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ON NON-CORE ARGUMENTS AND DATIVE CASE IN POLISH

1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this article is twofold. First, it discusses the mechanics of the case assignment in the following Polish construction, as illustrated by (1). Second, it focuses on the properties and the ways in which non-core arguments, such as *Marysi* 'Marysia.DAT' in (1), are introduced into a structure.

(1) Marysi   szybko czytało   się te   książki.
    Marysia.DAT quickly read.3SG.NEUT SIĘ these books.ACC
    'For Marysia reading these books was quick.'

In particular, it is argued that dative case in Polish is assigned in two ways: structurally and inherently, depending on the type of the syntactic head that introduces a nominal argument. Structural dative case is assigned to the optional arguments that are introduced into the structure by applicative phrases in the sense of Pylkkänen[1]. Inherent dative case, on the other hand, is assigned by a verbal head in a purely idiosyncratic way. Crucially, it shows that depending on the type of case assigned, arguments display different syntactic behavior.

This paper is organized as follows: section 2 outlines some of the puzzling properties of the construction in (1), such as an apparent violation of Burzio's Generalization and double interpretation of the dative nominal *Marysi* 'Marysia.DAT'. Section 3 presents morphosyntactic properties of the dative nominal and demonstrates that such dative nominals are best analysed as high applied

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[1] L. P y l k k ä n e n, *Introducing arguments*, Cambridge Massachusetts 2008.

arguments, merged above the VP not the TP, as claimed by Rivero et al.[2]. It also argues that caseassigned to nominals introduced by either low or high applicative heads should be treated as structural. It reveals that both types of applicative arguments exhibit the similar syntactic behavior although semantically they are different.Section 4 shows that by assuming that dative case can be structural and that abstract Case does not license arguments in the narrow syntax, we can explain the fact that accusative case is assigned to a DP despite the lack of the argument carrying nominative case, as observed in (1)[3] Section 5 discusses some possible counterarguments to the analysis presented here. The paper finishes with conclusion.

2. PROBLEMS

The construction in (1) displays an array of puzzling properties. The first of them pertains to Burzio's Generalization. According to this generalization, a verb assigns accusative case to if it assigns an external theta role[4]. In recent work, Burzio's Generalization has been reformulated by Sigurðsson[5] as the Sibling Correlation, which states that an only child can be a potential older sibling (=nominative), but there is no way of being a younger sibling (=accusative) without the older one. In other words, Sigurðsson[6] treats accusative as dependent on the occurrence of nominative that must be used if it is available. The SIĘ construction with an overt dative nominal seems to flout both of these formulations. Namely, the example in (1) shows that accusative case is assigned to the direct object despite the fact that verb has not discharged his external theta role (Burzio's Generalization) and has not assigned nominative case to any of its arguments (Sibling Correlation). Of course, one can argue that nominative case is assigned to a null element that is the actual syntactic subject of the construction in question. This hypothesis is, however, problematic for three reasons at least: (i) if such a null subject was present, then agent-oriented adverbials should be licensed, but as demonstrated in sec-

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[2] M-L. R i v e r o, A. A r r e g u i & E. F r ą c k o w i a k, *Variation in circumstantial modality: Polish vs. St'at'imects*, „Linguistic Inquiry"41(2010), v. 4, p. 704-714.

[3] See A. M a r a n t z, *Case and Licensing*, „ESCOL: *Proceedings of the Eighth Eastern States Conference on Linguistics*", Ohio State University Department of Linguistics 1991, p. 234-253.

[4] L. B u r z i o, *Italian Syntax*, Dordrecht 1986.

[5] H. S i g u r ð s s o n, *Case: abstract vs. morphological*, in: *New perspectives on case theory*, ed. by E. Brandner, H. Zinsmeister, Stanford 2003, p. 223-268.

[6] Ibidem.

tion 3.2 they are excluded; (ii) such a subject, be it pro or PRO should be able to control into purpose clauses, but as illustrated by the example in (5) in section 3.1, it cannot; (iii) the construction consisting of a null subject and a dative nominal would be difficult to interpret because of the possible conflict in phi-specification between the two elements. In section 4, I show that the fact that Burzio's Generalization is flouted is expected, as it is a natural consequence of the theory assumed for the purposes of this thesis.

