec,TP]. Unlike (380a-b), only the matrix object can control into the gerund in (381a). The control configuration remains unchanged when the sentence undergoes passivization, with the newly-derived subject in [Spec,TP] being the only available referent for the gerundive PRO. A room for two possible interpretations is left in (382a). Semantically speaking, the sentence may describe a situation where it is the referee who has run for several meters or, equally adequately, it is the player who has done so. The freedom of interpretation is severely limited in the passive, where either the structural subject

(382b) or the implicit subject (382c) can control into the gerund, but we never obtain the ambiguity we have seen in (382a), where both elements compete for control at the same time.

Now let us see whether the behavior of Experiencer objects bears any semblance to the behavior of non-psych verbs.

- (383) a. Szef<sub>1</sub>            nękał            pracowników<sub>2</sub>            [bez PRO<sub>1/2</sub> podawania  
boss-NOM    pestered            employees-ACC    without            giving  
przyczyny].  
explanation  
'The boss frightened the employees without giving an explanation.'
- b. Pracownicy<sub>1</sub>            byli            nękani            [bez PRO<sub>1</sub> podawania  
employees-NOM    were            pestered            without            giving  
przyczyny].  
explanation  
'The employees were frightened without anyone giving them an explanation.'
- c. Burze<sub>1</sub>            nękały            mieszkańców<sub>2</sub> [nawet bez PRO<sub>1/2</sub>  
storms-NOM    frightened            villagers-ACC    even    without  
złowieszczonego trzaskania piorunami].  
ominous            roaring            thunders  
'Storms frightened the villagers even without the ominous roaring of thunders.'
- d. Mieszkańcy<sub>1</sub>            byli            nękani            przez burze<sub>2</sub> [nawet bez PRO<sub>1/2</sub>  
villagers-NOM    were            frightened            by            storm    even    without  
pojedynczego uderzenia piorunem].  
single            strike            thunder  
'The villagers were frightened by storms even without a single thunder strike.'
- (384) a. Szef<sub>1</sub>            straszył            pracowników<sub>2</sub>            zredukowaniem etatu [za PRO<sub>1/2</sub>  
boss-NOM    frightened            employees-ACC    making redundancies    for  
przychodzenie spóźnionym do pracy].  
coming            late            to work  
'The boss threatened the employees with redundancies for coming to work late.'
- b. Pracownicy<sub>1</sub>            byli            straszeni            zredukowaniem etatu [za PRO<sub>1</sub>  
employees-NOM    were            frightened            making redundancies    for  
przychodzenie spóźnionym do pracy].  
coming            late            to work  
'The employees were threatened with redundancies for coming to work late.'

- (385) a. Monotonne krajobrazy<sub>1</sub> nudziły wycieczkowiczów<sub>2</sub> [po PRO<sub>\*1/2</sub>  
 dull landscapes-NOM bore holidaymakers-ACC after  
 przemierzeniu 100km prairii].  
 traveling 100km prairie  
 'Dull landscape bore the holidaymakers after having traveled 100km  
 of the prairie.'
- b. Monotonny przewodnik<sub>1</sub> nudził wycieczkowiczów<sub>2</sub> [po PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub>  
 dull tour guide-NOM bore holidaymakers-ACC after  
 wielokrotnym przytoczeniu tych samych opowieści].  
 multiple telling these same stories  
 'The dull tour guide bore the holidaymakers after telling the same  
 stories over and over.'
- c. Wycieczkowicze<sub>1</sub> byli dalej już tylko nudzeni przez  
 holidaymakers-NOM were then just only bored by  
 przewodnika<sub>2</sub> [po PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> wielokrotnym wysłuchaniu tych samych  
 tour guide after multiple listening these same  
 monotonnego historii].  
 dull stories  
 'The holidaymakers were then just bored by the monotonous tour  
 guide after having listened to the same stories over and over.'
- d. Wycieczkowicze<sub>1</sub> byli dalej już tylko nudzeni przez  
 holidaymakers-NOM were then just only bored by  
 przewodnika<sub>2</sub> [po PRO<sub>\*1/2</sub> wielokrotnym przytoczeniu tych samych  
 tour guide after multiple telling these same  
 monotonnego historii].  
 dull stories  
 'The holidaymakers were then just bored by the dull tour guide after  
 him having told the same stories over and over.'

On the basis of these examples it transpires that Experiencers exhibit the same control characteristics as regular objects. Depending on the type of the gerund PP, they can either be impervious to control, as in the case of PP<sub>bez/without</sub> gerunds in both the active and passive (383a-b), or they can be the controllers in both the active and passive, as seen with PP<sub>za/for</sub> gerunds in (384a-b), or they may allow for dual interpretation, as with PP<sub>po/after</sub> gerunds<sup>139</sup> in (385). In a stative (385a) the Accusative Experiencer is the only allowable controller of the gerund, but with the agentive subject in (385b), two interpretations, with either subject or Experiencer object as controllers, become available. In the passive sentences, the semantic clue encoded in (385c) favors the subject of

<sup>139</sup> Dziwirek (1994) assumes that PP<sub>po</sub> are subject-oriented, which is not the case, as W&Ż show in their examples quoted here as (385a-d).

the passive for the function of the controller, which is not the case in (385d), where semantics strongly favors the demoted subject control.

Before I finish this section, let me also analyze the behavior of Dative Experiencers with prepositional gerunds. Given the analysis of Bondaruk and Szymanek (2007) presented in Chapter Three, Dative Experiencers are predicted to behave similarly to subjects with regard to adjunct control, which is what I want to confirm with respect to control into gerunds:

- (386) a. Nowy pomysł<sub>1</sub> spodobał się Piotrowi<sub>2</sub> [bez PRO<sub>\*1/2</sub> wahania].  
 new idea-NOM appealed REFL Piotr-DAT without hesitation  
 'The new idea appealed to Peter without hesitation.'
- b. \*Nowy pomysł<sub>1</sub> spodobał się Piotrowi<sub>2</sub> [za PRO<sub>\*1/2</sub> wprowadzenie  
 new idea-NOM appealed REFL Peter-DAT for introducing  
 istotnych zmian].  
 important changes  
 'The new idea appealed to John because it introduced important changes.'
- c. Nowy pomysł<sub>1</sub> spodobał się Piotrowi<sub>2</sub> [po PRO<sub>\*1/2</sub> przyjechaniu  
 new idea-NOM appealed REFL Peter-DAT after returning  
 do kraju].  
 to country  
 'The new idea appealed to John after returning to the country.'

As the sentences in (386a-c) show, the Dative Experiencer can control into PP<sub>bez</sub>, which we have diagnosed as a subject property, and it is excluded as a controller of the PP<sub>za</sub>, which again makes its behavior similar to the behavior of subjects, which cannot control this type of gerunds. Finally, it can control into PP<sub>po</sub>, which is a gerund that allows the subject control as well as object control. That the Theme argument shows neither subject nor object properties may be the result of its inanimate status, so let me check similar sentences with an animate theme argument:

- (387) a. Nowy prezenter<sub>1</sub> spodobał się Adamowi<sub>2</sub> [bez PRO<sub>\*1/2</sub> zawahania].  
 new newscaster-NOM appealed REFL Adam-DAT without hesitation  
 'The new newscaster appealed to Adam without hesitation.'
- b. Nowy prezenter<sub>1</sub> spodobał się Adamowi<sub>2</sub> [za PRO<sub>\*1/2</sub> umiejętne  
 new newscaster-NOM appealed REFL Adam-DAT for skillful  
 zachowanie zimnej krwi w obliczu tragedii].  
 keeping cold blood in face tragedy  
 'The new newscaster appealed to Adam for remaining cool in the face of a tragedy.'

- c. Nowy prezenter<sub>1</sub> spodobał się Adamowi<sub>2</sub> [po PRO<sub>1/22</sub> wystąpieniu w newscaster-NOM appealed REFL Adam-DAT after appearing in głównym wydaniu wiadomości].  
main edition news  
'The new newscaster appealed to Adam after making an appearance on the main news.'
- d. Nowy prezenter<sub>1</sub> spodobał się Adamowi<sub>2</sub> [po PRO<sub>21/2</sub> zapoznaniu newscaster-NOM appealed REFL Adam-DAT after familiarizing się z jego życiorysem w internecie].  
REFL with his biography in internet  
'The new newscaster appealed to Adam after having familiarized with his biography on the internet.'

As before, (387a) is not affected by the presence of an animate Nominative argument as it is the Dative Experiencer which is the only suitable controller. In (387b) it is the Nominative Theme which controls into the adjunct, as is expected of an object argument. Examples (387c-d) show that either the Nominative argument (387c) or the Dative argument (387d) may control into the PP<sub>po'</sub> which is the state of affairs already familiar from the prior discussion. All this gives weight to the claim that the syntactic behavior of Dative Experiencers makes them similar to the behavior of subjects as regards adjunct control, at the same time drawing an even wider gap between Dative and Accusative Experiencers.

Again, the fact that Accusative Experiencer objects behave virtually identically to Accusative non-Experiencer objects makes a serious dent in the theory which assumes a crucial structural distinction between these two types of arguments. For all intents and purposes, they do not appear to be any different in a language such as Polish.

#### 4.1.4.3. Control into adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses<sup>140</sup> of manner and purpose allow for control into phonetically unrealized PRO subjects in Polish. A cursory look at these constructions is enough to show that the subject of the main clause must necessarily be referentially identical with the PRO subject of the adverbial clause<sup>141</sup> (388-390)

<sup>140</sup> Polish adverbial clauses can be analyzed into several different types, but adverbials of manner and purpose are of special interest to us as they are among those which allow for control.

<sup>141</sup> Similar conclusions are presented in Bondaruk (2004), who analyzes adverbial clauses of purpose as well as participial clauses. Similarly as in object noun clauses, the author assumes that constructions without *żeby* allow for obligatory control only:

and that the subject of the active clause preserves its capacity to control in the passive (390a-b):

- (388)     Marek<sub>1</sub> tak przewrócił Jurka<sub>2</sub>, [żeby PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> nie uczynić żadnego hałasu].  
 Mark so knocked down George so-that not make any noise  
 'Mark knocked down George in such a way as not to make any noise.'
- (389)     Jan<sub>1</sub> wysłuchał Piotra<sub>2</sub>, [PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> aby mieć czyste sumienie].  
 John heard Peter so-that have clean conscience  
 'John heard out Peter to have a clean conscience.'
- (390) a. Tamci ludzie<sub>1</sub> spalili samochód<sub>2</sub>, [żeby PRO<sub>1</sub> wyłudzić odszkodowanie].  
 those people burnt car so-that to obtain insurance  
 'Those people burnt the car so as to obtain insurance.'
- b. Samochód<sub>2</sub> został spalony pro<sub>1</sub>, [żeby PRO<sub>1</sub> wyłudzić odszkodowanie].  
 car was burnt so -that to obtain insurance  
 'The car was burnt so as to obtain insurance.'

