

XP-FRONTING IN POLISH

PRZEMYSŁAW TAJŚNER

Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań

1. The subject

I will focus first on the least marked type of predicational sentence, exemplified by (1).

- (1) Chłopiec rzucił piłkę.
'The boy threw a ball.'

A question I would like to ask about (1) is: "How is it formally derived?". Specifically, I would like to determine what the position occupied by the subject in (1) is. Adopting the postulates of the Minimalist Program, I will assume the VP-internal Subject Hypothesis and the minimalist version of the 'Larsonian Shell' to hold for Polish. Within its limits we have the following possible variants:

- i/ the subject DP (NP) is base-derived in [SPEC,v] and then moved by syntactic subject-raising to [SPEC,IP].
- ii/ the subject DP (NP) is base derived in [SPEC,v] and does not undergo any movement either before or after Spell-Out.
- iii/ the subject DP (NP) is base-derived in [SPEC,v] and moved by post-Spell-Out "subject topicalization". I will consider these variants in turn.

Let us first look closely at the most radical, non-movement option ii/. Note first, that it is most economical, since it does not violate Procrastinate. One might be tempted to reject ii/ on theoretical grounds, by saying that syntactic raising in Polish is needed, just like in English, in order to check a strong feature D present in T. But it seems that such a *prima facie* rejection of the hypothesis is not justified. For one thing, it has yet to be determined whether the feature D is an attribute of INFL in Polish, and secondly, its strength status is not clear.

1.1. The content of EPP

Recall, that the feature D is customarily associated with the UG principle known as EPP¹. The presence of D may then be understood to be a morphologically “encoded” property of clauses that they need subjects. In a pre-minimalist framework following a VP-internal Subject Hypothesis overt subject raising would be enforced by the requirements of the Case Theory; the lexical NPs must land in positions in which their Case may be checked (or assigned). These positions are governed by a higher verb (ECM) or by a tensed I.

But, Chomsky (1994) considers a case of successive cyclic raising in examples like (2):

- (2) We are likely to be asked to build airplanes.

In the most deeply-embedded clause of (2) the raising of the subject *we* is from a VP-internal position to Spec. of the infinitival clause. This first step of movement may not be induced by the requirement of Case checking since neither the infinitival I nor the higher passive verb can check Case. The conclusion is then that this step of movement must be driven by some other property of the structure, i.e. EPP (Chomsky 1994). More generally, subject raising is divorced from Case checking. The latter process is generally assigned to LF, unless it may be performed as a by-process of subject raising, so that the feature Case is checked as a “free-rider”.

1.2. Subject fronting

I would like to return now to the Polish example (1). The idea that the subject base-derived in [SPEC,v] may not undergo any syntactic movement in (1) should be confronted with some further Polish examples like these below:

- (3) Krzyś może zaśpiewać piosenkę.
‘Krzyś may sing a song.’
- (4) ?*Może Krzyś zaśpiewać piosenkę.
may Krzyś sing a song
- (5) Krzyś będzie śpiewać piosenki.
Krzyś will(be) sing songs
‘Krzyś will be singing songs.’
- (6) ?*Będzie Krzyś śpiewać piosenki.
will(be) Krzyś sing songs

¹ Chomsky (1981b) formulates the *Extended Projection Principle* as combining the *Projection Principle*, i.e. the requirement that θ -marking properties of each lexical item must be represented categorially at each syntactic level, with the requirement that clauses have subjects (cf. Chomsky 1981b: 10).

- (7) Krzyś będzie mógł śpiewać piosenki.
Krzyś will(be) could sing songs
‘K. will be able to sing songs.’
- (8) ?*Będzie mógł Krzyś śpiewać piosenki.
will(be) could Krzyś sing songs

The examples (3)-(8) contain different forms of auxiliaries; modal verbs *może*, *mógł*, and the imperfective non-past tense copula *będzie*. Presumably, at the output of syntactic computation such elements occupy some position to the left of VP and to the right of [SPEC,IP].² As evident from (3)-(8) the appearance of the subject DP after the auxiliary in a declarative sentence results in a relative ill-formedness. This clearly suggests that the subject DP obligatorily moves out of the VP to a pre-auxiliary position in syntax. The movement is overt, hence, on minimalist assumptions, it must be triggered by some strong feature. If the feature is some clausal property, then it should be located in one of the clausal functional heads, AGR_S, T, or more generally in I³. We may thus conclude that the non-movement hypothesis (ii) should be rejected.

At this point it seems necessary to make some important comment. Given the alleged richness of the functional structure of Polish, one might assume that the real outputs of syntactic computation are the forms (4), (6), and (8), which are then re-ordered at a post-Spell-out level to form the well-formed strings (3), (5), and (7). Such an assumption appears conceptually wrong in view of the fundamental role of formal grammar in determining the well-formedness of sentences. The idea that the output of syntactic computations may be ungrammatical, i.e. asyntactic, and then “repaired” at the level of functional structure must be rejected on principled grounds. In minimalist terms syntactically wrong strings “crash” at the point of Spell-out, and the derivation is at once terminated. It cannot thus enter either LF or PF.

Insofar as the above general remarks on the cooperation of formal computations and functional reordering are correct, the hypothesis (iii), i.e. the idea of movement of the subject DP in (1) by a post-Spell-Out “subject topicalization”, must be rejected. Likewise, the grammaticality of (3), (5) and (7) must be determined by an overt pre-Spell-out syntactic computation moving the subject DP from within the VP to the front of the sentence. Subject raising of the English type to [SPEC, AGR_S(IP)] enforced by EPP seems a very likely candidate. The strong feature to be checked by the fronting of the subject might then be D, just like in English.

² Witkoś (forthcoming) assumes that verbal elements in Polish occupy three domains at Spell-out:

a/ high (auxiliaries; conditional and perfective)
b/ medial (modal verbs, non-past tense copula, the passive copula)
c/ low (main verbs)

³ There is also a possibility that the feature projects its own functional category.

2. Object fronting and verb movement

Before I qualify my earlier hypothesis *i/* with reference to (1) let us look once again at examples (3), (5) and (7). Note, that subject fronting is not the only computation which may change input forms like (4), (6), and (8) into convergent strings. Consider the set of examples (9)-(12):⁴

- (9) Piosenkę może zaśpiewać Krzyś.
a song may sing Krzyś
'Krzyś may sing a song.'
- (10) Piosenki będzie śpiewać Krzyś.
songs will(be) sing Krzyś
'Krzyś will be singing songs.'
- (11) Piosenki będzie mógł śpiewać Krzyś.
songs will(be) could sing Krzyś
'Krzyś will be able to sing songs.'
- (12) ??Piosenki będzie Krzyś śpiewać.
songs will(be) Krzyś sing

The grammatical examples (9)-(11) show the inverted configuration, i.e. O-V-S. The computations displayed in these instances are cases of object fronting accompanied by a change of positions of the verb and the subject DP. The latter operation, which may be interpreted as a short forward movement of the verb, is obligatory as shown by a relative ill-formedness of (12).⁵

Let us now point to the option of overt verb movement in Polish. Witkoś (1996) assumes that the Polish main verb may leave VP and raise to some higher functional head in overt syntax. He adopts two premises: *i/* VP adverbs occupy a VP-related position, i.e. a VP initial position, as in Pollock (1989) (it could also be, as it seems, a VP-adjoined position as in Nakajima 1991, see also Śpiewak and Szymańska 1995), and *ii/* adverbs are basically "immobile" elements of the structure (e.g. Belletti 1994). Witkoś shows that in Polish some VP adverbs may be by-passed by a main verb, thus the verb must be moved forward, e.g. in (13):

- (13) Krzysiu chodzi chętnie do szkoły.
Krzysiu goes willingly to school
'Krzysiu goes to school willingly.'

