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OVERT EVIDENCE FROM LEFT-BRANCH EXTRACTION IN POLISH FOR PUNCTUATED PATHS

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In Polish, *wh*-questions are formed by the pied-piping of an entire *wh*-NP or by the extraction of a left-branch *wh*-phrase (left-branch extraction; LBE). A question formed by a fronted *wh*-NP is given in (1). In this squib, I argue that an NP stranded by a *wh*-phrase marks a position in which the *wh*-NP has been merged in its derivational history; thus, the LBE facts provide evidence for successive-cyclic movement. There can be at least four such positions, all marked by a stranded NP: the base-generated position of the *wh*-NP, (2); the left edge of the VP, (3); the left edge of the vP, (4); and—in the case of long-distance *wh*-movement—the left edge of the embedded CP, (5).

- (1) **Jaki samochód** Paweł kupił swojej żonie *t_{wh}*?
 what car_{ACC} Paweł_{NOM} bought his wife_{DAT}
 ‘What car did Paweł buy his wife?’
- (2) **Jaki** Paweł kupił swojej żonie **samochód**?
 what Paweł_{NOM} bought his wife_{DAT} car_{ACC}
- (3) **Jaki** Paweł kupił **samochód** swojej żonie *t_{wh}*?
 what Paweł_{NOM} bought car_{ACC} his wife_{DAT}
- (4) **Jaki** Paweł **samochód** kupił swojej żonie *t_{wh}*?
 what Paweł_{NOM} car_{ACC} bought his wife_{DAT}
- (5) ?**Jaki** *pro* myślisz **samochód** (*że) Paweł kupił
 what (you) think car_{ACC} that Paweł_{NOM} bought
 swojej żonie *t_{wh}*?
 his wife_{DAT}
 ‘What car do you think that Paweł bought his wife?’

Interestingly, some speakers also accept a long-distance *wh*-question construction in which a *wh*-NP is stranded at the edge of the upper vP.

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- (6) %**Jaki** Maria **samochód** myślała, że Paweł
 what Maria_{NOM} car_{ACC} thought that Paweł_{NOM}
 kupił swojej żonie *t_{wh}*?
 bought his wife_{DAT}
 ‘What car did Maria think Paweł bought his wife?’

Constructions in which the movement of the left branch strands the NP in a fronted position, then, provide new evidence for successive-cyclic movement and, more broadly, for punctuated paths in syntax. In this squib, I follow the logic of McCloskey’s (2000) work on a dialectal Irish English and Barbiers’s (2002) work on Dutch, where remnants of constituents stranded in a fronted position are argued to teach us about the nature of movement.¹ In what follows, I argue that the positions marked by the stranded NP are indeed edges of phases: CP, vP, and—perhaps somewhat less obviously—VP. In sections 1 and 2, I outline the basics of word order and *wh*-movement in Polish. In section 3, I argue that LBE can take place from *wh*-NPs fronted to the edges of phases. In section 4, I show that the dislocations of *wh*-NPs to phase edges are truly instances of successive-cyclic movement and cannot be analyzed as scrambling.

1 The Position of Arguments in Polish

The basic word order of monotransitive constructions in Polish is S-V-O (7), and the basic word order of ditransitive constructions is S-V-IO-DO (8).

- (7) Paweł lubi kawę.
 Paweł_{NOM} likes coffee_{ACC}
 ‘Paweł likes coffee.’
- (8) Paweł dał Marii książkę.
 Paweł_{NOM} gave Maria_{DAT} book_{ACC}
 ‘Paweł gave Maria a book.’

Although scrambling can change the order of arguments in Polish, there exists evidence that the S-V-IO-DO word order is indeed basic. For instance, Witkoś and Dziemianko (2006) propose that such evidence comes from the syntax of idioms. Idioms have been extensively

¹ McCloskey (2000) assumes that a quantifier stranded by a *wh*-word marks a position in which a *wh*-NP has originated or through which it has passed en route to C⁰ and shows that the edge of an embedded CP and the VP in which the *wh*-phrase originates are such positions. In this squib, I attempt to show that there exists overt evidence for intermediate movements not only to the edge of an embedded CP, vP, and VP, but also to the edge of the vP of a subordinating clause.

argued to involve unmarked word orders (see Larson 1988, Svenonius 2005, and references cited therein), and the word order of Polish idioms is V-(IO_{DAT})-DO_{ACC}.