In (388) the implicit *pro* subject of the main clause is coreferential with the PRO subject of the embedded clause, barring any alternative path of interpretation. Similarly, in (389) the PRO subject of the purpose clause can only correspond to *Jan*. In (390), on the other hand, one can see that in a fashion familiar from the discussion of control into gerundive clauses the subject of the active and the implicit subject of the passive can (and must) control the PRO of the *żeby* clause.

Although Subject Control seems to be the predominant case, a close inspection reveals that *żeby* clauses may also exemplify arbitrary control:

- (391)     Jan zwolnił kuzynkę, żeby nie zarzucić mu faworyzowania  
 Jan<sub>1</sub> fired cousin<sub>2</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> so-that PRO<sub>\*1/\*2/arb</sub> not accuse him<sub>1</sub> favoring  
 rodziny.  
 family]  
 'Jan fired his cousin so as not to be accused of favoring his family.'

Example (391) clearly shows that other types of controllers are allowed. In this example it is the Binding Principle B that forces the arbitrary interpretation of PRO.

- 
- (i)     Filip<sub>1</sub> jechał [PRO<sub>1</sub> kupić bilety].  
 Filip went buy tickets  
 Filip went to buy tickets.

Let us see now how Experiencer objects fare with regard to control into adverbial clauses:

- (392) a. Rząd<sub>1</sub>      niepokoi obywateli<sub>2</sub>, [aby PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> ich zdyscyplinować].  
 government-NOM worries citizens-ACC so as them to discipline  
 'The government worries citizens to keep them disciplined.'  
 b. Obywatele<sub>1</sub> są niepokojeni, [aby PRO<sub>1/arb</sub> ich lepiej zdyscyplinować].  
 citizens-NOM are being worried so as them better to discipline  
 'Citizens are being harassed to keep them better disciplined.'

What (392a) shows is that the Causer/Agent argument of the psychological predicate *niepokoić* 'worry' can control into the infinitival adverbial clause. The control configuration is preserved under the passive (392b), where the only interpretation available is that with the implicit Causer/Agent argument as the controller. Example (393) below, with a non-agentive object Experiencer verb, clearly shows that no other controller is possible:

- (393) \*Burza przeraziła obozowiczów<sub>1</sub>, [żeby PRO<sub>1</sub> wrócić szybko do  
 storm frightened campers so as to return quickly to  
 namiotów]  
 tents  
 'The storm frightened the campers making them return quickly to tents.'  
 (394) ?Burza<sub>1</sub>      wystraszyła obozowiczów<sub>2</sub>, [aby PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> szybko ustąpić  
 storm-NOM scared campers-ACC so as quickly to give way  
 gwałtownej ulewie.  
 violent downpour  
 'The storm frightened the campers but quickly changed into a violent downpour.'

The fact that (393) is ungrammatical is unlikely to stem from syntactic considerations. What is more probable is a semantic restriction on the external argument of the embedded predicate *wrócić*. This verb requires an agentive external argument, which the subject argument of the matrix predicate is clearly not. This incompatibility is more than likely to be responsible for the ill-formedness of example (393). Example (394) shows that only a quasi-agentive interpretation of the subject may be marginally acceptable in terms of control into the adverbial clause (semantically speaking, a storm can change into a violent downpour as it is an involuntary action but it cannot return to a tent as this action clearly denotes an intentional act that a storm is incapable of).

Before concluding let us make sure that no other control possibility is attested with adverbial clauses. Yet again, however, a careful search yields the following example:

- (395) Żadna wiadomość tak nie rozbawiła mnie, żeby PRO<sub>arb</sub> śmiać się  
 none news-NOM so not amuse me-ACC that laugh REFL  
 przez pół godziny.  
 for half hour  
 'No news has amused me so that I would laugh for half an hour.'

Examples such as (395) do not seem to be very productive in Polish. They are, nevertheless, possible and I will comment on the control characteristic they exemplify in the next section.

Dative Experiencers, whose syntactic behavior I have already described with respect to control into participial clauses and gerunds, do not seem to tolerate any kind of control into adverbial clauses.

- (396) \*Sprzedawca spodobał się Markowi, żeby namówić go do  
 salesman appealed REFL Marek-DAT so that convince him to  
 kupna telewizji kablowej<sup>142</sup>.  
 purchasing television cable
- (397) \*Ślawni aktor spodobał się Ani, aby poprosić go o autograf.  
 famous actor appealed REFL Ania-DAT so that ask him for autograph

To sum up, yet again it becomes transparent that Accusative Experiencer objects do not conspicuously move up to a higher subject position, as a locative scenario would have it, as the control properties they exhibit do not in any way confirm it. On the contrary, what we observe for psychological verbs patterns considerably with the findings regarding non-psychological verbs (the major difference being the lack of an arbitrary reading in constructions containing psychological verbs), and the syntactic solution describing the observed state of affairs will be offered in the following sec-

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<sup>142</sup> The verb *podobać się* ('appeal') is inherently non-agentive, which is natural on the assumption that, as an unaccusative verb, it does not project an external argument. A prefixed version of the verb, *przypodobać się* ('ingratiate oneself'), assumes a conscious behavior on the part of the Nominative element, thus making it qualify for an Agent and allowing control into an adverbial clause:

- (i) Sprzedawca przypodobał się Markowi, żeby namówić go do zakupu  
 salesman ingratiated REFL Mark-DAT so that convince him to purchasing  
 telewizji kablowej.  
 television cable  
 'The salesman ingratiated himself with Mark so as to convince him to purchase cable tv.'

tion. Dative Experiencers, on the other hand, despite having subject-like properties, are nevertheless not agentive, which also precludes them from acting as controllers.

#### 4.1.4.4. An alternative story of adjunct control: Witkoś and Żychliński (2012)

In W&Ż (2012) the authors develop a theory of adjunct control<sup>143</sup> to accommodate the facts regarding the distribution and interpretation of adjuncts in Polish. As mentioned above, three empirical domains of adjunct control with non-psychological verbs are tested, i.e. control into participial clauses, control into gerunds and control into adverbial clauses. The primary purpose of this section is twofold. First, it serves as a presentation of the novel approach to adjunct control in Polish; second, it functions as a testing ground for the adjunct control from clauses containing psychological verbs, which has been an empirical domain largely not investigated in previous works.

The initial observations led W&Ż to the following classification of control cases<sup>144</sup> into adjunct clauses in Polish:

- (398) Characteristics of Adjunct Control in Polish:
- a. Obligatory Control in [PP gerunds],
  - b. Obligatory and Nonobligatory Control in [CP *żeby* adverbial clauses],
  - c. Obligatory Control in participial clauses.

In this work I will argue that only (398a-b) can be carried over to the domain of psychological verbs, whereas for (398c) I will show that the scope of the available interpretations dictates the extension of the available control cases to Nonobligatory Control, as in (398b).

<sup>143</sup> I also published an early version of the proposal in Witkoś et al. (2011a-b). Parts of this section were previously published as my contribution in Witkoś et al. (2011a) and Witkoś and Żychliński (2012). However, my earlier contributions in the aforementioned publications were not centered on psychological constructions.

<sup>144</sup> W&Ż define Obligatory Control (= OC) (as in Hornstein 2001 and Landau 2000) as showing the following characteristics:

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(i) OC PRO must have an antecedent,</li> <li>(ii) the antecedent must be local,</li> <li>(iii) the antecedent must c-command the PRO,</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(iv) OC PRO only has the sloppy reading under ellipsis,</li> <li>(v) OC PRO cannot have split antecedents,</li> <li>(vi) OC PRO only has the 'de se' interpretation</li> </ul> |
|---|---|

(adapted from Hornstein 2001: 32)

The authors, mindful of the unfolding debate on the exact nature of control mechanism (cf. Hornstein 1999, 2001, 2003, and 2006; Landau 2000, 2003, 2006, 2007, and 2008; Culicover and Jackendoff 2001; Boeckx and Hornstein 2003, 2004, and 2006; Bobaljik and Landau 2009; Hornstein and Polinsky 2010; Bondaruk 2004, 2006), opt for the movement theory of control, yet it seems that the proposal could also be revamped as an alternative Agree theory of control model. The crucial ingredients of the proposal are as follows:

- (399) a. varied attachment site of the adjunct clause,  
 b. theory of connectedness (Kayne 1984; Manzini and Roussou 2000; van Urk 2010),  
 c. the passive seen as a result of smuggling (Collins 2005),  
 d. the requirement of the c-command relation between the controller and PRO,  
 e. appearance of an optional operator (Op) in adverbial clauses headed by *žeby* [so-that].

As hinted at before, unlike W&Ž I will postulate that based on the data involving participial clauses the presence of the optional operator in (399e) need not be dependent on the occurrence of *žeby* ('so-that').

Instead of following the order of the types of control as presented in the previous sections, let me start with the most straightforward type, which is control into gerund phrases. Examples (380-382) and (383-385) in section 4.1.4.2. show that there is generally little if any difference in the range of possible interpretations obtained with non-psychological (380-382) and psychological (383-385) predicates. That is why I adopt in its entirety the solution offered by W&Ž. The pivotal element of the solution is the varying adjunction site of the gerundive phrase (W&Ž 2012: 107):

- (400) a. [<sub>PP</sub> *bez* / *without* gerund] Subject Control, adjunction at vP<sup>145</sup>;  
 b. [<sub>PP</sub> *za* / *for* gerund] Object Control, adjunction at V';  
 c. [<sub>PP</sub> *po* / *after* gerund] Subject Control, Object Control, either site.

The curious element of the interpretation of the previously mentioned examples (380-385) lies in the fact that sensitivity of control appears to be passive-proof in that the passivization of the sentences does not affect the types of obtained interpretations. And so, the subject control of (380a) and (383a) is preserved in passivized examples (380b) and (383b), the object control of (381a) and (384a) remains unaffected in passivized examples

<sup>145</sup> On the assumption that Dative Experiencers are unaccusative, the adjunction site of the gerund would have to be postulated in a high verbal domain, outside of the scope of the lower argument.

(381b) and (384b) and the optionality between subject and object control is largely present in (382a) and (385a-b<sup>146</sup>), with passive sentences enabling the disambiguation of the two readings (382b-c, 385c-d). Given the locality considerations which are part of the minimalist framework (e.g. the Relativized Minimality or Minimal Link Condition<sup>147</sup>), it is especially hard to see how 1) the implicit subject of the passivized sentence can remain the controller, as in (380b) and (383b) and 2) the object control in (381b) and (384b) can be established, seeing that on the traditional approach to passivization it is the object that is promoted to the subject position, which should then intervene between the promoted surface subject and the PRO subject of the gerund<sup>148</sup>.