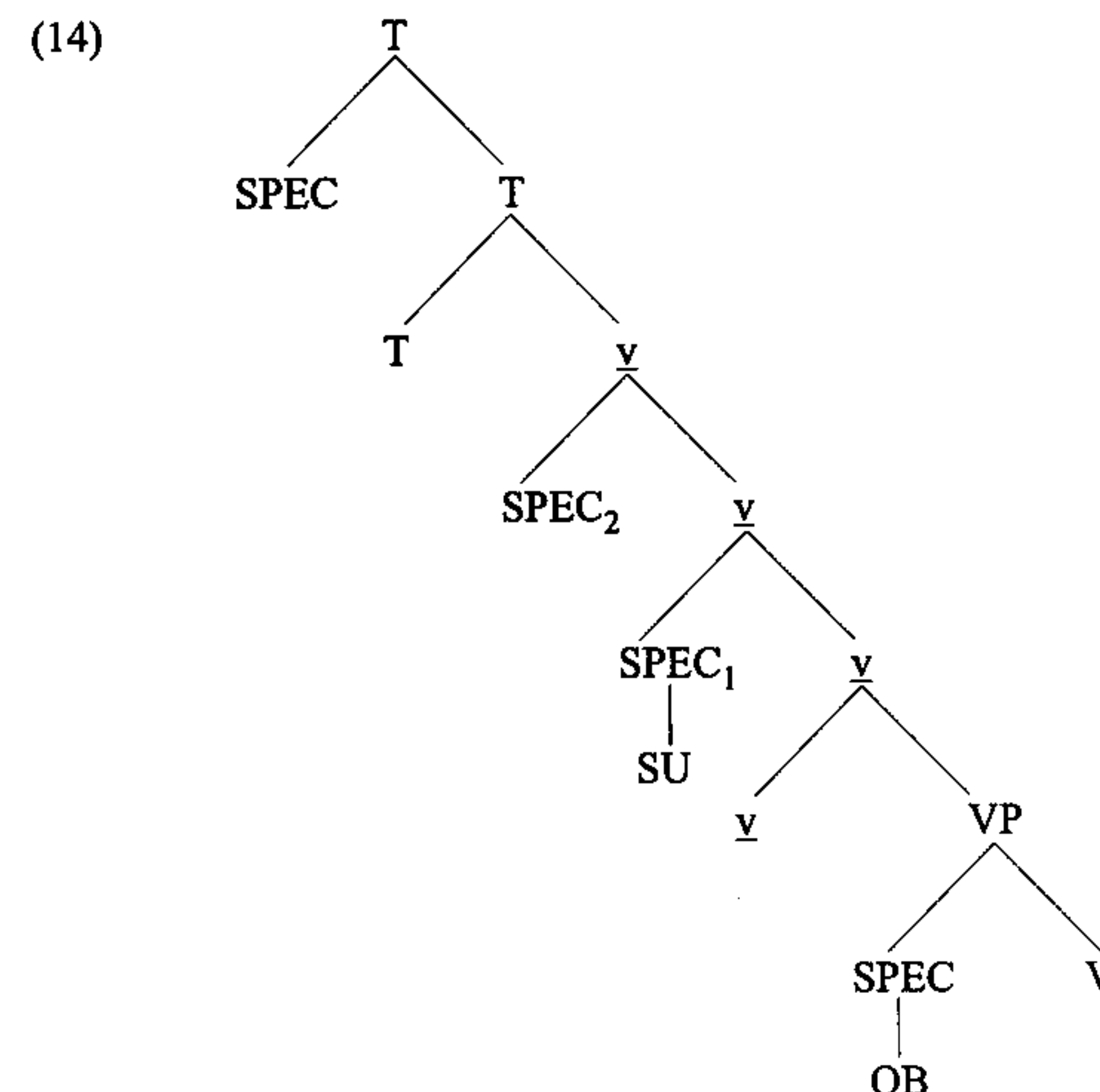
⁴ We are purposefully disregarding differences in functional sentence perspective resulting from the set (3), (5), and (7), and the set (9), (10), and (11). The functional differences are not relevant at this stage.

⁵ Example (12) is not well-formed with a neutral intonation. So ordered a string cannot thus enter a PF component. We will assume that if there is a possible functional interpretation of this structure under a contrastive or focus intonation at PF it must be derived fully at PF, i.e. first (12) must be derived by a functional re-ordering of a well-formed string which must be followed by contrastive/focal stress placement.

3.1. Subject fronting and object fronting

Consider now, the other movement operation displayed by (9)-(11), i.e. object DP fronting. The question to raise is: Are the two occurrences of DP fronting, i.e. subject fronting and object fronting, induced by the same property of structure? Is the same strong feature responsible for both movements, or are there two different features? The hypothesis I would like to advance is that there is only one strong feature responsible for both types of movements.

Note first, that formally, the situation resembles this discussed by Chomsky (1995) in connection with his "Multiple Spec. Theory". Under the "Multiple Spec. Theory" a structure involving a subject and an object would be like (14):



The problem that Chomsky (1995) considers is how to eliminate an unwanted option of the movement of the object to T. In configuration (14) it appears possible for the Object (OB) to first raise to [SPEC_{2,v}] and then to [SPEC,T], satisfying EPP (by checking the feature D), both movements overt. The Case features of subject and T are not checked but this may be overcome by covert raising of subject to T at LF. So, the derivation would converge, incorrectly. But Chomsky (1995) assumes that this derivation is blocked by economy considerations: it involves three raising oper-

ations, while only two would suffice for convergence in a preferred case, i.e. if the object covertly moved to [SPEC_{2,v}] and subject overtly to [SPEC,T].⁶

Notice, that the situation is analogous under a standard AGR-based theory, i.e. the one under which AGR is not required to possess a strong feature. Tense would be the locus of the strong D, and of a weak Nominative Case feature. Let us assume Belletti's (1990) template for the order of functional categories in which AGR_S dominates TP, which in turn dominates AGR_O. Given such an arrangement of major functional heads, the object might first overtly move to [SPEC,AGR_O] to check its Accusative Case as a "free rider", then to [SPEC,T] for D checking (EPP), and the subject might covertly raise to [SPEC,T] for Nominative Case checking and to [SPEC,AGR_S] for *phi*-features checking at LF. In case of the preferred option, the subject would only have to first directly raise to [SPEC,T] for EPP, and then covertly to [SPEC,AGR_S] for EPP, and the object would covertly raise to [SPEC,AGR_O]. In the first case there would be two overt movements and in the preferred option of subject raising only one. Hence subject fronting is preferred on economy grounds.

Assume now, that Chomsky (1995) is right in claiming that AGR appears only if it carries a strong feature. Notice, that the exclusion of the option of object raising to satisfy EPP cannot then be based on economy considerations. A strong AGR means the presence of a strong feature, call it F, in both AGR_S, and AGR_O. With a strong nominal feature in AGR_O, the object could first overtly move to [SPEC,AGR_O], and then to [SPEC,AGR_S], and then to [SPEC,T] for D-checking. The subject could covertly move to [SPEC,T] for Nominative Case checking, and to [AGR_S] for *phi* features checking. This derivation would include three overt steps. Under the preferred option, subject would have to overtly raise consecutively to [SPEC,AGR_O] (for F-checking), to [SPEC,T] for Nominative Case checking and D-checking, and finally to [SPEC,AGR_S] for F (and *phi*-features) checking, and the derivation would also include three overt steps. It thus turns out that it is the weakness of AGR which really blocks long object raising. If AGR is strong the option of object fronting cannot be excluded on economy grounds, and thus should be permitted.

Note finally, that if AGR is weak, then the object might in principle have to first overtly raise directly to [SPEC,T] to satisfy EPP, skipping [SPEC,AGR_O], but then its Accusative Case would not be checked and the derivation would not be convergent.

3.2. Subject fronting, object fronting and the feature Δ

We may be facing a similar dilemma confronting Polish data. There are two possible derivations; one involving subject fronting, and the other involving object fronting. Unlike in English, in Polish both are convergent and result in alternative grammatical structures. Apparently neither of the two possible raising operations is

⁶ In case of an unwanted option both movements of the object might be overt since there might be two occurrences of the strong feature D (or a more neutral strong [nominal] feature) in T and \bar{v} (cf. Chomsky 1995: 352).

more economical than the other. Why should it be so? Let us consider the Polish case carefully. Assume first that there is an equivalent of the strong NP-feature (nominal) feature D, call it Δ, which is not, however, associated with EPP. We believe that the locus of Δ is fairly high in the structure. Notice, that the Multiple-Spec Theory reveals the intention of Chomsky's minimalist approach with respect to the question of which DP may qualify as a potential checker of the feature D: the strong nominal feature D in Tense may in principle be satisfied by any DP, subject or object. It is only the weak (Nominative) Case feature which requires the subject, not object to be raised to [SPEC,T]. We would like to adopt this general idea in a modified form: Δ may be checked by either the subject or object DP.

