

### 3. Restructuring and the categorial status of non-finite clauses in Polish

#### 0. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is, on the one hand, to establish whether Polish non-finite clauses are affected by the rule of Restructuring and, on the other, to determine how the supposed presence or absence of this rule influences the categorial status of the clauses under scrutiny. First, the distribution of non-finite clauses in Polish is investigated. Then, the properties of Restructuring in various languages are examined, with a special focus on the diagnostics typical of Polish Restructuring. Afterwards, the question is addressed of whether Restructuring in Polish is lexically conditioned, just like in other Restructuring languages. Next, the categorial status of non-finite clauses is scrutinised. What is here at issue is whether they represent bare VPs without PRO or whether they correspond to TPs (or CPs) with a PRO subject. Finally, an attempt is made to derive various effects of Restructuring within the recent version of the Minimalist Program of Chomsky (2000, 2001a, b).

#### 1.0. The distribution of non-finite clauses in Polish

Before embarking on an analysis of the structure of Polish non-finite clauses, it seems worthwhile to pay some attention to their distribution. Polish has four non-finite verbal forms. The forms in question include: the infinitive, the gerund and the participles. The infinitive is formed for the majority of verbs with the ending *-ć*. Verbs whose stem ends in *k* or *g* form their infinitive by means of the ending *-c*, e.g. *piek-ę* ‘I bake’ – *piec* ‘to bake’, *strzeg-ę* ‘I watch’ – *strzec* ‘to watch’ (cf. Bąk (1977)). The gerund requires the endings *-nie* or *-cie*, e.g. *czytanie* ‘reading’ – *czytać* ‘to read’, *szycie* ‘sewing’ – *szyc* ‘to sew’. The participles are marked with the endings *-ąc* or *-wszy/-wszy*. The former participial ending is used to denote an action simultaneous with the action in the main clause, for instance, *Szedł śpiewając*. ‘He was singing while he was walking’. The latter is used to denote an action prior to the action expressed in the matrix clause, e.g. *Przeczytawszy gazetę, poszedł spać*. ‘Having read the newspaper, he went to

bed.’ As noted by Bąk (1977), the participle forms are less and less often used in everyday speech.

In addition to non-finite forms, Polish non-finite clauses can occur with the element *żeby* ‘so that’.<sup>1</sup> Although *żeby* is commonly treated in the literature as a Complementiser (cf. Fisiak *et al.* (1978), Zabrocki (1981), Willim (1989) and Witkoś (1998)), its categorial status will be re-examined in Chapter IV section 1.1, and therefore for the time being it will not be defined.

It has to be noted that participial clauses are much more restricted in their distribution than infinitival or gerundive clauses, as they can function only as adjuncts. Likewise, infinitival clauses can be used as adjuncts, while gerundive clauses do not assume this function. What is common to infinitival and gerundive clauses is that both of them can be used as a subject or as a complement. While infinitives are rare in the subject position, gerunds can more often be encountered here. Example (1a) illustrates the infinitival clause appearing as a subject, whereas example (1b) shows the gerundive clause used in this sentence position:

(1)

- a. Błądzić jest rzeczą ludzką.  
to-err is human thing  
‘To err is human.’
- b. Pisanie listów zabiera mu dużo czasu.  
writing letters takes him a-lot-of time  
‘Writing letters takes him a lot of time.’

In fact, infinitival subjects are limited to appearing with copula verbs (cf. (1a)), whereas no such restriction holds of gerundive clauses (cf. (1b)). Also infinitival clauses introduced by *żeby* ‘so that’ can function as subjects; then they tend to be extraposed and to co-occur with the word *to* ‘it’, as demonstrated in (2):<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is not entirely correct to render the Polish *żeby* as *so that* in English, since a lot of sentences with *żeby* can be expressed in English just by means of an infinitival verb form without any introducer (cf., for instance, example (7)). For the sake of simplicity of exposition we will continue translating *żeby* as *so that*. Additionally, besides *żeby* ‘so that’, other less common non-finite clause introducers include: *aby*, *ażby*, *coby*, *iżby* and *by*, all corresponding to English *so that*, but also often rendered in English by means of a mere infinitival clause without any introducer.

<sup>2</sup> In Bondaruk (2000), I argue that *to* ‘it’ is not an expletive, but an argument. The issue of optional or obligatory presence of *to* ‘it’ is also discussed in this paper.

(2)

Ważne jest (to), żeby nie spóźniać się do pracy.  
 important is it so-that not to-be-late REFL for work  
 'It is important not to be late for work.'

Both gerundive and infinitival clauses most frequently function as complements of verbs. This is illustrated in (3):

(3)

- a. Marek wolał zostać w domu.  
 Mark preferred to-stay at home  
 'Mark preferred to stay at home.'
- b. Ewa kontynuowała pisanie wypracowania.  
 Eve continued writing essay  
 'Eve continued to write an essay.'

In (3a), the verb takes an infinitival complement, while (3b) exhibits a gerundive one. Not all verbs, however, allow both types of complements. In fact verbs taking non-finite complements can be divided into three groups: i) allowing only infinitival complements, e.g. *chcieć* 'want', *próbować* 'try', *musieć* 'must', ii) allowing only gerundive complements, e.g. *kontynuować* 'continue', and iii) verbs allowing both infinitival and gerundive complements, e.g. *zacząć* 'begin', *skończyć* 'finish', *znudzić się* 'get bored' (cf. Grzegorzczkowska (1967)). Within the first class, there exist three subclasses of verbs, namely: ia) taking bare infinitival complements only, e.g. *udać się* 'manage', *chcieć się* 'feel like', *znudzić się* 'be bored with', *zamierzać* 'intend', ib) taking only infinitival clauses introduced by *żeby* 'so that', e.g. *silić się* 'make effort', *zgadzać się* 'agree', *marzyć* 'dream', and ic) taking both bare infinitival complements and ones introduced by *żeby* 'so that', e.g. *chcieć* 'want', *zapominać* 'forget', *bać się* 'be afraid', *zgadzać się* 'agree' (cf. Grochowski *et al.* (1984)). Within the second category of verbs two subclasses can be distinguished, that is: iia) taking a bare gerundive complement, e.g. *rozważać* 'consider', *zaniechać* 'give up', etc., and iib) taking a gerund as the complement of a preposition, e.g. *myśleć o* 'think about', *nalegać na* 'insist on', etc. We will return to the issue of which classes of verbs admit what type of complementation in section 2.1.3.

Non-finite clauses can also function as complements of predicative adjectives, as shown in (4):

(4)

- a. Jacek jest skłonny przyjąć twoje zaproszenie.  
Jacek is inclined to-accept your invitation  
'Jacek is inclined to accept your invitation.'
- b. Marta jest zainteresowana napisaniem tego wypracowania.  
Martha is interested writing this essay  
'Martha is interested in writing this essay.'

Additionally, they can serve as complements of nouns, as can be seen in (5):

(5)

- a. Nie opuszczało go pragnienie, żeby osiągnąć sukces.<sup>3</sup>  
not leave him desire so-that to-achieve success  
'He was always accompanied by the desire to achieve success.'

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<sup>3</sup> The infinitival clause used as a complement to the noun in (5a) is introduced by *żeby* 'so that'. Bare infinitival clauses can be found in apparently similar structures like (i):

- (i) a. Mam ochotę zjeść to ciastko.  
I-have desire to-eat this cake  
'I feel like eating this cake.'
- b. Miał nadzieję wygrać milion.  
he-had hope to-win million  
'He hoped to win a million.'

These sentences, although similar to noun complement structures like (5a) and (5b), do in fact contain complex predicates such as *mieć ochotę* 'feel like' and *mieć nadzieję* 'hope', as confirmed by the fact that the nouns and the non-finite clause following them in these cases cannot be used as complements to other kinds of verbs, as shown in (ii):

- (ii) a.\* Wyraziłam ochotę zjeść to ciastko.  
I-expressed desire to-eat this cake  
'I expressed the desire to eat this cake.'
- b.\* Wyraził nadzieję wygrać milion.  
he-expressed hope to-win million  
'He expressed the hope to win a million.'

The nominal part of the idiom cannot be preposed, as demonstrated by (iii):

- (iii) a.\* Ochoty zjeść to ciastko nie mam.  
desire to-eat this cake not I-have  
'The desire to eat this cake I don't have.'
- b.\* Nadzieji wygrać milion nie mam.  
hope to-win million not I-have  
'Hope to win a million I don't have.'

- b. Kierowała nim żądza zdobycia sławy.  
 led him desire of-getting fame  
 'He was led by the desire to be famous.'

However, only gerundive clauses can function as complements of prepositions, whereas infinitival clauses are banned from occurring in this position, e.g.:<sup>4</sup>

- (6) Zapomniał o wysłaniu tego listu.  
 he-forgot about sending his letter  
 'He forgot to send this letter.'

In addition to being used as complements, non-finite clauses can also function as adjuncts, occurring in purpose clauses (see example (7)), modifying adjectives, adverbs (see examples (8) and (9), respectively), and verbs (see example (10)).

- (7) Idę (żeby) kupić mleko.  
 I-go so-that to-buy milk  
 'I am going to buy milk.'

- (8) Ten tekst jest za trudny, żeby go szybko przetłumaczyć.  
 this text is too difficult so-that it quickly to-translate  
 'This text is too difficult to translate it quickly.'

- (9) Czytał za cicho, żeby go można było usłyszeć.  
 he-read too silently so-that him could be heard  
 'He read too silently to be heard.'

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<sup>4</sup> The only exception to the claim that infinitives do not function as complements of prepositions seems to be the preposition *zamiast* 'instead of', which can be followed by this type of complement, as can be seen in (i) below:

- (i) Zamiast spać do 10-ej powinienś pracować.  
 instead-of to-sleep till 10 you-should work  
 'Instead of sleeping till 10, you should be working.'

Alternatively, one may claim that in this particular use *zamiast* represents a conjunction, rather than a P, and hence is not exceptional in any way.

(10)

Patrząc w okno liczył chmury.  
 looking in window he-was-counting clouds  
 ‘While looking at the window, he counted the clouds.’

The first three adjunct uses are restricted to infinitives, whereas the last one is typical of participial clauses. Whereas the adjunct modifiers of adjectives and adverbs must be expressed by infinitival clauses with *żeby* ‘so that’, purpose clauses, according to Grzegorzczkova (1967), take *żeby* ‘so that’ optionally when the matrix verb corresponds to a verb of motion (see example (7)).<sup>5</sup>

It is also worth noting that Polish non-finite clauses can never serve as nominal adjuncts, or, in other words, it seems that Polish does not tolerate infinitival relatives.<sup>6</sup>

To sum up, Polish non-finite clauses can function as complements, adjuncts or subjects, though not all types of clause assume all these functions. The basic distributional facts are captured in Table 1 below:

Table 1. The distribution of Polish non-finite clauses

Type of Non-Finite Clause	Subject	Complement of Verb	Complement of Adjective	Complement of Noun	Complement of Preposition	Adjunct
Infinitival	Yes (rare)	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Gerundive	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Participial	No	No	No	No	No	Yes

<sup>5</sup> It is worth noting that not all verbs of motion can be followed by an infinitival clause. Verbs like *pogalopować* ‘to gallop’, *potruchtać* ‘to trot’, *popedałować* ‘to pedal’ never co-occur with infinitival adjunct clauses.

<sup>6</sup> However, infinitival questions are allowed in the language, as shown in (i) below:

(i) Zastanawiał się kogo zaprosić na przyjęcie.  
 he-wondered REFL whom to-invite to party  
 ‘He was wondering whom to invite to the party.’

## 2.0. The categorial status of Polish non-finite clauses

Having discussed the distribution of Polish non-finite clauses, let us now turn to their categorial status. The status of non-finite complements to interrogative verbs seems to be unproblematic. Since these complements are introduced by an overt *wh*-word which occupies the [Spec, CP] position, these clauses have to be regarded as CPs, for instance:

- (11)
- |                             |      |     |        |
|-----------------------------|------|-----|--------|
| Spytał,                     | co   | jej | kupić. |
| he-asked                    | what | her | to-buy |
| 'He asked what to buy her.' |      |     |        |

Similarly, non-finite clauses introduced by *żeby* 'so that' are considered CPs, with *żeby* occupying the C position (cf. Zabrocki (1981), Willim (1989), Witkoś (1998)). The categorial status of *żeby* will be examined in detail in Chapter IV section 1.1, so for the time being it will be left aside.

What seems to be a contentious issue is the categorial status of bare infinitival complements. Zabrocki (1981) argues that they represent VPs. A different approach is taken by Witkoś (1998), who treats these complements as TPs. He notes that they can contain more material than just a VP, since they can host negation, as can be seen in (12) below:

- (12)
- |                                  |         |     |         |            |
|----------------------------------|---------|-----|---------|------------|
| Marek                            | woli    | nie | kupować | samochodu. |
| Mark                             | prefers | not | to-buy  | car        |
| 'Mark prefers not to buy a car.' |         |     |         |            |

Additionally, they can exhibit object clitics, which, according to Witkoś, indicates that these complements correspond at least to a Clitic Phrase. This property is illustrated in (13), where *go* 'him' represents a clitic pronoun.

- (13)
- |                                    |       |     |           |        |
|------------------------------------|-------|-----|-----------|--------|
| Marek                              | chce  | go  | posłuchać | teraz. |
| Mark                               | wants | him | to-listen | now    |
| 'Mark wants to listen to him now.' |       |     |           |        |

Consequently, Witkoś (1998) analyses sentences like (14) in the way indicated in (15):

(14)

Zosia nie chce sprzątać kuchni.  
 Sophie not wants to-clean kitchen  
 ‘Sophie does not want to clean the kitchen.’

(15)

$[_{IP} \text{Zosia}_i [_{AgrS^0+T^0}] [_{AspP} \text{nie chce} [_{AuxVP} [_{InfP} \text{PRO}_i [_{AspP} \text{sprzątać} [_{AgroP} [_{VP} \text{kuchni}]]]]]]]$   
 (Witkoś (1998:306))

For Witkoś (1998), InfP is a notational variant of TP, whose head is marked for the feature [- finite] and is anaphoric to the [+ finite] T of the matrix clause. Furthermore, Witkoś adopts Bošković’s (1996:290-1) Minimal Structure Principle stated in (16) (the principle has been mentioned in Chapter I, section 2.1.3 and is repeated here for convenience):

(16)

Provided that lexical requirements of lexical elements are satisfied, if two representations have the same lexical structure, and serve the same function, then the representation that has fewer projections is to be chosen as the syntactic representation serving this purpose.

This allows him to claim that only those complements that possess an overt C or [Spec, CP] have the status of CPs, whereas those lacking these elements are just TP<sub>s</sub>, as this kind of representation involves fewer projections.

Before deciding whether Polish non-finite complements represent VP<sub>s</sub>, TP<sub>s</sub> or CP<sub>s</sub>, let us first examine the phenomenon of Restructuring, which, as we shall see, is prevalent in Polish non-finite clauses and which has a crucial bearing on determining their categorial status.

## *2.1. Restructuring and the categorial status of Polish non-finite complements*

### *2.1.1. Restructuring – general properties*

Restructuring (also Clause Union, or Clause Reduction) is a rule whereby the dependents of a complement verb become dependents of the matrix verb. As a result of its application, the sentence behaves as if it were one clause despite its having two predicates. Schematically, Restructuring may be illustrated as follows:



(17)

- |  |                      |
|--|----------------------|
| a. [IP... V <sub>1</sub> ... [... V <sub>2</sub> ...]] | before Restructuring |
| b. [IP... V <sub>1</sub> +V <sub>2</sub> ...]          | after Restructuring  |

The rule of Restructuring was originally posited by Rizzi (1978) for Italian control and raising predicates. It has also been adopted in relation to the Causative Construction and control and raising predicates in Spanish by Aissen and Perlmutter (1983), and has been posited for the Causative Construction in Czech by Toman (1976).

