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Case, tense and finite clausal arguments in Polish[*]

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Abstract

In this paper I discuss Polish data in view of Pesetsky and Torrego's (2001, 2004, 2007) proposals. The data suggest that the issues are more complex than they appear in English, and that extending the analysis to Polish would require modifications shedding light on the entire proposal. The Polish *to*-omission asymmetry, the missing *that*-t effect, distribution of CP arguments, as well as complementation possibilities of nouns and adjectives will be discussed in detail. It will be argued that φ-features must play a role in Agree relations with the Tns probes, contrary to the recent proposals made by the authors.

Key words: tense, case, φ-features, agreement, clausal arguments

Streszczenie

Przypadek i czas a finitywne zdania argumentowe w języku polskim

W artykule omówiona jest analiza przedstawiona przez Davida Pesetsky'ego i Esther Torrego w serii artykułów traktujących o związku przypadka z czasem w świetle danych z języka polskiego. Zastosowanie analizy wspomnianych autorów do języka polskiego wykazuje, że omawiane przez autorów kwestie są znacznie bardziej skomplikowane w języku polskim niż w języku angielskim i że rozszerzenie tej analizy o dane z języka polskiego wymagałoby modyfikacji mających wpływ na całokształt ich analizy. Występujące w języku polskim: asymetria dotycząca obecności bądź pominięcia zaimka *to* w zdaniach argumentowych (mianowicie jego obligatoryjna obecność w pozycji podmiotu czy po przyimku, a opcjonalne

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występowanie w pozycji dopełnienia czasownika), możliwość ekstrakcji podmiotu zdania podrzędnego w obecności *że* (czyli leksykalnego komplementyzera), większa dowolność dystrybucyjna argumentów zdaniowych, a także możliwość posiadania dopełnień rzeczownikowych przez przymiotniki i rzeczowniki, wskazują na to, że język polski systematycznie różni się od angielskiego. Choć analiza Pesetsky'ego i Torrego nie jest w swojej obecnej formie w stanie wyjaśnić wszystkich kwestii dotyczących wyżej wymienionych zjawisk, jest ona na tyle spójna a zarazem atrakcyjna w swoim redukcyjnym podejściu, że warto podjąć się jej modyfikacji aby w rezultacie z powodzeniem można ją było odnieść do wszystkich języków, włączając język polski. W artykule tym podjęta jest więc próba wykazania, że analiza tego typu może być zastosowana do języka polskiego pod warunkiem, że wprowadzone zostaną pewne modyfikacje. Dodatkowo, wykazane zostanie, że niektóre z różnic pomiędzy językami angielskim i polskim są tylko powierzchowne, inne zaś wynikają z głębszych różnic dotyczących składni danego języka.

Słowa klucze: czas, przypadek, kategorie gramatyczne (liczba, osoba, rodzaj), związek zgody, argument zdaniowy

1 The correlation between case, tense and the distribution of clausal arguments in Pesetsky and Torrego's analysis

Pesetsky and Torrego's (henceforth P&T) (2001, 2004, 2007, to appear) analysis is based on the premise that structural case is a reflection of T(ense) checking, i.e. structural case is an u(interpretable)T feature on D (P&T 2001: 361). This analysis accounts for the distribution of DP arguments, which accordingly occur only in positions where their uT may be checked, i.e.

in the domain of a Tns head.[1] Case is not a feature in its own right but merely a consequence of a checking relation with an iT-bearing head. Since there is more than one structural case, there is also more than one Tns within a (transitive) clause, i.e. Tns_S (s=subject) and Tns_O (o=object). Tns_S corresponds to Tns selected by C, responsible for Nom(inative) of the subject; Tns_O is selected by *v* and takes over *v*'s role as the Acc(usative) case-checker (P&T 2004: 503).

(1) Verbal predication structure: Subj Tns_S [$_{vP}$ v Tns_O [$_{VP}$ V Obj]]

P&T extend their analysis to CP and PP arguments and propose that they too must have T-features. These T-features are argued to instantiate iT and therefore make CPs and PPs self-sufficient.[2,3] Condition under (2) (P&T, 2004: 501) accompanied by the provisos given in (3) (P&T to appear: 9) specify potential arguments:

(2) Argument Tense Condition (Case Filter): An argument must bear T (uT or iT).

(3) a. A complement of N must be headed by valued T (✓PP, ✓*that/for*-clause, *DP)

b. A complement of V must be headed by valued φ (✓DP, ✓CP, *PP)[4]

[1] To avoid confusion, I follow P&T (2007: 270) in referring to the category tense as Tns and to the feature tense as T throughout the paper.
[2] Self-sufficiency means here that the T-checking requirements of CPs/PPs are fulfilled CP/PP-internally and need not depend on external Tns probes.
[3] P&T (2004: 518) argue PPs to be exclusively iT, which makes them different from *that/for*-clauses containing both iT and uT (Pesetsky and Torrego ascribe the availability of the uT feature to the timing of the T-feature checking, namely the Tns head moved to C instantiates iT, whereas C itself is uT, depending on when exactly the T-feature of C is deleted by the moved Tns-head, we can have a moment in the derivation in which the uT of C is checked but not yet deleted and thus visible in syntax and available to computation, see P&T 2004: 516). As verbal Tns seeks uT, PPs are excluded from structural case positions. PP arguments are thus argued to be second objects.
[4] This is a changed version of P&T's (2004: 511, 523) earlier proposal: (i) the goal of uφ on verbal T must bear uT; (ii) the goal of uϕ on nominal T_{oN} must bear iT.

That and *for* are analysed as instances of iT moved from Tns to C in finite and infinitival clauses respectively; Nom *who* in subject *wh*-questions is analysed as bearing a valued T (checked against Tns_S), which it shares with the [+*wh*] C in CP. The analysis accounts for the *that/for*-trace effect (Perlmutter 1971), *that/for*-omission asymmetry, as well as the absence of T-to-C in subject *wh*-questions.