Now it has to be determined where Δ is located. If it is high in the structure it may be located in AGR_S or in T. Let us assume it is located in T and AGR is weak. In the case of an overt object movement directly to T, the derivation would crash; the object could not lower at LF back to [SPEC,AGR_O] for Accusative Case checking. If AGR is strong, and as was assumed earlier, the strong feature is evident in both AGR positions, then both derivations, i.e. object and subject would converge, either DP could consecutively check the strong features F, of AGR_O, Δ of T, and F of AGR_S. But, certainly such a multiplication of strong features should be avoided on economy grounds unless it is empirically motivated. An alternative would be to place Δ in AGR, as the only strong feature in the structure. This entails its manifestation also in AGR_O and triggers two overt raising operations: DP raising to [SPEC,AGR_O] and DP raising to [SPEC,AGR_S]. But this would also be problematic, as we have seen, if the Nominative Case of the subject is to be checked by the Case feature of T on the assumption that AGR_S dominates T.

But there appears a way out of the difficulties created by the requirements of Case checking. Let us assume that Nominative Case checking takes place not in [SPEC, Tense], but in [SPEC,AGR_S], together with the checking of *phi* features, after the raising of V-T complex to AGR_S. This is an option allowed in the minimalist program: "we now regard both agreement and structural Case as manifestations of the Spec-head relation (NP,Agr). But Case properties depend on characteristics of T and the V head of VP. We therefore assume that T raises to Agr_S (...); the complex includes the φ-features of Agr and Case provided by T, V" (Chomsky 1993: 7). There may not thus be any need for an independent movement of a DP to [SPEC,Tense].⁷

It seems that placing Case checking in AGR_S is well-motivated in Polish given that instances of Case mismatch like (15) really involve lack of agreement in features, namely Case features:⁸

⁷ But, Chomsky (1993) believes that the alternative is still open: "I overlook here the possibility of NP raising to [Spec, T] for Case assignment, then to [Spec, Agr_S] for agreement. This may well be a real option" (Chomsky 1993: 45, fn.11).

⁸ See Tajsner (1990) for an account of instances of "Case mismatch" in Polish, and the theoretical foundation of the subsumption of Case checking under agreement relations.

- (15) *Chłopca_{ACC} rzucił piłkę.
boy_{ACC} threw ball

If Nominative Case of INFL is checked in AGR_S, and not in Tense, it may be checked as a “free rider” once a subject DP is raised to [SPEC,AGR_S] for the checking of Δ. In case an object DP overtly raises to [SPEC,AGR_S] with its (Accusative) Case already checked and deleted (in [SPEC,AGR_O]), the subject DP will raise to [SPEC,AGR_S] for Nominative Case checking only covertly, at LF.

Next, I think there is some independent evidence that the adjunction of the Case checking feature of T to AGR_S is indispensable for Nominative Case checking. As already mentioned in note 1, there is a narrow class of “verbs of lacking” in Polish, exemplified by *brakować*, ‘lack’, and *ubywać* ‘disappear’, which take Genitive, not Nominative nouns as their subjects, which are the only arguments. Interestingly, such verbs do not show any subject agreement features, but display tense morphology, as illustrated by (16) and (17):

- (16) Brakuje_{present} chleba_{GEN,sing,masc} wody_{GEN,sing,fem} lekarstw_{GEN,pl,neut}
(it) lacks bread water medicines
There is not enough bread, water and medicines
- (17) Brakowało_{past} chleba, wody, lekarstw
(it) lacked bread, water, medicines
‘There was not enough bread, water, medicines.’

The conclusion I would like to draw from the above facts about “verbs of lacking” is quite straightforward: if Case feature was checked by Tense, it would be quite difficult to explain why in case of just one class of verbs Tense checks Genitive not Nominative Case. If, on the other hand, Nominative Case is obligatorily checked by the AGR_S-T-V complex the account appears much simpler: “verbs of lacking” do not show any subject agreement features, thus presumably, AGR_S is absent altogether from the structures in which they occur.⁹ If AGR_S is absent, then Nominative Case checking cannot take place.

The Case feature of the subject DP must anyhow be checked, and, if we assume after Chomsky (1993) that structural Case is a manifestation of the Spec-head relation (NP, Agr) (cf. Chomsky 1993: 7), and if genitive is structural Case, then the remaining available checking domain is that of AGR_O.¹⁰ Now there seem to be two options; either AGR_O has a Genitive Case feature to check, or its Case feature is unspecified, and Genitive is checked by default. The option of “default Genitive” for Polish is extensively argued for in Tajsner (1990). It is claimed there that Genitive

⁹ An alternative to this analysis might be to assume that AGR_S is present, but is vacuous, i.e. has neither *phi* features nor Nominative Case.

¹⁰ But, it seems that if the genitive Case of the “verbs of lacking” is lexical, rather than structural it may also be checked in [SPEC,Tense]. This alternative would be particularly valuable, if it is assumed that the absence of AGR_S from the structure necessarily entails the elimination of AGR_O.

Case is generally checked “by default” whenever there is not a strict agreement in Case features on the both sides of a Case checking relation.¹¹ It is not clear whether this also applies to the Case of the subjects of “verbs of lacking”. I will not pursue the matter here since the choice between the two technical modes of Case checking: lexical, and “by default” does not seem to have much bearing on the analysis.

We may thus conclude this part of the discussion with some crucial assumptions: i/ the configuration of a Polish clause is: AGR_S-Tense-AGR_O, and ii/ Nominative Case is checked in Polish in [SPEC,AGR_S], not [SPEC,Tense]. The third important assumption relates to the property which distinguishes Polish from English. I postulate there is a difference between English and Polish in the feature which triggers overt raising of DPs. The English feature is D, present in Tense and associated with EPP. A Polish analogue is a feature Δ, present in AGR, and not associated with EPP.

The above postulates have important consequences for the properties of the computational component in the two languages. As was shown above, of the two DPs, i.e. Subject and Object, appearing in a structure, only a subject may be fronted in English, while both Object and Subject are equally good candidates for raising in Polish. Consider now the Polish situation more closely. The presence of Δ in AGR is manifested in both AGR_S, and AGR_O. In case of object fronting the first overt step in derivation is object raising to [SPEC,AGR_O] to satisfy Δ, and to check Accusative Case as a “free rider”. The next step is object raising to [SPEC,AGR_S] for Δ checking. The final step is covert subject raising to AGR_SP for *phi* features checking. In case of subject fronting the first overt step is subject raising to [SPEC,AGR_O] for Δ checking followed by raising to [SPEC,AGR_S] for Δ and *phi* features checking. The derivation is concluded with covert object raising to AGR_OP. In either case we have two overt steps in derivation and there is a perfect symmetry between object and subject fronting.

There is some conceptual controversy arising from the above analyses. In both derivations, their covert parts contain movements to functional categories which have already been used as landing sites of overt computations. In case of object fronting the subject covertly moves to AGR_SP, while the same functional category was used previously as a landing site for the fronting object. In case of subject fronting, in turn, the object covertly moves to AGR_OP, and it was earlier used by a subject. It seems, however, that this situation need not be a problem within a minimalist approach, and there are some alternative ways in which the controversy may be

¹¹ The other instances discussed in Tajsner (1990) in which Genitive Case is checked “by default” in Polish are:

a/ instances of ACC-to-GEN shift of objects under negation, e.g. *Nie lubię szpinaku*_{GEN} ‘I don’t like spinach’, but *Lubię szpinak*_{ACC} ‘I like spinach.’

b/ cases of ACC-to-GEN shift of subjects of existential-locative sentences, e.g. *Na stole nie ma książek*_{GEN} ‘There aren’t books on the desk’, but: *Na stole są książki*_{NOM} ‘There are books on the desk.’

c/ Case checking on the NP-complements of NPs,

d/ Case checking on the NP subjects (specifiers) of NPs,

e/ Case checking on the internal NP within quantified NPs.

overcome. The first option is to assume after Chomsky (1994) that XP-to-X adjunction is generally possible for covert movements, and thus in the cases discussed above, the second covert movements of the XPs may not be to Specifiers of corresponding AGRPs but rather by adjunction to their heads. Such movements violate HMC but the solution on minimalist grounds lies in the assumption that the elements undergoing LF movements are not really whole categories but rather features without a categorial XP status.