For these reasons, W&Z propose to account for the interplay between control and the passive through the derivational interrelation between the adjunction site of the gerund and the amount of structural material promoted via smuggling in the operation of the passive. They postulate two adjunction sites for [PP gerund] adverbial expressions and movement out of adjuncts through connected paths (Kayne 1984, Manzini and Roussou 2000), analogous to the parasitic gap construction, where independent movement out of the adjunct is prohibited (cf. (401) below), but a movement of the same nature linked up to a licit wh-path is recovered (cf. (402) below). The two movement paths must be arranged in such a way that the path from within the adjunct should connect to the path running from the copy/trace position to the head position within the chain:

- (401) a. \*Którą scenę<sub>1</sub> Piotr znieawidził film po obejrzeniu t<sub>1</sub>?  
 b. \*Which scene<sub>1</sub> did Peter hate the movie after seeing t<sub>1</sub>?  
 (402) a. Którą scenę<sub>1</sub> Piotr znieawidził t<sub>1</sub> po obejrzeniu t<sub>1</sub>?  
 b. Which scene<sub>1</sub> did Peter hate t<sub>1</sub> after seeing t<sub>1</sub>?

<sup>146</sup> The fact that psychological predicates allow for the expression of the subject argument by an inanimate entity makes the subject control in (385a) impossible, but as long as an agentive argument replaces the inanimate one, subject control becomes a viable option.

<sup>147</sup> Rizzi (1990) defines Relativized Minimality as follows:

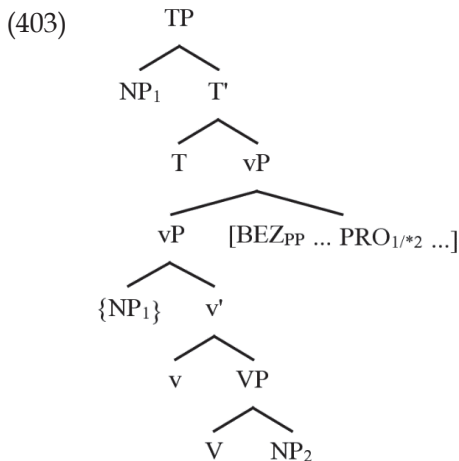
- (i) X antecedent-governs Y only if there is no Z such that  
 (a) Z is a typical potential antecedent-governor for Y, and  
 (b) Z c-command Y and does not c-command X

Minimal Link Condition (MLC) is defined as below:

- (ii) K attracts  $\alpha$  only if there is no  $\beta$ ,  $\beta$  closer to K than  $\alpha$ , such that K attracts  $\beta$  (and  $\beta$  c-commands  $\alpha$ ). (Chomsky 1995: 311)

<sup>148</sup> Locality conditions yield an intervention effect if probe  $\alpha$  matches inactive  $\beta$  that is closer to  $\alpha$  than matching  $\gamma$ , barring Agree ( $\alpha$ ,  $\gamma$ ). (Chomsky 2001: 4)

In view of these facts, the derivation of examples (380a) and (383a) proceeds in a very similar fashion, disregarding the details concerning the position of the arguments. The licit overt A-movement of the controller NP<sub>1</sub> licenses the movement of the element from inside the gerund through establishing a connected subtree (like in parasitic gap constructions in (402) above). In (380a), represented below as (403), the PP headed by *bez* is adjoined to vP, an area excluded from the c-command scope of the object, which facilitates unambiguous interpretation:



The movement of NP<sub>1</sub> to [Spec,TP] generates the following path: [vP- vP-T'-TP]. Given that the gerund is adjoined at the level of the vP, it is only upon the movement of the subject that the two connected subtrees are created. Once this has happened, a movement out of the gerund domain, which is an island otherwise, is possible. All this happens in accordance with the Scopal Minimal Link Condition:

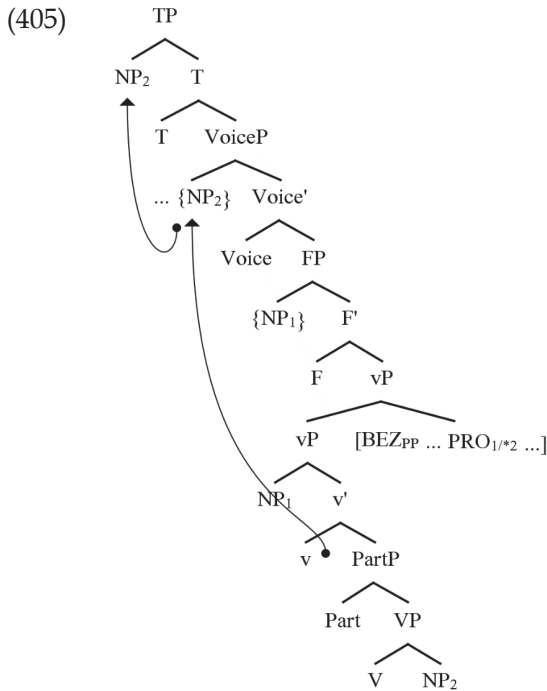
- (404) Scopal MLC  
 Feature F attracts feature F<sub>A</sub> only down to the next F' that also attracts F<sub>A</sub>.  
 (after Manzini and Roussou 2000: 422)

The derivation of the passive is dealt with by W&Z by the application of the smuggling movement as detailed in Collins (2005)<sup>149</sup>. On top of the PartP,

<sup>149</sup> Collins (2005) applies the tactics of 'smuggling' in his approach to the analysis of the passive construction, whose key elements are as follows:

- (i) the subject of the passive is an empty category (PRO) in the position of [Spec,vP];
- (ii) the preposition *by* lexicalizes the head of VoiceP and values the Null Case on PRO;

which is the participial phrase, and the VoiceP, which is the head licensing the passive, another functional projection, let us call it for the sake of this discussion the FP, is necessary to facilitate the licensing of the subject (whether explicit or implicit) by the head of the VoiceP.



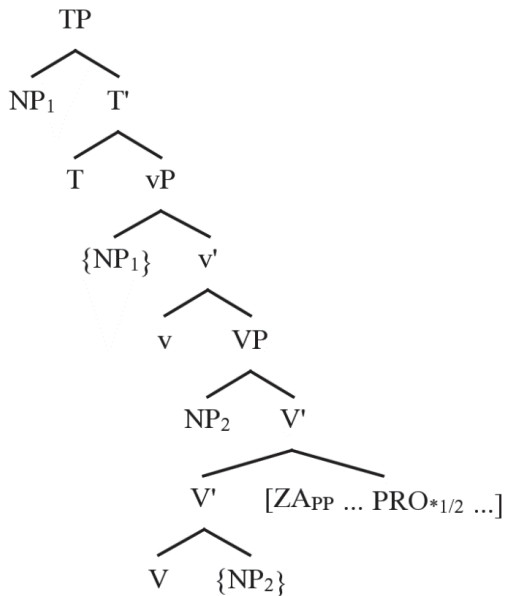
As is shown in (405),  $NP_1$ , the implicit agentive *pro* subject, having moved to [Spec,FP], forms a connected subtree with the gerundive PP, which paves the way for the movement of PRO to  $NP_1$ . The Scopal Minimal Link Condition prevents the movement from the position indicated as PRO to  $NP_2$  (as it is the  $NP_1$  which is derivationally closer to the element whose features it attracts and  $NP_2$  does not form a connected path with the chain starting at PRO).

For the case of object control ([<sub>PP</sub> *za gerund*]), as in (381a), the important difference can be traced to a different adjunction site of the gerund. W&Ž assume the relevant site to be the V' level (or low within the VP domain, e.g. at the AppIP, if the verbal domain is more articulated):

- (iii) the constituent including the passive participle and the object DP ([<sub>PartP</sub> Part [<sub>VP</sub> V DPo]]) is moved to the position of [Spec,Voice] to avoid the intervention effect from the PRO subject for the movement of the DP object to [Spec,TP]:  
 [VoiceP [<sub>PartP</sub> Part [<sub>VP</sub> V DPo]] Voice-*by* [<sub>VP</sub> PRO v [<sub>PartP</sub> ...t...]]].

In effect, the movement of the PartP to [Spec,VoiceP] ‘smuggles’ the DP object around PRO to a position from which it is attractable by T. In this version of the analysis Collins’s implicit agentive PRO is *pro*.

(406)



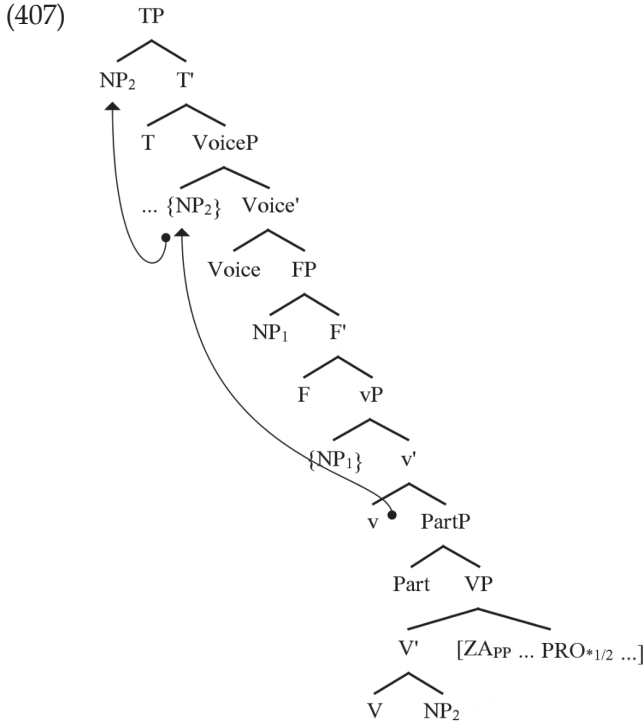
For the structure in (406), W&Z follow Koizumi (1995), Lasnik (1999) and Chomsky (2005), among others, in claiming that  $NP_2$  moves up to [Spec,VP] to establish a proper feature-valuation configuration. This instance of A-movement creates a connected subtree between the matrix object and the PP, which opens the hatch for the movement from PRO to  $NP_2$ .

The previously acknowledged doubt concerning the apparent locality problem of the object controller promoted via passivization to the subject position is quickly explained on the smuggling approach to control. As the whole PartP moves up to [Spec,VoiceP], it takes along the gerund phrase which is part of it. This makes the subject control impossible, as the deep subject never moves up to a position higher than the VoiceP, from which it could c-command the gerundive PRO<sup>150</sup>:

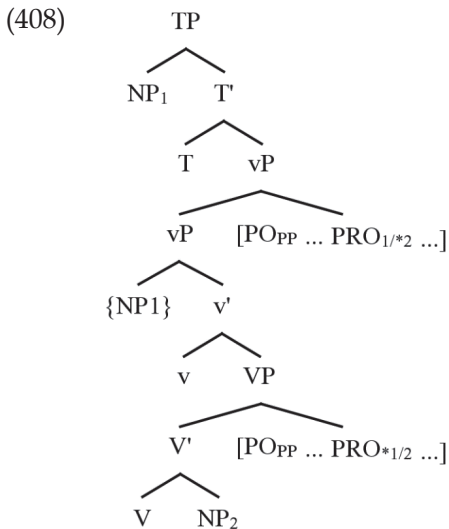
<sup>150</sup> Certain word order issues should be addressed. Example (381b) does not contain an overt *by*-phrase, but it can be rewritten as:

- (i) Najlepszy pracownik został zwolniony przez szefa za picie w pracy.  
 best worker was fired by boss for drinking in work  
 'The best worker was fired by the boss for drinking at work.'

