

CONFIGURATIONAL HYPOTHESIS AND POLISH NPs.¹

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1. Introduction

The present paper can be viewed as a response to the theory of Noun Phrases developed in Giorgi and Longobardi (1991), henceforth referred to as G&L. Since they put forward certain universal claims concerning the syntactic properties of NPs, it is worth checking some of the consequences and predictions of their theory against additional data, including examples from Polish, a language whose NPs are in many respects similar to Italian NPs.

I will start by quoting the essential elements of the theory to which I will refer in my paper.

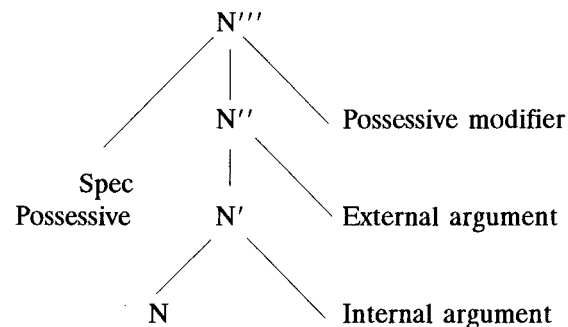
(1) Configurational Hypothesis (G&L:2):

- A. It is possible to identify, within NPs, definite θ - (and non θ -) positions at various levels of hierarchical attachment: whenever an element of the N frame appears in a position arguably different from the one where it should be projected at D-structure, its displacement must, then, be governed by the general conditions holding on antecedent-trace relationships created by 'Move'; moreover the binding of anaphors and pronouns in NPs obeys the same constraints as observed in clauses.
- B. The θ -structure of Ns (their θ -grid and the conditions on θ -assignment) strictly parallels that of Vs, so that the differences appearing on the surface must be due to the intervention of other modules of grammar which determine some systematic variation.

Next, on the grounds of binding evidence, G&L propose a 3-layer structure of an Italian NP:

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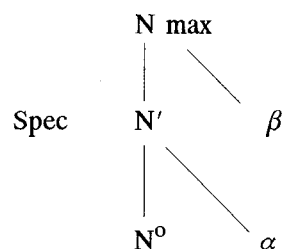
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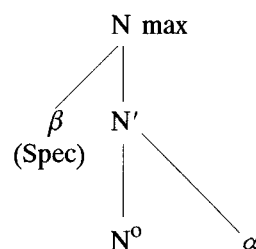
Two important parameters are introduced: 'Head-Complement' and 'Head-Subject'. Internal arguments are projected to the right of the head in Romance and in Germanic; external semantic functions are licensed at D-structure on the right in Romance but on the left in Germanic, as represented in a simplified way in (3).

(3) The Head-Subject Hypothesis

Romance



Germanic



β – subject, α – complement

In Italian NPs, all the occurrences of arguments to the left of N are the result of movement to Spec (core case of movement), which together with the Possessivization Principle quoted in (4) is supposed to account for the distribution of arguments and for the binding facts in Italian.

(4) Possessivization Principle: (G&L:68)

The unique phrase allowed to appear as a possessive is the hierarchically highest genitive argument of an NP.

I will attempt to apply the line of G&L's reasoning for Polish, to see what the theory predicts. In so doing, inspired by some facts noticed in Polish NPs, I will argue that despite its elegance, some elements of G&L's theory make wrong empiri-

cal predictions. Basically, I will point out to certain facts both in Polish and in Romance languages that escape the predictions of the Configurational Hypothesis. Those facts constitute a challenge to the null hypothesis adopted by G&L in their attempt to propose a universal theory of NPs. The facts presented in my paper suggest that the alternative line of thought, represented among others by Grimshaw (1990), Hellan (1988) or Zubizarreta (1979), and arguing that NPs are different from clauses and VPs, is more promising, or at least that the configurational solutions fail to provide a consistent account for all the facts.