Secondly, the nominal argument in dative *Marysi* 'Marysia.DAT', receives double interpretation, namely that of an agent and benefactive at the same time. The dual interpretation of the dative nominal cannot be due to the verb assigning dual theta role to it, as in accordance with Theta Criterion[7] verbs assign only one theta role to one argument, and arguments can carry only one theta role. From this it follows that the dative nominal in (1) can carry at most only one of aforementioned theta roles, the other interpretation must be due to some extralinguistic factors. It is assumed that it is the benefactive theta role that is assigned by the functional projection (High Applicative Phrase henceforth HApplP) whereas the agentive reading is the consequence of both the way in which the HApplP is merged with the VP and also semantic properties of the dative nominal which are that of a prototypical agent[8] See section 3 for details.

3. DATIVE NOMINAL

3.1. INTERPRETATION AND SYNTACTIC PROPERTIES OF DATIVE NOMINALS

Depending on the type of predicate, overtly expressed dative elements can receive a twofold interpretation, namely that of a benefactive, which is typical for arguments in the dative case although in this case not that clear, and surprisingly that of an agent/experiencer. With transitive verbs, dative arguments can be interpreted in two different ways. Namely, it can either be the benefactive of the action, for whom some willful underspecified agent does the action of reading, or it can also be interpreted as an agent who performs the reading himself and who, at the same time, is the benefactive of the whole action. With unergative verbs, the dative argument is interpreted either as an

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[7] N. C h o m s k y, *Lectures on government and binding: the Pisa lectures*, Dordrecht 1981.
[8] D. D o w t y, *Thematic proto-roles and argument selection*, „Language" 67(1991), v. 6, p. 547-619.

agent/benefactive, or as an experiencer/undergoer/benefactive with unaccusative verbs[9]. This dual nature of dative nominals in the SIĘ construction is envisaged in their syntactic behavior. According to Dziwirek[10], the dative nominal exhibits a number of properties typical of agents/experiencers located in subject position. These properties are as follows:

– dative nominals can antecede reflexives:

> (2) Marysi   najlepiej pracuje   się   u siebie w domu.
>   Marysia.DAT   best   works.3SG SIĘ   at REFL at home
>   'Marysia works best at home.'

– dative nominals control the fixed expression po pijanemu 'while drunk'[11]

> (3) Z   Ewą   Jankowi   się najlepiej tańczy   po   pijanemu.
>   with   Eva.INSTR   John.DAT SIĘ best   dance.3SG while drunk
>   'John enjoys dancing with Eva only while he is drunk.'

– dative nominals control gerundive adjunct clauses:

> (4) Najlepiej mi   się prasuje   podczas oglądania filmu.
>   best   I.DAT SIĘ do-the-ironing.3SG   while   watching movie
>   'I was falling asleep while watching the movie.'

On the other hand, the sentence in (5) demonstrates that control into purpose clauses is excluded:

> (5) *Marysi   pracuje   się dobrze aby zarobić   pieniądze.
>   Marysia.DAT work.3SG SIĘ well   to   earn.INF money.ACC
>   (Intended) 'Marysia works well to earn money.'

Sentences (2)-(5) provide therefore contradicting evidence as to the status of the dative nominal. They demonstrate that it participates in binding and to some extent in control, and this seems to suggest that it behaves like a syntactic subject that is, in other words it is high enough in the structure to c-command reflexives and null subjects in subordinate clauses. The fact that a dative nominal cannot control into a purpose clause is most likely caused by its dual interpretation of both an agent/experiencer (in the case of unaccusatives) and

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[9] See K. Dziwirek (*Polish Subjects*, New York 1994) for similar observations.

[10] Ibidem.

[11] From D z i w i r e k, *Polish Subjects*, p. 69.

a benefactive, and also by the fact that only true agent arguments can control into purpose clauses[12].