Furthermore, Chomsky (1995) considers a case of XP to X adjunction in connection with Emonds' Structure Preserving Constraint which, in the context of adjunction, may be said to require that bar levels must be matched within adjunction, i.e. only XP can adjoin to YP, and only X^0 to Y^0 . He claims that this constraint also holds only of overt adjunction and not covert movements of features. This assumption is based on the derivation of SPC from the properties of Morphology, which is the level that the structure enters after Spell-Out, and which deals only with word like elements, i.e. X^0 's. Since morphology deals only with words adjunction to X cannot form anything bigger than X, or Morphology would not "see" it (cf. Chomsky 1995: 319). But, clearly this cannot be a restriction on post-Spell-Out feature adjunction to X.

But there is yet another possibility of avoiding the controversial "traffic jam" without invoking a postulate of an exceptional status of LF feature adjunction, and still avoiding the violation of either HMC or SPC. Recall Belletti's (1994) proposal, that AGR_S be optionally recursive, the postulate which allows for an account of the range of facts concerning the placement of adverbials in Italian and English. An analogous move in case of covert movement of Polish DPs would bring about a desired result: a fronted object DP and a covertly fronted subject DP would occupy at LF two different Spec. positions; a "subject AGR_S " dominating the "object AGR_S ".

Notice, that although some controversies relate to both subject fronting and object fronting, there is a bigger problem with the latter. At LF both DPs, subject and object should occupy some Spec. position if the core of the minimalist framework is to be retained, i.e. that all feature checking takes place within appropriate checking domains in a local relation between an element in a Spec. of XP and the head of X. What more, the *phi* agreement features are most likely candidates for a standard SPEC-Head agreement relation. For such reasons, and for others that will become evident later, I will adopt Belletti's proposals for the avoidance of "traffic jam" in case of object fronting. For overt subject fronting, however, I will choose the second of Chomsky's options, i.e. I will assume that the object DP raising covertly is adjoined to the head of AGR_O from where it enters into an ACC Case checking relation with AGR_O .¹²

¹² Notice, that still another possibility would be to turn to Chomsky's Multiply SPEC Hypothesis, which we do not generally follow here.

3.3. Overt verb raising to AGR_O

I have so far focused on example (1) repeated below, and examples like (18), below, which are both predicational sentences with different arrangements of major nominal elements:

- (1) Chłopiec rzucił piłkę.
 boy threw ball
 'The boy threw a ball.'
- (18) Piłkę rzucił chłopiec.
 ball threw boy
 'The boy threw the ball.'

Insofar as the above minimalist analysis of object fronting in (18) is correct, the verb in (18) must undergo movement to a pre-subject position. There appears a question of the landing site of a local verb movement. A very likely candidate is AGR_O . Note, that an analysis involving two simultaneous overt raising operations: of the verb to AGR_O , and of the object to [SPEC, AGR_O] as the first step in long object fronting is in agreement with the postulate known as *Holmberg's Generalization* (Holmberg 1986) advocated by Chomsky (1993: 18) that "overt object raising will be possible only with overt V-raising". More generally, if an object is checked in [SPEC, AGR_O], but *by* the verb, as assumed in Chomsky (1993: 8), the object raising must be accompanied by verb raising to AGR_O .

Moreover, I believe there are independent premises on which it may be assumed that the verb in Polish overtly moves to AGR_O . Consider now negative counterparts of (1) and (18) in (19), and (20):

- (19) Chłopiec nie rzucił piłki_{GEN}.
 boy not threw ball
 'The boy did not throw the ball.'
- (20) Piłki_{GEN} nie rzucił chłopiec.
 ball not threw boy
 'The boy did not throw the ball.'

(19) and (20) display typical ACC-to-GEN shift under negation.

I will assume after Śpiewak and Szymańska (1995) that a negative particle is lexically cliticized on the verb. Nevertheless, I am not excluding a possibility that there may be a NegP in the structure to which a negative verb has to move for "negative checking".¹³ Let us see if the verb movement to AGR_O could be covert. Consider first example (19). As postulated earlier, the Genitive object raises to [SPEC, AGR_O] covertly and checks its Case feature against the Case feature of AGR_O , which by that time has already been switched under negation from ACC-to-GEN. But, a precondition for Case alternation in AGR_O must be the incorporation of a negative verb to AGR_O . Without such an incorporation the Case checking properties of AGR_O would not be switched appropriately, and the genitive Case of the raising object

could not be checked. The verb movement from \bar{V} to AGR_O may in this instance be either overt or covert since Case checking is postponed to LF.

In case (20) the situation is different. The object overtly raises to $[SPEC, AGR_S]$ via $[SPEC, AGR_O]$, and the option of any backward lowering movement is excluded. The verb must then move to AGR_O overtly, and not at LF, or else the Genitive Case on the fronted object could not be checked. I will conclude from these points that verb movement to AGR_O is overt in both (19) and (20). The strong feature which attracts DPs to $[SPEC, AGR_O]$ is Δ .

Next, I would like to explain why I believe that the negative verb alone affects the Case properties of AGR_O , switching it to GEN. The basis for such an assumption is as follows. Along minimalist lines, weak features, like specific Case and *phi* features are not possessed inherently by AGR , but are assigned to it by a moving V . But, on the other hand, often the sole motivation for the appearance of AGR_O in the structure is to express Case agreement with an object.¹⁴ Therefore, AGR_O should in such cases possess some Case intrinsically. I would like to suggest a way out of this dilemma: AGR_O is inherently specified uniformly for the unmarked (structural) Case which is ACC. If such a specification of AGR_O is not suppressed after verb raising, ACC is checked on the object. But, there may be two situations when the unmarked Case specification of AGR_O is suppressed: a/ under lexical negation, and b/ when the raising verb assigns to AGR_O an inherent, or lexical Case feature. In the former instance, in absence of any specification of Case in AGR_O GEN is checked by default, in the latter one, only a new, marked AGR_O Case specification may be checked.¹⁵

The above account allows to explain in terms compatible with minimalist assumptions why it is only structural Cases (ACC, and as will be discussed later, NOM) that shift to genitive under negation, and not inherent/lexical Cases (i.e. dative, instrumental)¹⁶. ACC Case specification is a property of the structure, not of lexical items, hence: a structural Case. Verbs checking ACC are only lexically specified for a general feature Case, and they gain their specific ACC Case checking properties after they raise to AGR_O . Verbs checking INST and DAT, on the other hand, are lexically specified for these Cases. Lexical negation always suppresses a Case specification of AGR_O . When a verb has an inherent/lexical Case specification on its own it substitutes for the suppressed Case specification of AGR_O . When a verb has no such specification a default genitive Case checking is automatically triggered.

¹⁴ We are aware that the motivation for the appearance of AGR_O in other types of constructions may be independent of Case, e.g. it involves agreement between the head and the complement in ϕ features in adjectival, or passive participial constructions, e.g. *chłopiec_{sing, masc.} wesoly_{sing, masc.} napisana_{sing, fem.} książka_{sing, fem.}*

¹⁵ There are verbs in Polish like *żądać, wymagać*, 'demand', 'require', and *oczekiwać, spodziewać się*, 'await', 'expect', which, no matter if they are negated or not, require their objects to be genitive. This shows that GEN is also one of the inherent/lexical Cases in Polish.

¹⁶ See Tajsner (1990), Witkoś (1996) for a discussion of relevant facts.

To sum up, the relevance of the above discussion of the conditions of ACC-to-GEN shift in Polish for our account of object fronting in examples like (20) lies in that it provides some independent motivation for overt verb raising to AGR_O . If an overtly fronting DP object is not accusative but genitive or, e.g. instrumental, its Case could not be checked in $[SPEC, AGR_O]$ had the AGR_O not been "prepared" earlier for such an exceptional Case checking. And it may only be prepared in this respect by overt verb raising to the head of AGR_O and the suppression of the unmarked ACC specification of the Case feature present in AGR_O . Independently, on conceptual grounds we have excluded a need for a higher overt raising of the verb to NegP.