- (9) a. masz (ci) babo placek
 have (you_{DAT}) woman_{VOC} pie_{ACC}
 (cf. **masz placek babo*)
 ‘what bad luck’
- b. piłkarze gryzą trawę
 footballers_{NOM} bite grass_{ACC}
 (cf. **trawę gryzą piłkarze*)
 ‘footballers put their hearts into the game’

The same word order is the only one attested in discontinuous idioms. As shown in (10), the core of the idiom includes the verb and the DO, while the open position involves the IO and precedes the DO.

- (10) a. dać NP lanie
 give NP_{DAT} downpour_{ACC}
 ‘beat someone’
- b. pokazać NP figę
 show NP_{DAT} fig_{ACC}
 ‘take someone in’

At the same time, Witkoś and Dziemianko (2006) report that idioms with an open DO but a fixed IO are unattested in Polish.

The syntax of discontinuous idioms is also argued by Witkoś (2007) to constitute evidence for overt movement of the verb from V⁰ to v⁰ in Polish declarative clauses. A discontinuous idiom in Polish comprises the core, made up of the verb and the DO (11a), which further combine with the open position (the IO) and the subject (11b).²

- (11) a. [_{VP core} V⁰ NP_{DO}]
 b. [_{VP idiom} NP_{subj} V⁰ [NP_{IO} [_{VP core} t_V NP_{DO}]]]

Since the verb precedes the IO in the open position, the structure of idioms indicates that the verb raises overtly from V⁰ to v⁰.

- (12) [_{vP} NP_{subj} [_{v'} V⁰ + v⁰ [_{VP} NP_{IO} [_{v'} t_V NP_{DO}]]]]

In turn, the position of VP adverbs such as *szybko* ‘quickly’ and *wolno* ‘slowly’, which occupy the left edge of the vP in Polish, indicates that in declarative clauses the verb arguably does not move higher than v⁰, since it does not cross a VP adverb.

² Thus, the structure of Polish idioms does not differ from the universal architecture of idioms advanced by Marantz (1997).

- (13) a. [Jan_{NOM} [v_P szybko [v' otworzył [v_P t_V okno]]]].
 Jan_{NOM} quickly opened window_{ACC}
 'Jan quickly opened the window.'
- b. [Jan_{NOM} [v_P szybko [v' oddał [v_P Marii
 Jan_{NOM} quickly returned Maria_{DAT}
 [v' t_V książki]]]].
 books_{ACC}
 'Jan quickly returned the books to Maria.'

More evidence that the S-V-IO-DO order is basic comes from the ordering of pronominal clitics. The relative order of pronominal clitics in their surface/fronted position has often been argued to reflect their relative order in the base position in the clause (see, e.g., Richards 1999, 2001). For Polish, it is well known that the IO clitic must precede the DO clitic (e.g., Witkoś 1998, 2007).

In the remainder of the squib, I will continue to assume that in Polish the verb raises to v⁰ and the basic (unmarked) position of objects is postverbal.

2 *Wh*-Fronting

Polish is a multiple *wh*-fronting language. While there is agreement in the literature about the lack of *wh*-superiority in clause-bound questions in Polish (e.g., Rudin 1988, Witkoś 1995, Bošković 1998, Lubańska 2005), the precise position to which *wh*-phrases move is a subject of debate. What is clear, however, is that none of the *wh*-phrases move to Spec,CP in questions; instead, they move to a projection between the CP and the subject in Spec,IP (cf. Citko and Grohmann 2001).³ This is indicated by the overt complementizer *że* 'that', which always precedes all fronted *wh*-phrases.