(4) *That*-trace effect (P&T, 2004: 498-500)

a. What do you think [Mary read ___]? → non-subject *wh* (optional *that*)

b. What do you think [that Mary read ___]?

c. Who do you think [___ read the book]? → subject *wh* (**that*)

d. *Who do you think [that ___ read the book]?

(5) *For*-trace effect

* Who would you prefer [for ___ to buy the book]?

(6) *That*-omission asymmetry

a. Mary thinks [that Sue left]. → non-subject CP (optional *that*)

b. Mary thinks [Sue left].

c. [That Sue left] is obvious. → subject CP (obligatory *that*)

d.* [Sue left] is obvious.

(7) *For*-omission asymmetry

a. Mary would prefer [for Sue to leave] → non-subject CP (optional *for*)

b. Mary would prefer [Sue to leave]

c. [For Sue to leave] would be desirable. → subject CP (obligatory *for*)

d.* [Sue to leave] would be desirable.

(8) T-to-C asymmetry in matrix questions (Koopman 1983)

a. What a nice book Mary read ___ ! → non-subject *wh* ("optional" T-to-C)

b. What did Mary read ___ ?

c. Who ___ read the book? → subject *wh* (no T-to-C)

d.* Who did ___ read the book?

e.* What a nice person did ___ read the book!

P&T's analysis thus provides an account for the relative freedom of CP arguments and the completely dependent nature of DP arguments; it tells us why CPs, unlike DPs, may also be arguments to As and Ns.[5]

(insert Table 1 about here)

Because the adjectival predication structure does not include a Tns_O (P&T 2004: 505): Subj T_s [$_{aP}$ a [$_{AP}$ A Obj]], it follows that As are insensitive to the presence of T-features, which in effect means that their complements must be self-sufficient, or else their features would not be checked.

The obligatory presence of *that/for* in subject clauses (cf. (6c, d)) was initially argued to result from the Match Condition on EPP-checking in P&T (2001, 2004), which stated that only CPs containing iT could satisfy the EPP of Tns_S and count as Nom (as *that/for* are instances of iT, the CPs introduced by them fulfilled it), which accounted for why *that/for* was

[5] In Table 1 for the sake of completeness I represent after Pesetsky and Torrego (2004) the availability of infinitival (realis and irrealis) clauses as complements, however in the present paper I restrict my attention only to finite clausal complements in Polish and English and leave the possible correlations between infinitival clausal complements for future research.

optional/omissible in clausal objects to verbs. The Match Condition has been replaced in P&T (2007: 269) by a different proposal based on the independence of feature interpretability and valuation: T of Tns_S is now assumed to be interpretable but unvalued, and T of *v* is assumed to be uninterpretable, although valued. The Agree relation (Chomsky 1999, 2001) established between the two gives us the same value for both (that of *v*), allows checking of *v*'s uT (and subsequent checking and valuation of uT on (the subject) DP; eventually, all three are instances of the same T).

(9) ... $Tns_{iT[\ ]}$...[$_{v\ uT+past}$ walked] ...→... $Tns_{iT\mathbf{[2]}}$...[$_{v\ uT+past\mathbf{[2]}}$ walked] (P&T 2007: 271)

Nom case and φ-features play no role, being mere by-products of Agree, hence do not contribute to the explanation of the aforementioned facts (P&T, 2007: 277). The account of the *that*-omission asymmetry follows solely from the requirements of Tns_S:

(10) Optionality of *that* in declarative CP-complement to V

a. Option 1: Move Tns to C (*that*) (P&T 2007: 284)

Mary thinks [$_{CP}$[$_{Tns}$ **iT**+fut[5]]+[C, uT[5]] [$_{IP}$[Sue, uT[5]] ___ buy the book]]

Mary thinks that Sue will buy the book

b. Option 2: Move the Nom subject to Spec,CP

Mary thinks [$_{CP}$[Sue, uT[5]]+[C, uT[5]] [$_{IP}$ ___ [$_{Tns}$ iT+fut[5]] buy the book]]

Mary thinks Sue will buy the book

After the deletion of the checked uninterpretable features had taken place, the CP in (10a) still contains an instance of iT (marked in bold) in C, but the one in (10b) does not, which

accounts for why only *that*-clauses are eligible subjects: only *that*-clauses have iT_{val} that the matrix Tns_S can probe.[6]

DP arguments always contain an instance of uT and being probed by verbal Tns results in checking/valuation of this feature (when valued, we perceive it as structural Case on DP). In the case of subject DPs, even though the T-feature of Tns_S is unvalued at first, it will receive a value upon Agree with *v*'s uT_{val} and then share it with the subject DP; because the DP and *v* both bear uT, their checked uT will be eventually deleted, leaving Tns_S as the only representative (P&T, 2007: 277-278).[7]

2 Polish data bearing on Pesetsky and Torrego's proposals

The analysis proposed by P&T provides a unified account of the phenomena in (4)-(8), and successfully predicts the complementation strategies of lexical categories (N, A, V) in English. This versatility is undoubtedly what makes it so singularly attractive and therefore a desirable approach to employ. Polish data to be presented here pose some challenges for P&T's analysis. The authors themselves (2001: 392, crediting Barbara Citko) mention and speculate upon one particular issue pertaining to Polish clausal arguments: the *to*-omission asymmetry in subject/object clauses, which they never take up in their later work. In what follows, I will present a discussion of Polish data in the light of P&T's proposals and present solutions which are based on their work, but which also divert from it in crucial respects. Comparable Polish data show that it systematically differs from English. These differences, in

[6] The question arises as to why the value of T in the embedded clause is not the one that surfaces on the matrix Tns. P&T propose checking without valuation, i.e. for checking it only matters that the T-feature is [±] and the encyclopaedic specification (ES), i.e. present, future, etc., is ignored (P&T, 2007: 286); because the valued uT of matrix *v* needs checking and this tense value has not yet been interpreted (as opposed to the one within the subject CP), the matrix $T(ns)_S$ values its T against it, which is why the tense we observe in the matrix clause is the one introduced by the matrix v.