2. External vs. internal arguments of nouns in Italian and Polish

The Configurational Hypothesis is based on the claim that within NPs we can identify distinct positions that would uniquely correspond to distinct theta roles. The possibility of two postnominal complements in Italian NPs illustrated in (5) and the subject-object asymmetry with respect to binding illustrated in (6) are G&L's crucial arguments for postulating a hierarchical D-structure for Italian NPs presented in (2). It is the level relevant for binding purposes, and some surface rearrangements in the order of complements are allowed (compare (5a) with (5b), (5c) with (5d), (6a) with (6b)).

- (5) a. la lettera di Gianni a Maria
'the letter by Gianni to Maria'
b. la lettera a Maria di Gianni
'the letter to Maria by Gianni'
c. la descrizione di Gianni degli avvenimenti
the description of Gianni of the events
'Gianni's description of the events'
d. la descrizione degli avvenimenti di Gianni
the description of the events of Gianni
'Gianni's description of the events'
- (6) a. la descrizione di Gianni di se stesso
the description of Gianni of himself
'Gianni's description of himself'
b. la descrizione di se stesso di Gianni
the description of himself of Gianni
'Gianni's description of himself'
- (7) a. il libro di Moravia_i su se stesso_i
'Moravia's book about himself'
b. il suo_i libro su se stesso_i
'his book about himself'
- (8) a. *la sua_i lettera a lui_i
'his letter to him'

- b. *il suo_i libro su di lui_i
'his book on him'

G&L propose that NPs are so internally organized that it is possible to identify a structurally prominent phrase, the 'subject' of the NP as distinguished from the 'objects' (i.e. 'internal' arguments). Further confirmation for this distinction comes from examples in (9) and (10).

- (9) a. L'opinione di lui_i della madre di Gianni_i e troppo lusinghiera
lit.: The opinion of him of Gianni's mother is too flattering
'Gianni's mother's opinion about him...'
'His opinion about Gianni's mother...'
b. *La sua_i opinione della madre di Gianni_i e troppo lusinghiera
lit.: His opinion of Gianni's mother is too flattering
- (10) a. La descrizione di lui_i della madre di Gianni_i e troppo lusinghiera
lit.: The description of him of Gianni's mother is too flattering
'Gianni's mother's description of him...'
'His description of Gianni's mother...'
b. *La sua_i opinione della madre di Gianni_i e troppo lusinghiera
lit.: His opinion of Gianni's mother is too flattering

In Polish NPs two postnominal genitive complements are also possible, as is illustrated in (11-12). In (12) the NPs are ambiguous, but on one of the possible readings, two distinct postnominal arguments can be identified. The difference between Italian and Polish is that in Italian the genitive case is mediated by the preposition *di*, while in Polish it is an inflectional ending.

- (11) a. Szkoła tańca Wojnaralskiego
school dance-gen Wojnaralski-gen
'Wojnaralski's dancing school'
b. galeria sztuki Małgorzaty Kowalskiej
gallery art-gen Małgorzata Kowalska-gen
'Małgorzata Kowalska's art gallery'
c. kantor wymiany walut Kowalskiego
office exchange-gen currencies-gen Kowalski-gen
'Kowalski's money exchange office'
d. opis zachodu słońca Mickiewicza
description sunset-gen Mickiewicz-gen
'Mickiewicz's description of the sunset'
- (12) a. interpretacja (tego) wiersza Przybosa
interpretation this-gen poem-gen Przyboś-gen

- 'The interpretation by Przyboś of this poem'
or: 'The interpretation of this poem of Przyboś'

- b. szkic pałacu tego słynnego architekta
sketch palace-gen this-gen architect-gen
'The sketch drawing of the palace of that famous architect'
(the drawing is by that architect or the palace belongs to that architect)
- c. portret kobiety Leonarda da Vinci
portrait woman-gen Leonardo da Vinci-gen
'The portrait of a woman by Leonardo da Vinci'
or: 'The portrait of Leonardo da Vinci's woman'

There is also a subject-object asymmetry with respect to binding, as was shown by Willim (1989) and is illustrated in (13-14). Examples in (13) illustrate the basic facts concerning the NP internal binding in Polish, i.e. the complementary distribution of anaphors and pronouns. Examples in (14) indicate that the postnominal genitive can bind an anaphor only if it corresponds to the external argument. If it identifies an internal argument, then it cannot be the antecedent for an anaphor embedded in the matrix NP. In (15) I have put some examples, which, if acceptable, prove that in Polish, as in Italian, the relative linear order of two genitive post-nominal satellites is flexible.