- (14) a. Jan myślał, [CP *że* [ΣP **jaki samochód**
 Jan_{NOM} thought that what car_{ACC}
 Paweł kupił swojej żonie t_{wh}]]?
 Paweł_{NOM} bought his wife_{DAT}
 'What car did Jan think Paweł bought his wife?'
 (approx.)
- b. *Jan myślał, [CP **jaki samochód** *że*
 Jan_{NOM} thought what car_{ACC} that
 [ΣP Paweł kupił swojej żonie t_{wh}]]?
 Paweł_{NOM} bought his wife_{DAT}

³ In Polish, the IP is split into projections that host particles and verbal affixes, which are argued in Wiland 2009 to either affix-hop onto the participle or cliticize onto a preverbal host. *Wh*-phrases target one or more specifiers of the split IP, which Bošković (2002) argues to be a general property of multiple *wh*-fronting languages without *wh*-superiority. The precise locus of fronted *wh*-phrases, however, is not central to the present discussion. I will label this projection as ΣP, without further identifying its properties.

- (15) a. Jan myślał, [CP że [ΣP **co**₂ **komu**₁
 Jan_{NOM} thought that what whom
 Paweł kupił t₁ t₂]]?
 Paweł_{NOM} bought
 ‘What did Jan think Paweł bought for whom?’ (approx.)
- b. *Jan myślał, [CP **co**₂ że [ΣP **komu**₁
 Jan_{NOM} thought what that whom
 Paweł kupił t₁ t₂]]?
 Paweł_{NOM} bought
- c. *Jan myślał, [CP **jaki samochód**₂ że [ΣP **komu**₁
 Jan_{NOM} thought what car_{ACC} that whom
 Paweł kupił t₁ t₂]]?
 Paweł_{NOM} bought

The constructions in (14b) and (15b–c) are ruled out by the Doubly Filled Comp Filter.

Single *wh*-questions can also be construed by subextraction of the *wh*-phrase from the *wh*-NP.⁴ The examples in (16) are synonymous.⁵

- (16) a. **Jaki samochód** Paweł kupił swojej żonie t?
 what car_{ACC} Paweł_{NOM} bought his wife_{DAT}
 ‘What car did Paweł buy his wife?’
- b. **Jaki** Paweł kupił swojej żonie —
 what Paweł_{NOM} bought his wife_{DAT}
samochód?
 car_{ACC}

LBE in Polish appears to be correlated with the lack of determiners, which Bošković (2005, 2008b, to appear) claims to be a crosslinguistically attested generalization. Bošković argues that *wh*P_s and AP_s dominate NPs in languages that have determiners (see (17a)). In turn, in languages without determiners, *wh*P_s and AP_s are dominated by NPs (see (17b)). Only the latter languages allow LBE, since only in these languages are *wh*P_s/AP_s phrasal specifiers.

⁴ LBE is incompatible with multiple *wh*-questions.

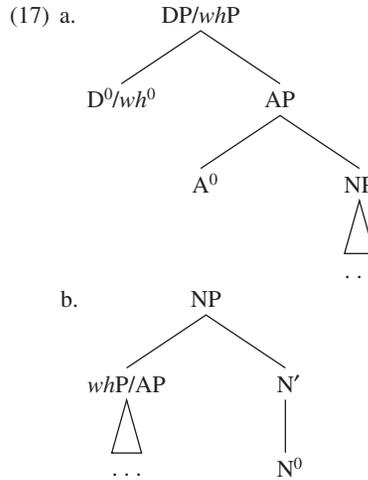
(i) *Czyjej₁ **jaki**₂ kupił Paweł [NP t₁ żonie] [NP t₂ **samochód**]?
 whose what bought Paweł_{NOM} wife_{DAT} car_{ACC}

This seems to be true as well for other Slavic languages that allow LBE (see Fernandez-Salguero 2006 for an analysis for Serbo-Croatian).

⁵ In matrix questions, the verb can optionally be fronted to a projection above the subject. The question in (i) is thus a well-formed variant of (16a).

(i) **Jaki samochód** kupił Paweł swojej żonie t?
 what car_{ACC} bought Paweł_{NOM} his wife_{DAT}
 ‘What car did Paweł buy his wife?’

Both variants appear to be equally grammatical for Polish speakers. I will continue to discuss the variant with the verb left in situ in v⁰, since it allows us to better recognize the edge of the vP in matrix questions.