[7] P&T (2007: 271, 279) mention developing a similar account for the object case-checking and Tns_O. To avoid speculation, I will only refer to the existing analyses.

particular the absence in Polish of the phenomena paralleling those in (4)-(8), will be argued to stem from the more general properties of Polish syntax (nominal architecture, *wh*-question formation, existence of lexical and inheritable case). Additionally, it will be argued that although both Polish and English are subject-agreement languages, they employ divergent strategies in identifying their subjects: where English makes use of T-features, Polish makes use of φ-features. Due to this, English requires that its subjects have some instance of T (either iT (CPs) or uT (DPs)), and Polish requires that they have φ-features, hence are always nominal.[8] Polish thus calls for subjects which are able to bear case and trigger sentential agreement (DPs/NPs).[9] In English φ-features appear to be secondary – their appearance on Tns a mere by-product of Agree; in Polish the data suggest that φ-features play a significant role in Agree relations with Tns heads, which is why it will be argued that both T and φ-features are relevant to their establishment.

I begin with a presentation of complementation strategies employed by Ns and As, which shed light on P&T's overall proposal and create the basis for my later proposals concerning the correlation between T/case and φ-features. Next I discuss the absence in Polish of the phenomena exemplified in (4)-(8) with special reference to P&T's tentative suggestions as to the treatment of the *to*-omission asymmetry.

2.1 Noun and adjective complementation

[8] One does not exclude the other: we have φ-feature bearing DP subjects with uT in both languages, but we have φ-feature bearing *to*-clauses only in Polish, where iT in C is not enough for clauses to become subjects, as opposed to the T-oriented English.

[9] It appears that the most crucial of these two properties is actually case: although both case (on the noun) and agreement (on the verbal/Tns head) result from the same T-checking relation, the data suggest that the case-marking of the subject is paramount in Polish, whereas the sharing of agreement features plays a secondary role to case-marking (nevertheless, it happens whenever possible). I will come back to this issue and elaborate on it later in section 2.2 (see in particular footnote 15).

Sentences given below exemplify the possibilities of N and A complementation in Polish. As the examples show, under certain circumstances and contrary to P&T's predictions, Ns (11)-(12) and As (13)-(14) allow non-self-sufficient complements.

(11) a. Wiedza [(***tego**), [$_{CP}$ **że** zapomniałeś o spotkaniu ...]]
knowledge.NOM this.GEN that forgot.2.SG.M about meeting.LOC
'The knowledge that you forgot about the meeting...'

b. Wiedza, [$_{PP}$ **o** twoim spóźnieniu /**tym, że** się spóźniłeś] martwi mnie.
knowledge.NOM about [your lateness].LOC /this.LOC that self late2.SG.M worries me.ACC
'The knowledge about your lateness/that you were late worries me.'

c. [Wiedza [$_{NP}$ Marii]] robi wrażenie.
knowledge.NOM Mary.GEN makes impression
'Mary's knowledge is impressive.'

(12) a. Oto dowód [(**tego**), [$_{CP}$ **że** Maria jest oszustką]].
this evidence.NOM (this.GEN) that Mary.NOM is cheat.INST
'This is (a piece of) evidence that Mary is a cheat.'

b. Oto dowód [$_{PP}$ **na** [**to,** [$_{CP}$ **że** Maria jest oszustką]]].
this evidence.NOM for this.ACC that Mary.NOM is cheat.INST
'This is evidence that Mary is a cheat.'

c. Oto dowód [$_{PP}$ **na** [(Marii) oszustwo]].
this evidence.NOM for (Mary.GEN) cheating.ACC
'This is evidence for (Mary's) cheating.'

d. Oto dowód [$_{NP}$ (Marii) oszustwa (Marii)].
this evidence (Mary$_{GEN}$) cheating$_{GEN}$ (Mary$_{GEN}$)
'This is evidence of (Mary's) cheating/the cheating of Mary.'

(13) a. Piotr jestprzerażony [**(tym)**, [$_{CP}$ **że** ma kleszcza]].
Peter.NOM is horrified.NOM(this.INST) that.NOM has tick.ACC
'Peter is horrified that he has a tick.'

b. Piotr jest przerażony [$_{NP}$ całym zajściem].
Peter.NOM is horrified.NOM [whole situation].INST
'Peter is horrified by the whole situation.'

(14) a. Piotr jest głupi/pewny, [$_{CP}$ **że** chce wychowywać dziecko].
Peter.NOM is stupid/sure.NOM that wants bring-up.INF child.ACC
'Peter is stupid/sure that he wants to bring up his child.'

b. Piotr jest *głupi/pewny [**tego**, [$_{CP}$ **że** chce wychowywać dziecko]].
Peter.NOM is stupid/sure.NOM this.GENthat wants bring-up.INF child.ACC
'Peter is stupid/sure that he wants to bring up his child.'

c. Piotr jest *głupi/pewny [$_{NP}$ swojej decyzji].
Peter.NOM is stupid/sure.NOM [his decision].GEN
'Peter is *stupid/sure of his decision.'

d. Piotr jest głupi/pewny [$_{PP}$ w porównaniu z tobą].
Peter.NOM is stupid/sure.NOM in comparison with you.INST
'Peter is stupid/self-assured in comparison with you.'

It must be noted right away that all Polish Ns misbehave in one way or another with respect to P&T's proposals. Underived Ns, e.g. *brat* 'brother' or *biurko* 'desk', always allow a genitive possessor complement (Gen_{POSS}), as well as a self-sufficient PP (*brat od innej matki* 'brother from another mother', *biurko przy oknie* 'the desk by the window'), but never clauses. Underived As, on the other hand, behave exactly as predicted by P&T: allow exclusively iT complements (PPs and *że*-clauses). Derived Ns and As, however, constitute the biggest challenge here as their complementation strategies seem to parallel those of the source categories, which in turn calls into question P&T's contextual determination of lexical categories:

(15) Contextual determination of lexical categories (P&T, 2004: 525)

a. Pr(edicate) is morphologically V when associated with T_O that seeks uT.

b. Pr is morphologically N when associated with T_O that seeks iT.

c. Otherwise, Pr is morphologically A.