One of the clearest indicatives of agentivity is the availability of agent-oriented adverbials. As it turns out, dative nominals in the SIĘ construction generally do not license them, that is adverbs such as *celowo* 'on purpose' and *dobrowolnie* 'voluntarily' are not available.

> (6) *Marys   czytało   się te   książki   celowo/dobrowolnie[13].
>   Marysia.DAT read.3SG.NEUT SIĘ these.ACC books.ACC on purpose/voluntarily
>
> (Intended) 'Marysia read these books on purpose/voluntarily.'

I am aware of only one agent-oriented adverbial that is licensed in this construction, and it is *niechętnie* 'reluctantly'. It is, however, not clear why this particular adverb is licensed[14].

> (7) Marysi   czytało   się tę   książkę   niechętnie.
>   Marysia.DAT read.3SG.NEUT SIĘ this.ACC book.ACC reluctantly
>   'Marysia read this book reluctantly.'

The facts illustrated by the example (6) do not mean that a dative nominal is not an agent, as it is clear that it is *Marysia* that *works best at home* in (2), *Janek* that *dances best while he is drunk* in (3), and it is *I* that *do the ironing best when I watch a movie* in (4). In this sense, dative nominals are understood as agents performing actions described by verbs. The licensing problems seem to ensue from the fact that structurally the dative nominal carries a benefactive theta role, which is assigned to it by the head of High Applicative Phrase in the Specifier of which the dative nominal is merged, see section 3.3 for de-

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[12] By the notion 'true agent argument', I understand those nominal arguments which carry agent theta role that is assigned structurally, and is not due to some extralinguistic factors.

[13] This sentence becomes grammatical on the reading in which the argument *Marysi* 'Marysia.DAT' is understood purely as a benefactive for whom some other individual does the reading.

[14] The licensing of this particular adverb may have to do with the fact that it is negated. The adverb *niechętnie* 'reluctantly' is formed with a negative prefix *nie* 'not' added to the adverb *chętnie* 'willingly'. This becomes clear when the example in (12) is compared with the sentence in (i), where a non-negated adverb has been used.

> (i) *Marysi   czytało   się tę   książkę   chętnie.
>   Marysia.DAT read.3SG.NEUT SIĘ this.ACC book.ACC willingly
>   'Marysia read this book willingly.'
>   The reasons why this is the case await further research.

tails. Consequently, agent-oriented adverbials are infelicitous. As for the agentive reading which is nevertheless available for the dative nominal, it is assumed here that it is caused by the intrinsic properties of the dative nominal. The dative DPs in the examples above all have z characteristics typical of agents, as defined by Dowty[15], that is they are animate, they have volition or sentience/perception, they can cause the event, they can move, their referents exist independently of the action of the verb. Because of these properties, dative nominals are interpreted as agents.

3.2. THEORETICAL ASSUMPTIONS AND THE FUNCTION OF THE *SIĘ* PARTICLE

Before I elaborate on the details of how dative nominal is introduced into the structure, a couple of theoretical assumptions need to be spelled out.

Voice Phrase is a functional projection between v and T, either morphologically marked or unmarked[16]. Following Kratzer[17] it has also been assumed that the external argument is not an argument of the verb but is rather introduced into the structure by Voice Phrase. The VoiceP denotes a thematic relation and merges with the VP in order to relate an additional participant to the event described by the verb. For Pylkkänen[18], VoiceP is only projected when the external argument is present in the structure. Here, however, I assume a more general theory of Voice, according to which any predicate is embedded under some Voice and VoiceP is projected regardless of the fact whether the external argument is present or not[19]. An element that is merged in the head of Voice can, but it does not have to, alter the argument structure of basic (i.e. lexical, non-derived) predicates. The change in the argument structure has to do with either addition or suppression of the external argument. From this it follows that there can only be one Voice head in a clause and that there are a number of mutually exclusive Voice-type heads, including passive and active Voice, $Voice_{PASS}$, $Voice_{ACT}$, $Voice_{MID}$[20].

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[15] D o w t y, op. cit.