The problem that (i) poses for W&Z's approach is that the  $PP_{za}$  gerund unexpectedly follows the *by*-phrase instead of preceding it (as W&Z assume the  $PP_{za}$  to be smuggled up to [Spec,VoiceP] above the demoted subject in [Spec,FP]). A possible way out is to allow for (plausibly PF-related, although I do not argue specifically for that) pre-smuggling extraposition from the PartP. Arguments for this solution can be found in W&Z (2014).

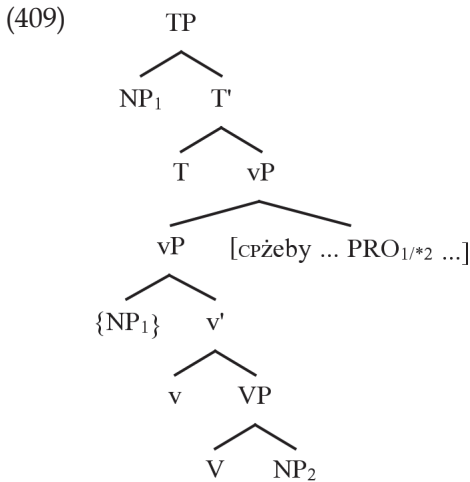


To explain the dual nature of control into PP<sub>po</sub> gerunds, it seems enough to assume that this type of a gerundive phrase is free to adjoin at either the higher site, similarly to PP<sub>bez</sub> gerunds, which produces the subject control configuration, or lower, as in PP<sub>za</sub> gerunds, which, in turn, results in object control configuration, as schematized in (408) below:



Given that the set of possible interpretations of PRO in PP gerunds in constructions with non-psychological predicates fully converges with those available for psychological verbs, I find it well-reasoned to assume that the position of the object Experiencer with respect to the Agent/Causer argument is the same as the position of the Agent with respect to the Patient argument. What is more, I find no ground for the assumption that the object Experiencer ever moves up to a position of a higher subject, as that should result in its capacity to control into PP<sub>bez</sub> gerunds, which is never the case. When it comes to Dative Experiencers, my analysis shows that they reversely mirror the behavior of object Experiencers with respect to control into PP gerunds. Thus, the PP<sub>bez</sub> gerund can only be controlled by the Dative Experiencer (which is known to exhibit some subject-like properties), the PP<sub>za</sub> gerund can only be controlled by the Theme/Stimulus argument (an object-like property) and the PP<sub>po</sub> gerund allows for a dual control<sup>151</sup>.

A separate treatment is reserved for cases of control into adverbial clauses in Polish. Examples (388-389) and (390a-b) suggest that the adjunction site of the adverbial clause may be at the vP level, which is a position not accessible to the object:



<sup>151</sup> One could wonder why the Theme/Stimulus argument, having moved up to [Spec,TP], cannot control into the PP<sub>bez</sub> gerund, structurally being in a position from which it can c-command it. However, it must be remembered that the Dative Experiencer is likely to be assigned Case by a silent preposition (in English, the preposition is overt in the case of *appeal to*). If so, the projection headed by the preposition may be situated on top of the VP projection (Dative Experiencer verbs are traditionally believed not to project the vP as no agentivity/causation is involved in their interpretation), and the Dative Experiencer may have to move up to its Spec in order to check off its Case features (the details of Case assignment/checking/matching are immaterial here). Thus, if the PP<sub>bez</sub> gerund is attached at the level of VP, the Dative Experiencer will always be the closest element c-commanding it.

Although in the active any explanation is sufficient to account for the inability of the object to control into the adverbial clause, the passive configuration is also easy to explain as the NP<sub>2</sub>, being included in the projection of the PartP, moves up over the projection of the vP to the [Spec, VoiceP]. However, at the same time the implicit subject of the passive, in order to validate its prepositional Case, moves up to a projection above the vP, where it takes care of its Case and also establishes a connected subtree with the adverbial clause, thus remaining its exclusive controller.

What still needs to be addressed, however, is the availability of arbitrary interpretation, which, following Manzini and Roussou (2000), is taken to be symptomatic of the presence of the operator on C<sup>152</sup>. W&Ż confirm that the existence of the operator in Polish may be linked to the presence of the *żeby* complementizer on the basis of examples such as (410) below (W&Ż 2012: 114):

- (410) a. Filip<sub>1</sub> pojechał [PRO<sub>1</sub> kupić bilet].  
Philip went buy tickets  
'Philip went to buy tickets.'
- b. Filip<sub>1</sub> pojechał [żeby PRO<sub>1/arb</sub> kupić bilet].  
Philip went so-that buy tickets  
'Philip went to buy tickets.'

Only the subject control interpretation can be obtained in (410a), where it is Philip who was going to buy tickets. Conversely, (410b) can still mean that Philip will buy tickets but given the right context it may also mean the purchase of tickets was made available by Philip's departure<sup>153</sup>. For Manzini and Roussou, this operator attracts a theta feature of the predicate. W&Ż replace

<sup>152</sup> Although Manzini and Roussou (2000) primarily locate the operator on the matrix C, they also leave open the possibility of the operator being on the embedded C, especially in the light of examples such as (i) (Manzini and Roussou's example (68)):

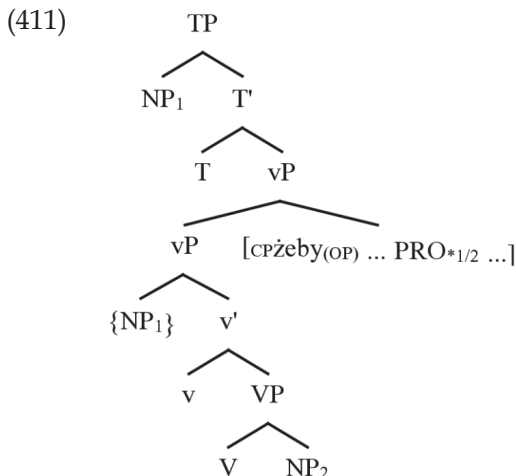
- (i) I asked how [to behave]

As the authors admit, "if the same operator is present in the embedded context of [(i)], we fully predict that it will license the arbitrary reading of the non-lexicalized argument of the embedded predicate, preempting control by the matrix subject" (Manzini and Roussou 2000: 438). Although the example (i) shows an operator on the embedded argument clause, let me observe that in Polish the same element *żeby* can introduce both argument clauses and adverbial clauses, so in all likelihood if it can appear on the complementizer to the former of these clauses, it can also appear on the complementizer to the latter.

<sup>153</sup> W&Ż (2012: 115) also provide examples including infinitive clauses in the complement position, where in the presence (and only then) of *żeby* complementizer arbitrary readings become available:

- (i) Marek<sub>1</sub> marzył [<sub>CPop</sub> żeby PRO<sub>1/2</sub> wezwać mu<sub>1</sub> lekarza].  
Mark dreamt so-that call-INF him doctor  
'Mark dreamt of calling him a doctor.'

the attraction of the theta feature with an Agree relation holding between the operator on C and the PRO (logophoric/pronominal) subject of the adverbial clause, whereby the PRO subject receives its generic interpretation. In fact, as proposed in Manzini and Roussou, the operator comes in two guises. It may be generic, in which case it leads to an arbitrary interpretation of the PRO subject in the adverbial clause, or it may take on a specific form, in which case it behaves logophorically in relation to a pragmatically prominent element in the context of the discourse, for instance the subject or object of the clause immediately preceding the sentence containing PRO. And so, (391) has the following interpretation:



Are arbitrary interpretations ever possible for sentences containing object Experiencers? Interestingly enough, no well-formed sentences can be easily formed that would allow for arbitrary interpretation of the PRO subject of *zeby* clauses. However, under well-defined circumstances it seems to be possible to construct a case of arbitrary control. The necessary circumstances are the presence of the causative but non-agentive subject and the presence of negation in the matrix clause, as evidenced above in example (395), repeated as example (412a). What is important, with the NPI (Negative Polarity Item) absent from the matrix clause, the sentence is not grammatical (412b).

- (412) a. Żadna wiadomość tak nie rozbawiła mnie<sub>1</sub>, żeby PRO<sub>arb</sub> śmiać się  
 none news so not amuse me that laugh REFL  
 przez pół godziny.  
 for half hour  
 'No news has amused me so that I would laugh for half an hour.'
- b. \*Każda wiadomość tak mnie rozbawiła, żeby PRO śmiać się  
 every news so me amused that laugh REFL

przez pół godziny.  
 for half hour  
 'Every news has amused me so that I would laugh for half  
 an hour.'

The hypothesis then is that the sentence in (412a) contains an operator on the embedded  $C^{154}$ , which is of the generic type and, in the presence of the NPI, favors the arbitrary interpretation. In (412b), the absence of the NPI somehow excludes the possibility of an operator being present on  $C$ , and the sentence crashes as a result of the aforementioned incompatibility between the semantic requirement for an agentive external argument of the embedded predicate and the inanimate nature of the matrix subject argument.

Finally, let me consider the full spectrum of control cases into participial clauses in Polish within the framework sketched so far in this section. Again, the examples analyzed in section 4.1.4.1.3. point to subject control being the default option (even for Dative Experiencers I operate on the assumption that they are subject-like with regard to participial control). With object Experiencers being unable to control, the adjunction site of the participial clause could be identical as in the case of adverbial clauses, i.e. at the vP level. However, one fact seems to argue against the uniformity of adjunction sites between participle and adverbial clauses. The fact in question is the behavior of control under the passive. As I have noticed in (383b), the control configuration stays put after the application of the passive. In constructions with control into participial clauses, this is not the case, as the examples below show (the active in (413) and the passive in (414)):

- (413) ?Spędzając wakacje pod namiotem, gwałtowne burze i  
 spending holidays under tent violent storms and  
 ulewy niepokoją nasze dzieci.  
 rainfalls- NOM worry our children-DAT  
 Lit. 'Camping on holidays, storms and heavy rainfalls worry our  
 children.'
- (414) Spędzając wakacje pod namiotem, nasze dzieci są wciąż  
 spending holidays under tent our children-NOM are still  
 niepokojone/nękanie przez gwałtowne burze i ulewy.  
 worried/pestered by violent storms and rainfalls  
 'Camping on holidays, our children are constantly being worried by  
 violent storms and rainfalls.'

The grammatical status of (414) suggests that the participial clause must be adjoined at a higher level, which only forms a connected subtree with the

<sup>154</sup> The idea that there is an Operator in  $C$  expressing the point of view is also entertained in Citko (2012).

main spine of the derivation upon the movement of an element to the matrix subject position, i.e. [Spec,TP]. Before I look at a plausible derivation of (414), let me first try to assess what kind of syntactic category they are. Franks (1995: 261) and Babby and Franks (1998: 487) show that adverbial participle clauses in Russian are less than CPs:

- (415) a. \*Vot kniga, kotoruju pročítav, ja ubedilsja v nevinnosti osuždennogo.  
 'Here is the book, which having read, I became convinced of the defendant's innocence.'  
 b. Vot kniga, pročítav kotoruju, ja ubedilsja v nevinnosti osuždennogo.  
 'Here is the book, having read which, I became convinced of the defendant's innocence.'