Before testing whether this phenomenon is present in Polish non-finite clauses, let us mention its general characteristics. First of all, Aissen and Perlmutter (1983) mention Clitic Climbing, Reflexive Passive and Object Raising as diagnostics of Restructuring. These are illustrated in (18a), (18b) and (18c), respectively:

(18)

- |   |                                    |
|---|------------------------------------|
| a. Luis las quiere comer.<br>Luis them wants to-eat<br>'Luis wants to eat them.'  | (Aissen and Perlmutter (1983:363)) |
| b. Los mapas ya se empezaron a preparar.<br>the maps already REFL began to prepare<br>'The maps have already begun to be prepared.'                     | (Aissen and Perlmutter (1983:370)) |
| c. Estos mapas serán difíciles de empezar a hacer.<br>these maps will-be difficult to begin to make<br>'These maps will be difficult to begin to make.' | (Aissen and Perlmutter (1983:374)) |

In (18a) the pronominal clitic that originates as the complement of the verb in the embedded clause appears on the finite matrix verb. This is possible due to the fact that the verb *want* in Spanish is a Restructuring verb and therefore it enables the clitic to climb into the matrix clause. In (18b), after the application of the Reflexive Passive, *los mapas* 'the maps', which originates as the complement of the dependent verb, becomes the subject of the matrix verb, triggering subject-verb agreement. The presence of the Reflexive Passive is signalled by the reflexive clitic *se*. The application of the rule is feasible due to the fact that the Spanish verb *begin* triggers Restructuring, making it possible for the dependent of the embedded clause to become the subject of the main clause. Finally, in (18c) the element originating as the complement of the dependent verb becomes the subject of the matrix clause, triggering plural agreement on the matrix

verb and the adjective. The derivation in this case proceeds as follows: first, *estos mapas* ‘these maps’, due to the application of Restructuring, becomes the complement of the verb *begin*, then, on account of Object Raising, it becomes the subject of the main clause.

Other typical diagnostics of Restructuring found in the literature include: Auxiliary Selection (cf. Rizzi (1978)), Long Distance Scrambling (cf. Sabel (1996, 2001) and Wurmbrand (1998, 2001)), and Long Passive (cf. Sabel (1996, 2001) and Wurmbrand (2001)). As for Auxiliary Selection, Rizzi observes that in Italian Restructuring verbs in the perfective aspect select the auxiliary, *have* or *be*, in accordance with the requirements of the embedded predicate. The two remaining phenomena are illustrated in (19) and (20), respectively:

(19)

- a. weil [dieses Schaf]<sub>i</sub> Rob [t<sub>i</sub> zu schären] versuchte  
 since this sheep Rob to shear tried  
 ‘since Rob tried to shear this sheep’ (Wurmbrand (1998:144))
- b.\*weil [dieses Schaf]<sub>i</sub> Rob [t<sub>i</sub> zu schären] ankündigte  
 since this sheep Rob to shear announced  
 ‘since Rob announced to shear this sheep’ (Wurmbrand (1998:145))

(20)

- a. weil [dieser Turm]<sub>i</sub> schon vor zehn Jahren [t<sub>i</sub> zu restaurieren]  
 since this tower-NOM already ago ten years to restore  
 versucht wurde  
 tried was  
 ‘since somebody tried to restore this tower ten years ago’  
 (Wurmbrand (1998:147))
- b.\*weil [dieser Turm]<sub>i</sub> schon vor zehn Jahren [t<sub>i</sub> zu restaurieren]  
 since this tower already ago ten years to restore  
 beschlossen wurde  
 decided was  
 ‘since somebody decided to restore this tower ten years ago’  
 (Wurmbrand (1998:148))

Examples (19) show that Long Scrambling of *dieses Schaf* ‘this sheep’ is possible only if the matrix verb allows Restructuring, that is, for instance, *versuchen* ‘try’ (cf. (19a)), but not *ankündigen* ‘announce’ (cf. (19b)). In (20) the matrix verb is passivised, as demonstrated by its passive morphology, but what moves into the matrix subject position is the object of the dependent clause, which

consequently, bears nominative case. Long Passive is possible only with Restructuring verbs like *versuchen* 'try' (cf. (20a)), but not with *beschliessen* 'decide', which is not a Restructuring verb (cf. (20b)).

### 2.1.2. Restructuring in Polish – the diagnostics

A natural question to ask at this point is how the tests mentioned in the previous section apply to Polish non-finite clauses. Some of the diagnostics mentioned cannot be tested for Polish, as the language lacks the mechanisms in question. This is the case for Auxiliary Selection, which is absent from Polish, a language that marks the perfective/imperfective distinction lexically. Additionally, Polish lacks Object Raising, as shown in (21):

(21)

- a. Trudno jest spróbować wypowiedzieć te dźwięki.  
difficult is to-try to-pronounce these sounds  
'It is difficult to try to pronounce these sounds.'
- b.\*Te dźwięki są trudne do spróbowania wypowiedzieć.  
these sounds are difficult to try to-pronounce  
'\*These sounds are difficult to try to pronounce.'

Sentence (21b), in which the object of the dependent verb is raised to the matrix clause subject position, is ungrammatical and becomes grammatical only if the verb *spróbować* 'try' is omitted, as in (22):

(22)

- Te dźwięki są trudne do wypowiedzenia.  
these sounds are difficult to pronouncing  
'These sounds are difficult to pronounce.'

Likewise, Long Passive does not take place in Polish, as instead Polish makes use of the Reflexive Passive (cf. example (24b)).

The other tests mentioned in section 2.1.1 can be applied to Polish. First of all, Polish non-finite clauses exhibit Clitic Climbing, as demonstrated in (23), where the boldfaced clitic pronoun *je* 'it' has climbed from within the dependent clause into the matrix one.

(23)

Marek je próbował napisać.  
Mark it tried to-write  
'Mark tried to write it.'

Secondly, Reflexive Passive is attested in Polish. This is illustrated in (24), where example (24a) exhibits the object in its original position, i.e. the complement of the embedded clause, whereas (24b) is an instance of Reflexive Passive, with the reflexive marker *się* 'self'.

(24)

- a. Specjalista chce leczyć Marka.  
specialist wants to-treat Mark  
'The specialist wants to treat Mark.'
- b. Marek chce się leczyć u specjalisty.  
Mark wants REFL to-treat at specialist  
'Mark wants to be treated by a specialist.'

Next, Long Scrambling is also operative in Polish, as can be seen in (25), where (25a) shows a variant without Scrambling, and (25b) illustrates the case in which the boldfaced phrase *tę melodię* 'this tune' has been scrambled into the main clause.

(25)

- a. Marek próbował zagrać tę melodię.  
Mark tried to-play this tune  
'Mark tried to play this tune.'
- b. Marek **tę melodię** próbował zagrać.  
Mark this tune was-trying to-play  
'Mark tried to play this tune.'

To recapitulate, Polish non-finite clauses display some typical diagnostics of Restructuring, such as Clitic Climbing, Reflexive Passive and Long Scrambling. This conclusion gets additional support from other tests, characteristic of Polish, but not of other languages for which the Restructuring diagnostics have been postulated. One such test involves the Genitive of Negation, which, although commonly clause-bounded, can apply across a non-finite clause boundary. The clause-boundedness of the phenomenon in question is illustrated in (26b), while

(27b) instantiates a violation of this requirement regularly found in non-finite clauses.

(26)

- a. Marek nie gra \* tę melodię /tej melodii.  
Mark not plays \* this tune-ACC/this tune-GEN  
'Mark doesn't play this tune.'
- b. Piotr nie powiedział, że Marek gra tę melodię /\*tej melodii.  
Peter not said that Mark plays this tune-ACC/\*this tune-GEN  
'Peter didn't say that Mark was playing this tune.'

(27)

- a. Marek próbował grać tę melodię.  
Mark tried to-play this tune-ACC  
'Mark was trying to play this tune.'
- b. Marek nie próbował grać \* tę melodię /tej melodii.  
Mark not tried to-play \* this tune-ACC/this tune-GEN  
'Mark wasn't trying to play this tune.'

The Genitive of Negation is obligatory in Polish whenever the verb to be negated co-occurs with an accusative object. (26a) and (26b) show that the Genitive of Negation is limited to the confines of one clause and cannot operate across the finite clause boundary; in (26b) only the accusative object is allowed, but not the genitive one. (27b), on the other hand, demonstrates that the Genitive of Negation can cross the non-finite clause boundary. The possibility of non-finite clauses undergoing the Genitive of Negation is often taken to be a sign of Restructuring (cf. Dziwirek (1998), Witkoś (1998) and Przepiórkowski (1999)).

A test related to the one just mentioned refers to Negative Polarity Items (henceforth, NPIs). The occurrence of NPIs is clause-bounded, or, in other words, they are licensed by a negative element in the same clause. However, this requirement is not obeyed in non-finite clauses, which can regularly host NPIs, though the licensing negative element appears in the upper clause. This is illustrated in (28):

(28)

- a. Marek nie zwrócił się do nikogo po radę.  
Mark not turned REFL to nobody for advice  
'Mark didn't turn to anyone for advice.'

- b. \*Piotr nie powiedział, że Marek zwrócił się do nikogo po radę.  
 Peter not said that Mark turned REFL to nobody for advice  
 ‘\*Peter didn’t say that Mark turned to anybody for advice.’
- c. Marek nie próbował zwrócić się do nikogo po radę.<sup>7</sup>  
 Mark not tried to-turn REFL to nobody for advice  
 ‘Mark didn’t try to turn to anybody for advice.’

Sentence (28b) demonstrates that an NPI such as *nikt* ‘nobody’, appearing within the dependent clause, cannot be licensed by the matrix clause negation. Nonetheless, the same NPI is perfectly licit in sentences like (28c), where it appears within the non-finite clause. The NPI test is assumed to be a diagnostic of Restructuring by Dziwirek (1998) and Witkoś (1998).

Another Restructuring diagnostic postulated by Dziwirek (1998) and Witkoś (1998) is related to anaphors. Both of them note that anaphors, which, under normal circumstances require a proper clause-mate antecedent, when placed in non-finite clauses, can refer to the matrix subject. This fact is instantiated by (29) below:

(29)

- a. Piotr<sub>i</sub> powiedział, że Ewa<sub>j</sub> czytała swoją<sub>\*i/j</sub> książkę.  
 Peter said that Eve read her book  
 ‘Peter said that Eve had been reading her book.’
- b. Piotr<sub>i</sub> chciał przeczytać swoją<sub>i</sub> książkę.  
 Peter wanted to-read his book  
 ‘Peter wanted to read his book.’

As sentence (29a) shows, the subject-oriented anaphor *swój* ‘self’s’ requires a binder in the same clause if it occurs in a finite complement. However, long distance binding of *swój* ‘self’s’ is perfectly legitimate if this item appears within a non-finite complement, as in (29b).

Finally, Dziwirek (1998) notes that Floating Inflection and *wh*-extraction can be used as signs of Restructuring. The former, though clause-bounded, can be

<sup>7</sup> Examples (28a) and (28c), where the negative marker *nie* ‘not’ co-occurs with the NPI *nikogo* ‘nobody’, constitute instances of Negative Concord, which has been studied for Polish within HPSG by Przepiórkowski and Kupść (1999). Przepiórkowski and Kupść (1997) analyse Restructuring in the context of Negative Concord and the Genitive of Negation in terms of Verb Clusters within HPSG.

attested in non-finite clauses, in a way analogous to the Genitive of Negation and NPIs. Additionally, it is restricted to the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person past tense of the verb, and is manifested in the fact that the inflection does not surface on the verb itself but on some constituent preceding, but not following, it. The sentences in (30) below illustrate the attachment of the Floating Inflection:

(30)

- a. **Książkiśmy** kupili.  
books-1PL bought  
'We bought books.'
- b. \*Piotr powiedział**śmy**, że kupili książki.  
Peter said-1PL that bought books  
'Peter said that we had bought books.'
- c. **Książkiśmy** kupić próbowali.  
books-1PL buy tried  
'We tried to buy books.'

Examples (30a) and (30b) show that the boldfaced Floating Inflection can only attach onto the item preceding the verb within the same finite clause. No such restriction is operative in non-finite clauses, in which this type of inflection can cross a clausal boundary. As for *wh*-extraction, Dziwirek (1998) notes that it is possible to extract a *wh*-item out of a non-finite complement, whereas no such extraction can operate from within a finite complement. The contrast is illustrated in (31) below:

(31)

- a. \*Kogo<sub>i</sub> myślisz, że wybiorą t<sub>i</sub> na prezydenta?<sup>8</sup>  
who you-think that they-will-choose for President  
'Who do you think they will choose as the President?'
- b. Kogo<sub>i</sub> chcesz wybrać t<sub>i</sub> na prezydenta?  
who you-want to-choose for President  
'Who do you want to choose as the President?'

---

<sup>8</sup> The grammaticality judgements presented here are that of Dziwirek (1998). For many native speakers, sentences like (31a) are perfectly grammatical. The acceptability of extraction out of finite complements in Polish is subject to dialectal variation (cf. Witkoś (1997) and Bondaruk (1998)).

She takes this contrast to be an argument for claiming that Restructuring takes place in non-finite clauses, which due to Restructuring become mono-clausal, and hence admit extraction from within. No such process affects finite clauses and therefore they disallow this kind of extraction.<sup>9</sup>

The Restructuring tests that will be adopted in this analysis include Clitic Climbing, Long Scrambling, Anaphor Binding, the Genitive of Negation, NPIs and Reflexive Passive. As for *wh*-extraction, taken by Dziwirek (1998) to be a sign of Restructuring, it patterns differently from the other tests, an issue to which we will return in section 2.1.3.<sup>10</sup> Finally, the occurrence of Floating Inflection, treated by Dziwirek (1998) as a diagnostic of Restructuring, is too rare a phenomenon and subject to too varied grammaticality judgements to be useful. Another point that needs to be noted in relation to the tests that will be used in our analysis of Restructuring is that while Clitic Climbing and Long Scrambling are optional, the Genitive of Negation and NPIs are obligatory.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Kupść (1999) puts forward another Restructuring test based on the haplology of the reflexive marker *się*. In Restructuring contexts when two verbs appear with the reflexive marker, *się* may be realized just once, as shown in (i), but not when a clausal boundary intervenes, as in (ii):

(i) Jan stara się mniej spóźniać (się) do pracy. (Kupść (1999:104))

John tries REFL less to-be-late REFL to work

‘John tries not to arrive so late at work.’

(ii) Jan stara się, żeby mniej spóźniać \*(się) do pracy.

John tries REFL so-that less to-be-late REFL to work

‘John tries not to arrive so late at work.’

<sup>10</sup> A similar point is made by Przepiórkowski (1999:159). He argues that binding and NPIs are much less local phenomena in Polish than, for instance, Clitic Climbing. He notes that both these processes, in contradistinction to Clitic Climbing, can operate across a number of intervening projections, as shown in (i) and (ii):

(i) Jan<sub>i</sub> pokazał Piotrowi dom córki brata swojego kolegi.

John showed Peter house-ACC daughter-GEN brother- GEN self’s colleague

‘John showed Peter the house of the daughter of his (John’s) colleague.’

(Przepiórkowski (1999:159))

(ii) Nie lubię smaku konfitur z owoców z niczyjego ogrodu oprócz własnego.

not I-like taste preserves from fruits from nobody’s garden apart my-own

‘I don’t like the taste of preserves made from fruit from anybody’s garden, apart from (these made from fruit from) my own.’ (Przepiórkowski (1999:160))

The above examples show that although binding and NPIs are clause-bounded, they may be non-local. The issue of the (non-)locality of binding will be returned to in Chapter IV section 4.1.2.

<sup>11</sup> The statement that the Genitive of Negation is obligatory will be qualified in 2.1.7.



The actual application of these tests to particular verb classes will be presented in the next section.