[16] E.g: A. F a s s i   F e h r i, *Arabic silent pronouns, person and voice*, „Brill's Annual of Afroasiatic Languages and Linguistics" 1(2009), p. 1-38; A. K r a t z e r, *Severing the external argument from its verb*, in: *Phrase structure and the lexicon*, ed. by J. Rooryck, L. Zaring, Dordrecht 1996, p. 109-138; P y l k k ä n e n, op. cit.; H. S i g u r ð s s o n, *On a new passive*, „Syntax" 14 (2011), p. 148-178.

[17] K r a t z e r, op. cit.

[18] P y l k k ä n e n, op. cit.

[19] S i g u r ð s s o n, *On a new passive*.

[20] Ibidem, p. 155.

Having assumed that different types of Voice heads are mutually exclusive, and that there can only be one Voice head in a clause, the fact that the SIE particle blocks passivization suggests that it is merged in the head of VoiceP. This is illustrated by the example in (8).

(8) *Marysi   z   przyjemnością   było   się nagradzaną.
    Marysia.DAT with pleasure   AUX.$_{pass}$ SIĘ awarded
    (Intended) 'For Marysia it was pleasant to be awarded.'

As demonstrated by the sentence in (8), the SIĘ particle that occurs in the SIĘ construction with a dative nominal is not passive, but it is not active either. Since it suppresses the projection of the external argument, it appears to have a similar function to the SIĘ particle in the middle construction that also suppresses the projection of the external argument. In other words, I hypothesize here that VoiceP is projected regardless of whether the external argument is merged or not, and depending on the properties of the element that is merged in the head of Voice, the external argument can either be merged or suppressed. In this I depart from Pylkkänen[21] who claims that VoiceP is only projected when the external argument either overt or implicit is present is the structure. The hypothesis put forward here is more along the lines of the one presented by Kratzer[22] who claims that there are two Voice heads: active and non-active. The active one introduces the external argument and assigns accusative case whereas the non-active one in non-argument-projecting. The non-active Voice head, according to Kratzer[23] is selected for passives and unaccusatives.

3.3. THE PROJECTION OF THE DATIVE NOMINAL

We are now in a position to propose a way in which the dative nominal can be introduced in the structure. As observed in the sections above, the dative nominal displays a number of peculiar properties, the most interesting being its double interpretation as an agent and benefactive as the same time. Although the agentivity tests confirm that the dative nominal is not an agent, it is nevertheless interpreted as such. It appears that this interpretation is most probably caused by the fact that this usually is the only animate DP in a clause that potentially can be interpreted as the agent. At the same time, the dative nominal is also

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[21] P y l k k ä n e n, op. cit.
[22] K r a t z e r, op. cit.
[23] Ibidem.

interpreted as a benefactive of the whole event described by the predicate. It is assumed here the agent interpretation is due to some extralinguistic factors as the projection of the external argument in this construction is blocked by the element in the head of VoiceP. On the other hand, the benefactive interpretation is the result of the type of functional projection that introduces the dative nominal into the structure, which in this case is Applicative Phrase (ApplP). In other words, the dative nominal is not an argument selected by the verb, and none of the theta roles carried by the dative are assigned by the verb. It is an optional argument in the structure, as illustrated by examples in (9).

(9)a. Marysi   dobrze prowadziło   się samochód.
    Marysia.DAT well   drove.3SG.NEUT SIĘ car.ACC
    'The car drove well for Marysia.'

  b. Samochód prowadził się dobrze.
    car.NOM   drove   SIĘ well
    'This car drove well.'

Pylkkänen[24] following Marantz[25] proposed two ways in which such non-core arguments can be introduced into the structure, either by low applicative head or high applicative head. Low applicatives relate a recipient or a source to an individual that is the internal argument of a verb. These are illustrated by the examples in (10) and (11).

(10)a. Napisałam   list.
     wrote.1SG.FEM   letter.ACC
     'I wrote a letter.'
   b. Napisałam   list   *Marysi.*
     wrote.1SG.FEM   letter.ACC Marysia.DAT
     'I wrote Marysia a letter.'

(11)a. I baked a cake[26]
    b. I baked *him* a cake.