While (15) accounts for environments where only structural case is at stake, it leaves lexical case environments completely unexplained.[10] In Polish we find related lexical items (16) which do not check structural case, but which share their complementation strategies; (15) cannot distinguish between them.

(16) a. *pewność* 'certainty' (N) vs. *pewny* 'certain' (A):

both check Gen on their nominal complement[11]

[10] One cannot argue that lexically case-marked Ns are PPs introduced by a silent P, i.e. second objects, as evidence from binding and control in double object constructions (DOCs) suggests DP/NP status of both objects. Polish DOCs also do not show Dative alternation (see Witkoś, in preparation).

[11] This is not the Gen_{POSS} which they also have. The two types of Gen never co-occur.

b. *oddać się* 'commit' (V) vs. *oddanie* 'commitment' (N) vs. *oddany* 'committed' (A): all check Dat on their complement

c. *przerażać* 'horrify' (V) vs. przerażenie 'horror' (N) vs. *przerażony* 'horrified' (A): all check Inst on their complement

I will refer to instances of shared lexical case as inherited case. Let us now consider (11)-(14) in detail. The most taxing examples at present are the ones with derived Ns: *wiedza* 'knowledge' (11) and *dowód* 'piece of evidence' (12). They are derived from verbs *wiedzieć* 'know' and *dowieść/dowodzić* 'prove' respectively, whose complementation strategies I compare below under (17)/(18), and summarize in (19).

(17) a. Dowiodę (**tego**) /Wiem (**to**), **że** się spóźniłaś.
prove.1.SG.FUT this.GEN/know.1.SG.FUT this.ACC that self late.2.SG.F.PAST
'I'll prove/I know it that you were late.'

b. Dowiodę [$_{NP}$twojego spóźnienia]./*Wiem [$_{NP}$ twoje spóźnienie].
prove.1.SG.FUT [your lateness].GEN/know.1.SG.FUT [your lateness].ACC
'I'll prove/*I know your being late.'

c. Wiedziałem [$_{PP}$ o [twoim spóźnieniu]].[12]
knew.1.SG.M about [your lateness].LOC
'I knew about your lateness.'

d. Dowiodę [$_{NP}$ faktu, że…]/*Wiem [$_{NP}$ fakt, że się spóźniłaś].
prove.1.SG.FUT fact.GEN that.../know.1.SG.FUT fact.ACC that self late.2.SG.F

[12] An anonymous reviewer for SPL pointed out that *dowieść/dowodzić* 'prove' does not allow a PP complement, which is why I have removed from (17c) the earlier present *Dowiodłem [$_{PP}$ o [twoim spóźnieniu]* 'I proved (about) your lateness' for which I have found a small number of google hits (54 hits). The reviewer is of course right in pointing out that such a construction is unavailable in either dictionaries or corpora of Polish; crucially, its unavailability is just an idiosyncratic property of this verb and sheds no light on the analysis, as the verb still allows a self-sufficient complement in the form of a *że*-clause (recall that PP-complements are fully self-sufficient).

'I'll prove the fact/??I know the fact, that you were late.'

(18) a. wiedza /dowód, [$_{CP}$ **że** się spóźniłaś…]
knowledge/evidence.NOM that self late late.2.SG.F.PAST
'the knowledge/evidence that you were late...'

b.* wiedza /✓dowód [**tego,** [$_{CP}$ **że** się spóźniłaś…]]
knowledge/evidence.NOM this.GEN that self late.2.SG.F.PAST
'the knowledge/evidence that you were late...'

c.* wiedza/✓dowód [$_{NP}$ twojego spóźnienia]
knowledge/evidence.NOM [your lateness].GEN
'the knowledge/evidence of your lateness'

d. wiedza [$_{PP}$ o **tym**, **że**…]/dowód [$_{PP}$ na **to**, **że** znikł…
knowledge.NOM about this.LOC that /evidence.NOM for this.ACC that vanished
'the knowledge about/evidence for him having vanished...'

e. wiedza/dowód [$_{NP}$ tego człowieka]
knowledge/evidence [this man].gen$_{POSS}$
'this man's knowledge/evidence'

Wiedzieć checks only structural case which cannot be inherited (i.e. it is a property of V only), and selects a propositional argument: it allows clauses, but not Ns, as complements. This means that its derived N *wiedza* cannot take nominal complements either (apart from Gen$_{POSS}$ characteristic of all Ns). However, the derived N *dowód* clearly inherits the case-marking properties of *dowieść/dowodzić*.

(19) *dowodzić* (V) → *dowód* (N) vs. *wiedzieć* (V) → *wiedza* (N)

a. DP	✓	✓/✓$_{POSS}$	×	×/✓$_{POSS}$
b. PP	×	✓	✓	✓
c. *że*-clause	✓	✓	✓	✓
d. *to*-clause	✓	✓	✓	×

It will be argued later that *to*-clauses are actually DPs, which on the face of it is problematic in view of the facts about *wiedzieć*. As we can see in (19), it does not allow nominal complements, hence it should also disallow *to*-clauses if they are nominal (like its derived N *wiedza*), contrary to facts. The crucial difference between *wiedzieć* (V) and *wiedza* (N) is that *wiedzieć* has verbal Tns$_O$, i.e. structural case, which satisfies the *to*-clause, but which is not inheritable, so *wiedza* (N) will not have such a possibility. The *to*-clause is propositional, thus satisfying the selectional properties of the verb[13]; the inherited selectional properties of the noun *wiedza* can therefore be satisfied only via self-sufficient *że*-clauses.