### 2.1.3. Which verbs restructure and which don't

Across languages Restructuring is limited to particular classes of verbs, which quite often coincide. For instance, Landau (2000:81) notes that the core class of Restructuring verbs includes the verb *want*, modals, and aspectuals (*begin*, *finish*, etc.). The inner periphery comprises the verbs *try*, *manage*, *dare*, *fail* and *forget* (implicative). Finally, the outer periphery consists in the verbs *promise*, *order* and *recommend*. Wurmbrand (2001:7) observes that the core Restructuring predicates in Dutch, German, Italian, Japanese and Spanish include the following: modal verbs (e.g. *must*, *may*, *can*, etc.), motion verbs (e.g. *come*, *go*, *return*, etc.), aspectual verbs (e.g. *begin*, *continue*, *finish*, etc.) and causatives (e.g. *let*, *make*, etc.). As for Polish, Witkoś (1998) does not offer any comprehensive list of Restructuring verbs. He includes in this category verbs like *chcieć* 'want', *pozwolić* 'let', *obietać* 'promise', *kazać* 'order' and modals. Dziwirek (1998), working within the framework of Relational Grammar, analyses object control structures with verbs like *kazać* 'order', *pozwolić* 'let', *zabronić* 'forbid' and *poradzić* 'advise' as involving Restructuring.<sup>12</sup> Before we embark on the task of determining which Polish verbs restructure and which do not, let us briefly mention which classes of verbs can take non-finite complementation in Polish. There exist seven classes of such verbs, namely:<sup>13</sup>

- 1) modals, e.g. *musieć* 'must', *umieć* 'can', *powinno się* 'should', *mieć* 'be to',
- 2) aspectuals, e.g. *zaczynać* 'start', *kończyć* 'finish', *przestać* 'stop',
- 3) implicatives, e.g. *ośmielać się* 'dare', *zdolać* 'manage', *zapominać* 'forget', *pamiętać* 'remember',
- 4) factives, e.g. *lubić* 'like', *nienawidzieć* 'hate', *nie znosić* 'can't stand', *być przykro* 'be sorry',
- 5) propositional, e.g. *powiedzieć* 'say',

<sup>12</sup> Dziwirek (1998) actually uses the term Clause Union, which is favoured over the term Restructuring within Relational Grammar.

<sup>13</sup> The lists of verbs in each class are not meant to be exhaustive.

- 6) desideratives, e.g. *chcieć* ‘want’, *woleć* ‘prefer’, *mieć nadzieję* ‘hope’, *obawiać się* ‘be afraid’, *zgodzić się* ‘agree’, *proponować* ‘propose’, *planować* ‘plan’, *decydować* ‘decide’, *zamierzać/mieć zamiar* ‘intend’, *myśleć* ‘intend’, *pragnąć* ‘desire’, *być skłonny* ‘be inclined’, *być chętny* ‘be willing’, and
- 7) interrogatives, e.g. *zastanawiać się* ‘wonder’, *pytać* ‘ask’, *dowiadawać się* ‘find out’, *wypytywać* ‘inquire’, *domyślić się* ‘guess’, *zrozumieć* ‘understand’, *wiedzieć* ‘know’ *być jasne* ‘be clear’.

The classification of verbs just provided follows that offered by Landau (2000: 38) for English and the reader is referred to Landau’s work to determine what the particular labels are meant to denote (cf. also Chapter II, section 1.0). The labels will be used throughout this analysis and hence it is worth bearing them in mind.

Witkoś (1998:301-304) regards modals as raising predicates. His major arguments supporting this claim relate to the fact that these verbs preserve the idiomatic meaning of idiom chunks and can co-occur with *weather* predicates, as shown in (32) from Witkoś (1998:301):

(32)

- a. Wtedy musi wyjść szydło z worka.  
then must come-out needle out-of sack  
‘Then the truth must be revealed.’
- b. Jutro może padać.  
tomorrow may rain  
‘It may rain tomorrow.’

Aspectual verbs, not analysed by Witkoś (1998), also behave in a way analogous to modals, as confirmed by the following examples:<sup>14</sup>

(33)

- a. Szydło zaczęło wychodzić z worka.  
needle began to-come out-of sack  
‘The truth has begun to be revealed.’

---

<sup>14</sup> Witkoś (1998) also analyses as raising predicates auxiliaries which participate in the formation of periphrastic tense forms in Polish, such as the future auxiliary *będzie* ‘will be’. An analysis of these forms lies outside the scope of this study.

- b. Jutro        zacznie    padać.  
       tomorrow will-start to-rain  
       'Tomorrow it will start raining.'

The remaining classes of verb mentioned above, however, do not behave like typical raising predicates. This can be seen in the sentences in (34), which show that implicative predicates, e.g. *zdołać* 'manage' and desiderative predicates, e.g. *chcieć* 'want', do not preserve the idiomatic meaning of idioms chunks (cf. (34a)), and cannot co-occur with *weather* predicates (cf. (34b)).

(34)

- a.# Szydło zdołało / chce wyjść z worka.<sup>15</sup>  
       needle managed / wants to-come out-of sack  
       '#The truth managed/wants to be revealed.'
- b.\* Zdołało / \*chce padać.<sup>16</sup>  
       managed /wants to-rain  
       '\*It managed/wants to rain.'

Example (34a) has only the non-idiomatic meaning, which, nonetheless, is anomalous due to the violation of the selectional restrictions of the predicates involved, which require a 'mind-possessing' external argument. Factives, interrogatives and propositional predicates mimic the behaviour of implicatives and desideratives, but for reasons of space, no illustrative examples will be provided. Since there exists a clear contrast between modals and aspectuals on the one hand and the remaining classes of predicates on the other, as demonstrated in (33) and (34), only the former can be treated as raising predicates, whereas the latter instantiate control predicates.

Let us first apply the six Restructuring tests mentioned in section 2.1.2 to the five classes of control predicates. It seems that implicatives, desideratives and factives allow Clitic Climbing, e.g.:

<sup>15</sup> The symbol # stands for semantically anomalous.

<sup>16</sup> The verb *chcieć* 'want' in some of its uses may co-occur with *weather* verbs, as can be seen in (i):

(i) Teraz nie chce    padać a    w zeszłym roku to padało cały czas.  
       now    not wants to-rain but in last        year it rained all time  
       'It won't rain now but last year it rained all the time.'

The grammaticality of the sentence above indicates that *chcieć* 'want' in some of its uses may function as a modal verb.

(35)

- a. Marek **zdołał** /**chciał** przeczytać tę książkę.  
Mark managed/wanted to-read this book  
'Mark managed/wanted to read this book.'
- b. Marek **lubi** czytać tę książkę.<sup>17</sup>  
Mark likes to-read this book  
'Mark likes reading this book.'

(36)

- a. Marek **ją** **zdołał** / **chciał** przeczytać.  
Mark it managed/wanted to-read  
'Mark managed/wanted to read it.'
- b. Marek **ją** **lubi** czytać.  
Mark it likes to-read  
'Mark likes reading it.'

The sentences in (35) present a neutral word order without Clitic Climbing, whereas this process has applied in (36), affecting the boldfaced item. The results are grammatical. As for propositional and interrogative verbs, they require complements introduced by *żeby* 'so that', *czy* 'whether' or by *wh*-words, which never allow Clitic Climbing, as can be seen in (37) and (38):

(37)

- a. Marek powiedział, **żeby** czytać książki.  
Mark said so-that to-read books  
'Mark said to read books.'
- b.\*Marek **je** powiedział, **żeby** czytać.  
Mark them said so-that to-read  
'Mark said to read them.'

(38)

- a. Marek spytał, **czy** /**kiedy** czytać książki.  
Mark asked whether/when to-read books  
'Mark asked whether/when one should read books.'

---

<sup>17</sup> The verb *lubić* 'like' must co-occur with the imperfective form of the verb, i.e. *czytać* 'to read', whereas *zdołać* 'manage' and *chcieć* 'want' require the perfective verb form, i.e. *przeczytać* 'to have read'.

- b.\*Marek **je** spytał, czy /kiedy czytać.  
 Mark them asked whether/when to-read  
 'Mark asked whether/when one should read them.'

Examples (37a) and (38a) display a neutral word order without Clitic Climbing, which, however, has operated in (37b) and (38b), in each case producing an unacceptable structure. The unavailability of Clitic Climbing in sentences like (37b) and (38b) follows from the fact that Clitic Climbing in such cases clearly operates across a CP boundary, violating the requirement that this process be clause-bounded.<sup>18</sup> In sentences like (36a) and (36b) no overt element appears in C or [Spec, CP], and hence Clitic Climbing is possible. As we shall see presently, Restructuring in general is blocked by the presence of an overt C or [Spec, CP].

Another Restructuring test, i.e. Long Scrambling, can operate from within the non-finite complements of implicatives, desideratives and factives, as shown in (39):

(39)

- a. Marek **tę książkę** zdołał /chciał przeczytać.  
 Mark this book managed/ wanted to-read  
 'Mark managed/wanted to read this book.'
- b. Marek **tę książkę** lubi czytać.  
 Mark this book likes to-read  
 'Mark likes reading this book.'

Long Scrambling in (39) has moved the boldfaced *tę książkę* 'this book' from its original position, namely that of the complement of the verb *czytać* 'read', to the matrix sentence. Again, no Long Scrambling is possible out of the complements of propositional or factive verbs, as confirmed by the ungrammaticality of the following example:

(40)

- a.\*Marek **te książki** powiedział, żeby czytać.  
 Mark these books said so-that to-read  
 'Mark said to read these books.'

---

<sup>18</sup> The word *czy* 'whether' is an interrogative C in Polish; the status of *żeby* 'so that' as a C will be justified in Chapter IV section 1.1.

- b. \*Marek **te książki** zastanawiał się czy /kiedy czytać.<sup>19</sup>  
 Mark these books wondered REFL whether/when to-read  
 'Mark wondered whether/when one should read these books.'

Just like in the case of Clitic Climbing, it seems that the impossibility of Long Scrambling correlates with the presence of an overt C or [Spec, CP], i.e. an overt C or [Spec, CP] precludes Long Scrambling.

Anaphors can be bound from within the complements of implicatives, desideratives and factives. This is confirmed by the following data:

(41)

- a. Marek<sub>i</sub> zdołał /chciał przeczytać swoją<sub>i</sub> książkę.  
 Mark managed /wanted to-read his book  
 'Mark managed/wanted to read his book.'
- b. Marek<sub>i</sub> lubi czytać swoją<sub>i</sub> książkę.  
 Mark likes to-read his book  
 'Mark likes reading his book.'

No such binding is possible across the complements of propositional predicates, but it is perfectly licit in the case of interrogatives, as can be seen in (42):

(42)

- a. \*Marek<sub>i</sub> powiedział, żeby przeczytać swoją<sub>i</sub> książkę.  
 Mark said so-that to-read his book  
 '\*Mark said to read his book.'

---

<sup>19</sup> Sabel (1996) regards Long Scrambling out of interrogative complements introduced by an overt *wh*-word, as in (i), as grammatical.

- (i) Ja **ten samochód** nie wiem komu podarować.  
 I this car not know whom to-give

'I don't know to whom to give this car.' (Sabel (1996:101))

To the native speakers consulted, this sentence sounds at best marginal. Other Restructuring tests, such as the Genitive of Negation and NPIs fail in this case, as demonstrated in (ii) and (iii), respectively:

- (ii) Nie wiem komu podarować ten samochód/\* tego samochodu.  
 not know whom to-give this car-ACC /\* this car-GEN  
 'I don't know to whom to give this car.'
- (iii) \*Nie wiem komu podarować nic /niczego.  
 not know whom to-give nothing-ACC/nothing-GEN  
 'I don't know to whom to give anything.'

- b. Marek; zastanawiał, czy /kiedy przeczytać swoją książkę.  
 Mark wondered whether/when to-read his book  
 'Mark wondered whether/when one should read his book.'

The difference between the binding possibilities of propositional and interrogative predicates can be explained by making reference to the theory of control. In (42a) long distance binding by the matrix subject is impossible, as the subject of the embedded non-finite clause, i.e. PRO, is not controlled by the matrix subject, but rather by an implicit internal argument of the verb *powiedzieć* 'say'. In (42b), on the other hand, PRO in the embedded clause is controlled by the matrix subject and therefore serves as an appropriate binder for the anaphor.

The fourth Restructuring test, i.e. the Genitive of Negation, can operate in complements of implicative, desiderative and factive predicates, as demonstrated in (43):

(43)

- a. Marek nie zdołał /nie chciał przeczytać \*tę książkę /tej książki.  
 Mark not managed/not wanted to-read \*this book-ACC/this book-GEN  
 'Mark didn't manage/didn't want to read this book.'
- b. Marek nie lubi czytać \*tę książkę /tej książki.  
 Mark not likes to-read \*this book-ACC/this book-GEN  
 'Mark doesn't like reading this book.'

The above examples show that an accusative object is not legitimate in the non-finite complement if a particular type of matrix verb is negated. The Genitive of Negation, in a way analogous to Clitic Climbing and Long Scrambling, cannot apply in the case of complements of propositional and interrogative complements, as can be seen in (44):

(44)

- a. Marek nie powiedział, żeby czytać tę książkę /\*tej książki.  
 Mark not said so-that to-read this book-ACC/\*this book-GEN  
 'Mark didn't say to read this book.'
- b. Marek nie zastanawiał się, czy /kiedy czytać tę książkę /\*tej książki.  
 Mark not wondered REFL whether/when to-read this book-ACC /\*this book-GEN  
 'Mark didn't wonder whether/when one should read this book.'

The sentences in (44) become grammatical with the genitive object only if the embedded verb is negated, which supports the claim that the Genitive of Negation cannot cross a CP boundary if C or [Spec, CP] are overtly realized.

Likewise, NPIs can be attested only in complements of implicatives, desideratives and factives, as can be seen in (45):

(45)

- a. Marek nie zdołał /nie chciał niczego przeczytać.  
Mark not managed/not wanted nothing-GEN to-read  
'Mark didn't manage/didn't want to read anything.'
- b. Marek nie lubi niczego czytać.  
Mark not likes nothing-GEN to-read  
'Mark doesn't like reading anything.'

The NPI in (45) is *niczego* 'anything/nothing', which occurs in the genitive on account of the matrix clause negation, just like the complement in (43). However, NPIs are not licensed by the matrix negation in the case of propositional and interrogative complements, as shown in (46):

(46)

- a.\*Marek nie powiedział, żeby czytać nic /niczego.  
Mark not said so-that to-read nothing-ACC/nothing-GEN  
'Mark didn't say to read anything.'
- b.\*Marek nie zastanawiał się czy /kiedy czytać nic  
Mark not wondered REFL whether/when to-read nothing-ACC  
/niczego.  
/nothing-GEN  
'Mark didn't wonder whether/when one should read anything.'

The sentences in (46) with the NPI *nic* 'anything/nothing' become grammatical only if the embedded verb is negated, which again allows us to conclude that Restructuring in sentences like (46) is blocked by an overt C or [Spec, CP], in a way analogous to (37b), (38b), (40), (42a) and (44).

Finally, implicatives, desideratives and factives form Reflexive Passive, as shown in (47a) and (47b):

(47)

- a. Marek lubił /chciał leczyć się u specjalisty.  
Mark liked /wanted to-treat REFL at specialist  
'Mark liked/wanted to be treated by a specialist.'



- b. Marek zdołał wyleczyć się z grypy.  
 Mark managed to-cure REFL from flu  
 'Mark managed to get over flu.'

Let us now check how Reflexive Passive works for propositional and interrogative predicates. Consider (48):

(48)

- a. Marek powiedział, żeby się leczyć u specjalisty.  
 Mark said so-that REFL to-treat at specialist  
 'Mark said that one should be treated by a specialist.'
- b. Marek zastanawiał się czy /kiedy się leczyć u specjalisty.  
 Mark wondered REFL whether/when REFL to-treat at specialist  
 'Mark wondered whether/when one should be treated by a specialist.'

Both (48a) and (48b) are grammatical although Reflexive Passive applies across a CP boundary. The former conveys the meaning that someone else (i.e. the implicit argument of *powiedzieć* 'say'), not Mark, will be treated. Since Reflexive Passive can apply to all the verbs mentioned at the beginning of section 2.1.3 and does not distinguish between implicative, desiderative and factive predicates, which are sensitive to all the Restructuring tests mentioned so far, and implicative and propositional predicates, which regularly resist these tests, we may conclude that Reflexive Passive is irrelevant for determining whether a particular predicate triggers Restructuring or not. Consequently, we will not adopt Reflexive Passive as a diagnostic of Restructuring.

So far evidence has been provided that subject control verbs undergo Restructuring (cf. sentences (36), (39), (41), (43) and (45)). At this point one may wonder whether object control verbs also trigger this process.<sup>20</sup> In order to determine whether this is so, let us examine the behaviour of one object control verb, for instance, *zabronić* 'forbid', with respect to the Restructuring tests. First of all, this verb allows Clitic Climbing and Long Scrambling, as can be seen in (49):

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<sup>20</sup> The majority of object control verbs, including *zabronić* 'forbid' in (49), take a complement in the dative, not the accusative. For us, dative, like accusative, is a realization of abstract Objective Case and therefore we refer to all the structures where the complement (dative or accusative) controls PRO as object control.