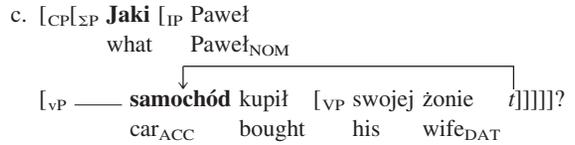


While LBE constitutes a potent argument for the lack of the DP layer in Polish (e.g., Willim 2000), the existence of a covert DP in Slavic languages that allow LBE has also been proposed (e.g., Rutkowski 2007 for Polish, Pereltsvaig 2007 for Russian). Importantly, the argument advanced here does not rely on the DP-less hypothesis of the Polish noun phrase, but on the availability of LBE (whether it is linked to the lack of the D^0 projection or not, that being an independent question). Nevertheless, the Polish facts do appear to be predicted by the direct-extraction analysis of LBE advanced in Bošković's work, as opposed to the remnant movement analysis (e.g., Abels 2003, Bašić 2004). According to the latter analysis, it is the *wh*-word that is stranded by the extraction of the NP, which undergoes scrambling. In the second step of the derivation, the remnant phrase that includes the *wh*-word is moved to a position above the fronted NP. I will briefly come back to this issue in section 4.

3 Left-Branch Extraction from Fronted *Wh*-NPs

Consider the following constructions in which the *wh*-NP *jaki samochód* 'what car' is split by the extraction of the *wh*-word *jaki* 'what':

- (18) a. $[_{CP}[_{\Sigma P}$ **Jaki** $[_{IP}$ Paweł
 what Paweł_{NOM}}
 $[_{VP}$ kupił $[_{VP}$ swojej żonie — **samochód**]]]]]?
 bought his wife_{DAT}} car_{ACC}}
 'What car did Paweł buy his wife?'
- b. $[_{CP}[_{\Sigma P}$ **Jaki** $[_{IP}$ Paweł
 what Paweł_{NOM}}
 $[_{VP}$ kupił $[_{VP}$ — **samochód** swojej żonie t]]]]]?
 bought car_{ACC}} his wife_{DAT}}



In (18a), the *wh*-word strands the NP in its base-generated position. In (18b) and (18c), the NP is stranded in a fronted position. Given what has been established about Polish word order in section 1, the position of the NP remnant stranded between the verb (in v^0) and the DO in (18b) corresponds to the edge of the VP. In turn, the position of the fronted *wh*-NP in (18c) arguably corresponds to the edge of the vP.⁶ Since we know that a well-formed *wh*-question involves movement of either an extracted *wh*-phrase or an entire *wh*-NP, a construction like (18b) or (18c) provides visible evidence for an intermediate derivational stage. (Note that while it has been standardly assumed that it is vP that constitutes the phase, some authors have argued that either VP itself is a phase or vP and VP are both phases, in the sense that they are targeted by successive-cyclic movement; see, for instance, McGinnis 2001, Fox and Pesetsky 2003, 2005, Ko 2005.)⁷

⁶ Subextraction of the *wh*-word is also well formed from a *wh*-constituent whose remnant NP is stranded in the position immediately preceding the VP adverb.

- (i) [CP[Σ P **Jaki** [IP Paweł [vP — **samochód** [vP szybko kupił
 what Paweł_{NOM} car_{ACC} quickly bought
 swojej żonie *t*]]]]?
 his wife_{DAT}
 ‘What car did Paweł quickly buy for his wife?’
- (ii) ??[CP[Σ P **Jaki** [IP Paweł [vP szybko [vP — **samochód**
 what Paweł_{NOM} quickly car_{ACC}
 kupił swojej żonie *t*]]]]?
 bought his wife_{DAT}

If VP adverbs indeed occupy the vP edge, then the NP *samochód* ‘car’ is arguably stranded at the outer or derived Spec,vP only in (i)—not in (ii), where it occupies the inner Spec,vP. Apart from this difference, the construction in (i) is identical to (18c).

⁷ Importantly, the NP cannot be stranded in just any position in the clause. Notably, the NP resists stranding (in at least certain positions) in the IP area of the clause, as in (i) and (ii).

- (i) ?*[CP[Σ P **Jaki** [IP Paweł [MoodP by [b] **samochód** [MoodP mógł
 what Paweł_{NOM} PRT car_{ACC} could
 [vP dać swojej żonie *t*]]]]]?
 give his wife_{DAT}
 ‘What car could Paweł give his wife?’
- (ii) ?*[CP[Σ P **Jaki** [IP Paweł [CIP jej] [b] **samochód** [MoodP by
 what Paweł_{NOM} her_{CL.DAT} car_{ACC} PRT
 [vP dał *t*]]]]]?
 gave
 ‘What car would Paweł give her?’