Clearly, these facts cannot be accounted for solely on the basis of the differences between verbal Tns$_O$ (requiring valued φ, P&T, to appear: 9) and nominal Tns$_{oN}$ (requiring valued T), as such an approach leaves unexplained the unacceptable (17b,d), with *wiedzieć* (with uT nominal complements predicted to be fine), and the grammatical (17c) (an iT PP) predicted to be wrong. It also does no justice to the properties of *dowodzić* (V) and its derived noun *dowód*. The properties of these lexical items can only be accounted for if selectional properties and lexical case inheritance are taken into account. The same concerns As in (13) and (14). The derived ones (*przerażony* 'horrified' and *pewny* 'sure') allow all types of complementation, both uT and iT, whereas the underived *głupi* 'stupid', allows only iT complements. In P&T's analysis As are assumed not to have any Tns, which makes them indifferent to its presence/absence (yet, their complements must be self-sufficient). *Że*-clauses

[13] P&T (2004: 514): "the satisfaction of selectional properties takes priority over satisfaction of (35) [here (3)]"; in other words the requirements of Tns are inferior to the selectional requirements of the lexical head. This also accounts for the Gen$_{POSS}$ available to all nouns.

are thus unproblematic, but all uT complements (*to*-clauses, Ns) should be excluded. The only A that conforms to these predictions is the uderived *głupi*. Constructions (13a, b) with *przerażony*, as well as (14b, c) with *pewny* are predicted ungrammatical. They are not, because these As have inherited lexical case: Inst(rumental) of *przerażony* 'horrified' (inherited from *przerażać* 'horrify' (V)), and Gen of *pewny* 'sure' paralleling the one checked by *pewność* 'certainty' (N). For ease of exposition and reference, I summarize the findings in *Table 2*.

(**insert Table 2 about here**)

2.2 The *to*-omission asymmetry in Polish finite clausal arguments and the (missing) *że* (*'that'*)-trace effect

Polish clausal arguments exhibit a *to*-omission asymmetry, which is deceptively similar to the English *that*-omission asymmetry, i.e. the presence of *to* 'this', like the presence of *that*, is obligatory in subject clauses and optional in object clauses.

(20) a. [**To,** [$_{CP}$ **że** Maria się spóźniła]] zaskoczyło Piotra.
[this.NOM that Mary.NOM self late.3.SG.F.PAST] surprised.3.SG.N Peter.ACC
'That Mary was late surprised Peter.'

b.* [$_{CP}$ **Że** Maria się spóźniła] zaskoczyło Piotra.
[that Mary.NOM self late.3.SG.F.PAST] surprised.3.SG.N Peter.ACC
'That Mary was late surprised Peter.'

c. Piotr nie wiedział [(**tego**), [$_{CP}$ **że** Maria się spóźni]].
Peter.NOM not knew.3.SG.M (this.GEN) that Mary.NOM self late.3.SG.FUT

'Peter knew that Mary is going to be late.'

d. Piotr wiedział [**(to),** [$_{CP}$ **że** Maria się spóźni]].
Peter.NOM knew.3.SG.M (this.ACC) that Mary.NOM self late.3.SG.FUT
'Peter knew that Mary is going to be late.'

Importantly, *że* assumed to be a counterpart of English *that* (i.e. iT in C), is always present in embedded clauses. As we can see, *to* is the exponent of the checked cases: Nom in the subject position (20a), Acc in the object position (20b)[14], Gen under negation (20c) (including lexical cases of verbs and prepositions shown in section 2.1)

P&T make two suggestions with respect to the Polish *to*-omission asymmetry, which I address immediately. Below is the statement issued in P&T(2001: 392):

> We have not investigated these structures carefully enough to determine exactly what feature *to* adds to *że* that allows CP to function as a specifier of the higher TP. Perhaps Polish is like English, except that it has an overt complementizer *że*, and *to* is a realization of (interpretable)T moved to C, like English *that*. Or perhaps *to że* is a form of *że* that contains φ-features otherwise missing from *że*. For present purposes, what matters is the apparent existence of a contrast similar to the *that*-omission asymmetry that does not involve an empty C. (P&T, 2001: 393)

I begin with the second suggestion, namely that *'to, że'* could be an alternant of *że* with φ-features. This proposal is problematic in view of the following facts:

(22) a. To, czy Maria się zgodzi, zależy tylko od ciebie.

[14] *To* has syncretic Nom/Acc forms, which is typical of neuter Ns. One can test whether Acc is structural by placing it under Neg where it always changes into Gen.

this.NOM if Mary.NOM self agree.3.SG.FUT depends only from you.GEN
'Whether Mary agrees, depends only on you.'

b. To, komu Maria pomaga, jest wyłącznie jej sprawą.
this.NOM whom.DAT Mary.NOM helps is exclusively [her business].INST
'Whomever Mary helps is exclusively her business.'

c. To, kto pomaga Marii nie powinno cię interesować.
this.NOM who.NOM helps Mary.DAT not should you.ACC interest.INF
'Who is helping Mary is none of your business.'

(23) a. Pytałem (o to), czy Maria się zgodzi.
asked.1.SG.M (about this.ACC) if Mary. NOM self agree.3.SG.FUT
'I asked whether Mary would agree.'

b. Nie pamietałem (tego), komu Maria pomaga.
not remembered. 1.SG.M (this.GEN) whom.DAT Mary. NOM helps
'I did not remember whom Mary was helping.'

Constructions with *'to, że'* parallel those in (22)-(23), so if *'to, że'* were to be *że*+φ-features, this would have to be a more productive pattern affecting the question particle *czy* (used in yes/no questions), and *wh*-pronouns. While *czy* does not exhibit any φ-features itself (similarly to *że*), this cannot be said about the *wh*-pronouns which by definition are exponents of φ-features. How would we account for the additional agreement features on these pronouns? And why would they be allowed not to agree with each other? All these facts fall into place the moment we do not assume that *to* belongs within the embedded CP, as I will argue below.