(49)

- a. Marek **ją** Marii zabronił podziwiać.  
Mark her Mary forbade to-admire  
'Mark forbade Mary to admire her.'
- b. Marek **tę książkę** zabronił Marii czytać.  
Mark this book forbade Mary to-read  
'Mark forbade Mary to read this book.'

It also behaves like a Restructuring verb with respect to Anaphor Binding, the Genitive of Negation and NPIs. This is illustrated in (50a), (50b) and (50c), respectively:

(50)

- a. Marek<sub>i</sub> zabronił Marii<sub>j</sub> czytać swoj<sub>a/j</sub> książkę.  
Mark forbade Mary to-read his/her book  
'Mark forbade Mary to read his/her book.'
- b. Marek nie zabronił Marii czytać \*tę książkę /tej książki.  
Mark not forbade Mary to-read \*this book-ACC/this book-GEN  
'Mark didn't forbid Mary to read this book.'
- c. Marek nie zabronił Marii czytać niczego.  
Mark not forbade Mary to-read nothing  
'Mark didn't forbid Mary to read anything.'

Thus, *zabraniać* 'forbid' patterns in the way Restructuring verbs do. An interesting case is presented in (50a), where the subject-oriented anaphor *swój* 'self's' can be bound both by the matrix subject, the way typical of Restructuring verbs, and also by the PRO subject controlled by the matrix object. This dual behaviour of anaphors in object control structures will be returned to in sections 2.1.6 and 2.1.7.

It has been mentioned in section 2.1.2 that *wh*-extraction can serve as a Restructuring test (cf. Dziwirek (1998)). It has been noted that it is possible to extract a *wh*-element out of a non-finite clause, but such extraction out of a finite clause is banned (cf. examples (31a) and (31b)). Let us now check how this test can be applied to the verb classes under consideration. It seems that it is possible to extract a *wh*-word not only out of C-less complement clauses to implicative, desiderative and factive verbs (cf. (51a)) but also out of complements to propositional predicates introduced by the C *żeby* 'so that' (cf. (51b)):

(51)

- a. Co Marek zdołał /chciał /lubił czytać t?  
 what Mark managed/wanted/liked to-read  
 'What did Mark manage/want/like to read?'
- b. Co Marek powiedział żeby przeczytać t?<sup>21</sup>  
 what Mark said so-that to-read  
 'What did Mark say that one should read?'

In this respect *wh*-extraction patterns in a way distinct from other Restructuring tests, which are regularly blocked by the presence of a C in the non-finite complement clause. On account of this fact we want to suggest that *wh*-extraction should not be treated as a Restructuring test at all.

The two classes of raising predicates, i.e. modals and aspectuals, behave like Restructuring verbs in that they allow Clitic Climbing, Long Scrambling, Anaphor Binding, the Genitive of Negation and NPIs, as shown in (52), (53), (54), (55) and (56), respectively:

(52)

Marek **ją** może/zacznie czytać.  
 Mark it may /will-start to-read  
 'Mark may read/will start to read it.'

(53)

Marek **tę książkę** może/zacznie czytać.  
 Mark this book may /will-start to-read  
 'Mark may read/will start to read this book.'

(54)

Marek<sub>i</sub> może/zacznie czytać swoją<sub>i</sub> książkę.  
 Mark may /will-start to-read his book  
 'Mark may read/will start to read his book.'

(55)

Marek nie może/nie zacznie czytać \*tę książkę /tej książki.  
 Mark not may /not start to-read \*this book-ACC /this book-GEN  
 'Mark may not read/will not start to read this book.'

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<sup>21</sup> *Wh*-extraction out of complements to interrogative predicates gives rise to island violations and hence results in unacceptability.

(56)

Marek nie może/nie zacznie czytać niczego.  
Mark not may /not start to-read nothing-GEN  
'Mark may not read/will not start to read anything.'

To sum up, there are three classes of control verbs in Polish which display the five typical characteristics of Restructuring, namely implicatives, desideratives and factives. What is particularly striking is that factive verbs, which across languages resist Restructuring (cf. Wurmbrand (1998:168)), behave like Restructuring verbs in Polish. As for propositional and interrogative predicates, they block Restructuring only on account of the fact that they always require a complement introduced by an overt C or by an overt element in [Spec, CP]. Finally, raising predicates, such as modals and aspectuals, belong to the class of Restructuring verbs. Furthermore, it seems that we do not need to postulate any lexical feature, such as [+/- Restructuring], to account for the fact that some verbs restructure and some do not, as has been done for German by Sabel (1996). Such a move does not explain why some verbs allow Restructuring, while others regularly resist it. Furthermore, it has no justification in Polish, where all raising predicates and control predicates followed by complements without any overt material in C or [Spec, CP] do undergo Restructuring.

#### 2.1.4. Some problematic cases

Having presented the classes of verbs which trigger Restructuring, an immediate question arises, i.e. whether all members of these classes behave in the same way with respect to the phenomenon scrutinised. Let us first check whether typically non-restructuring verbs, like German *beschliessen* 'decide', undergo Restructuring in Polish.<sup>22</sup> It seems that the Polish equivalent of the verb in question, namely, *zdecydować się* 'decide' is sensitive to all the typical Restructuring diagnostics. Examples (57a) and (57b) show that Clitic Climbing and Long Scrambling are possible with this verb.

(57)

- a. Marek **ją** zdecydował się przeczytać.  
Mark it decided REFL to-read  
'Mark decided to read it.'

---

<sup>22</sup> The verb *decide* belongs to non-restructuring verbs also in Dutch, as noted by Wurmbrand (1998:153).

- b. Marek **tę książkę** zdecydował się przeczytać.  
 Mark this book decided REFL to-read  
 'Mark decided to read this book.'

Anaphor Binding by the matrix subject (cf. (58a)) as well as the application of the Genitive of Negation (cf. (58b)) and the occurrence of NPIs (cf. (58c)) can also be attested with this verb.

(58)

- a. Marek<sub>i</sub> zdecydował się przeczytać swoją<sub>i</sub> książkę.  
 Mark decided REFL to-read his book  
 'Mark decided to read his book.'
- b. Marek nie zdecydował się przeczytać \*tę książkę /tej książki.  
 Mark not decided REFL to-read \*this book-ACC /this book-GEN  
 'Mark didn't decide to read this book.'
- c. Marek nie zdecydował się przeczytać niczego.  
 Mark not decided REFL to-read nothing  
 'Mark didn't decide to read anything.'

Thus, it appears that verbs which do not restructure in other languages behave like regular Restructuring verbs in Polish. Other typically non-restructuring verbs in German, as noted by Wurmbrand (2001:327), include *befürchten* 'fear', *hoffen* 'hope', *planen* 'plan', *raten* 'advise', etc. The Polish equivalents of these verbs regularly trigger Restructuring and therefore it seems that the class of Restructuring verbs is larger in Polish than it is, for instance, in German.

Another observation made for German by Sabel (1996, 2001) is that reflexive control verbs generally block Restructuring. In Polish, however, it turns out that these verbs behave like regular Restructuring verbs. This is illustrated by the following examples, where *bać się* 'fear' instantiates a reflexive control verb:

(59)

- a. Marek się **ją** /Marię<sub>i</sub> boi zaprosić.  
 Mark REFL her/Mary is-afraid to-invite  
 'Mark is afraid to invite her/Mary.'
- b. Marek<sub>i</sub> nie boi się zaprosić \*swoją<sub>i</sub> siostrę /swojej<sub>i</sub> siostry.  
 Mark not is-afraid REFL to-invite \*his sister-ACC/his sister-GEN  
 'Mark is not afraid to invite his sister.'

- c. Marek nie boi się zaprosić nikogo.  
 Mark not is-afraid REFL to-invite nobody  
 'Mark is not afraid to invite anybody.'

As the above examples show, *bać się* 'to be afraid' allows Clitic Climbing (cf. (59a)), Long Scrambling (cf. (59a)), Anaphor Binding (cf. (59b)), the Genitive of Negation (cf. (59b)) and NPIs (cf. (59c)), and thus acts like other Restructuring verbs. This again points towards the conclusion that the class of Restructuring verbs comprises a larger set in Polish than it does in German.

Furthermore, Dylą (1983) observes that Clitic Climbing in Polish cannot apply out of non-finite complements to the subject control verb *obiecać/obiecować* 'promise'. As evidence he provides examples like (60) below:

- (60)
- a. Marek obiecał Joli ogolić się.  
 Mark promised Jola to-shave REFL  
 'Mark promised Jola to shave himself.'
- b.\*Marek się obiecał Joli ogolić.  
 Mark REFL promised Jola to-shave  
 'Mark promised Jola to shave himself.' (Dylą (1983: 329))

In (60a), the reflexive clitic *się* 'self' occurs in its original position, i.e. within the embedded clause, whereas in (60b) the same item has climbed into the matrix clause yielding ungrammaticality. Since Clitic Climbing is disallowed with *obiecać* 'promise', one might conclude that it is a non-restructuring verb.<sup>23</sup> However, when one analyses a broader range of data than that studied by Dylą, one realises that the judgements concerning the Restructuring abilities of *obiecać* 'promise' are not as crystal clear as Dylą presents them. In fact it seems that for many native speakers (including the author) sentences like (60b) are not totally ungrammatical but only slightly degraded, and in other respects the verb

<sup>23</sup> Dylą (1983) does not draw the conclusion that *obiecać* 'promise' is a non-restructuring verb. In fact he does not analyse Restructuring at all but, working within the framework of Chomsky (1981), provides evidence for the application of the rule of S'-Deletion in Polish. The verbs which allow Clitic Climbing and Scrambling from within their complements are taken by Dylą to admit the rule of S'-Deletion. Since, according to Dylą, *obiecać* 'promise' resists both these processes, it is taken not to allow the rule in question.

under consideration acts like a regular Restructuring verb in that it is sensitive to all the Restructuring tests. This is supported by the following data:

(61)

- a. Marek **go/obiad** obiecał    Marcie ugotować.  
 Mark it/ dinner promised Martha to-cook  
 'Mark promised Martha to cook it/dinner.'
- b. Marek<sub>i</sub> nie obiecał    Marcie ugotować \*swoją<sub>i</sub> ulubioną potrawę  
 Mark not promised Martha to-cook \*his favourite dish-ACC  
 /swojej<sub>i</sub> ulubionej potrawy.  
 /his favourite dish-GEN  
 'Mark didn't promise Martha to cook his favourite dish.'
- c. Marek nie obiecał    Marcie ugotować niczego.  
 Marek not promised Martha to-cook nothing  
 'Mark didn't promise Martha to cook anything.'

Although sentences like (60b) are marginal in comparison with those like (61a), this sole fact cannot serve as evidence that *obieczać* 'promise' in Polish does not restructure.<sup>24</sup> The fact that the sentences in (61) are grammatical allows us to conclude that *obieczać* 'promise' behaves like other subject control verbs with respect to Restructuring and is not in any way exceptional.

Sabel (1996, 2001) argues that object control verbs which take an accusative object regularly block Restructuring in German. Among these verbs he distinguishes the following: *bitten* 'ask', *drängen* 'to press', *lehren* 'teach', *zwingen* 'force', etc. In Polish there is only one verb allowing an accusative object co-occurring with a non-finite complement, namely *uczyć* 'teach'.<sup>25</sup> Just like in the

<sup>24</sup> The degraded status of sentences like (60b) may be related to the nature of the reflexive clitic *się* 'self', rather than to the non-restructuring nature of the verb *obieczać* 'promise'. It may be the case that this clitic differs from object clitics like *go* 'it' in (61a) and the non-anaphoric *się*, part of the reflexive verb *bać się* 'to be afraid', as in (59a), in that it resists Clitic Climbing altogether. Sentences like (i) below, in which the reflexive clitic has climbed from within the embedded clause with a regularly Restructuring verb like *zabronić* 'forbid' (cf. (50)), have the same degraded status as (60b):

(i) ? Marek się    zabronił Tomkowi ogolić.  
 Mark REFL forbade Tom to-shave  
 'Mark forbade Tom to shave him/himself.'

<sup>25</sup> Przepiórkowski (1999:147) mentions other predicates which behave on a par with *uczyć* 'teach', such as *mieć zamiar* 'intend', *mieć obowiązek* 'have obligation', *mieć*

case of *obiecać* ‘promise’, for this verb Dylą (1983) also argues that Clitic Climbing is unavailable. As confirmation he provides the following examples:

(62)

- a. Marek nauczył Tomka golić się. (Dylą (1983:331-2))  
 Mark has-taught Tom to-shave REFL  
 ‘Mark has taught Tom to shave him/himself.’
- b. \*Marek się nauczył Tomka golić.<sup>26</sup>  
 Mark REFL has-taught Tom to-shave  
 ‘Mark has taught Tom to shave him/himself.’

In (62a) the clitic occurs in situ, while in (62b) it climbs to the matrix clause producing ungrammaticality. Again it seems that sentences like (62b) are not totally illicit but rather marginal (cf. footnote 24), and similarly to the one in (60b), cannot be taken as conclusively determining the status of *uczyć* ‘teach’ as a non-restructuring verb, due to the fact that this verb generally shows the diagnostics typical of Restructuring. In the same way as *obiecać* ‘promise’ in (61) and other Restructuring verbs, *uczyć* ‘teach’ allows Clitic Climbing (cf. (63a)), Long Scrambling (cf. (63a)) and Anaphor Binding (cf. (63b)).

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*ochotę* ‘like, want’. These are complex expressions with the verb *mieć* ‘have’ taking an accusative object DP and an infinitival complement, e.g.:

- (i) Marek ma zamiar śpiewać piosenki.  
 Mark has intention-ACC to-sing songs-ACC  
 ‘Mark intends to sing songs.’

With respect to the Restructuring tests adopted here, these predicates behave like *uczyć* ‘teach’.

<sup>26</sup> Sentences (62a) and (62b), as the translations suggest, are ambiguous between the interpretation in which the reflexive refers to the matrix subject (the non-reflexive reading) and one in which the reflexive refers to the PRO subject controlled by the matrix object (the reflexive interpretation). Additionally, the reflexive element *się* in (62b) can be interpreted as a part of the matrix reflexive verb *uczyć się* ‘learn’, and then the sentence can be paraphrased as in (i):

- (i) Mark has learnt to shave Tom.

Since (62b) is more readily interpreted as if *się* were not moved from the embedded clause, but rather as generated together with the matrix verb (i.e. as in (i)), the interpretation on which the clitic moves from the embedded clause may be hard to come up with.



(63)

- a. Marek **je** /**piosenki** Marię nauczył śpiewać.  
 Mark her/songs Mary-ACC has-taught to-sing  
 'Mark has taught Mary to sing them/songs.'
- b. Marek<sub>i</sub> nauczył Marię<sub>j</sub> śpiewać swoje<sub>i/j</sub> piosenki.  
 Mark taught Mary-ACC to-sing his/her songs-ACC  
 'Mark has taught Mary to sing his/her songs.'

An interesting situation arises if the Genitive of Negation operates in the main clause with *uczyć* 'teach'. In this case the Genitive of Negation typically affects the accusative object of the matrix clause, as in (63c), unlike in the case of *obiecac* 'promise' or other verbs subcategorising for a dative complement (cf. (50b)):

(63)

- c. Marek nie nauczył \*Marię /Marii śpiewać piosenki.  
 Mark not taught \*Mary-ACC/Mary-GEN to-sing songs-ACC  
 'Mark hasn't taught Mary to sing songs.'

In (63c), the complement of the matrix clause, which bears accusative in affirmative clauses, is marked for genitive under negation, whereas the case marking of the accusative complement in the embedded clause remains unchanged. However, there exists another possible Case pattern in sentences like (63c), namely both the matrix and the embedded object may appear in the genitive, as demonstrated in (63d):

(63)

- d. Marek nie nauczył \*Marię /Marii śpiewać piosenek.  
 Mark not taught \*Mary-ACC/Mary-GEN to-sing songs-GEN  
 'Mark hasn't taught Mary to sing songs.'

Consequently, it seems that both the closer accusative object and the more distant one can turn into genitive under negation, an issue to which we will return in section 2.1.7. Finally, NPIs are possible in non-finite complements to the verb *uczyć* 'teach', as can be seen in (63e):

(63)

- e. Marek nie nauczył Marii nic /niczego śpiewać.  
 Mark not taught Mary-GEN nothing- ACC/nothing-GEN to-sing  
 'Mark hasn't taught Mary to sing anything.'