For Babby and Franks, the fact that the object of the participle has no syntactic place where to move to the left of the verb suggests that no CP projection (in their terms no COMP) is available. If so, Polish behaves differently as the *wh*-object can freely move to the left of the participle:

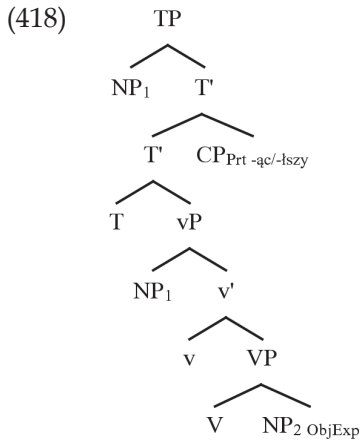
- (416) a. Oto książka, którą przeczytawszy, natychmiast zwróciłem do biblioteki.  
 'Here is the book, which having read, I immediately returned to the library.'  
 b. Oto książka, przeczytawszy którą, natychmiast zwróciłem do biblioteki.  
 'Here is the book, having read which, I immediately returned to the library.'

What is more, there is another piece of evidence which suggests that the CP projection is available in adverbial participles. As mentioned on multiple occasions in this chapter, the interpretation of the implicit subject in participial expressions is strongly subject-oriented, but we have already seen examples where an arbitrary reading becomes available (cf. (324-325) and (417) below):

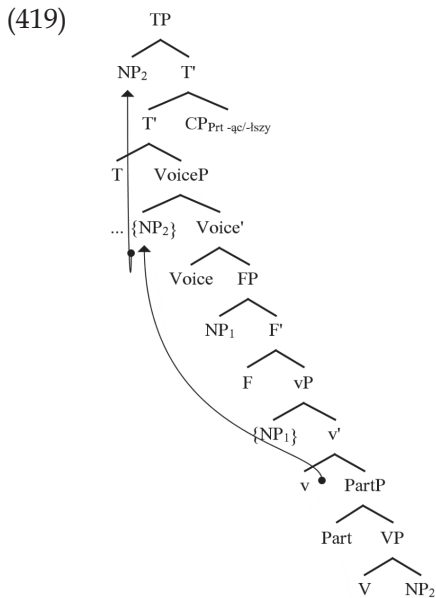
- (417) Otrzymawszy niezbędne informacje, następny krok polega na sprawdzeniu, czy widnieją one w centralnej bazie danych.  
 'Having received the necessary information, the next step is to check whether it is available in the central database.'

In (417) and also in (324-325) the semantic referent of the PRO subject is not present in the syntax, and we take it to be an arbitrary 'someone'. Thus,

we are inclined to assume that Polish adverbial participle clauses are CPs and can host an operator on C<sup>155</sup>:



In (418) the object Experiencer has no access to the participle clause, which is located high in the structure. However, given that in the passive (414) it is the surface subject (and the underlying object Experiencer) which controls into the participle clause, the high adjunction site excludes the possibility of the implicit matrix subject as a controller, as shown in (419) below:



<sup>155</sup> I depart here from W&Ż's generalization which says that "[t]he complementizer *żeby* [so that] is the site of an optional (generic/specific) operator" (W&Ż 2012: 116). In its revised version, the complementizer (whether overt or not) is the site of an optional (generic/specific) operator.

As for Dative Experiencers, there are reasons to believe that they exhibit at least some subject properties (which was shown in Chapter Three). Bondaruk and Szymanek (2007) link these subject properties to a high structural position that Dative Experiencers may move up to as a result of topicalization. Somewhat unlike Bondaruk and Szymanek's analysis, I believe that the topicalizing movement is only an (optional) consequence of the thematically most prominent status of Dative Experiencers, which also accounts for their ability to control into participle clauses. The specific operator on the C of the participial clause seeks for a thematically maximally prominent argument of the predicate, which is a Dative Experiencer. The Theme, although it is Nominative and structurally in the c-commanding [Spec,TP] position, is lower in the hierarchy of thematic prominence, thus it is never a competitor for the role of the controller (cf. 360-367). The topicalization itself does not affect the control configurations. In the absence of a thematically most prominent argument which also matches the semantic requirements of a controller (animacy and agentivity), as in (324-325) and (417), the operator is valued as generic and the interpretation changes to arbitrary.

#### 4.1.5. Adjunct control in English

Generally speaking, English is similar to the other languages described in the previous sections of this chapter in being strongly subject-oriented with respect to control into adverbial participle clauses:

- (420) a. Peter stole the key, not suspecting that anyone may be watching him.  
 b. Not suspecting that anyone may be watching him, Peter stole the key.

Crucially, in English there is no possibility of object Experiencer control into adjunct clauses.

- (421) \*Having walked into the room, the pink walls impressed Tom.  
 (422) \*Having worked all day, solid rest appealed to Mary.

That, however, does not mean that any other, less standard examples cannot be produced in English, as Williams (1992) shows:

- (423) Having just arrived in town, the main hotel seemed to Bill to be the best place to stay.  
 (424) Having just arrived in town, the new hotel seemed like a good place for a stop.

In the spirit of the explanation given for Russian and French in the previous sections, a hypothesis could be made that English does not exemplify the movement of the Experiencer to a higher position. Should Experiencers be all interpreted as locatives, such a postulate would be hard to defend, so perhaps a more comprehensive explanation is still wanted. A solution seems to be quite simple. It seems reasonable to assume that a prerequisite for control is the presence of the argument in the subject position. If the argument is thematically associated with the subject position, which is the case with Nominative subjects, the control into the adverbial participle clause is the only option and no controversy ever arises. If, however, a non-subject argument lands in the surface subject position, it seems to feed confusing information to the interpretive module of language (whatever its exact characteristics are). For Dative arguments in Russian or Polish, enough evidence is available for the shared subject and object characteristics of these arguments that they can (marginally) control (subject to the judgments of individual speakers). For Accusative arguments, which generally share no subject characteristics in Polish, it is only their position which may create the "subject effect", causing them to be misanalysed as subjects and, consequently, allowing them to control (the situation in non-standard Russian and non-standard Polish, as shown for the latter language in (374-379)). In English, neither Dative Experiencers nor Accusative Experiencers share any subject characteristics, including the syntactic position, which is never the subject position due to severely limited scrambling potential of that language, which, in turn, results in the complete absence of either Dative or Accusative Experiencer control into adverbial participle clauses. Examples such as (423) and (424) can be explained through the mechanism of logophoric control as expounded in Williams (1992, 1994).

## 4.2. Control and Super-Equi constructions

It has been observed that VP-internal infinitival clauses which undergo extraposition or intraposition create problematical accounts of control facts. Such constructions were first named and discussed by Grinder (1970), and have enjoyed much interest ever since. However, as Landau (2001) claims, none of the accounts has been successful in accounting for each member of the paradigm shown below. The data included in this section are all based on Landau (2001). Crucially for the analysis here it is assumed, after Landau, that Obligatory Control is "a relation holding between an infinitive in situ and a local controller" (2001: 111). What follows is that NOC cases will

include all those instances where the control relation is non-local (long-distance and arbitrary control).

- (425) Mary thought that it pleased John [PRO to speak his/\*her mind].  
 (426) Mary thought that it helped John [PRO to speak his/her mind].  
 (427) Mary thought that [PRO to speak his/her mind] would please John.  
 (428) Mary thought that [PRO to speak his/her mind] would help John.

A generalization that he arrives at is that only in the case of extraposition with a psych verb, as in (425), do we deal with OC, where the controller has to be local (for the present purposes a local controller “occurs in the clause immediately dominating the PRO-containing infinitive/gerund” (Landau 2001: 112); thus, *John* is the only candidate for the controller). In (426), where the predicate is not psychological, both local control and long-distance control are grammatical. As with intraposition, the distinction between psychological and non-psychological predicates ceases to influence control, making the control from within the same clause as well as from the matrix clause equally plausible (427-428). In a more systematical manner, the following facts obtain in English:

- (429) a. In a structure [... X ... [it Aux Pred Y [<sub>S</sub> PRO to VP]]], where Y and S are arguments of Pred:  
 (i) If Pred is psychological, Y must control PRO.  
 (ii) If Pred is non-psychological, either X or Y may control PRO.  
 b. In a structure [... X ... [<sub>S</sub> [<sub>S</sub> PRO to VP] Pred ... Y]], either X or Y may control PRO.

### 4.2.1. The interpretation

To provide an analysis of the Super-Equi facts that would explain all attested patterns of control Landau has recourse to a number of stipulations. The most important is the OC Generalization (2001: 118):

- (430) The OC Generalization  
 In a configuration [... DP<sub>1</sub> ... Pred ... [s PRO<sub>1</sub> ...] ], where DP controls PRO: If at LF, S occupies a complement/specifier position in the VP-shell of Pred, then DP (or its trace) also occupies a complement/specifier position in that VP-shell.

Once again, such an assumption reduces OC to a certain syntactic configuration. In the case of Super-Equi constructions under discussion here, it follows that as long as the infinitival clause stays within its host VP (either in the specifier or the complement position), then only the controller which is located in the same VP can control the PRO. Since both extraposition and intraposition force the infinitival out of the VP, it is logical to expect the impossibility of OC control in these cases.

The question which has not been tackled so far is why infinitival clauses undergo extraposition. The stipulation that Landau makes in order to answer this question is found in (431) below:

- (431)        Extraposition  
               VP-internal clauses must be peripheral at PF.

The operation of extraposition is taken to be a case of VP adjunction (an extraposed infinitival is not dominated by VP), and its motivation, derived from cross-linguistic observations, may be related to the requirements of the phonological component.

- (432)        Chain interpretation  
               Any link in a chain may be the LF-visible link.

The condition on chains follows naturally if, after Chomsky (1995), traces are treated as full copies.

Lastly, the thematic make-up of psychological predicates has to be systematized as in (433) in order to reconcile the strange control facts of psych verbs.

- (433)        Argument Projection  
               a. Experiencer is generated above Causer<sup>156</sup>.  
               b. Causer is generated above Goal/Patient/Theme.

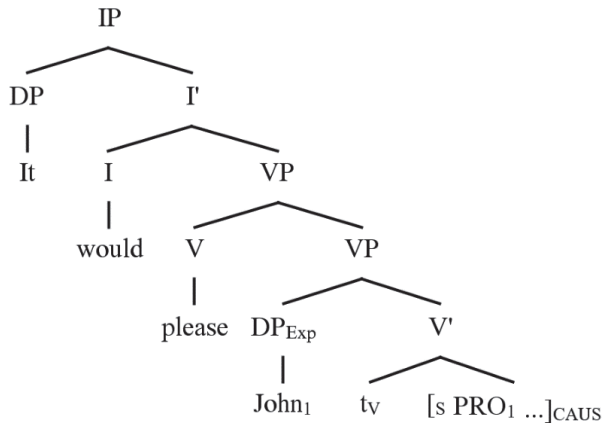
#### 4.2.2. English Super-Equi constructions

Below I present detailed representations of all the members of the Super-Equi paradigm, each time representationally detailing the mechanism responsible for a particular interpretation:

<sup>156</sup> A refinement of this particular order of arguments comes later in this section.