Another issue concerns the intonation pattern, a clue to which we have in orthography: *'to, że'* is always broken up by a pause and without exception spelled with a comma between them; if *że* and *to* were to be one head (either created in syntax, possibly via Matushansky style m-merger, which is an analysis referred to in P&T, or bundled before it), their actual pronunciation would be rather unexpected, especially that heads which are proposed to undergo similar mergers never show such behavior (e.g. wanna/gonna-type contractions, Saxon Genitive, cliticization, e.g. as in French *Je m'appelle...* 'My name is...').[15] In view of these facts, it is safe to say that *'to, że'* cannot be understood as a φ-feature bearing alternant of complementizer *że*, although there is no doubt that *to* itself is a bearer of φ-features.[16]

[15] We find instances of *że* merged with *to* (*toż*), *czy* (*czyż*) and *wh*-words, but in these constructions *że* functions solely as an emphatic particle, and splitting it from these lexical items gives ungrammatical results:
(i) **Toż** on to wiedział wcześniej! (***To, że** on to wiedział wcześniej.)
but he.NOM this.ACC knew.3.SG.M before!
'But he knew about this before!'
(ii) **Któż** ci to powiedział. (***Kto że** ci to powiedział?)
whoever you.SG.DAT this.ACC told. 3.SG.M (who that you this told)
'Who on earth told you this?'

[16] The φ-features of *to*, however, may be of the default type. Although the pronoun seems to trigger 3.SG.N agreement which seems to be in accordance with its specification (a third person neuter pronoun), in the constructions discussed here the agreement properties exhibited by *to* in *to, że*-clauses are not necessarily inherent to the pronoun. Most certainly *to* enters into a checking relation with Tns and bears the relevant case-marking resulting from that relation, however, it appears that it does not trigger agreement. As rightly pointed out by the anonymous reviewer for SPL, if *to* were to trigger agreement on the Tns head with which it enters a checking relation, we would expect to find plural agreement in coordinated constructions in which we have a conjunction of two *to, że*-clauses. This, however, is not the case as we can see in the following example proposed by the reviewer:
(i) To, że wygra i to, że przegra jest/*są równie prawdopodobne.
However unexpected, it seems that this could be a property intrinsic to the pronoun *to* because even without clausal complements it still does not trigger plural agreement in conjunctions (ii), unless its reference is human, which is when plural agreement is required (ii c) (with the virile *są ładni*) and (iii):
(ii) a. To i to jest/* prawdopodobne.
this$_{3.SG.N}$ and this$_{3.Sg.N}$ is/*are probable
'Both this and that is probable.'
b. To i to mi się podoba/*podobają.
this$_{3.SG.N}$ and this$_{3.Sg.N}$ me appeals/*appeal
'Both this and that appeals to me.'
c. Ten i ten jest ładny/*są ładne/są ładni.
this$_{3.SG.M}$ and this$_{3.SG.M}$ *was pretty/*were$_{NV}$ pretty$_{NV}$/were$_{V}$ pretty$_{V}$ at meeting
'Both this one and that one are pretty.'
(iii) a. Ta i ta *było/były na zebraniu.
this$_{3.SG.F}$ and this$_{3.SG.F}$ *was/were at meeting
'Both this one and that one were at the meeting.'
b. Ten i ten *było/byli na zebraniu.
this$_{3.SG.M}$ and this$_{3.SG.M}$ *was/were at meeting
'Both this one and that one were at the meeting.'
Clearly, there is more to pronoun *to* than meets the eye, nevertheless, what is crucial to our present discussion is that the apparent lack of intrinsic features does not appear to be a property which is specific to clausal complements, but rather a more general property of *to*. What does have a bearing on the present analysis is the fact that Polish seems to mark subjecthood primarily by the presence of case, and agreement plays a secondary role, which suggests that P&T's proposal according to which T-features are more important than φ-features may also be true for Polish, and the difference boils down to the overt expression of case, i.e. the checked T on D (recall that Nom is uT on D).

With respect to the other proposal, indeed, it is tempting to translate Polish *to* into English *that*, as these are the relevant optionally omissible items; however, there are good reasons to believe that *to* cannot be treated like *that* if both were to be understood as instances of iT.[17] An analysis along these lines would leave unexplained the role of complementizer *że* in these clauses as well as the case-marking that *to* bears in various case environments. Following P&T's (2007) proposal, we could argue that *to* bears unvalued iT, but then it would be highly unusual that being part of the embedded CP it would not value it CP-internally against the available C/T. Which is why I propose that not only is *to* not within the embedded CP, but that it is not an iT head, either. I will continue to assume Polish *że* to be a counterpart of English *that* in P&T's terms, i.e. as iT in C, but *to* will be argued to be an instance of uT.

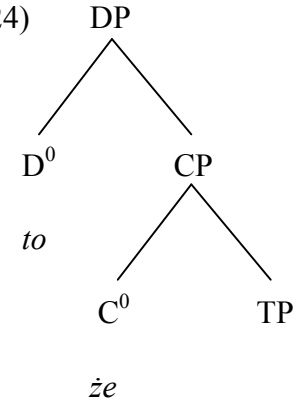
P&T's data given in (10) show that English makes use of two different strategies to satisfy uT on C: either moving *that* or the subject DP; it also shows that only a *that*-clause can be further probed by matrix Tns and become a clausal subject. Polish makes use of only one of these strategies: movement of *że* (iT) to C, which makes it all the more surprising that *że*-clauses cannot be subjects (cf. (20b)), while their English counterparts can. In fact, Polish clausal subjects must be introduced by *to*: a pronoun, which I propose is an instance of D[18] bearing uT and taking a CP complement. This pronoun, I propose, is merged with CP and projects into a DP on top of it. In subject clauses its presence is necessary due to the

[17] Naturally, this opens up a possibility of English *that* being actually like Polish *to*, and we could say that English differs from Polish in always having a null C (a counterpart of the always overt Polish *że*), something that P&T (to appear: 7) actually say. If *that* were like *to* it would not be in C or be an instance of iT, but an uT on D. This option however would leave us with no explanation for why *that*-clauses make successful complements to N and A (unless, of course, P&T are wrong about N/A complementation, which I do not believe is the case). I will leave this issue for future research.