In long-distance *wh*-questions, an NP can also be stranded at the edge of the embedded vP.

- (19) ?Jan myślał, [CP że [ΣP **jaki** Paweł
Jan_{NOM} thought that what Paweł_{NOM}
[vP — **samochód** kupił swojej żonie *t*]]]?
car_{ACC} bought his wife_{DAT}
'What car did Jan think Paweł bought his wife?'

Some speakers also accept long-distance *wh*-questions, in which the NP can be stranded in its base-generated position (20b), at the edge of the embedded VP (20ci), at the edge of the embedded vP (20cii), or at the edge of the embedded CP (20d). The sentences in (20) are synonymous.

- (20) a. [CP[ΣP **Jaki samochód** [IP *pro* [vP powiedziałeś
what car_{ACC} (you) said
[CP (że) [IP Paweł [vP kupił [vP swojej
that Paweł_{NOM} bought his
żonie *t*]]]]]]]?
wife_{DAT}
'What car did you say Paweł bought his wife?'
- b. ?[CP[ΣP **Jaki** [IP *pro* [vP powiedziałeś [CP (że)
what (you) said that
[IP Paweł [vP kupił [vP swojej żonie
Paweł_{NOM} bought his wife_{DAT}
— **samochód**]]]]]]]?
car_{ACC}
- c. i. ?[CP[ΣP **Jaki** [IP *pro* [vP powiedziałeś [CP (że)
what (you) said that
[IP Paweł [vP kupił [vP — **samochód**
Paweł_{NOM} bought car_{ACC}
swojej żonie *t*]]]]]]]?
his wife_{DAT}
- ii. ?[CP[ΣP **Jaki** [IP *pro* [vP powiedziałeś [CP (że)
what (you) said that
[IP Paweł [vP — **samochód** kupił
Paweł_{NOM} car_{ACC} bought
[vP swojej żonie *t*]]]]]]]?
his wife_{DAT}
- d. ?[CP[ΣP **Jaki** [IP *pro* [vP powiedziałeś [CP —
what (you) said
samochód (*że) [IP Paweł [vP kupił
car_{ACC} that Paweł_{NOM} bought
[vP swojej żonie *t*]]]]]]]?
his wife_{DAT}

In (20ci), the NP remnant is stranded between the verb (in v⁰) and the DO, the position that arguably marks the edge of the VP. In (20cii), in turn, the *wh*-word has been extracted from the *wh*-NP, from a fronted

position between the subject and the verb in v^0 , which corresponds to the edge of the vP. It must be emphasized that unlike long-distance *wh*-questions with unsplit *wh*-NPs, long-distance *wh*-questions with stranded NPs like (20b–d) receive a slightly forced reading and their acceptability varies among speakers. Sentences (20b–c), though acceptable for some speakers, are slightly worse than (20d).⁸

In (20d), we also see that the stranded NP at the edge of the embedded clause cannot be followed by an overt complementizer, as this is prohibited by the Doubly Filled Comp Filter (cf. (14b) and (15b–c)). There is more to say about (20d), though. Recall that *wh*-phrases in Polish do not move to Spec,CP; rather, they move to a projection below the complementizer, which I have referred to as Σ P. Despite this, stranding the NP in Σ P is impossible, even for speakers who accept (20b–d).

- (21) *<sub>[CP[Σ P Jaki [IP *pro* [VP powiedział_s [CP że
 what (you) said that
 [Σ P — **samochód** [IP Paweł [VP kupił
 car_{ACC} Paweł_{NOM} bought
 swojej żonie *t*]]]]]]]]]?
 his wife_{DAT}</sub>

This shows that before the NP is stranded, the full *wh*-NP is fronted to the phonological edge of the clause, not to the intermediate Σ P.⁹ (See Bošković 2008a for an account.) Note that at the same time the presence of the overt complementizer *że* ‘that’ is obligatory in embedded declarative clauses (22), and as shown in (23) there is no *that*-trace effect in Polish (see Szczegielniak 1999).