(434) a. It would please John<sub>1</sub> [<sub>S</sub> PRO<sub>1</sub> ...]<sup>157</sup>

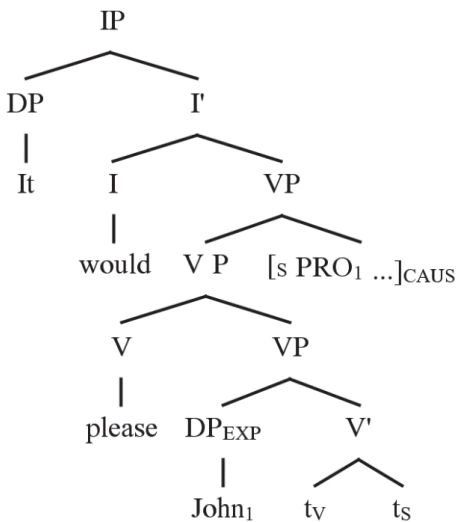
b.



Following the Argument Projection in (433), it is assumed in (434) that the Causer infinitival clause stays put within the VP as it is generated lower than the Experiencer argument. If so, (434) falls under the OC Generalization in (430), precluding any other type of control.

(435) a. \*It would please John<sub>1</sub> [<sub>S</sub> PRO<sub>2</sub> ...]

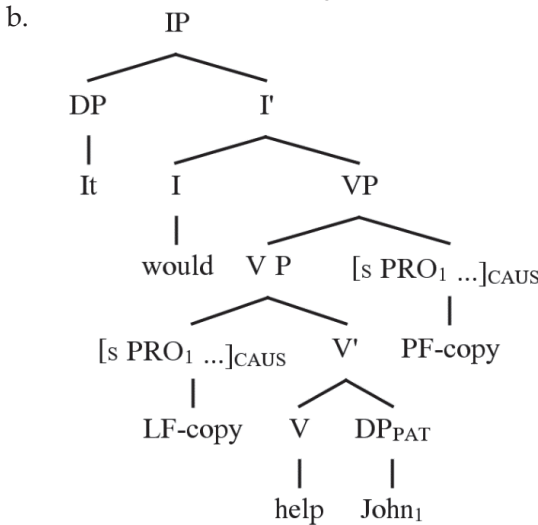
b.



In (435) a scenario is explored where the Cause argument moves out of the VP, thus violating the Argument Projection. Given that the control arrangement suggested in (435) is unattested, it may be safely assumed that what is presented in this example never happens.

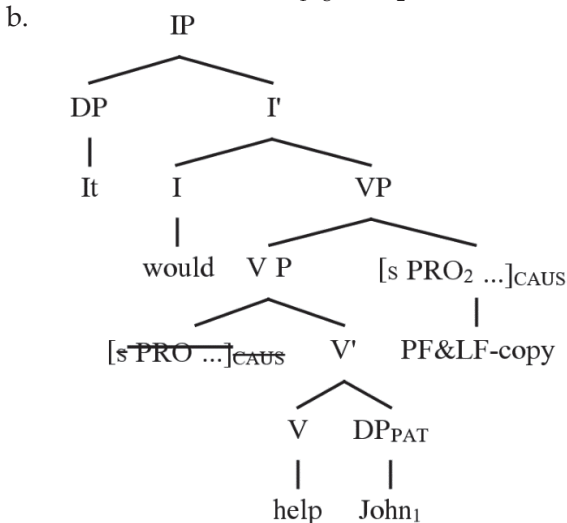
<sup>157</sup> Examples (434-439) all taken from Landau (2001: 121-125).

(436) a. It would help John<sub>1</sub> [<sub>S</sub> PRO<sub>1</sub> ...]



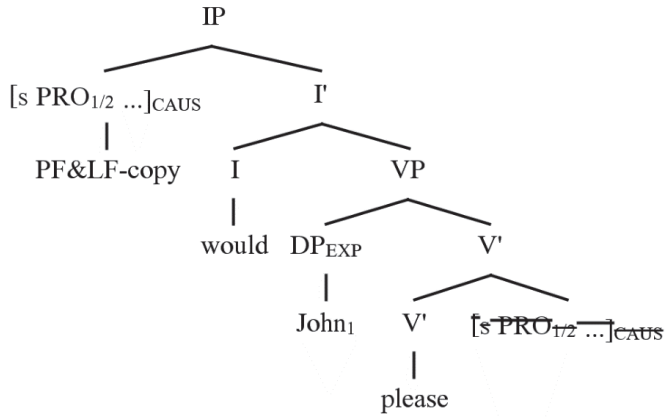
In (436), the positioning of arguments is different by virtue of the non-psych verb. The Causer argument, not being peripheral at PF, moves out to the outer right edge of the VP. However, control by the DP Patient argument is still possible as the lower copy of the Causer argument, which remains active, facilitates the OC Generalization.

(437) a. It would help John<sub>1</sub> [<sub>S</sub> PRO<sub>2</sub> ...]



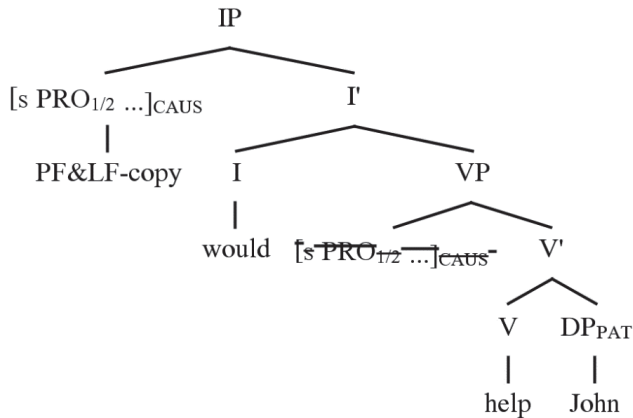
Unlike in (436), the higher copy in (437) may instead be interpreted for the purpose of establishing control, thus allowing for an arbitrary controller or a controller situated in a higher clause.

- (438) a. [<sub>S</sub> PRO<sub>1/2</sub> ...] would please John<sub>1</sub>  
 b.



Example (438) presents a case of intraposition with an object Experiencer verb. Suppose that this transformation takes place whenever no expletive element is available to satisfy the EPP. Again, the duality of interpretation follows from the two possible interpretation sites of the Causer argument. If, for control purposes, the lower copy is active, what follows is OC. However, the interpretation of the higher copy will allow for NOC, either by a higher clause controller, or arbitrary.

- (439) a. [<sub>S</sub> PRO<sub>1/2</sub> ...] would help John<sub>1</sub>  
 b.



Finally, (439) shows a case of intraposition with a non-psych verb. As before, the OC generalization sets in when the lower copy is interpreted for control, whereas the higher copy gives rise to NOC.

It seems that a valid objection could be raised about the status of the extraposed clause. After all, how certain can we be that the element in question is an adjunct, which is the assumption needed in the current theory. One of

the solid pieces of evidence to support this picture of Super-Equi comes from extraction facts. As adjuncts are islands to extraction, all cases of extraposition should produce ill-formed sentences. This is borne out by sentences in (440) and (441) (Landau 2001: 128):

- (440) a. I would help Bill<sub>1</sub> [PRO<sub>1</sub> to introduce himself to these professors].  
 b. To whom<sub>2</sub> would it help Bill<sub>1</sub> [PRO<sub>1</sub> to introduce himself t<sub>2</sub>?]  
 (441) a. It would help Bill<sub>1</sub> [PRO<sub>arb</sub> to introduce him<sub>1</sub> to these professors].  
 b. \*To whom<sub>2</sub> would it help Bill<sub>1</sub> [PRO<sub>arb</sub> to introduce him<sub>1</sub> t<sub>2</sub>?]

As expected, extraction out of VP-internal infinitivals yields grammatical sentences, as in (440b), whereas adjuncts remain opaque to it, which is seen in (441b). In other words, the copy which is interpreted for extraction in (440b) must be the one inside the VP. Not being an adjunct, it should be transparent to extraction and this is what (440b) shows. In (441b), however, the desired reading is arbitrary, which requires the interpretation of the copy which has already evacuated its base-generated [Spec,VP] position. As an adjunct, it should not permit extraction, which the ungrammaticality of (441b) confirms.

A similar test can be carried out with psych versus non-psych interpretation of a verb with regard to the control properties displayed by its arguments:

- (442) a. It would kill the workers<sub>1</sub> [PRO<sub>1</sub> to build this dam].  
 b. What<sub>2</sub> would it kill the workers<sub>1</sub> [PRO<sub>1</sub> to build t<sub>2</sub>?]  
 (443) a. It would kill the forest [PRO<sub>arb</sub> to build this dam].  
 b. \*What<sub>2</sub> would it kill the forest [PRO<sub>arb</sub> to build t<sub>2</sub>?]

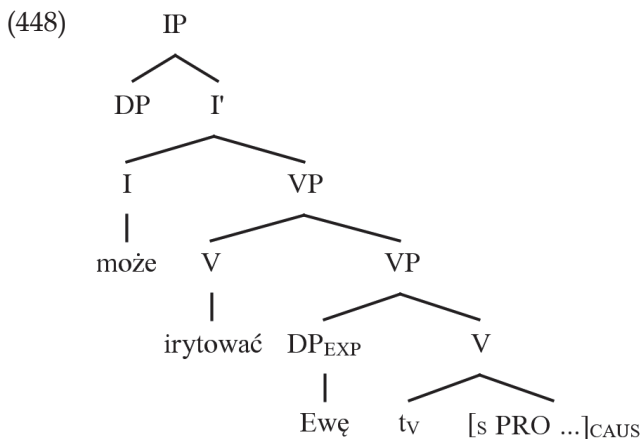
On the psychological reading of *kill* in (442a) it must be assumed that the extraposed clause is interpreted in its base position, inside the VP. Therefore, extraction proceeds smoothly. On the non-psychological reading of *kill* in (443a), with the DP *the forest* not a possible candidate for a controller, the higher copy of the extraposed clause must be used for interpretation, thus disallowing extraction because of its adjunct status.