3.4. Object raising and the typology of syntactic positions

A typological distinction of syntactic positions made in the GB framework is this between A-positions and A'-positions. The former are the positions associated with major Grammatical Functions (GFs) such as subject or object, and the latter are the positions formed by base-adjunction, and the landing sites of moving operators (e.g. wh-phrase, quantifier phrase). In the P&P model the positions occupied by subjects and objects, both base positions and derived positions, i.e. $[SPEC, \bar{V}]$, $[SPEC, AGR_S(T)]$, $[SPEC, V]$, $[SPEC, AGR_O]$ are typically assumed to be all A-positions.¹⁷

In minimalist terms, an A-position is re-interpreted as an L-related position, i.e. a position which stays in a local relation to an L-feature (a feature of a lexical item). Staying in a local relation to an L-feature means "to be in the internal domain or checking domain of a head with an L-feature" (Chomsky 1993: 28). Then, positions may be L-related narrowly, or broadly. The former is a position of a specifier (non-adjoined), and the latter is the position adjoined to XP. A non-L-related position is now an equivalent of the earlier A'-position. A Spec. of CP is specifically a non-L-related position, unless it hosts an L-feature.

Haegeman (1996) shows, however, that the A/A' distinction does not fully map on the L-related/non L-related distinction, and thus should not be replaced by the latter. On empirical grounds she claims that there may be A-, non-L related positions.¹⁸ Her analysis is concerned with clitics in West Flemish, but her conclusions relate to Germanic clitics in general. Such clitics, unlike Romance clitics, are non-verbal and, she argues, their scrambling is to non-L(V)-related positions, which are not related to any operator hence cannot be A'-positions, and only A-positions.

The above typological points allow the classification of the position occupied by a fronted object in (18) as a non- θ , L-related A-position. Its non- θ status should be unquestionable, but the assumption that it is L-related should be qualified. First, we

¹⁷ There is some controversy, however, relating to position $[SPEC, T]$. Jonas and Bobaljik (1993) consider it to be an A-position. Rizzi and Roberts (1989) assume it is an A'-position.

¹⁸ She also argues that there is an L-related, A'-position, namely $[SPEC, NEG]$. A raising verb must pass through the head of NegP, hence it should be L-related, but $[SPEC, NEG]$ blocks adjunct-movement to an A' (non-L-related position), hence it must also be an A' position.

have argued that the position the fronted object occupies at Spell-Out is a lower [SPEC,AGR_S] of the recursive AGR_SP, in sense of Belletti (1994). Given that the subject DP raises covertly to a higher [SPEC,AGR_S] the verb-Tense complex has to raise covertly for subject agreement and *phi* features checking to the head of this higher AGR_SP. On its way it has to pass through the head of the lower AGR_SP and thus makes it L(V)-related.

Next, I would like to qualify its status as an A-position. A valid test might be based on A-binding properties. A fronted object DP would bind its antecedent only if it were in a true A-position at LF. Note first, that a test based on simple cases of reflexive object fronting does not provide us with decisive results:

- (21) Siebie_i widział Janek_i w telewizji.
 himself saw John on TV
 'John saw himself on TV.'

(21) is not ungrammatical even though a reflexive, allegedly in an A-position, apparently binds a referring expression, i.e. the subject DP.

For Dornisch (1995: 83) the movement of the anaphor in (21) is scrambling to an IP-adjoined position and examples like (22) prove that the position of *siebie* in (21) is not an A-position. Otherwise, there would be a Condition C violation with the R-expression A-bound. Following Webelhuth (1989) and Saito (1992) she assumes that the position of the anaphor in (21), and more generally, an IP-adjoined position, must be some third type of position, "the A'-nonoperator position".¹⁹ No recourse to a postulation of the third type of syntactic position is needed within my approach. Recall, that (21) represents a Spell-Out arrangement, and at LF the subject DP is raised to a higher [SPEC,AGR_S], and the verb is covertly raised to its head, so that the LF ordering is actually as in (22):

- (22) Janek_i widział siebie_i w telewizji.

(22) is, as if, a reconstruction of the base arrangement and no Condition C violation is involved. Any overt object movement must be by-passed at LF by a rising subject.

In order to argue that overt object fronting occurs before Spell-out one would need some evidence that an ill-construed base form may be saved by XP movement to the front. Bearing this purpose in mind consider examples (23) and (24):

- (23) Janek_i oddał jego_{i*/j*} pieniądze Markowi_i dopiero po miesiącu.
 (24) Jego_{i/j*} pieniądze oddał Janek_i Markowi_i dopiero po miesiącu.

In (23) the co-reference of either of the two names with the possessive pronominal is excluded. The first of these restrictions is easy to explain in terms of a condi-

¹⁹ Webelhuth (1989), and Saito (1992) independently argue that the positions of Spec of CP and IP-adjoined positions differ in status; the former is A'-operator position, the latter A-nonoperator position. They base their classification on facts relating to binding properties and parasitic gaps.

tion B violation with the pronominal bound by the subject of the clause. The nature of the second restriction is less clear, supposedly it might be some form of prohibited A-binding of the name (*Markowi*), by the possessive pronominal.²⁰ The restriction of the co-reference of *Markowi* with *jego* is lifted, however, if the accusative object is fronted as in (24).

What examples (23) and (24) show is that object fronting affects co-reference relations, hence has a bearing on LF. We may not, then be dealing with a purely stylistic post-Spell-Out reordering. But examples (23) and (24) are not decisive as to the form of a syntactic movement, whether it is to an A- or A'-position. As a matter of fact, example (24) suggests rather that the movement is to an A' position, so that an alleged condition C violation of (23) is eliminated. But, it may be shown that there are more serious problems with an assumption that object fronting is by adjunction to A'-position. Consider examples (25) and (26):

- (25) [Pieniądze dla niej_{i*}]_i zostawiła Marysia_i t_i na stole.
 money for her left Mary on table
 'Mary left the money for her on the table.'
 (26) [Pieniądze dla siebie_i]_i zostawiła Marysia_i t_i na stole.
 money for herself left Mary on table
 'Mary left the money for herself on the table.'

If movements of the object phrases were instances of adjunction to A'-positions, there would be no explanation of the restriction on the co-reference relations in (25), and there would be no available c-commanding A-binding antecedent for the anaphor in (26). The traces left by the movements would not be co-indexed with the traces of the subjects at LF (after covert subject fronting), and the fronted DP themselves would not be A-bound by the raised subjects since the subjects would be in A' positions.

Compare also examples (27) and (28):

- (27) Przedstawiłem [jego_i narzeczoną] [Piotra_{i*/j*} koledze]_{i*}.
 (I) introduced his fiancée Piotr_{GEN} colleague_{DAT}
 'I introduced his fiancée to Piotr's colleague.'
 (28) %Jego_{i/j} narzeczoną przedstawiłem [Piotra_i koledze]_i.
 His fiancée (I) introduced Piotr_{GEN} colleague_{DAT}

The contrast between examples (27) and (28) needs some explanation. Let us now sum up the observed facts: in case a DP contained in the first object is co-indexed with the second object the structure is ungrammatical and the explanation may not simply be a Condition C violation due to the lack of c-command rela-

²⁰ The possessive pronominal may be the head of the DP phrase here, hence the DP may carry the same referential index as the possessive determiner. But, then it would be hard to explain obvious binding violations in cases like (i):

(i) [Mój kolega_j] lubi go_{j*/i}.

tion between the co-indexed elements. As a first approximation, it may be suggested that what really constitutes the construal-blocking factor in (27) is some strict LF restriction on the co-occurrence of a name with a preceding (and not just c-commanding, i.e. binding) co-indexed DP. But then, as shown by example (28), as well as an earlier example (24), this restriction is not unconditional; when the first object is fronted the ungrammaticality largely disappears. Notice, further, that this restriction does not reach as high as the position of subject, as (29) below, appears well-formed:

(29) Jęgo_i brat dał Tomkowi_i jabłko.