- (13) a. książka Moravii_i o sobie_i
'Moravia's book about himself'
b. jego_i książka o sobie_i
'his book about himself'
c. *jego_i książka o nim_i
his book about him
d. jego_i list do siebie_i
'his letter to himself'
e. *jego_i list do niego_i
his letter to him
- (14) a. Podróż Janka_i do swoich_i rodziców
trip John-gen to self-poss parents-gen
'John's trip to his parents'
b. odwiezienie dzieci_i do *swoich_i/ich_i rodziców
driving children-gen to self-poss parents
'Sending (of) the children to their parents'
c. rozmowa z Janem_i o *swoim_i/jego_i zachowaniu
a talk with John_i about self's_i/his_i behaviour
- (15) a. ?portret swojego ojca Rembrandta
'Rembrandt's portrait of his father'

- b. opis Litwy Mickiewicza
'the description of Lithuania by Mickiewicz'
- c. ?opis swojej ojczyzny Mickiewicza
?opis Mickiewicza swojej ojczyzny
'The description by Mickiewicz of his mother-land'

So, both in Italian and in Polish there is evidence for assuming two postnominal satellites differing in prominence, which can be represented by different levels of attachment. At least so far, I have tried to show that following G&L's line of reasoning, Polish and Italian are very similar. Now I will try to argue that the theory does not really work for Polish. I will also show where it breaks down for Romance languages. In view of striking similarities between Romance languages and Polish, I suspect that some of the claims of the Configurational Hypothesis are universally incorrect.

3. Thematic Correspondence Hypothesis

First, let us concentrate on the Thematic Correspondence Hypothesis, an integral part of the Configurational Hypothesis. The Thematic Correspondence Hypothesis states that *Verbs and corresponding Nouns define the same θ -role from their grid as the external one*. Such an external θ -role is the only one assigned outside N', in NPs, or outside VP in clauses; the other θ -roles will be assigned internally, within N' and VP respectively.

While G&L's arguments for the subject-object asymmetries in NPs and consequently for the general internal structure presented in (2) seem to be well founded and also consistent with the results of Willim's (1989) work on binding in Polish, the claim that those asymmetries support the Thematic Correspondence Hypothesis does not find an empirical support either in Romance languages or in Polish. As stated at the outset of G&L's book, the major debate about the nature of syntactic processes in NPs and their parallelism with the corresponding clauses or VPs concerns the relation exemplified by the famous examples quoted in (16):

- (16) a. The barbarians destroyed the city.
b. The city was destroyed by the barbarians.
c. The barbarians' destruction of the city
d. The city's destruction by the barbarians

Note, however, that all the arguments for the claim that Agent is assigned the N' post nominal external position under N'' come from a special class of nominals, namely the *description* type, which have the result interpretation and have been recognized as different from event (or action) nominals by various linguists in various languages, including Romance, English and Polish (compare Grimshaw 1990, Zubizarreta 1987, Rozwadowska 1991). So, while it is true that the author or creator argument of nouns such as in (5-13), for binding reasons, and in view of its surface structure realization as second postnominal genitive complement, can be argued to originate under N'' in D-structure, it is questionable that true

Agents in nominals clearly related to verbs (such as the *destruction* type) are assigned to that position. The facts point out to the contrary. Moreover, the data are consistent both in Romance and in Slavic languages. Let us compare the *description* type nominals presented above and further illustrated for French and Spanish in (17) with true event or action nominals illustrated for Polish in (18) and for Romance languages in (19).