Thus, it appears that *uczyć* ‘teach’, just like *obiecać* ‘promise’, is not exceptional, but behaves like an ordinary Restructuring verb.

The final verb whose status as a Restructuring verb may seem dubious is *zapominać* ‘forget’. Wurmbrand (2001:298) observes that in German there exist two types of verbs *forget*, that is, the implicative and the factive one, where the former is illustrated in (64a) and the latter in (64b):

(64)

- a. weil Hans vergaß die Blumen zu gießen  
 since John forgot the flowers to water  
 ‘since John forgot to water the flowers’  $\Rightarrow$  John didn’t water the flowers.
- b. dass Hans vergaß die Blumen schon gegossen zu haben  
 that John forgot the flowers already watered to have  
 ‘that John forgot having watered the flowers already’  $\Rightarrow$  John watered the flowers.

Wurmbrand argues that the implicative *forget* in German gives rise to the Restructuring configuration, whereas the factive one never does so.<sup>27</sup> As for the Polish verb *zapominać* ‘forget’, it allows only one use, i.e. the implicative one, when followed by a non-finite complement, as shown in (65a). However, when co-occurring with a finite complement, it always acts as a factive predicate, as can be seen in (65b):

(65)

- a. Marta zapomniała nakarmić kota.  
 Martha forgot to-feed cat  
 ‘Martha forgot to feed the cat.’
- b. Marta zapomniała, że nakarmiła kota.  
 Martha forgot that she-fed cat  
 ‘Martha forgot that she had fed the cat.’

Since Polish lacks the dichotomy present for *forget* in German and since this verb used with non-finite complements is always implicative in this language, it is only natural to expect it to behave on a par with other implicative verbs, that is

<sup>27</sup> Wurmbrand subjects both types of *forget* to the following Restructuring tests: pronoun fronting (in our terminology, Clitic Climbing), Long Passive and Scrambling. Only the implicative *forget* passes these tests, whereas the factive one resists them.

as a verb triggering Restructuring. This conclusion gets support from the following data:

(66)

- |    |   |  |
|----|---|--|
| a. | Marta <b>go</b> / <b>kota</b> zapomniała nakarmić.<br>Martha it /cat forgot to-feed<br>'Martha forgot to feed it/the cat.'                                | Clitic Climbing/<br>Long Scrambling      |
| b. | Marta <sub>i</sub> nie zapomniała nakarmić swojego <sub>i</sub> kota.<br>Martha not forgot to-feed her cat-GEN<br>'Martha didn't forget to feed her cat.' | Anaphor Binding/<br>Genitive of Negation |
| c. | Marta nie zapomniała nakarmić nikogo.<br>Martha not forgot to-feed nobody-GEN<br>'Martha didn't forget to feed anybody.'                                  | NPIs                                     |

The grammaticality of the above sentences allows us to conclude that the verb *zapominać* 'forget' is in no way exceptional, but should rather be looked upon as a regular Restructuring verb.

To recapitulate, we have found no exceptions to the claim that all implicative, desiderative and factive predicates trigger Restructuring in Polish. This makes Polish different from German, in that Restructuring in the former is much freer and subject to a lesser extent to lexical variation than in the latter. The relative freedom with which Restructuring operates in Polish makes it different also from other languages in which Restructuring is typically attested like Dutch, Italian and Spanish. It turns out that the only constraint which delimits the application of Restructuring in Polish is the presence of overt material in either C or [Spec, CP], an issue to which we will return in section 2.1.7.

### 2.1.5. Restructuring in non-finite adjunct clauses

So far it has been demonstrated that Restructuring can be attested in specific types of complement clauses. An issue that still needs to be examined is whether this process can affect non-finite adjunct clauses. As has been noted in section 1.0, only infinitival and participial clauses can serve as adjuncts in Polish. Clitic Climbing and Long Scrambling can apply from within the former when they lack any overt C, whereas these two processes are always blocked from within the latter. This is illustrated in (67) below:

(67)

- a. Maria **go/chleb** idzie (\*żeby) kupić.  
Mary it /bread goes so-that to-buy  
'Mary goes to buy it/bread.'
- b. \*Marek **ja/książkę** zasnął czytając.  
Mark it/book fell-asleep reading  
'Mark fell asleep while reading a book.'

Sentence (67a), with a moved clitic or a scrambled DP, is grammatical only if the C *żeby* 'so that' is absent from the purpose clause. This is reminiscent of the situation present in complement clauses, in which an overt C blocks Restructuring in a similar way. However, participial adjunct clauses such as (67b) resist both Clitic Climbing and Long Scrambling. The grammaticality contrast between these two types of clauses seems to be linked to the fact that participial clauses are islands for extraction, whereas purpose clauses are not. This is confirmed by the following data:

(68)

- a. Co Maria idzie kupić?  
what Mary goes to-buy  
'What does Mary go to buy?'
- b. \*Co Marek zasnął czytając?  
what Mark fell-asleep reading  
'\*What did Mark fall asleep while reading?'

While *wh*-extraction is licit from within a purpose clause like (68a), it is disallowed from within a participial clause like (68b).

The Genitive of Negation and NPIs are legitimate in purpose clauses without an overt C, whereas they lead to ungrammaticality in participial clauses, as shown in (69) and (70):

(69)

- a. Maria nie idzie posprzątać \*mieszkanie /mieszkania.  
Mary not goes to-clean \*flat-ACC /flat-GEN  
'Mary doesn't go to clean the flat.'
- b. Marek nie zasnął czytając książkę /\*książki.  
Mark not fell-asleep reading book-ACC/\*book-GEN  
'Mark didn't fall asleep while reading a book.'

(70)

- a. Maria nie idzie niczego kupić.  
 Mary not goes nothing to-buy  
 'Mary doesn't go to buy anything.'
- b. \*Marek nie zasnął czytając nic /niczego.  
 Mark not fell-asleep reading nothing-ACC/nothing-GEN  
 'Mark didn't fall asleep while reading anything.'

These two tests show again that Restructuring affects only purpose clauses without an overt C, but is absent from participial clauses. As for Anaphor Binding, it is possible in both types of clauses under scrutiny, as can be seen in (71). What is striking in (71a) is that the anaphor in the purpose clause can be bound by the matrix subject even if an overt C is present.

(71)

- a. Maria<sub>i</sub> idzie (żeby) PRO<sub>i</sub> sprzedać swoje<sub>i</sub> obrazy.  
 Mary goes so-that to-sell her pictures  
 'Mary goes to sell her pictures.'
- b. Marek<sub>i</sub> zasnął PRO<sub>i</sub> czytając swoją<sub>i</sub> książkę.  
 Mark fell-asleep reading his book  
 'Mark fell asleep while reading his book.'

The Anaphor Binding data in (71a) and (71b) get a natural explanation if one assumes that the adjunct clauses present in these sentences contain PRO which is controlled by the matrix subject and which serves as a binder for the subject-oriented anaphor *swój* 'self's'. Thus, (71a) and (71b) are actually instances of short, not long, Anaphor Binding and hence do not allow us to draw any conclusions as to whether the adjunct clauses in question allow Restructuring or not.

Summing up, only purpose clauses lacking an overt C trigger Restructuring in Polish, whereas this process is absent from participial adjunct clauses.

### 2.1.6. The categorial status of Polish non-finite complements

Having demonstrated that Restructuring operates in Polish non-finite complements to raising predicates and to control predicates belonging to the class of implicatives, desideratives or factives, as well as in purpose clauses, let us now consider what categorial status can be ascribed to the non-finite clauses co-occurring with Restructuring predicates. The central question that needs to be addressed is whether these clauses represent VPs, TPs or CPs. In the literature

two basic approaches to the categorial status of complements to Restructuring verbs can be found: one that can be labelled mono-clausal, and one that can be called bi-clausal. The advocates of the former claim that Restructuring non-finite clauses are not clausal in nature but rather represent bare VPs. This stand is taken by Zagona (1982), Picallo (1990), Haider (1986), Rochette (1990, 1999), Rosen (1990), Moore (1994) and Wurmbrand (1998, 2001). The latter approach, according to which complements to Restructuring predicates originate as full CPs, is represented by Rizzi (1978), Kayne (1991), Rooryck (1994), Grewendorf and Sabel (1994), Sabel (1996), Terzi (1996), Guasti (1996, 1997) and Roberts (1997). Then, due to the application of reanalysis (cf. Haegeman and van Riemsdijk (1986)) or overt (or covert) head movement, the original bi-clausal structures are turned into mono-clausal ones.

In order to determine the categorial status of complements to Restructuring verbs in Polish, let us first investigate the arguments that have been posited by Wurmbrand (1998, 2001) for the VP status of these complements in German. Her arguments include the following: 1) complements to Restructuring verbs are tenseless, or, in other words, they do not exhibit an unrealised future interpretation, but require an interpretation simultaneous with the tense of the matrix verb, 2) Restructuring verbs cannot take finite clauses as their complements, because such clauses are inherently tensed, and 3) overt Cs are allowed only in complements of non-restructuring verbs (in languages which allow C in non-finite clauses).<sup>28</sup> Let us now check how Wurmbrand's tests can be applied to Polish data. The first question that has to be answered is whether complements of Restructuring verbs are tenseless. It seems that complements of raising predicates do indeed show the lack of independent tense specification, as demonstrated in (72):

(72)

- a. #Marek musiał odwiedzić Marię w przyszłym tygodniu.  
     Marek had-to visit       Mary in next       week  
     '#Mark had to visit Mary next week.'

---

<sup>28</sup> Wurmbrand's (1998, 2001) other arguments for the VP status of complements to Restructuring verbs, such as the lack of the accusative Case position and the lack of PRO in the complements under consideration, are not applicable to Polish (cf. for instance sentences (71a) and (71b), where the presence of PRO is necessary, and sentence (63b), where the accusative object occurs in the embedded clause).

- b. #Marek zaczął odwiedzać Marię w przyszłym tygodniu.  
 Mark began to-visit Mary in next week  
 ‘#Mark began to visit Mary next week.’

The matrix verbs in (72a) and (72b) bear the past tense inflection, while the action in the embedded clause is forced to refer to the future by the presence of the adverbial *w przyszłym tygodniu* ‘next week’. Due to the tense clash, these sentences, though grammatical, result in semantic anomaly. A similar situation arises for complements of implicative verbs as well as for the desiderative verb *próbować* ‘try’, which must also express an action co-extensive with the action expressed in the main clause, as exemplified in (73):

- (73)  
 #Marek próbował/zdołał odwiedzić Marię w przyszłym tygodniu.  
 Mark tried /managed to-visit Mary in next week  
 ‘#Mark tried/ managed to visit Mary next week.’

The above example shows that the verb *próbować* ‘try’ and the implicative *zdołać* ‘manage’ require complements whose tense specification is determined by the matrix clause.

Other desiderative verbs, along with factive verbs, do allow independent tense specification in their complements.<sup>29</sup> This is illustrated in (74a) and (74b), where the former contains a subject control verb, whereas the latter an object control one.

<sup>29</sup> The factive verb *zapominać* ‘forget’ allows independent tense specification in its complement when it takes a PP with a gerundive complement, as in (i), or when it is followed by a finite clause, as in (ii). However, the implicative *zapominać* ‘forget’ never allows a complement with independent tense specification, as can be seen in (iii):

- (i) Dzisiaj Marek zapomniał o kupieniu prezentu wczoraj.  
 today Mark forgot about buying present yesterday  
 ‘Mark has forgotten today about buying the present yesterday.’  
 (ii) Dzisiaj Marek zapomniał, że kupił wczoraj prezent.  
 today Mark forgot that he-bought yesterday present  
 ‘Mark has forgotten today that he bought a present yesterday.’  
 (iii) #Dzisiaj Marek zapomniał kupić wczoraj prezent.  
 today Mark forgot to-buy yesterday present  
 ‘#Today Mark has forgotten to have bought the present yesterday.’

The implicative *pamiętać* ‘remember’ is always a non-restructuring verb, as the only type of clausal complement that it admits is a CP introduced by an overt C.

(74)

- a. Marek chciał odwiedzić Marię w przyszłym tygodniu.  
Mark wanted to-visit Mary-ACC in next week  
'Mark wanted to visit Mary next week.'
- b. Marek kazał Marii napisać pracę w przyszłym tygodniu.  
Mark told Mary to-write paper- ACC in next week  
'Mark told Mary to write a paper next week.'

In (74) the matrix verb refers to the past, while the future time reference is imposed on the embedded verb by the presence of the adverbial *w przyszłym tygodniu* 'next week'. No tense clash arises in such cases, which indicates that the complements involved in such sentences may have independent tense specification in contradistinction to the complements of raising predicates, the complements of *próbować* 'try' and the complements of implicatives. This conclusion gets additional support from the fact that two distinct time adverbials can occur in the matrix and embedded clause in the case of desiderative and factive verbs, whereas this is not possible in the case of the predicates whose complements lack independent tense specification. A comparison between sentences (75a) and (75b) makes this point clear:

(75)

- a. Wczoraj Marek planował odwiedzić Marię w przyszłym tygodniu.  
yesterday Mark planned to-visit Mary in next week  
'Yesterday Mark planned to visit Mary next week.'
- b.#Wczoraj Marek mógł odwiedzić Marię w przyszłym tygodniu.  
yesterday Mark could visit Mary in next week  
'#Yesterday Mark could visit Mary next week.'

Sentence (75a) with two time adverbials, one referring to the past and the other to the future, is perfectly grammatical, while sentence (75b) with identical time adverbials is unacceptable. The two sentences differ in the verb they contain: (75a) exhibits a desiderative predicate and (75b) a raising one. Since only the former predicate type admits a complement with independent tense specification, only example (75a) is licit.

For Wurmbrand, all Restructuring verbs in German lack independent tense specification. Polish is different from German in that verbs triggering Restructuring in Polish, such as *chcieć* 'want' in (74a), *kazać* 'order' in (74b) and *planować* 'plan' in (75a), do allow independent tense specification within their complements. Thus, it appears that in Polish, unlike in German, there is no con-



nection between the Restructuring/non-restructuring status of the verb and the independent tense specification/lack thereof in the complement clause.

Secondly, raising predicates, implicative verbs and the verb *próbować* 'try' can never take a finite complement, as shown in (76):

(76)

- \*Marek musiał/zdołał /próbował, żeby odwiedził Marię.<sup>30</sup>  
 Mark had-to/managed/tryed so-that visited Mary  
 'Mark had to/managed/tryed to visit Mary.'

Other Restructuring predicates, such as desideratives and factives, allow finite clause complements, as exemplified in (77):

(77)

- a. Marek chciał, żeby Maria go odwiedziła.  
 Mark wanted so-that Mary him would-visit  
 'Mark wanted Mary to visit him.'
- b. Marek lubi, żeby go Maria odwiedzała.  
 Mark likes so-that him Mary would-visit  
 'Mark likes Mary to visit him.'

The difference between these two predicate groups, according to Wurmbrand, reflects the fact that the complements to the predicates like the ones in (76) are tenseless and hence cannot correspond to finite clauses, which are inherently tensed, while the complements to the verbs like those in (77) convey independent tense specification and therefore can be replaced by finite complements without producing ungrammaticality.

Wurmbrand's third test, i.e. the impossibility of having a C in complements to Restructuring verbs, shows the same pattern as the two tests mentioned so far, namely raising predicates, implicative ones and *próbować* 'try' can never take any complement with an overt C, while the rest of Restructuring verbs allow this kind of complement.<sup>31</sup> The difference is illustrated in (78) and (79):

<sup>30</sup> The word *żeby* 'so that' can introduce both finite and non-finite clauses in Polish (cf. Chapter IV, section 1.1).

<sup>31</sup> Not all desiderative and factive verbs can take a non-finite complement with an overt C. Predicates like, for instance, *mieć nadzieję* 'hope' or *być przykro* 'be sorry', never subcategorise for this type of complement, as they require only a non-finite complement without any overt C.

(78)

- \* Marek musiał/zdołał /próbował, żeby odwiedzić Marię.  
Mark had-to/managed/tried so-that to-visit Mary  
'Mark had to/managed/tried to visit Mary.'

(79)

- a. Marek chciał, żeby odwiedzić Marię.  
Mark wanted so-that to-visit Mary  
'Mark wanted for Mary to be visited.'
- b. Marek lubi, żeby go odwiedzać.  
Mark likes so-that him to-visit  
'Mark likes to be visited.'