### 4.2.3. Polish Super-Equi constructions

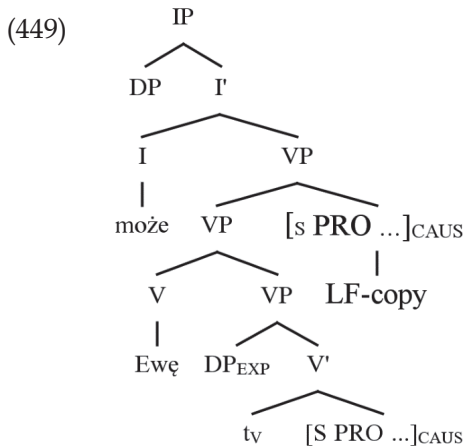
Appealing as it seems in providing a unified description of all types of Super Equi constructions, Landau's proposal apparently falls short of covering similar facts in Polish (cf. Żychliński 2013), which was shown in Bondaruk (2004). Psych predicates in Polish only show NOC, unlike their English counterparts. The sentences below (after Bondaruk 2004: 262) illustrate all the necessary cases:

- (444) Marek<sub>1</sub> uważa, że Ewę<sub>2</sub> może irytować [PRO<sub>1/arb</sub> poprawianie  
Marek thinks that Ewa-ACC may irritate correcting  
popelnianych przez nią<sub>2</sub> błędów].  
made by her mistakes  
'Marek thinks that Ewa may be irritated by correcting mistakes  
made by her.'
- (445) Marek<sub>1</sub> uważa, że wymowę Ewy<sub>2</sub> może poprawić  
Marek thinks that pronunciation Ewa-GEN may improve  
[PRO<sub>1/arb</sub> poprawianie popelnianych przez nią<sub>2</sub> błędów].  
correcting made by her mistakes  
'Marek thinks that Ewa's pronunciation may be improved by  
correcting mistakes made by her.'
- (446) Marek<sub>1</sub> uważa, że [PRO<sub>1/arb</sub> poprawianie popelnianych przez nią<sub>2</sub>  
Marek thinks that correcting made by her  
błędów] może irytować Ewę<sub>2</sub>.  
mistakes may irritate Ewa-ACC  
'Marek thinks that correcting mistakes made by her may irritate  
Ewa.'
- (447) Marek<sub>1</sub> uważa, że [PRO<sub>1/arb</sub> poprawianie popelnianych przez nią<sub>2</sub>  
Marek thinks that correcting made by her  
błędów] może poprawić wymowę Ewy<sub>2</sub>.  
mistakes may improve pronunciation-ACC Ewa-GEN  
'Marek thinks that correcting mistakes made by her may improve  
Ewa's pronunciation.'

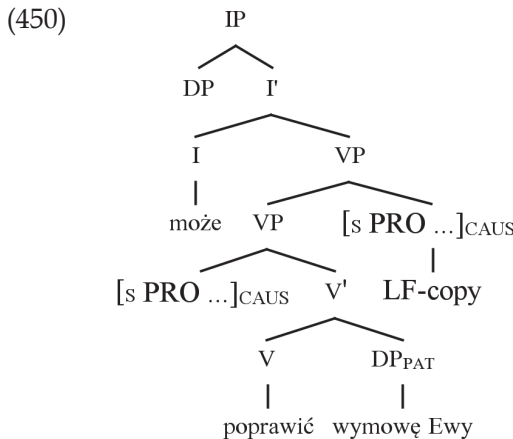
The expectation about (444) is that, by virtue of being a complement to a psych verb, thus not extraposed, the sentence should display OC, as schematized in (448) (Bondaruk 2004: 265):



However, in (448) only long-distance or arbitrary control is observed. To make this sentence fit the general framework outlined in Landau (2001), Bondaruk suggests that the VP-internal infinitival “undergoes string-vacuous Extraposition” (2004: 266), making it possible to interpret the adjoined copy, which, in turn, explains long-distance and arbitrary control, as diagrammed in (449):



However, no explanation is offered as to the rationale for doing so. Finally, a look at the non-psychological predicate structure in (450) confirms that, due to the VP-internal base generated position of the infinitival, it undergoes extraposition, producing NOC effects.



The solution Bondaruk offers seems to be a bit too stipulative and the vacuous movement could use more motivation. Not only that, Landau (2010) makes a small but necessary revision in his treatment of the Super-Equi facts (see next section), which has consequences for Bondaruk’s approach and can-

not be easily explained. If I couple that with a partly contradictory assessment of the control options (that I will present shortly) to the ones offered by Bondaruk (2004), I feel compelled to suggest that a different explanation is necessary to handle the Polish Super-Equi constructions. I will come back to that issue as soon as I have presented the updated account of the Super-Equi in Landau (2010), which can be found in the next section.

#### 4.2.4. LF-raising of Experiencers

In Landau (2010) the author introduces distinct structures for stative and eventive object Experiencers. Although the stative ones are taken to have the same structure as in Landau (2001), the way arguments are projected in Landau (2010) affects the structure of eventive object Experiencers. And so, the Experiencer argument is still projected as the highest argument in stative psych constructions, but in eventive object Experiencer verbs it is the Causer which is the highest argument. What it changes in the story of Super-Equi facts is that the Causer is no longer peripheral in an example such as (425), repeated below as (451):

(451) Mary thought that it pleased John [PRO to speak his/\*her mind].

Since without this assumption the story of the exceptional nature of control in similar examples falls apart, an additional explanation is required. This is precisely where the locative hypothesis comes in handy. As within this theory Experiencers are believed to move to a higher subject position at LF, the DP *John* still scopes over the extraposed clause even after it has moved out of the VP<sup>158</sup>.

#### 4.2.5. Revisiting Polish Super-Equi data

The way the Super-Equi data are handled in Bondaruk (2004) would in any case require a re-analysis given the revised Argument Projection hierarchy proposed in Landau (2010) and outlined in the previous section. However,

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<sup>158</sup> A potential problem for the assumption that prepositional Experiencers obligatorily undergo locative inversion runs up against a difficulty with an example potentially involving Principle C violation, as in (i) (see Chomsky 1981, 1986):

- (i) Pictures of John<sub>i</sub> seem to him<sub>i</sub> to be ugly.

Unless something more is said about the timing of binding, the grammaticality of (i) remains a bit surprising on Landau's terms.



mistakes may improve pronunciation-ACC Ewa-GEN  
 'Marek thinks that correcting mistakes made by her may improve Ewa's pronunciation.'

What is more, another change of the pronoun may exclude long distance control at all, as in (456), and the replacement of the pronoun with a noun may open the door to a choice of long distance, local or arbitrary control, as in (457):

- (456) Marek<sub>1</sub> uważa, że Ewę<sub>2</sub> może irytować [PRO<sub>\*1/2/arb</sub> poprawianie  
 Marek thinks that Ewa-ACC may irritate correcting  
 popełnianych przez niego<sub>1</sub> błędów].  
 made by him mistakes  
 'Marek thinks that Ewa may be irritated by correcting mistakes made by him.'
- (457) Marek<sub>1</sub> uważa, że Ewę<sub>2</sub> może irytować [PRO<sub>1/2/arb</sub> poprawianie  
 Marek thinks that Ewa-ACC may irritate correcting  
 popełnianych przez cudzoziemców błędów].  
 made by foreigners mistakes  
 'Marek thinks that Ewa may be irritated by correcting mistakes made by foreigners.'

The coindexation of the embedded pronoun *niego* with the matrix subject in (456) disallows long distance control, but leaves the OC and arbitrary control open. In (457), where no conflicting coindexation is present, all control options are up for grabs. If we couple these findings with Landau's revised Argument Projection, again we can see that the behavior of Experiencers with regard to control is no different from the behavior of non-Experiencer arguments. I could try to account for the patterns of control displayed by the Polish Super-Equi constructions in a similar fashion as in the case of control into participial clauses, i.e. by postulating the presence of the operator in the extraposed clause. For that, however, I would have to show that the extraposed clause is a CP. Let me then see if a position inside the CP is available for the movement of the wh-element:

- (458) Czy ktoś wie [<sub>CP</sub> czyje pogwizdywanie] może irytować Ewę?  
 does anybody know whose whistling may irritate Ewa-ACC  
 'Does anybody know whose whistling may irritate Ewa?'

Indeed, this seems to be possible in (458). Having confirmed that the extraposed clause is a CP, I postulate the presence of the operator on C, which, depending on whether it is specific or generic, may either target the thematically most prominent argument of either of the predicates (matrix/embedded), or

generically establish arbitrary interpretation. The unexplained fact is why the English Super-Equi facts stand out as exceptional for the Accusative object Experiencer verbs. Part of the answer may lie in the fact that the status of the English extraposed clause is most likely not a CP, which would rule out the possibility of an operator on C.

### **4.3. Summary**

The data garnered in this chapter unequivocally show that Polish Accusative object Experiencers are not locative/prepositional. In fact, these arguments systematically lack the properties of such elements, which were shown to characterize languages such as Russian or French. Instead, Polish Accusative Experiencer objects have all the hallmarks of regular objects, which can be clearly observed in the way how both adjunct control cases and the Super-Equi constructions are computed. Incidentally, I have also shown that Dative Experiencer arguments differ from Accusative Experiencers with respect to control, which supports the idea that they possess at least some subject-like properties. At the same time, however, in various places in this book there is evidence that these properties are not likely to be entirely (if at all) syntactic.

# CONCLUSION

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The main objective of this work has been to show that the syntactic characteristic of Accusative object Experiencers does not seem to be any different from regular non-Experiencer objects, thus rendering a number of available analyses, most notably Belletti and Rizzi (1988) and Landau (2010) unwarranted. In order to accomplish this objective, I divided the book into four chapters, dedicating each of them to specific arguments supporting my central premise.

In Chapter One, it is shown that the unaccusative approach to ObjExp constructions cannot be maintained (at least in its entirety). The chapter starts with a detailed overview of the original arguments used to advance the unaccusative structure of ObjExp constructions. Having presented this line of argumentation, I then proceed to present arguments ranging from Dutch, English, French and Norwegian that in my view successfully invalidate the unaccusative scenario. As there are clearly at least two opposing ways of interpreting the structure of Class II psychological constructions, at the end I turn to Landau (2010), who suggests a way of reuniting the conflicting views. Whether his proposal is empirically feasible is also discussed in Chapter Three.

In Chapter Two, I turn a critical eye to psych effects, which have always given psychological constructions an aura of syntactic mystery. I have shown that the consistent psych effects (as opposed to those which are randomly present in individual languages) can be either explained independently of the purported special status of the Experiencer argument (the T/SM restriction), or their explanation remains puzzling but is not necessarily associated with the Experiencer itself as it also applies to non-psychological constructions. Among the approaches discussed in this chapter, Landau (2010) is noteworthy for the novel idea of perceiving the Experiencer as a prepositional argument undergoing the locative movement in the covert syntax. Being a fairly recent idea, Landau's locative approach to Experiencers is considered in its complexity in parts of Chapters Three and Four.