What the LF representations of (28) and (29) have in common under our analysis is that the fronted DPs are in [SPEC,AGR_S], which I would like to call a “theme” position. I would like to capitalize on this fact and suggest that this position constitutes a specific “escape hatch” for DPs; construal relations which are otherwise barred become possible if a DP is moved to this position. I will leave for later a formulation of the relevant condition in terms compatible with the Minimalist Program.

To sum up, there are two important conclusions to be drawn from the above facts of binding properties, independent of our specific proposals concerning the mechanics of subject and object fronting. First, a fronted object is in an A-position, and second, object fronting, like subject fronting, is a syntactic computation which occurs before Spell-Out.

4. Scrambling

Let us now look at the phenomenon of scrambling in Polish exemplified first by structure (30):

(30) Ania Tomka widziała w kinie.
Ania Tomek saw in cinema
'Ania saw Tomek in the cinema.'

In (30) the direct object is moved to a pre-verbal position deriving the order: *Subject-Direct Object-Verb*, an instance of freedom of preposing generally prohibited in English, but allowed in e.g. Dutch and German (Besten and Webelhuth 1987). Bennis and Hoekstra (1984), argue that scrambling is a syntactic movement, not a stylistic reordering, which occurs between D-structure and S-structure. Besten and Rutten (1989) assume that the property of Dutch scrambling is that it is an adjunction movement to A' positions; VP or I.' Standard accounts of scrambling in Polish classify it either as syntactic A'-movement (e.g. Willim 1988) or stylistic, post-cyclic reordering subject to certain phonological conditions such as rhythm, intonation, etc. (e.g. Giejgo 1981, Kardela 1986).

An alleged syntactic status of scrambling has to be reconciled with a feature checking format of the minimalist program. As standardly within this approach, a movement must be triggered by a feature whose strength is a prerequisite for overt computation. Haegeman (1995) argues, basing on data from West Flemish, that left-

ward scrambling of object DPs meets this theoretical prerequisite; it is A-movement rather than A'-movement, i.e. movement to the specifier of a functional head with Agr features triggered by the presence of a feature R associated with *phi* feature. I will try to show that the case of scrambling in Polish illustrated by (30) may be quite smoothly accounted for within the framework of *theme*-checking proposed above. By the “smoothness” of the account I mean that there will be no need for any further specialized functional categories or lexical features specifically responsible for the phenomenon of scrambling.

Recall first, that the structure of the Polish clause we advocate in this study is: AGRP_S-TP-AGRP_O-V^{max}-VP. This is the layout available for overt syntactic computations, at LF there may be an additional occurrence of a recursive AGRP_S, and one more AGRP_O for bitransitive constructions. As discussed earlier, the host of the strong nominal feature Δ is AGR, hence it is manifested in two places, in AGRP_S and AGRP_O. Either of these two occurrences of Δ must now be checked overtly. We have so far considered two options; either the subject moves successively, first to [SPEC,AGR_O], checking Δ₁, and then to [SPEC,AGR_S] checking Δ₂, or the object moves in steps first to [SPEC,AGR_O] checking Δ₁, and then to [SPEC,AGR_S] checking Δ₂. I have argued also, that either of the two types of DP-fronting operations is accompanied by overt “short” verb movement to AGRP_O. The ordering resulting from the first set of computations is: *Subject-Verb-Object*, while the second derivation results in the order: *Object-Verb-Subject*.

I have not discussed, however, the third available option, i.e. that of both DPs moving overtly; subject DP to [SPEC,AGR_S], and object DP to [SPEC,AGR_O]. Given that they are accompanied by overt verb raising to AGRP_O, the resultant order of constituents must be *Subject-Object-Verb*, the scrambled option of (18). Note, that the postulated movements do not violate the Minimal Link Condition since the object DP is as close to [SPEC,AGR_O] as is the subject DP. Furthermore, the whole derivation is in this case just as economical as in the other two instances; it involves two overt movements.

A variant of a scrambled structure may be (31):

(31) Ania Tomkowi kupiła loda.
Ania Tomek_{DAT} bought icecream
'Ania bought Tomek an icecream.'

(31) is a bitransitive structure in which the order of constituents is *Subject-Indirect(dative) object-Verb-Direct Object*. I would like to suggest the following analysis of cases like (31): there is only one AGRP_O position visible to overt computations in (31). It carries the strong feature Δ and attracts the dative DP. The other AGRP_O position, which attracts the accusative DP for Case checking, is only relevant at LF.

Note, that in a scrambled structure (32) the co-reference of the pronominal and the R-expression is possible even though the pronominal precedes the name:

- (32) Tomek jej_i pierścioneK dał Marii_i w dniu zaręczyn
 Tomek her ring gave Mary in day engagement
 'Tomek gave Mary_i her_i ring on the engagement day.'

Earlier I hinted at the possibility that a *theme* position may be a specific "escape hatch" for fronted DPs so that they are exempt from regular binding restrictions. Note, that (32) may be subsumed under the same condition. I believe that the patterns revealed in object-fronting and scrambling have much in common, and therefore a uniform account of both types of constructions should be preferred. I thus propose condition (33):

- (33) An R-expression must not be co-indexed with any preceding DP which is not in a *theme* position at LF

where a *theme* position is a position of Spec. of AGR carrying a strong feature Δ . There are two manifestations of Δ in the structure, hence there may be two *theme* positions: [SPEC,AGR_S] and [SPEC,AGR_O], which may be referred to as *primary theme*, and *secondary theme*, respectively.

Let us now raise the question of the base ordering of the two objects in bitransitive constructions. First, I believe that the Case of the object DP is irrelevant for establishing the c-commanding patterns between objects. In that I disagree with Witkoś (1996) who claims that in Polish a dative (indirect) object is always closer to the governing verb than the accusative (direct) object. The implication of Witkoś's claim is that structures like (34) would have to be analyzed as resulting from a post-Spell-Out stylistic reordering:

- (34) Tomek dał jabłko Ani.
 Tomek give apple Ann_{DAT}
 'Tomek gave Ann an apple.'

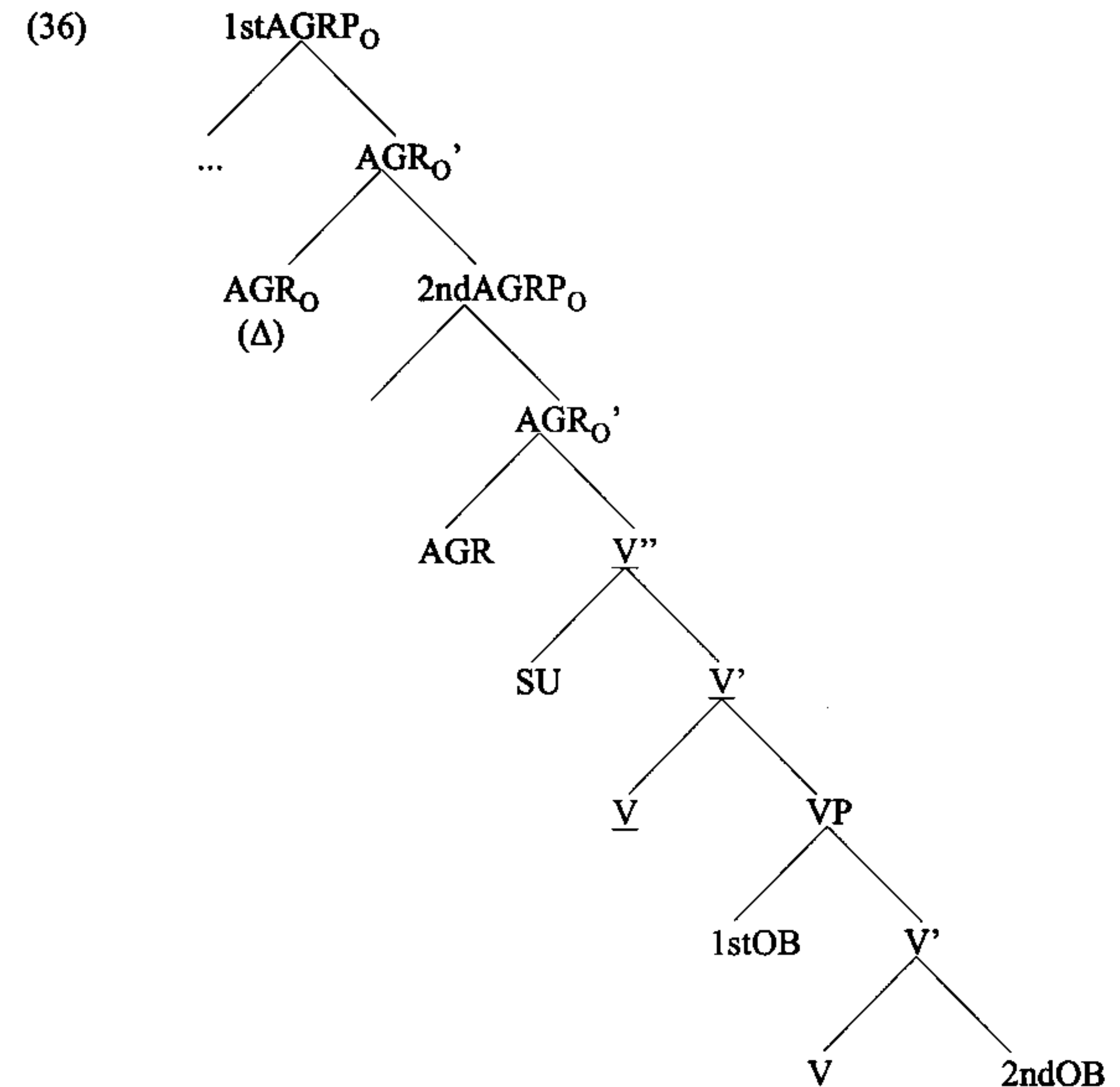
The actual mechanics of the reordering may be e.g. adjunction to VP. The arrangement at LF would however be different with the AGR_{O_{dative}} c-commanding AGR_{O_{accusative}}, as such is the base arrangement of objects. Similarly, at the LF of (35) the second, i.e. dative object should c-command the first, i.e. accusative object:

- (35) Porywacze oddali [ich chłopca]_j [Marka_{j*} rodzicom]
 Kidnappers gave back [their boy]_j [Mark's_j parents]
 'The kidnappers returned Mark's parents their boy.'

But contrary to expectations, (35) is a case of Condition C violation, with the DP name *Marka* A-bound by the DP *ich chłopca*. Such a result should not occur were the dative DP always to c-command the accusative one at LF.

I conclude thus, that the base order of the two objects is free; either the dative object precedes the accusative, or the accusative object precedes the dative one. The next problem is which of the two objects, the first or the second, or maybe either of

them, may undergo scrambling to a pre-verbal position. An option most in the vein of the minimalist program is not to impose any further constraints apart from those arising from MLC and the economy considerations. Let us first look at the relevant configuration (36):



The problem to consider is whether the second object may raise overtly to the position marked ... to check the feature Δ , i.e. whether the second object may raise to the SPEC position of the first AGR_{O_P}. This kind of movement applied to example (35) would result in (37):

- (37) Porywacze [Marka_j rodzicom] oddali [ich chłopca]_j.
 Kidnappers Marek's parents_{DAT} returned their boy_{ACC}
 'The kidnappers returned Mark's parents their boy.'

As indicated, the co-reference of *Marka* and *ich chłopca* is restored in (37). But, naturally, (37) may also be interpreted as derived by the movement of the first object of the base configuration (38):

- (38) Porywacze oddali [Marka_j rodzicom] [ich chłopca].
Kidnappers returned Mark's parents their boy
'The kidnappers returned Mark's parents their boy.'

The question must be considered with reference to a minimalist notion of *closeness*, defined as follows:

" β is *closer to K* than α if β c-commands α and is not in the minimal domain of CH, where CH is the chain headed by Γ , Γ adjoined within the zero-level projection $H(K)^{zero}$ " (Chomsky 1995: 9-13).

In our case, 1st object in [SPEC,VP] is β , the second object in [DP,VP] is α , and K is [SPEC,1stAGR_O]. The minimal domain of the relevant chain CH, i.e. the chain formed by the raising of \underline{V} to AGR_O(Δ) does not contain the position [SPEC,VP] occupied in the base by the first object, hence the first object in [SPEC,VP] is closer to the position [SPEC,AGR_O(Δ)]. The second object is not, crucially, within the "neighbourhood of H" (see Chomsky (1995: 5-20).

Let us assume, that both objects have a potential to check the feature Δ present in AGR_O. Given the formulation of the Minimal Link Condition as in (39) below, only the first and not the second of the two objects may be attracted to [SPEC,AGR_O] to check Δ :

- (39) "K attracts F if F is the closest feature that can enter into a checking relation with a sublabel of K" (Chomsky 1995: 5-19).

On theoretical grounds we thus exclude a possibility of movement from the second object position. The only "launching site" for object scrambling is thus [SPEC,VP]. Such a restriction is motivated on minimalist grounds as it reduces a range of possible overt derivations. This does not mean, of course, that any movement from the [DP,VP] is excluded. At LF, once the feature Δ is checked and deleted, the feature Case of the lower of the two AGR_OP's attracts the Case of the second DP.

The analysis of DP scrambling along the lines proposed above allows also to explain restrictions on "multiple scrambling", as in (40):

- (40) ?Ania Tomkowi loda kupiła.

Cases like (40) are heavily marked functionally, and are permitted only under contrastive focus interpretation, like in (41), or (42):

- (41) Ania TOMKOWI loda kupiła, a nie Markowi.
(42) Ania LODA Tomkowi kupiła, nie ciastko.

Multiple scrambling is impossible since it involves movement to a Spec. of a functional category which has to carry a strong nominal feature, and not free syntactic adjunction to an XP.

4.1. Scrambling and topicalization

Let us only address some general questions concerning the relation between scrambling and topicalization. The analysis of scrambling proposed in the previous section classifies it as an instance of a syntactic pre-Spell-Out movement of an object DP to [SPEC,AGR_O]. The computation is triggered by the feature Δ , which is an attribute of a clausal structure in Polish, and which may be associated informally with a greed of a structure for a fronted theme. The termination of overt object raising in [SPEC,AGR_O] is a computational option, one of the three available; the other two being object DP and subject DP passing through this position on their way to [SPEC,AGR_S].

Let us now consider one more computational possibility, namely this of subject overt raising to [SPEC,AGR_O], accompanied by overt object raising to [SPEC,AGR_S]. The result of such a combination would be a structure with an object in front and a subject immediately following, as in (43):

- (43) Tomka, Ania widziała w kinie.
Tomek_{ACC} Ann saw in cinema
'Ania saw Tomek in the cinema.'

Configurations like (43) are standardly considered to be result of topicalization. The question is if the framework proposed above allows for a derivation of topicalized structures like (43) by means of the fourth computational option mentioned above. The answer must be negative and the motivation for such a dismissal is as follows. If the object DP raised in overt computation directly to [SPEC,AGR_S] for Δ checking, and the subject to [SPEC,AGR_O] also for Δ checking, the accusative Case feature of AGR_O could never be checked. Once the object DP is in [SPEC,AGR_O] it cannot be lowered to AGR_O, and the subject DP in [SPEC,AGR_O] has no potential to check accusative Case, only nominative Case.

4.2. Scrambling and parametric explanation

Note, that the account presented above allows to explain in simple parametric terms why scrambling is available in Polish, but not in English. Recall, as I postulated earlier, that a parametric difference between the two languages is in the location of a strong feature responsible for category fronting. In English the feature D, associated with EPP, is placed in Tense; in Polish the feature Δ , associated with theme, is located in AGR. Given, that the two functional categories AGR_S and AGR_O are manifestations of the same category, the feature Δ comes out in Polish in two places, and has to be overtly checked in either position. This opens an option of simultaneous overt raising of subject and object resulting in *Subject-Object-Verb* order. The unique positionality of D in English excludes an option of overt object movement.

Note finally, that the unavailability of object scrambling in English is an argument for syntactic, and not stylistic character of object scrambling. Standardly

within GB, unavailability of syntactic object scrambling has been referred to the requirement of strict adjacency on Case assignment. But, Case adjacency has no natural place in the minimalist framework, in which most Case checking is postponed till LF, and uniformly occurs as a function of a SPEC-head configuration, in an appropriate feature checking domain.