If one wanted to follow Wurmbrand's line of reasoning, one would have to conclude that the complements to Restructuring verbs in Polish do not have a uniform categorial status. The complements to raising verbs, implicatives and the verb *próbować* 'try' would have to be regarded as bare VPs, as they lack independent tense specification, can never take finite complements and can never take complements with an overt C. On the other hand, the complements to desiderative and factive verbs would have to be treated as either TPs or CPs (depending on whether the C is present or not), as they convey independent tense specification, can be followed by a finite complement and can take a complement with an overt C. However, one may question this analysis, and its underlying assumption that the lack of independent tense specification necessarily coincides with the lack of the T projection. Alternatively, one may say, as Pesetsky (1992), Martin (1996) and Bošković (1997) do, that all complements to Restructuring verbs are tensed, some of them having an overt tense morpheme, and others having a covert one. A similar analysis of non-finite complements to Polish Restructuring verbs is offered by Witkoś (1998). For him, as has already been noted in section 2.0, all types of non-finite complements in question have the categorial status of InfP, which corresponds to TP whose head bears a feature [-finite] and whose temporal specification is anaphoric, that is bound by a c-commanding [+finite] T. As we shall see presently, Witkoś's analysis is basically correct with the qualification that the requirement for non-finite T to be always anaphoric cannot be maintained for the complements with an independent tense specification (cf. sentences (74a), (74b) and (75a)).

A question which Witkoś (1998) addresses very briefly, but which is crucial for establishing the categorial status of the clauses under consideration, is whether there is any empirical evidence that Polish non-finite complements to Res-

structuring verbs represent units larger than VPs, that is TPs or CPs. It seems that such evidence can be obtained from Anaphor Binding and from subject-oriented adverbials. As far as Anaphor Binding is concerned, anaphors normally cannot be bound by dative DPs, as can be seen in (80) below:

(80)

- \*Podoba mu<sub>i</sub>        się        swoje<sub>i</sub> mieszkanie.  
 likes    him-DAT REFL his        flat  
 'He likes his flat.'

However, apparent Anaphor Binding by a dative DP is possible in sentences such as (81):

(81)

- a. Marek<sub>i</sub> pozwolił Ewie<sub>j</sub>    położyćtu    swoje<sub>i/j</sub> rzeczy.  
 Mark    let        Eve- DATput        here his/her stuff  
 'Mark let Eve put his/her stuff here.'
- b. Udało    mu<sub>i</sub>        się    położyć    tutaj swoje<sub>i</sub> rzeczy.  
 managed him- DAT REFL to-put    here his        stuff  
 'He managed to put his stuff here.'

It is unclear how we can explain the fact that the subject-oriented anaphor cannot be bound by the dative DP in (80) but allows the same kind of binding in (81), unless we assume that the embedded clauses in (81a) and (81b) are in fact TPs (or CPs) whose subject is PRO controlled by the dative DP, and hence making the binding in question available. Thus, it seems that the sentences in (81a) and (81b) should be assigned the representations in (82a) and (82b), respectively:

(82)

- a. Marek<sub>i</sub> pozwolił Ewie<sub>j</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> PRO<sub>j</sub> położyć tu swoje<sub>i/j</sub> rzeczy].  
 b. Udało mu<sub>i</sub> się [<sub>TP</sub> PRO<sub>i</sub> położyć tutaj swoje<sub>i</sub> rzeczy].

In (82a) both short binding by the object-controlled PRO as well as long binding by the matrix subject is possible, an issue that we have already hinted at in section 2.1.3 and to which we will return in section 2.1.7. What the above examples allow us to conclude is that object control verbs like *pozwolić* 'let' and impersonal implicative verbs like *udać się* 'manage' require a complement that contains a PRO subject, and hence this complement must be larger than a bare VP. It must correspond at least to a TP in order to be able to properly license PRO.

Another test which supports the claim that non-finite complements to Restructuring verbs in Polish must be at least TPs is based on subject-oriented adverbials such as *po pijanemu* ‘while drunk’.<sup>32</sup> That this adverbial must refer to the subject is confirmed by the following data:

(83)

Marek rozmawiał z Marią po pijanemu.  
 Mark talked to Mary while drunk  
 ‘Mark talked to Mary while he was drunk.’

In the above sentence the adverbial *po pijanemu* ‘while drunk’ can refer only to the subject *Mark*, it can never refer to the object *Mary*. Let us now analyse sentence (84):

(84)

Marek kazał Marii śpiewać po pijanemu.  
 Mark told Mary to-sing while drunk  
 ‘Mark told Mary to sing while he/she was drunk.’

What is surprising in (84) is that the relevant adverbial can refer not only to the matrix subject as expected, but also to the matrix object *Mary*. We can account for the unusual behaviour of the adverbial if we assume that the embedded clause is a TP with a PRO subject, controlled by the matrix object *Mary*, and it is the PRO subject which serves as the antecedent for the adverbial. Thus, the grammaticality of sentences like (84) allows us to conclude that the complements of object control desiderative verbs like *kazać* ‘order/tell’ have the status of at least TP.

The empirical evidence just presented points towards the conclusion that the complements to at least some Restructuring verbs in Polish are not bare VPs, but rather TPs or CPs.<sup>33</sup> This conclusion can be generalised to other complements to Restructuring verbs and as a result, complements to all Restructuring verbs will be ascribed the categorial status of TPs. The complements to raising Restructuring predicates have the status of just a TP without a PRO subject, whereas the complements to control Restructuring predicates have the status of either TP or CP with a subject or object controlled PRO. This kind of analysis offers a

<sup>32</sup> This test has been used by Dziwirek (1998) to argue for both the mono- and bi-clausal character of sentences like (84).

<sup>33</sup> The issue of whether these complements are indeed TPs or CPs is orthogonal to the present discussion but we will return to it in section 2.1.7.

uniform treatment of all complements to Restructuring verbs in Polish, since they are regarded minimally as projections of T, and for this reason all Restructuring constructions will be treated as bi-clausal in nature. It remains to be determined how an originally bi-clausal structure turns into mono-clausal due to the application of Restructuring. This problem will be examined in the next section.

### 2.1.7. *Is there verb incorporation in restructuring contexts?*

It has already been hinted at in section 2.1.6 how bi-clausal structures can be turned into mono-clausal ones. Two methods have been mentioned, namely, reanalysis (cf. Haegeman and van Riemsdijk (1986)), and covert or overt verb incorporation (cf. Grewendorf and Sabel (1994), Sabel (1996), Terzi (1996), Guasti (1996, 1997) and Roberts (1997)). The rule of reanalysis, as stated by Haegeman and van Riemsdijk (1986), specifies that the representation  $X V_q V_r Y$ , where  $V_r$  is a Verb Raising verb (this class also includes Restructuring verbs), is reanalysed as  $X V_x Y$ , where  $V_x$  is a complex verb.<sup>34</sup> As for overt verb incorporation, it operates in the following way: the embedded verb undergoes head movement and adjoins onto the matrix one forming a complex verb such as:  $[_{YP} \dots [X_i + Y]_Y \dots [_{XP} \dots t_i \dots]]$ . Covert verb incorporation, on the other hand, involves no overt but covert (LF) verb movement hence giving rise to a representation such as  $[_{YP} \dots Y_i \dots [_{XP} \dots X_i \dots]]$ .

The only analysis of Polish Restructuring available within the Minimalist Program is offered by Witkoś (1998). Let us briefly review the main points of his analysis, as we will refer to it throughout this section. Witkoś argues that Restructuring in Polish results from covert head movement of the embedded verb to the matrix one. This process must be covert, as it is possible to have some lexical material intervening between the two verbs, e.g.:

(85)

- a. Jan    lubi    dużo    biegać.  
       John   likes a-lot to-run  
       'John likes to run a lot.'

<sup>34</sup> The problem of theta marking by a complex verb is solved by Haegeman and van Riemsdijk (1986) in the following way: the matrix verb  $V_q$  and the embedded verb  $V_r$  form a complex  $V_x$  whose head is the matrix verb, and the theta-properties of  $V_x$  are determined by theta-grids of  $V_q$  and  $V_r$ , that is, the theta-features of  $V_q$  and  $V_r$  percolate to  $V_x$ , and features of the head take precedence over features of the complement. For details cf. Haegeman and van Riemsdijk (1986:424-425).

- b. Jan lubi go często przeglądać.  
John likes it often to-look-through  
'John often likes to look through it.'
- c. Jan lubi 'Piłkę Nożną' czytać od początku do końca.  
John likes 'Football' to-read from beginning to end  
'John likes to read 'Football' from beginning to end.' (Witkoś (1998:308))

In (85a) the adverbial modifying the embedded clause, i.e. *dużo* 'a lot', intervenes between the two verbs, in (85b), we find the clitic *go* 'it' as well as the adverbial *często* 'often', and in (85c) the DP *Piłkę Nożną* 'Football'. Since verb incorporation in Restructuring contexts is covert, it involves the LF head movement of the embedded verb to the matrix verb, where the latter always has a weak [+v] feature.<sup>35</sup> The result for a sentence like (86a) is schematised in (86b) below:

(86)

- a. Jan chce czytać książkę.  
John wants to-read book  
'John wants to read a book.'
- b. [<sub>AgrSP</sub> Jan [<sub>AgrS/T</sub> czytać chce] [<sub>AspP</sub> [<sub>i</sub>czytać **chce**] [<sub>VP</sub> Jan [<sub>i</sub>czytać chce]  
[<sub>InfP</sub> PRO [<sub>Inf</sub> <sub>i</sub>czytać] [<sub>AspP</sub> **czytać** [<sub>AgrOP</sub> książkę <sub>i</sub>czytać [<sub>VP</sub> PRO <sub>i</sub>czytać  
**książkę**]]]]]]]] (Witkoś (1998:314))

We will not be concerned with all the details of verb movement in (86b) (for the justification of the successive steps cf. Witkoś (1998)), what interests us here is that only the boldfaced copies are spelt out. Witkoś follows Roberts (1997:426) in adopting the following morphological filter:

(87)

- a. Head movement is copying
- b. \* $[_X W_1 W_2]$  where  $W_n$  are morphological words
- c. A head is spelled out in the highest position of its chain, subject to (b).

<sup>35</sup> Alternatively, in the Agr-less framework of Chomsky (1995b, chapter 4), Witkoś suggests that only the formal features of the embedded verb move to the higher verb, or, more correctly to the matrix T, to which the formal features of the matrix verb move covertly (for details cf. Witkoś (1998:314)).

This filter blocks the spell-out of the copy of a complex head if it consists of independent words and hence determines that in cases like (86b) the lower verb is spelt out in its base position, which corresponds to its highest position in the chain (cf. (87c)). An analysis along these lines allows Witkoś (1998) to elegantly account for the word order data presented in (85). What is problematic in his analysis is how Case checking proceeds in the embedded clause. As for accusative Case checking, it seems to be unproblematic and takes place in the way sketched in (86b), that is, at LF the accusative object moves to the [Spec, AgrOP] position, where it has its Case checked against the embedded verb, which has covertly adjoined to AgrO. The problem arises in the case of the Genitive of Negation, which, as has already been noted, is regularly borne by originally accusative embedded objects under matrix clause negation (cf. for instance (27b), (43a) and (43b)). In order to account for this phenomenon Witkoś argues that at LF, where the complex verb is formed, all copies are identical and have the same Case checking potential. Hence, if the upper incorporated head is prefixed with *nie* 'not' so is the lower one, and thus the latter is capable of checking genitive, rather than accusative, on its object. Witkoś admits that his analysis of the non-local Genitive of Negation departs from the lexicalist hypothesis stating that verbs and nouns enter the derivation fully inflected, which, in the case under consideration, boils down to saying that both nouns and verbs have their Case features already in the initial Numeration. If one wanted to maintain the lexicalist hypothesis for the non-local Genitive of Negation, one would have to allow for Case rechecking, as the embedded verb would enter the derivation with the accusative Case feature and only after the complex verb is formed at LF, would it be able to check genitive, provided the whole complex is prefixed with *nie* 'not'. Witkoś suggests two ways of avoiding the unwelcome departure from the lexicalist hypothesis. One is linked with L-selection (cf. Pesetsky (1992) and Bošković (1997)), and the other with feature underspecification. According to the former, the negated transitive infinitive verb takes a [+Genitive] Case feature, as required by the negative prefix, whereas the affirmative transitive infinitive has two lexically specified Case checking options, namely [+Accusative] or [+Genitive]. If the infinitive with [+Genitive] feature is selected in the embedded clause, it has to co-occur with a negative verb in the matrix clause; otherwise the derivation crashes, as the L-selection properties of the matrix verb will not be satisfied. The second way of salvaging the lexicalist hypothesis suggested by Witkoś relies on the difference between Case assignment and Case realisation (cf. Willim (1990) and Franks (1995)). If one assumes that affirmative verbs check [+Objective], whereas negative ones check [+Genitive], then, if there is no Restructuring, the verb will check accusative, which is a default realization of [+Objective], and if there is Restructuring and the matrix

verb is negated, then [+Objective] is realized as [+Genitive]. This kind of approach allows Witkoś to maintain the claim that the lower verb always enters the derivation with the feature [+Objective] and hence does not require any Case change in its feature template. Witkoś (1998) tentatively assumes the proposal based on L-selection, although he admits that the second suggestion relating to feature underspecification is also compatible with his analysis.

In addition to the departure from the lexicalist hypothesis noted by Witkoś himself, his analysis of the way in which the non-local Genitive of Negation is checked is not free from further problems. First of all, if both copies are identical and hence both are prefixed with *nie* 'not', as Wikoś suggests, it is not clear why the negative element is not spelt out also on the lower copy, especially since it is this copy of the embedded verb which is phonetically realized, and the option of realizing negation both on the lower verb and the higher verb is fully legitimate in Polish, as illustrated in (88) below:

(88)

Marek nie mógł nie przyjść na przyjęcie.  
 Mark not could not come to party  
 'Mark couldn't not come to the party.'

On Witkoś's analysis we expect the reverse also to be true, that is, we expect that when the embedded verb is negative, the matrix would also be prefixed by *nie* 'not' and hence would be able to check the genitive under negation. This, however, is not the case, as exemplified by (89):

(89)

Marek kazał dzieciom /\*dzieci nie sprzątać pokoju.  
 Mark told children-DAT /\*children-GEN not to-clean room-GEN  
 'Mark told children not to clean the room.'

In (89) the object of the matrix verb can only bear dative and can never be marked for genitive.<sup>36</sup> Additionally, if both copies are identical, as Witkoś

<sup>36</sup> One can counter this argument by saying that dative never turns into genitive under negation, even in simple clauses. However, the argument presented in the text is still valid, as the verb *uczyć* 'teach', which requires an accusative complement, when followed by a negative non-finite clause, as in (i), does not check genitive in the matrix clause.

(i) Marek uczył Marię /\*Marii nie używać brzydkich słów.  
 Mark taught Mary-ACC /\*Mary-GEN not to-use bad language-GEN  
 'Mark taught Mary not to use bad language.'



argues, we expect genitive to be possible in both the matrix and the embedded clause. This is indeed the case in (63d). However, the abstract incorporation analysis is not capable of deriving sentences such as (63c), (repeated for convenience as (90)) where the Genitive of Negation is realised in the matrix clause, but not in the embedded one.

(90)

Marek nie nauczył \*Marię /Marii śpiewać piosenki. (= (63c))  
 Mark not taught \*Mary-ACC/Mary-GEN to-sing songs-ACC  
 'Mark hasn't taught Mary to sing songs.'

Furthermore, the abstract incorporation analysis does not explain why an overt element in [Spec, CP] blocks Restructuring (cf. for instance, sentences (38b), (40) and (42a)). If abstract incorporation involves head movement, as proposed for Polish by Witkoś (1998), then [Spec, CP] is not of the same type as the head undergoing incorporation and hence movement across it cannot be blocked by the Relativised Minimality (cf. Rizzi (1990)) or the Minimal Link Condition (cf. Chomsky (1995b)). Consequently, such cases of Restructuring are wrongly predicted to be licit. Finally, one may object to the filter in (87b) proposed by Roberts (1997) and adopted by Witkoś (1998) on conceptual grounds. This filter, though capable of deriving the correct word order facts in (85), seems to restate the problem rather than solving it. The new mystery that it creates is why UG should possess filters like the one in (87b).