- (22) Maria powiedziała, że/* \emptyset Robert wygrał
 Maria_{NOM} said that Robert_{NOM} won
 wybory.
 election_{ACC}
 ‘Maria said that Robert had won the election.’

⁸ Also striking is the fact that there is great variation among speakers with respect to presence versus absence of the complementizer in sentences like (20a–c). Speakers who prefer the variant with the overt complementizer *że* disprefer the variant with the null complementizer, and vice versa.

⁹ We have seen that although in *wh*-questions the *wh*-phrase targets its criterial *wh*-position in Σ P, which is below CP, it has to pass through the phonological edge of CP in long-distance *wh*-questions. Jacek Witkoś (pers. comm.) points out that additional evidence for an \bar{A} -position below CP (whether Σ P or some other projection) comes from topicalization in embedded clauses, which is well formed in Polish.

- (i) *pro* Powiedziałeś, że **samochód** Paweł kupił swojej
 (you) said that car_{ACC} Paweł_{NOM} bought his
 żonie *t*.
 wife_{DAT}
 ‘You said that it was a car that Paweł bought his wife.’

- (23) Kto_i *pro* powiedziałaś, że *t_i* przyprowadzi
 who_{NOM} (you) said that bring
 Marię?
 Maria_{ACC}
 ‘Who did you say would bring Maria?’

(20d), then, provides evidence for successive-cyclic movement through the edge of the CP phase in a language in which *wh*-phrases do not target CPs in clause-bound *wh*-questions.

Also particularly interesting is the fact that most speakers accept long-distance *wh*-questions in which the NP can also be stranded at the vP edge of a *matrix* clause.

- (24) a. %_{[CP[ΣP Jaki} [_{IP} Maria_i [_{VP} — **samochód**
 what Maria_{NOM} car_{ACC}
 powiedziała [_{CP} że [_{IP} *pro*_i
 said that (she)
 [_{VP} kupiła *t_{wh}*]]]]]]]?
 bought
 ‘What car did Maria say she bought?’
- b. ?_{[CP[ΣP Jakie} [_{IP} oni [_{VP} — **książki**
 what they_{NOM} books_{ACC}
 powiedzieli [_{CP} że [_{IP} profesor [_{VP} kazał
 said that professor ordered
 [przynieść *t_{wh}* na zajęcia]]]]]]]?
 bring on classes
 ‘What books did they say that the professor asked them to bring to class?’

4 Successive-Cyclic Movement, Not Scrambling

It remains to be shown whether the dislocations of *wh*-NPs to the edges of phases as discussed so far indeed provide evidence for successive-cyclic movement. This needs to be unambiguously determined since there exists no *prima facie* argument against a scenario in which subextraction of a *wh*-phrase is preceded by scrambling of a *wh*-NP to the phase edge. For instance, Wiltschko (1998) suggests that scrambling feeds *wh*-movement in German.

Nevertheless, (24) already provides strong evidence for successive-cyclic movement. The *wh*-NP is fronted here to the edge of the vP of a subordinating clause, while scrambling in Polish is strictly clause-bound in finite clauses. Consider, for instance, (25). Scrambling of the direct object is felicitous across any constituent, as long as it does not cross the CP boundary.

- (25) Maria (*pieniądze) powiedziała, [_{CP} że
 Maria_{NOM} money_{ACC} said that
 (✓pieniądze) Piotr (✓pieniądze) oddał
 money_{ACC} Piotr_{NOM} money_{ACC} returned
 (✓pieniądze) bratu *t_{NP}*].
 money_{ACC} brother_{DAT}
 ‘Maria said that Piotr had returned the money to his brother.’

Since NPs do not scramble across the CP boundary, *wh*-NP-fronting that targets intermediate phase edges en route to the matrix Σ P is induced by successive-cyclic movement. LBE from displaced *wh*-NPs in Polish, then, provides overt evidence for punctuated paths in syntax. Note also that the fact that NPs resist scrambling across the CP boundary constitutes a challenge to the remnant movement analysis of LBE, according to which the NP undergoes scrambling before the remnant phrase is fronted. Additionally, as indicated in (21), the remnant NP cannot be stranded in the position between the complementizer and the subject—the position that is available for scrambled (topicalized) NPs, as shown in (25) and in footnote 9.

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