5. Summary and topics for further study

The picture emerging from the foregoing discussion may be summarized as follows: various word order patterns of Polish predicational sentences exemplified below are all derived in a uniform fashion, as a result of syntactic XP (*theme*) fronting induced by *Attract*:

- (44) Dzieci dostały słodycze.
children got sweets
'The/* \emptyset children got sweets.'
- (45) Słodycze dostały dzieci.
sweets got children
'The/* \emptyset sweets were given to (the) children.'
- (46) Dzieciom dała mama słodycze.
children_{dat} gave mum sweets
'THE/* \emptyset CHILDREN got sweets, or
TO THE CHILDREN mum gave sweets.'
- (47) Mama dzieciom dała słodycze.
mum children_{dat} gave sweets
'Mum gave the/* \emptyset children sweets.'
- (48) Na stole położyła mama biały obrus.
on table put mum a white cloth
'Mum put a white cloth on the/*a table.'
- (49) W kuchni dostały dzieci słodycze.
in kitchen got children sweets
'The children got the sweets in the/*a kitchen.'

The feature triggering XP fronting in (44)-(49) is Δ , present in AGR, manifesting itself in two places, AGR_S and AGR_O.

What remains is an important task of determining the content of the feature Δ . The task may be summarized as an attempt to answer two related questions: i/ What makes an XP sensitive to *Attract*?, ii/ Which property of Δ is satisfied when an XP is fronted?

Preliminarily, it may be observed that unlike the feature D of English which is categorially determined as *nominal*, Δ is not similarly determined in Polish, so that various types of XPs may satisfy it. Next, it may be noticed that in English translations of Polish examples (44)-(49) the equivalents of fronted XPs all contain definite

XPs; their interpretation as indefinite DPs is excluded. A tentative conclusion may thus be that only definite XPs qualify as syntactic *themes* in predicational sentences.

But then, perhaps not all indefinite DPs are uniformly excluded from a fronted position in a predicational sentence. As discussed by Zubizarreta (1994) there is a class of 'specific indefinites' which along with typical definites may function as topics in so-called Clitic Left Dislocation structures in Spanish like (51):

- (51) A una cierta muchacha, Pedro la invitó a cenar
a certain girl_{acc}, Pedro acc.cl. invited to dinner

Zubizarreta observes that such 'specific indefinites' meet a "specificity condition" imposed on any candidates for left dislocation in CLLD structures.²¹ It may be concluded from these points, that for a phrase to be specific in the relevant sense, without being definite, it should be preceded by a 'specificity modifier' *cierta* 'some', 'certain.' Let us apply this analysis for XP-fronting in Polish, assuming that expressions like *pewien/pewna/pewne*, and *jakiś/jakaś/jakieś* etc. are equivalents of the Spanish form. As evident from examples like (52)-(56) below, such 'specific indefinites' may really occupy fronted positions in Polish:

- (52) Jakiś pan dał mi jabłko.
some man gave me apple
'Some man gave me an apple.'
- (53) Jakieś prezenty dostały także dzieci.
some gifts got also children
'Children too got some gifts.'
- (54) Od pewnego pana dostały dzieci słodycze.
from some man get children sweets
'The children got the sweets from some man.'
- (55) Pewne błędy popełnił nawet Tomek.
some mistakes made even Tomek
'Even Tomek made some mistakes.'
- (56) W pewnych miejscach o tym się nie mówi.
in some places about this *refl. clitic* not speaks
'One does not speak about it in some places.'

It would be particularly remarkable to determine the morphological manifestation of 'specificity' given the prominent role of morphology in triggering movements within the minimalist program. There are further intriguing questions about the nature of 'definiteness' or 'specificity' and these topics certainly require a more thorough investigation.

²¹ Fiengo and Higginbotham (1981) use the same term 'Specificity Condition' in a different sense of a constraint which blocks extraction from a specific NP.

REFERENCES

- Belletti, A. 1990. *Generalized verb movement. Aspects of verb syntax*. Turin: Rosenberg and Sellier.
- Belletti, A. 1994. "Verb positions: Evidence from Italian". In Lightfoot, D. and N. Hornstein. (eds). 19-40.
- Bennis, H. and Hoekstra, T. 1984. "Gaps and parasitic gaps". *The Linguistic Review* 4. 29-87.
- Besten, H. and Rutten, J. 1989. "On verb raising, extraposition and free word order in Dutch". In: Janssens, J. et al. 41-56.
- Besten, H. den and Webelhuth, G. 1987. *Remnant topicalization and the constituent structure of VP in the Germanic SOV languages*. Paper presented at GLOW, Venice.
- Chomsky, N. 1981. *Lectures on government and binding*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Chomsky, N. 1993. "A minimalist program for linguistic theory". In Hale, K. and J. Keyser (eds.). 1-52.
- Chomsky, N. 1994. "Bare phrase structure". In Webelhuth, G. (ed.). 383-439.
- Chomsky, N. 1995. *The minimalist program*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Dornisch, E. 1995. "Discourse-linking and multiple wh-questions in Polish". In Gussmann, E. (ed.). 71-85.
- Fiengo, R. and Higginbotham, J. 1981. "Opacity in NP". *Linguistic Analysis* 7. 395-421.
- Giejgo, J. 1981. *Movement rules in Polish syntax*. Doctoral dissertation, University College London.
- Gussmann, E. (ed.). 1995. *Licensing in syntax and phonology*. PASE Studies and Monographs. 1. Lublin: Folium.
- Haegeman, L. 1995. *The syntax of negation*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Haegeman, L. 1996. "The typology of syntactic positions: L-relatedness and the A/A'-distinction". In Abraham, W. et al. (eds.). 141-165.
- Hale, K. and Keyser, J. (eds.). 1993. *The view from Building 20*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Holmberg, A. 1986. *Word order and syntactic features in the Scandinavian languages and English*. Ph.D. thesis. University of Stockholm.
- Janssens, J., Jaspers, D., Klooster, W., Putseys, Y. and Seuren, P. (eds). 1989. *Sentential complementation and the lexicon. Studies in honour of Wim de Geest*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Jonas, D. and Bobaljik, J. 1993. "Specs for subjects: The role of TP in Icelandic". *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics* 18. 59-98.
- Kardela, H. 1986. *Wh-movement in English and Polish. Theoretical implications*. Lublin: Maria Curie-Skłodowska University Press.
- Larson, R. 1988. "On the double object construction". *Linguistic Inquiry* 19. 335-91.
- Lightfoot, D. and Hornstein, N. (eds). 1994. *Verb movement*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Pollock, J-Y. 1989. "Verb movement, universal grammar, and the structure of IP". *Linguistic Inquiry* 20. 365-424.
- Rizzi, L. and Roberts, I. 1989. "Complex inversion in French". *Probus* 1. 1-30.
- Saito, M. 1992. "Long distance scrambling in Japanese". *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 1. 69-118.
- Śpiewak, G. and Szymańska, I. 1995. "A poll on Pollock - functional categories in Polish". In Gussmann, E. (ed.). 125-145.
- Tajsner, P. 1990. *Case marking in English and Polish: A government and binding study*. Ph.D. thesis. Adam Mickiewicz University. Poznań.
- Thráinsson, H. 1996. "On the (non-)universality of functional categories". In Abraham, W. et al. (eds.). 253-281.
- Webelhuth, G. 1989. *Syntactic saturation phenomena and the modern Germanic Languages*. Ph.D. thesis. University of Massachusetts, Amherst.
- Webelhuth, G. (ed.). 1994. *Government and binding theory and the minimalist program*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Willim, E. 1989. *On word order: A government and binding study of English and Polish*. Kraków: Wydawnictwa Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.

- Witkoś, J. 1996. "On NegP and the structure of the Polish clause". *Papers and Studies in Contrastive Linguistics* 31. 65-96.
- Witkoś, J. forthcoming. "Syntactic aspects of verbal composition in Polish". Ms.
- Zubizarreta, M.L. 1994. "Topic, focus and prosody". Ms. USC.