In addition to the problems just mentioned, the abstract incorporation analysis cannot be maintained within the most recent version of the Minimalist Program, as outlined in Chomsky (2000, 2001a, b). Chomsky argues against covert movement in general and instead posits the operation Agree, whose task is to derive cases which have previously been handled (i.e. Chomsky (1995b)) in terms of covert movement (cf. Chapter I, section 1.0). The question is whether, its shortcomings notwithstanding, we can translate the abstract incorporation analysis offered by Witkoś (1998) into this new model. The operation Agree would have to hold between the matrix verb and the lower verb, but it is far from obvious what feature the two verbs must agree in. The feature that automatically comes to mind is [+Restructuring] present on the matrix verb (cf. the end of section 2.1.3, where such a feature is mentioned in relation to German). The presence of such a feature, however, would predict, contrary to the conclusion reached in section 2.1.3, that Restructuring is lexically governed in Polish. Furthermore, even if we came up with some other feature to trigger Agree between the matrix verb and the embedded one, it would be hard to envisage how Agree could turn an originally bi-clausal structure into a mono-clausal one,

since Agree does not involve any movement and hence leaves the original bi-clausal structure intact.<sup>37</sup>

Another alternative worth considering is head movement in the PF component. Chomsky (2001a, b) suggests that all head movement in fact operates at PF, as it lacks the semantic effects associated with other types of movement.<sup>38</sup> Some recent analyses develop this proposal (cf. Boeckx and Stjepanović (2001)) and argue that head movement at PF is triggered either by prosody (cf. Holmberg (1997) and Neelman and Reinhart (1998)), or by morphology (cf. Pollock (1997) and Rohrbacher (1999)). The question which arises at this point is whether one can treat Polish Restructuring as an instance of head movement operating at PF. It seems that such a proposal is untenable as Restructuring in Polish brings about a change in Case marking, that is, under negation in the matrix clause, the accusative object of the embedded clause turns into genitive (cf. for instance, (27b)). The fact that Restructuring produces a change in Case marking strongly argues against treating it as a PF phenomenon. This conclusion is additionally supported by the fact that NPIs are fully legitimate in Restructuring contexts (cf. for instance, sentence (28c)), which again should be impossible if Restructuring were purely a PF phenomenon. Thus, we can dismiss the idea that Restructuring in Polish obtains via head movement in the PF component.

The analysis that we would like to offer does not make use of head incorporation at all and therefore escapes all the problems this process creates. Before turning to its details, let us first point out the questions which any analysis of Restructuring in Polish must address. These questions are as follows:

(91)

- a. what makes it possible for Clitic Climbing and Long Scrambling to operate from within an embedded non-finite clause
- b. why can an anaphor in the embedded non-finite clause be bound either by the matrix or the embedded clause subject (cf., for instance, (81a))
- c. why is it possible for the Genitive of Negation to be realized in the embedded non-finite clause under matrix clause negation
- d. why does an overt C or [Spec, CP] block Restructuring.

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<sup>37</sup> This point of criticism against Agree may not be as severe as it seems. The analysis which we offer later and which does not refer to any movement operation (it does not refer to Agree, either) can, nonetheless, derive the configurations produced by Restructuring.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Chapter I. section 1.0.

Let us begin by investigating question (91a). The first assumption we would like to make is that non-finite clauses without an overt C are TPs, and not CPs. Under this assumption a sentence like (92a) has the schematic representation in (92b):

(92)

- a. Marek polecił                Marcie przeczytać tę    książkę.  
    Mark recommended Martha to-read    this book  
    ‘Mark recommended reading this book to Martha.’
- b. [TP Marek [vP<sub>1</sub> polecił Marcie [TP PRO [vP<sub>2</sub> przeczytać tę książkę]]]]

(92b) contains two phases, namely vP<sub>1</sub> and vP<sub>2</sub>; neither of the TPs constitutes a phase. The second assumption which we make and which follows Chomsky (2001b:13) is that:

(93)

Phase PH<sub>1</sub> is interpreted/evaluated at the next relevant phase PH<sub>2</sub>.

Clitic Climbing and Long Scrambling in cases like (92) will operate in the following way: first the clitic or the DP to be scrambled undergo movement to [Spec, vP<sub>2</sub>], then they move to the next phase vP<sub>1</sub>, where the whole structure is sent to the interpretive component in accordance with (93). The whole derivation is schematised in (94):

(94)

[TP [vP<sub>1</sub> clitic<sub>i</sub>/DP<sub>i</sub> V<sub>1</sub> [TP PRO [vP<sub>2</sub> [v<sub>2</sub>’ t<sub>i</sub> [vP V<sub>2</sub> t<sub>i</sub>]]]]]]]

The exact position of the clitic or the scrambled DP in (94), i.e. whether it is within or outside the higher phase is orthogonal to the discussion carried out here. What is important is that we derive the application of Clitic Climbing and Long Scrambling across a non-finite clause boundary without appealing to any process of incorporation. The first assumption that we have made is only natural, especially in the light of the Minimal Structure Principle of Bošković (1997:25) stated in (16) in section 2.0 and similar principles postulated in the literature, for instance, the Minimal Projection of Grimshaw (1994), the Structural Economy Principle of Safir (1993), and the Minimal Projection Principle of Radford (1994). The second one is independently necessary in the theory in order to derive successive cyclic movement. The extra step that we have to make, that is, the movement of the clitic or the scrambled DP to the specifier of the lower v, is unavoidable in order to satisfy the PIC stating that only items appearing at the

edge (i.e., in the specifier of a head H or in the position adjoined to HP) of the phase and its head can be accessed by the operations from the next higher phase. This step is not entirely innocent, as it commits us to claiming that Polish has Object Shift, or at least to the claim that *v* has an EPP-feature triggering movement of its object to its specifier. The latter claim is independently necessary in order to derive *wh*-movement from the complement position, as in (95):

(95)

[<sub>CP</sub> Kogo<sub>i</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> Piotr [<sub>vP<sub>1</sub></sub> chciał [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>vP<sub>2</sub></sub> zaprosić *t<sub>i</sub>*]]]]]]?  
 whom Peter wanted to-invite  
 ‘Who did Peter want to invite?’

The derivation of (95) must proceed via the [Spec, *vP<sub>2</sub>*] position in order to free the *wh*-object from the position ineligible for movement (i.e. violating the PIC).<sup>39</sup> Consequently, the idea that movement in cases like (94) must also use this position as an escape hatch is not as totally unmotivated as might appear at first glance.

The analysis of Clitic Climbing and Long Scrambling just presented has a bearing on question (91d). If a non-finite complement has an overt C or [Spec, CP], then a new phase appears, that is CP. These two cases are schematically represented in (96a) and (96b):

(96)

- a. [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>vP<sub>1</sub></sub> V<sub>1</sub>(DP<sub>1</sub>) [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>C</sub> *żeby/czy* [<sub>TP</sub> PRO [<sub>vP<sub>2</sub></sub> V<sub>2</sub> DP<sub>2</sub>]]]]]]]  
 b. [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>vP<sub>1</sub></sub> V<sub>1</sub>(DP<sub>1</sub>) [<sub>CP</sub> *kiedy* [<sub>TP</sub> PRO [<sub>vP<sub>2</sub></sub> V<sub>2</sub> DP<sub>2</sub>]]]]]]

In (96a), the overt C can be either the non-interrogative *żeby* ‘so that’ or the interrogative *czy* ‘if/whether’, whereas in (96b) the *wh*-word *kiedy* ‘when’ occurs in [Spec, CP]. In both cases the sentences contain three phases, that is, *vP<sub>1</sub>*, *vP<sub>2</sub>* and CP. The first step in their derivation is the same as in (94), DP<sub>2</sub> moves to [Spec, *vP<sub>2</sub>*] to escape the PIC and then it moves to the next higher phase for whatever reason that underlies Clitic Climbing or Scrambling (cf. footnote 40). The next phase this time is CP, at the level of which the whole structure is sent to the interpretive component and spelt out. The further movement of the clitic or the scrambled DP to the next higher phase, i.e. *vP<sub>1</sub>*, is unmotivated, as DP<sub>2</sub>

<sup>39</sup> An analogous assumption is necessary for *wh*-movement from a complement position in English (see Chapter I, section 1.0).

has checked its Case in situ via Agree with  $v_2$  and it has presumably checked the feature triggering Clitic Climbing or Long Scrambling in the position it has moved to within CP.<sup>40 41</sup> Thus, we obtain an explanation for why an overt C or [Spec, CP] blocks the two typical diagnostics of Restructuring in Polish.

Anaphor Binding, the third Restructuring test in Polish, seems to pattern in a way similar to the two processes just discussed, that is, the anaphor in the embedded non-finite clause can be bound by the matrix subject only if there is no intervening overt C or [Spec, CP]. This regularity can be accounted for if one assumes that anaphors are interpreted (just like other items) at the next higher phase. Then, if there is no CP between the matrix vP and the embedded vP, the anaphor can be bound within the matrix vP, which is the next higher phase. If, on the other hand, a CP is merged between the two vPs, then the anaphor cannot be bound from outside the CP, which this time constitutes the next higher phase. An analysis along these lines accounts for the contrast between sentences like (97a) and (97b) (corresponding to (41b) and (42a), repeated for convenience):

(97)

- a. Marek<sub>i</sub> lubi czytać swoją<sub>i</sub> książkę.  
Mark likes to-read his book  
'Mark likes reading his book.'
- b.\*Marek<sub>i</sub> powiedział, żeby przeczytać swoją<sub>i</sub> książkę.  
Mark said so-that to-read his book  
'\*Mark said to read his book.'

As has been noted in section 2.1.3, short binding, i.e. binding by the PRO subject of the embedded clause, insofar as it is possible, is the only alternative for

<sup>40</sup> We leave aside here the complicated issue of what triggers Clitic Climbing or Scrambling and of how to explain their optional character.

<sup>41</sup> One might suggest that Scrambling in (96a) may operate in a successive cyclic way via [Spec, CP], thus making Long Scrambling out of clauses with an overt C, contrary to fact, a viable option. However, this option is disallowed, as Scrambling from [Spec, CP] to the next higher phase, i.e. vP<sub>1</sub> in (96a), would represent improper movement, that is, movement from an A'-to an A-position. What exactly blocks improper movement remains a murky issue. According to Pesetsky and Torrego (2001), the ban on improper movement is related to the lifespan of uninterpretable features (features marked for deletion in Pesetsky and Torrego's (2001) terminology) that may not survive beyond the CP level. Hence, DP<sub>2</sub> must have its all uninterpretable features checked within CP and for this reason remains inactive for any further movement.

the anaphor in cases like (97b). Thus, our analysis so far makes good predictions regarding Anaphor Binding in Restructuring contexts in Polish.

A more complicated issue relating to Anaphor Binding is reflected in question (91b), namely why in sentences like (98) (example (81a) repeated for convenience), the anaphor can be bound either by the matrix subject or the object controlled PRO.

(98)

Marek<sub>i</sub> pozwolił Ewie<sub>j</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> PRO<sub>j</sub> położyć tu swoje<sub>i/j</sub> rzeczy].  
 Mark let Eve put here his/her stuff  
 'Mark let Eve put his/her stuff here.'

In this case no overt C or element in [Spec, CP] is present and hence we assume that the non-finite clause is a TP, hence not a phase. Just like in simple cases of anaphor binding such as (97a), also here we assume that Anaphor Binding is determined at the next higher phase. This implies that both the closer binder, i.e. the object controlled PRO, and the matrix subject can serve as binders for the subject-oriented anaphor *swój* 'self's' in sentences like (98).<sup>42</sup> Consequently, the binding facts can be accounted for by claiming that the maximum Binding Domain is the next higher phase.

The remaining and most difficult problem to tackle is expressed in question (91c), relating to the way Case is checked in instances of Restructuring in Polish. In affirmative sentences Case checking proceeds as expected, as the matrix verb checks the Case of its object and so does the embedded verb. However, the situation gets really interesting when the matrix verb is negative, because then the Genitive of Negation can appear in the embedded clause provided it contains a verb which originally checks accusative on its object. Exactly the same pertains to simple, i.e. one-verb clauses (cf. section 2.1.2), which might indicate that what is at work in cases of Restructuring is incorporation of some sort. The analysis we would like to pursue does not make use of incorporation at all and is based on the following assumptions:

<sup>42</sup> We leave open the issue of what factor triggers the opacity of PRO and hence allows long binding of the anaphor by the matrix subject.

(99)

- a. Case is checked at the next higher phase
- b. Accusative and the Genitive of Negation are checked in the same configuration
- c. Accusative is checked in a configuration distinct from other cases
- d. The Genitive of Negation is checked wherever possible, subject to locality.

Assumption (99a) closely mimics Chomsky's (2001b) suggestion expressed in (93). In (99d), the phrase 'wherever possible' is taken to denote 'wherever the configuration in which this kind of genitive can be checked arises', namely wherever the verb is negated and the accusative in the affirmative clause can be checked, but not where some other case can be checked (cf. assumptions (99b, c)). Locality in (99d) is understood in terms of the Relativised Minimality of Rizzi (1990) or the Minimal Link Condition of Chomsky (1995b), that is, the presence of the closer configuration where the genitive can be checked blocks genitive checking in a more remote configuration.<sup>43</sup> Assumptions (99b) and (99c) follow from each other; if only accusative can be replaced by genitive under negation, as shown in (100) and (102) below, then it is natural to assume that these two cases must be checked in the same configuration, which supports the validity of assumption (99b). Since the Genitive of Negation cannot replace any other case, as can be seen in (101) and (103), then it is natural to assume that other cases are checked in a configuration distinct from the one where accusative and the Genitive of Negation are checked, which justifies assumption (99c).

(100)

- a. Marek czytał książkę.  
Mark read book-ACC  
'Mark was reading a book.'
- b. Marek nie czytał książki.  
Mark not read book-GEN  
'Mark wasn't reading a book.'

(101)

- a. Marek ufał Ewie.  
Mark trusted Eve-DAT  
'Mark trusted Eve.'

---

<sup>43</sup> Distance is to be understood in terms of c-command.

- b. Marek nie ufał Ewie /\*Ewy.  
Mark not trusted Eve-DAT/\*Eve-GEN  
'Mark didn't trust Eve.'

A comparison of sentences like (100) with those in (101) makes it clear that only the former, where the verb, when affirmative, checks accusative, counts as the context where the Genitive of Negation can operate, but not the latter where the verb, no matter whether affirmative or negative, checks dative and never allows genitive under negation. Exactly the same relation can be observed in the case of the non-local Genitive of Negation, i.e. the one operating across a non-finite clause boundary, as supported by the following data:

(102)

- a. Marek chciał czytać książkę.  
Mark wanted to-read book-ACC  
'Mark wanted to read a book.'
- b. Marek nie chciał czytać książki.  
Mark not wanted to-read book-GEN  
'Mark didn't want to read a book.'

(103)

- a. Marek chciał ufać Ewie.  
Mark wanted to-trust Eve-DAT  
'Mark wanted to trust Eve.'
- b. Marek nie chciał ufać Ewie /\*Ewy.  
Mark not wanted to-trust Eve-DAT/\*Eve-GEN  
'Mark didn't want to trust Eve.'

Sentence (102b) presents a familiar situation, where the Genitive of Negation operates across a non-finite clause boundary. This, however, is restricted to cases where the embedded affirmative verb can check accusative case, as in (102a), but not where the embedded affirmative verb can check some other, for instance, dative case, as in (103a) and (103b). These facts are well known in the extensive literature on the Genitive of Negation in Polish (cf. Willim (1990), Tajsner (1990), Franks and Dziwirek (1993), Franks (1995) and Witkoś (1998)) and we mention them only in order to make clearer the main points of our analysis of the non-local Genitive of Negation in Restructuring contexts. Our aim, however, is not to present the exact mechanism of how the Genitive of Negation is checked in Polish.