Chapter Three focuses mainly on Polish. The facts established in the first two chapters are implemented in Polish to find out how this language handles them. Similarly as in the case of English, it is shown that there are no reasons to assume the unaccusative treatment of Polish object Experiencers. This con-

clusion is made possible by the presence of verbal passives in Polish combined with the structural nature of the Accusative on the object Experiencer. Also in this chapter I relate to the analysis of Dative Experiencers in Bondaruk and Szymanek (2007). Although Dative Experiencers are not the core of this thesis, Bondaruk and Szymanek postulate that they are not very distinct from Accusative Experiencers, which has provided motivation for a critical analysis of their proposal. The available evidence I have managed to gather does not seem to warrant the same conclusion. Then, another analysis of Polish psych constructions is discussed (Klimek and Rozwadowska 2004), with an eye to substantiating the claim made by the authors that Agent arguments in agentive object Experiencer constructions are in fact Possessors, which undergo 'splitting' movement from Theme arguments. Klimek and Rozwadowska maintain that this way the T/SM restriction can also be explained. I show that there are problems with the 'splitting' account which may be difficult to overcome by the authors. Instead, I claim that in Agentive object Experiencer constructions Themes are adjuncts, whose presence is non-obligatory. The T/SM restriction is linked to the valency of Class II psych verbs.

Finally, in Chapter Four my primary intention is to make a survey of a number of constructions featuring adjunct control to see if the Experiencer behaves in any special way with regard to its control capacity. What has emerged as a result of this examination is that, as before, nothing out of the ordinary characterizes Accusative Experiencer objects. Interestingly enough, what emerges as a side product of the examination of control structures is a comparative view of Dative and Accusative Experiencer constructions. Not only are they not identical, as suggested in Bondaruk and Szymanek (2007), only one of them behaves like regular objects – Accusative Experiencers, whereas the other one – Dative Experiencers – is shown to display certain subject-like characteristics. Later in this chapter, I have made use of some of the theorizing (partly) published before, especially in Witkoś et al. (2011a-b), Witkoś and Żychliński (2012) and Żychliński (2011, 2013) to draw up a theory of adjunct control with Experiencer objects that can handle the facts observed in Polish without resorting to a special status of the Experiencer. Finally, Chapter Four also shows that the syntax of Super-Equi constructions, which in English singles out Accusative Experiencer objects as behaving in a non-canonical way with regard to control phenomena, does not translate into similarly unconventional control interpretations present in Polish. As before, object Experiencers seem to behave like regular objects.

In sum, I hope to have shown that syntactically speaking object Experiencers are simple objects, generated in the canonical object position (which, I admit it, may be a misleading formulation as the canonical object position is different depending on the framework assumed – what I mean though is that it is no different from where objects are generated) and should be treated as

such. I also hope to have provided ample evidence against some of the proposals seeking to explain the extraordinary features of the behavior of ObjExp verbs through their movement to a position higher up in the structure - nothing corroborates that proposal. Admittedly, certain elements associated with the behavior of ObjExp verbs remain puzzling, most notably facts related to backward binding. In my opinion, such cases only show that syntax alone is not sufficient to handle such derivations (which is by no means a trivial observation); however, I have also shown that these psych properties of ObjExp constructions are not likely to be part of narrow syntax. Incidentally (as it was not the goal of this work), I have also shown how Dative Experiencers differ from Accusative Experiencers, and on the basis of adjunct control data, I have strengthened the argument advanced by some researchers that the behavior of these arguments is in fact a reversely-ordered behavior of regular transitive constructions, which allows the proponents of their unaccusative structure to gain further credence.

At the very end let me go back to the very beginning. There I said that given the young age of the framework of generative linguistics, we the linguists are still wading in the muddy waters of syntactic phenomena, tripping over incorrect analyses and turning back at the end of dead-end explanatory canals. And even though realistically speaking I know well that people will discover new facts and the picture may be different a few years from now, what I hope is that this work will continue to serve as a small contribution to the ongoing project of explaining the language we speak.

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# WYBRANE ZAGADNIENIA Z ZAKRESU SKŁADNI CZASOWNIKÓW Z DOPEŁNIENIEM W POSTACI EKSPERIENCERA W JĘZYKACH POLSKIM I ANGIELSKIM

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## Streszczenie

Argument czasownikowy wyrażony pod postacią Eksperiencera (w literaturze w języku polskim spotyka się również, rzadziej, nazwę „nosiciel stanu”), a także jego dokładny status składniowy stanowią główny problem rozważany w niniejszej książce. Występowanie argumentu typu Eksperiencer cechuje czasowniki zwane czasownikami psychologicznymi, tak więc praca w znacznej mierze odwołuje się do tego typu predykatów. W obrębie czasowników psychologicznych istotne dla pracy są te, które jako dopełnienia wymagają użycia argumentu typu Eksperiencer, oznaczonego przypadkiem gramatycznym biernik (por. Belletti – Rizzi 1988, gdzie znajduje się ogólnie przyjmowana typologia czasowników psychologicznych), choć w rozdziałach trzecim i czwartym odwołuję się również do argumentów typu Eksperiencer oznaczonych przypadkiem celownik. Motywacją do napisania niniejszej rozprawy stał się fakt, że dość często w literaturze przedmiotu przyjmuje się, że argument typu Eksperiencer różni się swym statusem składniowym od typowego dopełnienia (por. Belletti – Rizzi 1988; Landau 2010). Analizując zachowanie Eksperiencerów w języku polskim (oraz angielskim), doszedłem do wniosku, że brakuje wystarczających dowodów na to, by zaakceptować szczególny status tych argumentów. Praca ta zatem ma wykazać, że Eksperiencer generowany w pozycji dopełnienia wykazuje te same właściwości, co argumenty innego typu generowane w pozycji dopełnienia.

Praca składa się ze wstępu, czterech rozdziałów oraz podsumowania. W rozdziale pierwszym odnoszę się do postulatu głoszącego, iż czasowniki psychologiczne z dopełnieniem w postaci Eksperiencera wyrażonego przypadkiem biernika należą do kategorii czasowników inakuzatywnych. Po przedstawieniu argumentów zebranych w pracach Belletti – Rizzi (1988) oraz Grimshaw (1990) skupiam się na kontrargumentach dostępnych

m.in. w pracach Pesetsky'ego (1995), które w przekonujący sposób wskazują, że teza nt. inakuzatywności tej grupy czasowników jest niemożliwa do podtrzymania.

W rozdziale drugim poruszam kwestię szczególnych cech, które w literaturze przedmiotu zazwyczaj przypisywane są czasownikom psychologicznym. Cechy, na których się skupiam, to zjawisko wiązania wstecznego (*backward binding*) oraz zjawisko ograniczonego współwystępowania argumentów typu Cel / Temat (*T/SM restriction*). W przypadku obu zjawisk staram się wykazać, że zjawiska te są niekoniecznie wywołane niestandardową strukturą czasowników psychologicznych. Wręcz przeciwnie, oba zjawiska są albo typowe dla szerszej grupy struktur (dotyczy to wiązania wstecznego), albo są pochodną struktury tematycznej czasownika (ograniczenie współwystępowania Celu / Tematu). Warto zauważyć, że również w rozdziale drugim zaprezentowany jest sposób interpretacji Eksperienców, według którego argumenty te należy traktować jako dopełnienia wyrażeń przyimkowych (Landau 2010), które w składni niejawnej (*covert syntax*) ulegają przesunięciu do wyższej pozycji w derywacyjnej strukturze zdania. W rozdziałach trzecim i czwartym niniejszej pracy gromadzę wystarczającą w moim przekonaniu ilość argumentów, które wskazują na błędność analizy Landaua dla takich języków jak polski i angielski.

Rozdział trzeci to szczegółowa analiza języka polskiego pod kątem problemów poruszanych w rozdziałach pierwszym i drugim. Opierając się na danych pochodzących z różnych języków, a także korzystając z testów diagnostycznych dostępnych w literaturze przedmiotu, pokazuję, że nie ma dowodów na to, by przyjmować, że czasowniki psychologiczne z dopełnieniem w postaci Eksperienca w bierniku zachowują się inaczej (w zakresie omawianych zjawisk) niż czasowniki z dopełnieniem innym niż ten argument. Rozdział zaczyna się od ustalenia, czy w języku polskim dostępne są imiesłowy przymiotnikowe bierne dla czasowników psychologicznych z dopełnieniem w postaci Eksperienca. Ich nieobecność byłaby problematyczna dla podejścia rozwijanego w tej pracy, jednak szereg opisanych w literaturze testów empirycznych wskazuje, że imiesłowy przymiotnikowe bierne współwystępują również z predykatami psychologicznymi. W części dalszej przytoczone są kolejne kontrargumenty dla przyimkowej teorii budowy Eksperienców, następnie przedstawiam porównanie argumentów typu Eksperienca oznaczonych przypadkami biernika i celownika. Ma to na celu ustalenie, czy te dwa argumenty zachowują się pod względem składniowym podobnie, co jest postulowane w pracy Bondaruk – Szymanek (2007). W przeciwieństwie do wspomnianych autorów, analiza nie wskazuje na duże podobieństwo obu argumentów. W końcowej części rozdziału trzeciego rozważane i porównywane są dwa sposoby derywacji czasowników psychologicznych z dopełnieniem pod postacią Eksperienca (Bennis 2000, 2004 i Klimek – Rozwadow-

ska 2004). W toku dyskusji przedstawiam alternatywny sposób wyjaśnienia zjawiska ograniczonego współwystępowania argumentów typu Cel / Temat.

W rozdziale czwartym skupiam się na dwóch obszarach natury empirycznej, tj. kontroli semantycznej niewyrażonego dopełnienia (*PRO*) wyrażen okolicznikowych oraz zjawisku Super-Equi. Szczegółowa analiza obu zagadnień potwierdza przyjęte od początku tej pracy założenie, zgodnie z którym argumenty typu Eksperiencer powinny być od strony składniowej traktowane na równi z kanonicznymi dopełnieniami czasowników niepsychologicznych. Dodatkowo, z lektury tego rozdziału można się dowiedzieć, że argumenty typu Eksperiencer oznaczone przypadkiem celownika są zasadniczo różne od Eksperiencerów oznaczonych biernikiem, co pozwala jeszcze dobitniej podkreślić znikome podobieństwo obu konstrukcji.

Wnioski i obserwacje na temat omawianych zjawisk zebrane są w podsumowaniu. Czytamy tam, że argument typu Eksperiencer zachowuje się od strony składniowej w sposób niczym nie odróżniający go od argumentów innego typu. To nie wyjaśnia oczywiście wszystkich cech charakterystycznych dla konstrukcji, które zawierają ten argument (jak choćby zjawisko wiązania wstecznego) – aby je wyjaśnić, badacz musi wykroczyć poza obszar samej składni i przyjąć współuczestnictwo innych modułów kognitywnych w procesie generowania interpretacji.

Seria wydawnicza Instytutu Lingwistyki Stosowanej

## JĘZYK KULTURA KOMUNIKACJA

ma na celu publikację prac naukowych pracowników Instytutu i współpracujących z nim instytucji i osób w zakresie szeroko rozumianego językoznawstwa i kulturoznawstwa stosowanego.

This book is a valuable contribution to the ongoing discussion of psychological predicates and object Experiencers in particular. With its clear and logical structure, it may serve as a useful reference not only for linguists but also people more generally interested in language-related phenomena. Plenty of technical issues that could overwhelm a more casual reader are cleverly left out of the main text and put in footnotes, which makes the book more accessible to those who are primarily looking for cross-linguistic facts and data and can do without some of the technical intricacies.

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