- (17) a. La description du paysage *de Pierre* (Fr.)
La descripción del paisaje *de Pedro* (Sp.)
'Pierre's description of the landscape'
- b. *Sa* description du paysage (Fr.)
Su descripción del paisaje (Sp.)
'his description of the landscape'
- (18) a. *Zniszczenie Rzymu barbarzyńców
destruction Rome-gen barbarians-gen
b. Zniszczenie Rzymu przez barbarzyńców
'the destruction of Rome by the barbarians'
- c. *Ograbienie wsi żołnierzy
plunder village-gen soldiers-gen
d. Ograbienie wsi przez żołnierzy
'the plunder of the village by the soldiers'
- e. *Ocena uczniów nauczycieli
evaluation students-gen teachers-gen
f. Ocena uczniów przez nauczycieli
'the evaluation of the students by the teachers'
- (19) a. La destruction de la ville par les soldats (Fr.)
La destrucción de la ciudad por los soldados (Sp.)
'The destruction of the city by the soldiers'
- b. *La destruction de la ville *des soldats* (Fr.)
*La destrucción de la ciudad *de los soldados* (Sp.)
'the soldiers' destruction of the city'

I do not have a relevant Italian example for this kind of contrast, as there is not a single event nominal explicitly presented in the book. However, in the context of the discussion of the Possesivization Principle, it is implied (G&L:60) that the event interpretation of the nominal *descrizione* is triggered by the presence of the Italian by-phrase. In view of that, we may probably safely assume that the contrast is true of Italian as well.

We can then conclude that in fact there is a distinction between two kinds of arguments of certain nominals in Romance languages and in Polish, yet it is not the case that the nominals derived from verbs support the Thematic Correspondence Hypothesis. Quite on the contrary, given the availability of the external argument position in nominals in general, the absence of Agents in that position seems to argue rather for the non-correspondence. The correspondence in the case

of the *description* nouns seems to be due to the availability of the result interpretation, which makes them similar to concrete or relational nouns. Note that the result nominals have been argued to have no argument structure by Grimshaw (1990). Similarly, simple event nominals, illustrated for Polish in (14) above, lack the argument structure. It seems to be incorrect then to select result or simple event nominals as the basis for exploring the Thematic Correspondence Hypothesis, which presupposes the existence of argument structure for both the verbs and the nominals derived from them.

The conclusion that can be drawn from the discussion so far is then that the Thematic Correspondence Hypothesis, which is one of the crucial elements of the Configurationality Hypothesis, does not hold.

4. Evidence for Complete Functional Complex

It is widely recognized that nouns can identify a generic semantic relation of any kind indicating some connection between the noun and the external satellite. Among others, this satellite can represent a possessor. With the so called *picture* nouns (such as *picture, photo, book, letter*), the external satellite is usually ambiguous between the possessor reading and the author reading. In addition to that, those nouns also have an internal argument (the addressee in the case of *letter*, the topic of writing in the case of *book*). As shown by G&L for Italian (ex. 20), and by Willim for Polish, with the external argument interpreted as the author, the presence of an anaphor is always admitted. However, according to G&L, in Italian, if both the possessor and the author are present, we get the paradigm illustrated in (21-23).

- (20) a. la finta lettera di Gianni a se stesso
'Gianni's false letter to himself'
b. la sua_i finta lettera a se stesso_i
'his false letter to himself'
- (21) la preziosa lettera di Leonardo agli Sforza del Museo Pallavicini
'the valuable letter of Leonardo to the Sforzas of the Pallavicini Museum'
- (22) a. *la sua_i lettera di Maria a se stesso_i
his (poss) letter by Maria (agent) to himself
b. la sua_i lettera di Maria a lui_i
his(poss) letter by Maria (agent) to him
- (23) a. *il suo_i libro di Moravia su se stessa_i
her(poss) book by Moravia(agent) about herself
b. il suo_i libro di Moravia su di lei_i
her(poss) book by Moravia(agent) about her

Polish NPs behave in an analogous way:

- (24) a. fałszywy list Janka_i do siebie_i/do swojej_i matki
'Gianni's false letter to himself' (to self's mother)

- b. jego_i fałszywy list do siebie_i/do swojej_i matki
his false letter to himself (to self's mother)
c. *jego_i list Marii do siebie_i
his (poss) letter by Maria (agent) to himself
d. jego_i list Marii do niego_i
his(poss) letter by Maria (agent) to him
e. *jej_i książka Moravii o sobie_i
her(poss) book by Moravia(agent) about herself
f. jej_i książka Moravii o niej_i
her (poss) book by Moravia(agent) about her

The generalization is that the binding category for a complement of N includes the thematic subject but excludes the genitive phrase expressing the possessor. G&L argue that, taking into account various facts about binding, one has to say that both the thematic subject and the possessor count as a subject relevant for the definition of the binding domain. To capture their intuition, they propose a definition of the binding domain in terms of the Complete Functional Complex (G&L:54).

(25) β is a Complete Functional Complex iff it meets at least one of the following requirements:

- a. it is the domain in which all the θ -roles pertaining to a lexical head are assigned
b. it is the domain in which all the grammatical functions pertaining to that head are realized (where the R-relation counts as the structural subject of the NP)

In the case of a verbal head, conditions (a) and (b) are simultaneously satisfied. In the case of a referential NP, the least CFC will be the minimal projection which satisfies either (a) or (b).

What this approach misses, however, is that if the Least Functional Complex includes the Possessor argument when the Author argument is absent, the expected binding does not hold either. It is true both of the *picture* nouns and ordinary referential nouns. There seems to be a clear complementary distribution between the (a) and (b) examples below:

- (26) a. Książka Chomskiego_i o sobie_i
Chomsky's (author) book about himself
b. Książka Chomskiego_i o nim_i
Chomsky's (possessor) book about him.
- (27) a. list Marii_i do siebie_i/do swojej_i matki
Mary's letter to herself/to self's mother
b. list Marii_i do niej_i
Mary's (possessor) letter to her

The (a) examples imply the authorship and admit the possessive anaphor in the complement, while the (b) examples are acceptable only if the authorship is excluded and the genitive complement is understood as the mere possessor of the head noun referent. However, the (b) examples also satisfy the definition of the LFC, and thus the facts are contrary to the predictions. That the binding conditions in NPs escape the configurational definitions is further supported by (28-29) below, which are structurally identical to the (a) examples in (26-27) but whose interpretations are different:

- (28) ?? List Marii_i od swojej_i matki
 ? List Marii od jej matki/od jej nauczycielki
 Mary's letter from self's/her mother
- (29) *Półka Janka_i ze swoimi_i książkami
 John's shelf with self's books

Also in Italian (according to Antonio Sanfilippo, p.c.) the binding relation between *suo* and the anaphor in (7) (repeated as (30) below), when *suo* is given a possessive interpretation is not possible unless *di se* is used in place of *se stesso*.

- (30) il suo_i libro su se stesso_i
 jego_i książka o sobie_i
 'his book about himself'

G&L themselves say that in constructions such as in (20), with *the genitive argument interpreted as bearing a specific θ -role (namely agent, i.e. author)* the presence of an anaphor is always admitted. Then they discuss the cases when both the author and the possessor are present, but do not present any nouns which have only the possessor argument. Given the analogy with Polish and the lack of binding for possessors, even in the absence of the author, I do not think that the introduction of the Complete Functional Complex is a remedy.

My observations are consistent with Hellan's (1988) findings for Norwegian. He argues that NP-internal binding is sensitive to the so called *role-command*. The relevant contrast is quoted in (31-32) below:

- (31) a. *Jons bok om seg selv solgte godt*
 Jon's book about himself sold well
 b. *Her ser vi kongens gave til sitt folk*
 Here see we the king's gift to his people
- (32) a. **Jons venner fra sin studietid skrev en vakker nekrolog over ham.*
 'Jon's friends from his time of studying wrote a nice obituary on him'
 b. **Jons egne boker i ryggsekken sin ble for tunge for ham.*
 'Jon's own books in his backpack got too heavy from him'
 (Hellan 1988:154)

Hellan proposes the rule in (33):

- (33) In NP-internal binding of a *seg*-reflexive, a host of the reflexive and the binder must be *semantic co-arguments*.