Let us now go on to demonstrate how Case checking operates in the Restructuring contexts. First of all, let us consider affirmative sentences to show how our assumptions in (99) apply to them. The schematic structure of such sentences is presented in (104):

- (104)  
 $[_{vP_1} V_1 (DP_1) [_{TP} PRO [_{vP_2} V_2 DP_2]]]$

Assume that  $DP_1$  bears dative, whereas  $DP_2$  is marked for accusative (cf. for instance, example (98)). Both cases are checked at the level of the superordinate phase (assumption (99a)). The next higher phase for  $DP_2$  is  $vP_1$ , and for  $DP_1$ , there is no higher phase than  $vP_1$ , as the matrix clause is a TP, not a CP, assuming the Minimal Structure Principle in (16). No negation appears at the level of  $vP_1$  and therefore Case checking proceeds as expected; the lower verb checks the case of its complement and the higher verb checks the case of its complement, where the two cases are checked in a different configuration (assumption (99c)).<sup>44</sup> <sup>45</sup> Neither  $DP_1$  nor  $DP_2$  moves for Case checking, since it is the EPP-feature checking which triggers movement in the recent version of the MP (cf. Chapter I, section 1.0), not Case checking. Another possibility, instantiated by only one verb in Polish, namely *uczyć* ‘teach’, as mentioned in section 2.1.4, occurs when  $DP_1$  in (104) bears accusative case (cf. example (63a)). In this situation Case checking proceeds in a way analogous to the one just outlined, except for the fact that both verbs check accusative case.

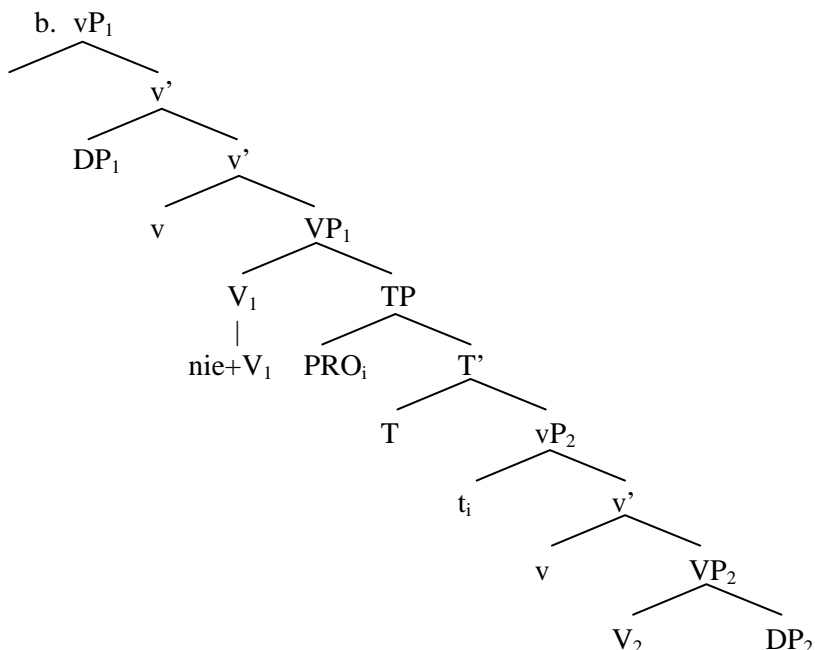
If the verb in the main clause is negated, we obtain the configuration in (105a), which for clarity is presented in form of the tree in (105b):<sup>46</sup>

<sup>44</sup> We leave aside how exactly the configuration where accusative is checked differs from the one where other cases are checked.

<sup>45</sup> In order to avoid the unwelcome delay in Case checking in cases like (104) resulting from assumption (99a), one may claim that it is not Case checking but Case realization that is determined at the next higher phase. Under this assumption  $V_2$  checks Objective on  $DP_2$  within the lower phase in both (104) and (105), but the morphological realization of Objective remains unspecified (cf. Willim (1990) and Franks (1995)) till the next higher phase is reached, where the Objective in (104) on  $DP_2$  is realized as accusative and in (105) as genitive.

<sup>46</sup> In order to obtain the correct word order in (105a), we must assume that the negated verb in (105b) must move to a functional projection higher than  $vP_1$ . Witkoś (1998) argues on independent grounds that V must move in Polish to the head of AspP situated above  $vP$ .

(105)

a. [<sub>VP1</sub> nie V<sub>1</sub> DP<sub>1</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> PRO [<sub>VP2</sub> V<sub>2</sub> DP<sub>2</sub>]]]

Assume that DP<sub>1</sub> is dative and DP<sub>2</sub> bears the Genitive of Negation (cf. for instance (61b)). We would like to suggest the following derivation for such structures: the Case of DP<sub>2</sub> is not checked until the higher phase is reached (assumption (99a)), where negation on the matrix verb appears. The presence of negation signals the possibility of checking genitive if the appropriate configuration happens to be present (assumptions (99b, d)). The appropriate configuration for checking genitive does not appear in the matrix clause, as the matrix verb can check only dative and hence forms a configuration different from the one where accusative can be checked (assumption (99c)). The configuration where the Genitive of Negation can be checked appears in the subordinate clause, as the lower verb can check accusative and since both accusative and the Genitive of Negation are checked in the same configuration (cf. (99b)). Consequently, genitive is checked on the object of the embedded verb, i.e. DP<sub>2</sub> (cf. (99d)), whereas DP<sub>1</sub> has dative case checked by the matrix verb.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>47</sup> As in (104), Case checking of DP<sub>1</sub> or DP<sub>2</sub> in (105) does not involve any movement and sentences like (ib) differ from (ia) only in terms of Scrambling of the DP *tego* 'this':

Another possible option for (105) arises when  $V_1$  corresponds to the verb *uczyć* 'teach', which, as has already been noted, checks accusative on its object. This is schematically represented in (106):

(106)

$[_{VP1} \text{ nie uczyć } DP_1 [_{TP} \text{ PRO } [_{VP2} V_2 DP_2]]]$

In this case the derivation proceeds as follows: by assumption (99a), Case checking takes place at the level of the superordinate phase, i. e.  $vP_1$ . At this level negation appears and consequently a possibility arises for the Genitive of Negation to be checked. By assumption (99d), genitive 'seeks' an appropriate configuration where it can be checked, this time, however, the closest configuration where it can be checked appears in the matrix clause, not in the embedded one (assumptions (99b, c)). Consequently, by the Relativised Minimality (cf. Rizzi (1990)) or under the assumption that the Probe looks for the closest Goal (Chomsky (2000, 2001a, b)), the Genitive of Negation is realized on the object of *uczyć* 'teach' in (106), whereas the accusative object of the embedded verb remains unaffected by the main clause negation and has its case checked by the embedded verb. This is illustrated in (107a) (example (63c), repeated for convenience):

(107)

- a. Marek nie nauczył Marii      śpiewać piosenki. (= (63c))  
     Mark not taught Mary-GEN to-sing songs-ACC  
     'Mark didn't teach Mary to sing songs.'

The analysis just presented, however, cannot account for the fact that the object in the embedded clause in (107) can appear not only in the accusative, but also in the genitive, as in (107b) (example (63d), repeated for convenience):

- 
- a. Nie chcę robić tego.  
     not I-want to-do this  
     'I don't want to do this.'
- b. Nie chcę tego robić.  
     not I-want this to-do  
     'I don't want to do this.'

(107)

- b. Marek nie nauczył Marii śpiewać piosenek. (= (63d))  
 Mark not taught Mary-GEN to-sing songs-GEN  
 'Mark didn't teach Mary to sing songs.'

The optionality of the genitive in such cases remains problematic both for our analysis and for the abstract incorporation account. Our analysis predicts only (107a) to be grammatical, as, in accordance with (99d), the Genitive of Negation is checked on the closest DP appearing in the appropriate configuration (cf. (106)). Since the DP *Maria* 'Mary' is closer to the negative verb than the DP *piosenki* 'songs', our analysis predicts that *Maria* 'Mary' will bear the Genitive of Negation. This accounts for (107a), but leaves (107b) unaccounted for. The abstract incorporation account predicts only (107b) to be licit, as it assumes that the moved V and its copy are identical and therefore both bear the negative marker (cf. the discussion of (89) and (90)). The presence of negation on both the higher and lower copy of the V triggers the Genitive of Negation in both the matrix and the embedded clause, yielding (107b). This, however, leaves (107a) unaccounted for.

Another problematic situation arises if the distance between the matrix negation and the embedded object increases. Then, the use of the Genitive of Negation is again optional, as can be seen in (108):

(108)

- Nie musisz zamierzać przestać studiować algebry /algebrę.  
 not you-must intend stop study algebra-GEN/algebra-ACC  
 'You don't have to intend to stop studying algebra.'  
 (Przepiórkowski (1999:44))

In (108) the matrix negated modal verb is followed by three infinitives and in this case the embedded object can be either genitive or accusative. Our analysis predicts that only the accusative is possible in (108), whose structural representation is presented in (109) below:

(109)

- [<sub>vP1</sub> nie musisz [<sub>TP1</sub> PRO [<sub>vP2</sub> V<sub>2</sub> [<sub>TP2</sub> PRO [<sub>vP3</sub> V<sub>3</sub> [<sub>TP3</sub> PRO [<sub>vP4</sub> V<sub>4</sub> DP]]]]]]]]]

If Case is checked at the next higher phase, then the DP in (109) has its Case checked at the level of vP3, where no negation appears, and hence the DP has its case checked as accusative, not genitive. This leaves the genitive Case on the object in (108) unaccounted for. Data like (108) are also problematic for the

incorporation analysis, which predicts the genitive marking to be the only possibility in such cases.

Furthermore, Przepiórkowski (1999) notes that long distance Genitive of Negation, unlike local Genitive of Negation, is in principle optional. To support this claim he provides examples like (110):

- (110) Nie wystarczy nacisnąć guzik. (Przepiórkowski (1999:145))  
 not suffices to-press button-ACC  
 'It is not enough to press a button.'

The above example is perfectly grammatical with the accusative object in the embedded clause and the expected genitive marking on the object, i.e. *guzika* 'button-GEN', is judged by native speakers to be worse than accusative. Additionally, Przepiórkowski quotes data provided by Rybicka-Nowacka (1990) demonstrating that long distance Genitive of Negation often tends to be optional.<sup>48</sup>

Although sentences like (107a), (107b) and (108) reflect the general optionality of long distance Genitive of Negation, they need to be somehow accounted for. We do not offer any solution to this problem and only note that optional phenomena in general are problematic within the MP, where operations have to be motivated, leaving no room for optionality.

The analysis of Restructuring without incorporation just presented avoids the majority of the problems associated with abstract incorporation pointed out at the beginning of this section, but, like the incorporation analysis, faces the problem of explaining the optionality of long distance Genitive of Negation. What is also problematic for our analysis is why DP<sub>1</sub> in (105) does not give rise to Defective Intervention Effects. Although this DP is marked for dative, it should, in accordance with Chomsky's (2000, 2001a, b) analysis, trigger such effects and hence block the checking of the Genitive of Negation on DP<sub>2</sub> (cf. Chapter I, section 1.0). Furthermore, in order to be able to derive the Case facts in (105) one must assume that PRO does not trigger such effects, either. In order

<sup>48</sup> However, Przepiórkowski (1999:147) notes that there are sentences where long distance Genitive of Negation appears to be obligatory, for instance:

(i) Nie skończyłem jeszcze czytać książki /???książkę.  
 not I-finished yet to-read book-GEN /book-ACC  
 'I haven't finished reading the/a book yet.'

He does not go into the question of why sometimes long distance Genitive of Negation is obligatory and sometimes optional, and only suggests that pragmatic or semantic factors may play a role in determining this.

to account for the lack of Defective Intervention Effects with DP<sub>2</sub> in (105) one can claim that this DP, just like the clitic or the scrambled DP in (94), must move to [Spec, vP<sub>1</sub>] in order to satisfy the EPP-feature of v and hence lies outside the domain where the Probe v<sub>1</sub> looks for the matching Goal.<sup>49</sup> As for PRO, it may be regarded as an incomplete Goal, on a par with expletive *there*, and therefore not triggering Defective Intervention Effects.<sup>50</sup> Another issue problematic for our analysis relates to non-finite adjunct clauses. As has been observed in section 2.1.5, only purpose clauses show typical Restructuring properties, whereas participial clauses do not do so (cf. for instance, (67a) and (67b)). Our analysis, similarly to the incorporation analysis, predicts that in both these types of clauses Restructuring should be licit, as these clauses lack an overt C and therefore can be treated as TPs, and hence should be subject to the same analysis as C-less non-finite complements. It goes without saying that the ana-

<sup>49</sup> Alternatively, one may claim that DP<sub>1</sub> bearing dative does not trigger Defective Intervention Effects, as its case is lexical, not structural.

<sup>50</sup> It seems that the incompleteness of PRO cannot lie in its lack of number and gender features, as supported by the following data:

- (i) Marek chciał [PRO zostać lekarzem].  
 Mark wanted to-become doctor-INSTR-3SG.MASC  
 'Mark wanted to become a doctor.'

In (i) PRO bears the features singular, masculine. It seems, however, that PRO may lack person features, as can be seen in (ii):

- (ii) pro Chciałem/Chciałeś [PRO zostać lekarzem].  
 I-wanted/you-wanted to-become doctor-INSTR-3SG.MASC  
 'I wanted/you wanted to become a doctor.'

In (ii) the same form of the predicate nominal is used as in (i), although PRO is controlled by the first or second person singular subject and hence also bears these features. However, the lack of person features on PRO may be only apparent, as predicate nominals normally do not show person agreement with their antecedents, as shown in (iii):

- (iii) Jestem/Jesteś /Marek jest lekarzem.  
 I-am /You-are/Mark is doctor-INSTR-3SG.MASC  
 'I am/You are/ Mark is a doctor.'

Thus, examples (i) and (ii) do not make it possible to determine whether PRO is marked for person or not. The same applies also to anaphors as in (iv):

- (iv) Chciałem/Chcesz /Marek chciał [PRO być sobą].  
 I-wanted/you-want /Mark wanted to-be self  
 'I wanted/You want/Mark wanted to be myself/yourself/himself.'

In (iv) the anaphor *sobą* 'self' is used, which does not show person variation, and hence makes it impossible to determine whether PRO in Polish is marked for person. Furthermore, examples (i) and (ii) demonstrate that PRO in Polish may be marked for Case, which in these sentences is instrumental, an issue to which we will return in Chapter IV.

lysis just presented needs to be supplemented with a mechanism for explaining how various cases are checked in Polish, in order to account for the fact that only accusative, but no other case, is eligible to be replaced with genitive under negation. Notwithstanding these problems, it seems to us that overall the analysis of Restructuring fares better with respect to the data to be accounted for and the number of stipulations required, than the one based on abstract verb incorporation.

### **3.0. Summary**

In this chapter it has been argued that Polish non-finite clauses are affected by the rule of Restructuring, whose typical diagnostics in this language comprise: Clitic Climbing, Long Scrambling, Anaphor Binding, the Genitive of Negation and NPIs. It has been shown that Polish Restructuring is not lexically constrained, i.e. even typically non-restructuring verbs in other languages allow Restructuring in Polish, and the application of this phenomenon is blocked only by the presence of an overt C or [Spec, CP] in the non-finite clause. The verbs which regularly trigger Restructuring include modals, aspectuals, implicatives, factives and desideratives, whereas propositional and interrogative predicates never restructure, as they require a complement either with an overt C or with an overt [Spec, CP]. Restructuring can also be attested in one type of adjunct clause, namely in C-less purpose clauses, but it is disallowed in participial clauses. The main purpose of this chapter was to establish the categorial status of Polish non-finite clauses. It has been argued that clauses with an overt C or [Spec, CP] are undoubtedly CPs, while the other clauses represent TPs, whose subject is PRO in the case of control predicates, or the subject DP trace (copy) in the case of raising predicates. An attempt has been made to analyse Restructuring in Polish without making reference to verb incorporation. It has been demonstrated that any analysis based on incorporation faces serious problems which cannot be resolved within the recent version of the MP without making recourse to stipulations. The analysis offered here relies on the concept of phase, as well as on an independently required assumption stating that interpretation/evaluation takes place at the level of a superordinate phase. This assumption, together with the suggestion that Object Shift operates in Polish, is sufficient to derive the effects of Clitic Climbing and Long Scrambling in Restructuring contexts. In order to account for the non-local Genitive of Negation it has been necessary to assume that Case is checked at the level of a superordinate phase, and that Accusative and the Genitive of Negation, unlike other cases, are checked in the same configuration. Although the analysis of Restructuring presented here is not free from problems, mainly concerning the optionality of long dis-

tance Genitive of Negation and Defective Intervention Effects, it seems to be more advantageous than the one couched in terms of abstract verb incorporation.