[18] I assume pronouns to be exponents of person in D (Lyons 1999, Longobardi 2008, Bernstein 2008) and it could be that the demonstrative pronoun is clitic-like as suggested by Cardinaletti (1994), Cardinaletti & Starke (1999), or Chomsky (1995).

requirement that Polish subjects bear φ-features, in object clauses it becomes available as an exponent of case morphology.[19,20]

(24)



It is this pronoun within subject clauses that enters into Agree with Tns_S. As a result it bears Nom and triggers sentential agreement, constituting a way of identifying the subject.[21,22] That this idea is plausible is further supported by the fact that *to* in object clauses is preferred

[19] Citko (2004: 114) presents an analysis of relative clauses in which she names *to* as one of the possible light heads. Importantly, in such relative clauses the light head is not omissible (Citko 2004: 116); it also need not agree with the relative pronoun, just like it is the case with *to* in clausal arguments, and this is because it is not part of the CP within which the relative pronoun resides.

(i) Czytam to, co lubię.
read.1.SG.PRES this.ACC what.ACC like.1.SG.PRES
'I read what I like.'

(ii) Nie czytam *(tego), co lubię
not read.1.SG.PRES this.GEN what.ACC like.1.SG.PRES
'I don't read what I like.'

My analysis is based on the same assumption, *to* is not within the CP where the *wh*-words, *że* and *czy* reside.

[20] The structure I propose is like the one proposed by Citko (2004: 114) for light-headed relative clauses, as well as Adger & Quer (2001: 118) for their unselected embedded questions (UEQ). In fact, both analyses complement the one I am presenting. As shown in fn. 19 above, example (ii) proves that the light head cannot be part of the embedded CP (*to* bears Gen of negation induced by the matrix Neg) just like it is the case with *to* in clausal arguments. Polish UEQs make use of *to* in a parallel fashion to declarative clauses (i.e. *to* is obligatory in subject clauses), but they are unavailable as objects of verbs that do select questions (i):

(i) Zapytałem/Zastanawiałem się (*to) czy idziesz na lunch.
asked/wondered.1.SG.M self (*this?) if go.2.SG.PRES for lunch.ACC
'I asked if you were going to lunch.'

(ii) Nie wiedziałem (tego), czy idziesz na lunch.
not knew.1.SG.M (this.GEN) if go.2.SG.PRES for lunch.ACC
'I didn't know if you were going to lunch.'

[21] Although, see also fn. 15 where it is suggested that case plays a more important, primary role in the identification of the subject and that agreement borne by the verbal/Tns head is of secondary importance here.

[22] We would thus expect that in object agreement languages what is true of Polish subject clauses, is true of object clauses. This prediction seems to be borne out by Hungarian, where clausal arguments are introduced by a pronoun triggering definite agreement on the verb. Without the verbal definite conjugation, the clause is not recognized as the object (K.É. Kiss 2004: 231-233).

whenever the case environment is other than structural Acc (an idea also credited by P&T to Barbara Citko, 2001: 415): *to* is less likely to be omitted when it is an exponent of lexical case. Moreover, it is obligatory when the clause is a complement of a preposition (cf. (12b) and (18b)). Because the effects of lexical case-checking are only visible on the case-bearer in Polish, the system provides a way to expose the results of these relations.[23] If one goes back to P&T's earlier proposals where Agree between uφ on Tns and uT/iφ-heads resulted in agreement for one and case for the other, the expression of lexical cases could also be put down to some such Agree relation. The data discussed in section 2.1 suggest that lexical case is inheritable, and most probably constitutes a property of the root itself (cf. (16)). Nevertheless, it seems that its realization is still mediated by the functional projections enveloping the root. Possible evidence comes from the ban on realization of two Gen arguments available to the derived N *dowód* 'piece of evidence'. *Dowód* checks both Gen inherited from the verb (25a), and Gen_{POSS} (25b), but only one at a time (25c). This suggests that there is an interaction between them; note, however, that the nominal Gen_{POSS} becomes available only after the root had been determined as N, so we should probably be looking at nP (see also Alexiadou et al. 2007).

(25) a. dowody oszustwa
evidence.NOM.PL fraud.GEN
'evidence of fraud'

b. Marii dowody (Marii)
Mary.GEN evidence.NOM.PL (Mary.GEN)
'Mary's evidence'

c.* Marii dowody oszustwa

[23] These lexical cases are at the same time inherent (Chomsky 1986), but see Woolford 2006 for an alternative treatment; Woolford's proposal faces a problem with e.g. the inherent Gen_{POSS} which originates in a complement position in Polish).

Mary.GEN evidence.NOM.PL fraud.GEN

'Mary's evidence of fraud'

In English both genitives are allowed (see translation in (25c)) and they make use of the complement to N and Spec,DP positions respectively. English Gen_{POSS} in nominalizations shows parallel behavior to the verbal external argument (Chomsky 1970), and similarly to clausal subjects moves from its original position (Spec,nP) to land in Spec,DP, where it is licensed. The situation in Polish, however, is very different: there can only be one genitive argument per noun. Willim (2000) convincingly argues that this property correlates with the availability of only one slot for genitive arguments: complement to N (which suggests that Spec,nP is not available as an argument position). It appears then that the light head *n* is responsible for the realization of lexical Gen and establishes an Agree relation with the eligible goals. These goals are consistently uT/iφ, which leads me to believe that *n* itself is a bearer of these features. Possibly, other light heads (*v*, *a*) are responsible for the realization of their inherited lexical cases, thus accounting for the data in section 2.1.

Willim further argues that the lack of double Gen constructions in Polish results from the absence of the DP layer in nominals (contra Abney's (1987) DP Hypothesis), therefore there is no Spec,DP in which the second Gen argument could be licensed. This view has been extensively argued for by Bošković (2005, 2009), who follows Willim's proposal. This means that the top nominal projection is not DP in Polish, but some other functional projection (e.g. KP; Willim 2000, Alexiadou et al. 2007).[24]

Although Bošković adamantly defends the no-DP Hypothesis for article-less languages, he admits in reference to Progovac's (1998) analysis that even in these languages, pronominal

[24] A discussion on the exact nature of this projection would take us too far afield, which is why I do not commit to any analysis here, but see Willim (2000), Bošković (2005), Progovac (1998), Rutkowski (2007), and Pereltsvaig (2007).

categories can be Ds,[25] which is what I have been assuming for the pronoun *to* throughout. Bošković's evidence is based mainly on the availability of the so-called Left Branch Extractions and adjunct extractions which are banned in languages with articles and possible in those without them (e.g. Polish) (Willim 2000, Bošković 2005). Interestingly, adjectival LBE and adjunct extractions are also blocked in Polish if the nominals are introduced by personal pronouns (Ds): [26,27]

(26) a. Przyjechali (oni) wielcy językoznawcy.
arrived.3.PL.V(IRILE) [(they) great linguists].NOM
'The great linguists have arrived.'

b. Wielcy przyjechali (*oni) językoznawcy.
great.NOM arrived.3.PL.VIRILE [(*they) linguists].NOM
'*[By great] we were welcomed ___ linguists.'