Semantic co-arguments are NPs which are either theta-role related to the same noun, or relation-bound to the same noun. Author and topic would thus be relation-bound arguments to the noun *book*, while donator and recipient would be relation-bound arguments to the noun *gift*. Neither the time of friendship in (31a) nor the possessor and location in (31b) are relation-bound to *friend* and *book* respectively.

As Hellan points out, a role-command effect may also be spotted in the non-ambiguity of examples like (34): although it is generally possible to interpret a postnominal 'av NP' as Agent, the examples in (34) allow only the interpretations indicated in the glosses:

- (34) a. *Kongens bilde av sin hoffmaler henger i hallen.*
 'The king's picture of his court painter hangs in the hall'.
 b. *Jons begravelse av sine naboer brakte tarer frem i manges oyne*
 'Jon's burial of his neighbours brought tears into many's eyes'.
 c. *Den gamle bydels odeleggelse av sin antikvar ble forbigatt i taushet*
 'The old town-part's destruction of its antiquarian was passed in silence'

Another problem with the overall configurational theory as developed by G&L is that the movement from the postnominal position to Spec, which they propose for any satellite appearing prenominal, does not provide an explanation for all the facts either. The Possessivization Principle amounts to claiming that the movement of any postnominal argument satisfying the hierarchy condition is uniquely to Spec position. Hence, binding from that syntactic position should not be sensitive to the type of the argument filling it. As example (30) above indicates, even for Italian the binding from Spec position is sensitive to whether the argument filling it is a mere possessor or whether it is a relation-bound argument.

5. NP-internal movement

As far as Polish is concerned, the movement solution to the prenominal position (whatever position we want it to be) *viewed as the core case of movement* does not seem to find any empirical support. First, the examples in (35-36) show that with possessors or relation-bound external arguments, it is possible to invert the order inside the NP, irrespective of whether we deal with a lexical or pronominal NP satellite. The alternation looks rather like a surface reordering than a core case of movement. Second, the prenominal realization of internal arguments illustrated in (37) is impossible at all (the existence of this kind of movement would be the crucial argument for postulating move- α within NPs), even in the absence of other arguments.

- (35) a. książka Janka
book John-gen
b. Janka książka
John-gen book
'John's book'
c. twoja książka
your book
d. książka twoja
book your
e. przyjazd Janka
arrival John-gen
'John's arrival'
f. Janka przyjazd
John-gen arrival
- (36) a. interpretacja wiersza Przybosia
interpretation poem-gen Przyboś-gen
b. Przybosia interpretacja wiersza
Przyboś-gen interpretation poem-gen
- (37) a. *Janka skrytykowanie
John-gen criticism
b. *dzieci odwiezienie do domu
children-gen taking home
c. *Warszawy zniszczenie
Warsaw-gen destruction
d. *twoje skrytykowanie
your criticism
e. *twoje odwiezienie do domu
your taking home
f. *twoje odwiezienie do swoich rodziców
your taking home to self's parents

Even though in the case of 3rd person pronouns the internal argument appearing prenominally seems to be possible (38a, 38b), it cannot be an example of core movement to Spec (or any other position hierarchically more prominent than postnominal internal positions). First, because it is marginal and second, because of the non-acceptability of (38c).

