

# Extraction of NP genitive complements out of relative clauses in Polish

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A number of authors have argued that languages which lack articles, such as Serbo-Croatian (SC) do not have the DP layer (Corver 1992; Zlatić 1997; Boskovic 2005, 2008; Marelj 2008, Despić 2011, to name but a few) which is the highest layer in the traditional noun phrase (TNP) of a language like English. This structural difference has an immediate consequence on the phase theory analyses of extraction out of an NP. According to the phase theory in which it is the highest projection in the extended domain of VPs, NPs, PPs, and APs that works as a phase, the genitive complement of NP cannot undergo extraction since this movement violates anti-locality condition. The genitive complement moves to the edge of an NP phase, but this movement is too short, as has been observed for Serbo-Croatian in Zlatić (1997), see (1a). English, on the other hand, allows for *of*-genitive complement extraction (Chomsky 1986), example (1b).

This paper aims at explaining certain extraction facts found in Polish relative clauses (RCs) in which the genitive complement of an NP is a relativized head noun. Being an articleless language, Polish patterns with SC in that it does not allow for genitive complement extraction out of an NP (2a), also in *wh*-questions (2b). However, when the same genitive complement is an extracted noun head of a relative clause, there appears to be a difference in acceptability judgements between the two structures, compare (2a) with (2c). Moreover, when the NP left in the relative clause occupies the position adjacent to the *wh*-pronoun *który* 'which', the judgements are even more favourable, compare (2c) with (2d). This study aims at analysing these facts within the 'highest phrase is a phase theory', supporting the analysis with the empirical data gathered in a survey which involved a syntactic acceptability judgement task measured on a 7-point Likert scale. The conditions used in this experiment included sentences featuring regular extraction of an NP complement contrasted with the same type of extraction out of a RC. The latter were also divided into relatives with NPs adjacent to the *wh*-pronoun and the ones in which it appears in its base position.

Furthermore, regarding the derivation of RCs, standard approaches posit A-movement of a relative operator into the C domain, stopping along the way on the edge of any intermediate vP or CP phases, as in (3). However, as argued in Deal (2015), the movement to Spec CP in RCs is more cyclic than it is standardly assumed. In particular, the TP in RCs is claimed to be a phase, an empirical consequence of which is that a movement in RCs must stop on the edge of TP domain. This paper will examine if the TP-phase hypothesis argued for in Deal (2015) can explain the extraction facts found in Polish RCs, especially the contrast between (2c) and (2d).

(1) a. ?\*Ovog studenta<sub>i</sub> sam pronašla [<sub>NP</sub> sliku t<sub>i</sub>]

this<sub>GEN</sub> student<sub>GEN</sub> am found picture<sub>ACC</sub>

'Of this student I found the picture'

b. Of which city did you witness [<sub>DP</sub> the destruction t<sub>i</sub> ]?

(2) a. \*Tego studenta<sub>i</sub> Jan znalazł [<sub>NP</sub> obraz t<sub>i</sub> ]

this<sub>GEN</sub> student<sub>GEN</sub> John found picture<sub>ACC</sub>

'Of this student John found the picture'

b. ?\*Którego studenta<sub>i</sub> Jan znalazł [NP obraz t<sub>i</sub> ]?

which<sub>GEN</sub> student<sub>GEN</sub> John found picture<sub>ACC</sub>

'Of which student did John find the picture?'

c. ?Student, którego <studenta><sub>i</sub> Jan znalazł [NP obraz t<sub>i</sub> ], zorganizował wystawę

student<sub>NOM</sub> which<sub>GEN</sub> <student<sub>GEN</sub>> John found picture<sub>ACC</sub> organized exhibit

d. Student, którego <studenta><sub>i</sub> [NP obraz t<sub>i</sub> ]<sub>k</sub> Jan [VP znalazł t<sub>k</sub> ], zorganizował wystawę

student<sub>NOM</sub> which<sub>GEN</sub> <student<sub>GEN</sub>> picture<sub>ACC</sub> John found organized exhibit

'The student, whose picture John found, has organized the exhibit'

(3) the machine [CP OP that Bill [VP \_ said [CP \_ that he [VP \_ bought \_ ] ] ] ]

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