(27) a. Witali nas (oni) wielcy językoznawcy z Cambridge.
welcomed.3.PL.V us [(they) great linguists].NOM from Cambridge
'We were welcomed by the great linguists from Cambridge.'

b. Z jakiego miasta witali nas (*oni) wielcy językoznawcy?
from [which city].GEN welcomed.3.PL.V us [(*they) great linguists].NOM
'*[From which city] did the great linguists ___ welcome us?'

[25] "The strongest arguments for DP in SC concern pronouns (see Progovac 1998). It is worth noting in this respect that nothing in Corver's analysis or the discussion below would actually change if pronouns are Ds, more precisely, the only Ds in SC." (Bošković 2005: 6)
[26] I follow Postal (1970), Lyons (1999), Panagiotidis (2002, 2003), and Bernstein (2008) in assuming that personal pronouns function as determiners in such examples.
[27] Possessives and demonstratives are As and undergo such extractions themselves.

If so, the presence of a pronoun (DP) above CP should affect the possibilities of extraction from within it. Consider then the following sentences exemplifying a phenomenon akin to the English *that*-t effect in Polish given in (28). Extraction of the embedded subject across an overt complementizer is perfectly fine in Polish (28a) (Szczegielniak 1999, Wiland 2010), but it is banned from a *to*-clause (28b):

(28) a. Kto$_i$ podejrzewałeś, że t$_i$ okradnie Marię?
who.NOM suspected.2.SG.M that rob.3.SG.FUT Mary.ACC
'Who did you suspect would rob Mary?'

b.* Kto$_i$ podejrzewałeś, to że t$_i$ okradnie Marię?
who.NOM suspected.2.SG.M this that rob.3.SG.FUT Mary.ACC
'Who did you suspect would rob Mary?'

c. Podejrzewałem (to), że Piotr okradnie Marię.
suspected.1.SG.M (this) that Peter.NOM rob.3.SG.FUT Mary.ACC
'I suspected that Peter would rob Mary.'

These facts immediately follow if *to* projects into a DP on top of CP in *to*-clauses. The ungrammaticality of (28b) is due to the same ban on extraction from within DPs, and the contrast in (28) is on a par with the one in (26)/(27).

What remains to be explained is how it is at all possible to move a *wh*-subject across an overt complementizer *że*, when in fact this is the one thing that should never happen: (28a) parallels English (4d). This issue can be accounted for if we agree with Bošković (1998, 2002) that *wh*-words do not move to Spec,CP in Polish. Rather, *wh*-words target some

position between CP and TP.[28] That *wh*-words do not reach CP can be further supported by the fact that complementizers always precede them.

(29) Jan myślał, że co komu Paweł kupił?
John.NOM thought.3.SG.M that what.ACC whom.DAT Paul.NOM bought.3.SG.M
'What did John think Paul bought for whom?' (Wiland 2010: 339)

If *wh*-words never reach CP, they never have the chance to satisfy the T-feature of C and the only way to satisfy the T-feature of C in embedded clauses is via an overt complementizer.[29]

3 Conclusion

I have reviewed P&T's proposals in view of comparable Polish data and showed that their predictions concerning complementation of lexical categories are tuned exclusively to the presence of structural case and fail completely in the presence of lexical case (probably a direct consequence of basing the analysis on English which no longer has the distinction). I have also shown that both suggestions made by P&T with respect to Polish *to*-omission asymmetry are untenable. Instead, I proposed that *to* is a pronoun with uT on D which selects a CP complement and projects into DP on top of it. Evidence from LBE and adjunct extractions supports this idea and combined with the *wh*-question formation strategy employed in Polish, by default, also explains why Polish has no English style *that*-t effect. I have also proposed that Polish and English use divergent strategies for subject identification; the former requires its subjects to be nominal and bear φ-features and case, while for the latter

[28] What the exact nature of this position is does not bear on the present discussion, although see Citko & Grohmann (2001) for a possible analysis.
[29] Wiland (2010: 342) presents evidence from LBE with cases where Spec,CP may be used as an intermediate position for subject-extraction (his (20d)), and most importantly the presence of *że* renders such sentences ungrammatical.

it only matters if they have a T-feature. That φ-features in Polish carry more weight is also supported by how widespread they are and that the system pays special attention to their spell-out, e.g. by making *to* necessary in subject clauses and the complement position of Ps, as well as making it more likely to occur in object clauses of Vs checking lexical case.

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Table 1

Complementation properties of A, V, and N (P&T, 2004: 524)

	A	V	N
PP	✓	×	✓
DP	×	✓	×
CP with null C or realis infinitive	✓	✓	×
that/for-CP or irrealis infinitive	✓	✓	✓
Explanation	No T_O	T_O seeking uT	T_O seeking iT

Table 2 Complementation properties of A and N in Polish

	DP	PP	*to-* clause	*że-* clause	Explanation
A1 (underived): *głupi*	×	✓	×	✓	No Tns_O
A2 (derived): *przerażony/pewny*	✓	✓	✓	✓	Inherited case
N1 (underived): *książka*	×	×	×	×	No Tns_O
	$✓_{POSS}$				
N2 (derived): *wiedza*	×	✓	×	✓	Tns_O seeks iT
	$✓_{POSS}$				
N3 (derived): *dowód*	✓	✓	✓	✓	Tns_O seeks iT
	$✓_{POSS}$				+ Inherited case