- (38) a. Ich interpretacja Przybosia jest inna niż ich interpretacja innych krytyków.
'their interpretation by Przyboś is different from their interpretation by other critics'
b. Odwiezienie ich do rodziców sprawi nam trochę kłopotu.
'taking them to the parents will cause us some trouble'

- b'.? ich odwiezienie do rodziców sprawi nam trochę kłopotu
(their taking to the parents will cause us some trouble)
c. *ich_i odwiezienie do swoich_i rodziców sprawi nam trochę kłopotu
(their taking to self's parents will cause us some trouble)

If the configurational account of binding in terms of CFC supplemented with the movement to Spec was entirely correct, we would expect (38c) with the indicated binding to be possible. I think that the reason why sometimes the internal argument may appear prenominally as the 3rd person possessive pronoun must be due to the fact that it is morphologically identical to the postnominal genitive form and that it does not show adjectival agreement (in contrast to the other pronominal possessives). In view of the relatively free word order in Polish NPs some kind of surface reordering can be taking place here.

In Italian, prenominal realization of the internal argument is possible, as is its functioning from that position as a binder for an anaphor appearing postnominally. It is restricted though only to nominals with the event interpretation. Postulating movement to the prenominal Spec position as an explanation of NP-internal binding is undermined by the fact that it would explain only one subclass of constructions in Italian (namely those with the prenominal internal argument in the absence of other arguments). In view of the fact that other subclasses of Italian NPs, as well as Polish and Norwegian NPs indicate that NP internal binding is non-configurational, the solution appealing to the CFC supplemented by Possessivization Principle seems to be missing the point, or at least it is insufficient.

6. Conclusions

In view of the whole discussion so far, which has shown that at least as far as binding is concerned it is rather thematic prominence than structural prominence which is responsible for NP-internal binding, the motivation for purely structural definition of the most prominent argument as the subject of NP becomes much weaker. It seems that the notion of the structural subject in NPs is not relevant for binding, an area which has often served as a test for configurations. One of the motivations for introducing a structurally defined position of the subject of NPs was the subject-object asymmetry with respect to binding. It happens though, as was shown for various languages in this paper, that in more complicated cases binding is sensitive to thematic nature of NP satellites. It is also a fact that in the simple cases, the structural prominence of the 'subject' argument happens to instantiate a thematic prominence at the same time. Why not claim then that it is only the thematic prominence (in the sense of Hellan or some similar approach) at the level of argument structure which is responsible for NP-internal binding.

Furthermore, as was also shown above and discussed in more detail in Rozwadowska (1991), the 'subject' or 'external' argument position, strangely enough, though universally, does not accommodate Agents of transitive predicates, contrary to expectations.

Moreover, as far as Polish is concerned, it would be very difficult to decide

whether the subject of NP should be to the right or to the left of the head. Lexical satellites suggest the former, pronominal satellites the latter. Lack of evidence for NP-internal movement of nominal arguments and for Spec position in Polish in general complicates the issue even more.²

Therefore, I would be inclined to suggest that mapping rules in nouns may involve subcategorizing for internal arguments, but that they need not refer to the syntactic notion of the subject of NP defined as a unique structural position. The Head-Complement parameter is set to the right in all the groups of languages discussed (i.e. Romance, Germanic and Slavic). NPs can be modified in various ways, including the most prototypical possessor. That modifier may assume different interpretations and forms. Depending on whether it is a thematic or relation-bound argument with respect to the modified noun, it may or may not be an antecedent for an NP-internal anaphor. The syntactic behaviour of that modifier is usually similar to other modifiers (e.g. adjectives). That's why we observe surface order flexibility (note its lack in the case of subcategorized complements).

More general conclusion is that since different aspects of the Configurational Hypothesis find consistent empirical support neither for Polish nor for Romance and Germanic, it is tempting to suggest that NPs are radically different from VPs or clauses and are governed by separate mapping rules of a slightly different nature. Also, it seems that NP internal binding differs from binding in clauses. In other words, the Configurational Hypothesis does not hold.

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² Witkoś (1993) presents a neat configurational theory of Polish NPs, which is different from G&L's theory. On his theory, the subject of the Polish NP is always generated to the left of the head N, and the surface order is due to the Head to Head movement. Unfortunately, his 'Ghost Phrase approach' in its present state, despite its intrinsic attractiveness, cannot provide a solution to the problems raised in my paper either because of its strictly configurational character.