Low applied arguments (*Marysi* 'Marysia.DAT' in (10b) and *him* in (11b)) bear no semantic relation to the verb whatsoever; they only bear a transfer-of-possession relation to the direct object. Because of that, a low applicative head does not combine with unergatives, as it, for the reason mentioned above, cannot appear in the structure that lacks a direct object.

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[24] P y l k k ä n e n, op. cit., p. 12.
[25] M a r a n t z, op. cit.
[26] P y l k k ä n e n, op. cit., p. 14.

High applicatives, on the other hand, relate an individual to an event[27], and therefore are able to combine with unergatives. A high applicative head is very much like the external-argument-introducing head: it simply adds another participant to the event described by the verb by Event Identification. Pylkkänen[28] assumes that the universal inventory of functional heads includes several different applicative heads (Instrumental, Benefactive, Malefactive, etc.) and that which heads occur in any given language is a matter of selection.
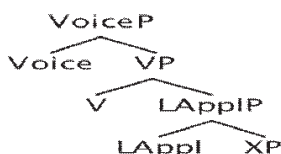
Pylkkänen[29] combines Marantz's[30] proposal with current assumption on external arguments[31]. This results in a tree where both the high applicative head (HAppl) and the external-argument-introducing head Voice are functional projectional elements above the VP. This is illustrated by the structure in (12).

(12) High Applicative Phrase (HApplP)[32]

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            VoiceP
            /    \
        Voice   HApplP
                /    \
            HAppl    VP
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Low applicative head, on the other hand, combines with the direct object and takes the verb as its argument[33]. This is illustrated by the structure in (13).

(13) Low Applicative Phrase (LApplP)

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            VoiceP
            /    \
        Voice    VP
                 /  \
                V   LApplP
                    /    \
                LAppl    XP
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[27] Ibidem, p. 12-18.
[28] Ibidem, p. 17.
[29] Ibidem, p 12.
[30] M a r a n t z, op. cit.
[31] K r a t z e r, op. cit.
[32] P y l k k ä n e n, op. cit., p. 14.
[33] Ibidem.

As for the dative nominal in the Polish SIĘ construction in (14), it stands in a benefactive relation to the event of driving and bears no relation to the object of driving, in other words, there is no transfer-of-possession relation between applicative argument and the direct object. To the contrary, the dative nominal is related to the whole event described by the verb. This coupled with the fact that the dative nominal can combine with unergative, as illustrated by the example in (15), verbs suggests that it should be best analyzed as a high benefactive applicative, not a low applicative.

> (14) Marysi   dobrze prowadziło   się samochód.
>   Marysia.DAT well   drove.3SG.NEUT SIĘ car.ACC
>   'The car drove well for Marysia.'

> (15) Marysi   pracowało   się tutaj dobrze.
>   Marysia.DAT worked.3SG.NEUT SIĘ here well
>   'Marysia found working here satisfactory.'

The analysis of the dative nominal as a high applicative immediately provides an explanation for a number of peculiar properties that the SIĘ construction with the dative nominal exhibits. First of all, it shows why these elements are optional. Secondly, it accounts for their double interpretation as Benefactive and Agent. Thirdly, it clarifies why dative nominals are related to the whole event described by the verb.

According to the alternative hypothesis proposed by Rivero et al.[34], the dative nominals is introduced into the structure by the adverb of manner which is merged above the TP. This analysis cannot, however, be maintained as it would mean that an adverb of manner that introduces the dative nominal would have to be analysed as factive, which it clearly is not. The detailed discussion of counterarguments goes, however, beyond the scope of this paper.

3.4. SOME PROPERTIES OF POLISH APPLICATIVES

One of the observable properties of both types of applicative arguments in Polish is that they block the movement of a direct object to the subject position, as illustrated by the examples in (16). This suggests that structural dative, regardless of whether it is introduced by a high or low applicative, is licensed higher than structural accusative.

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[34] R i v e r o et al.

(16)a. *Książki   czytały   się szybko Marysi.
          books.NOM read.3PL.FEM SIĘ quickly Marysia.DAT
           (Intended) 'For Marysia these books read quickly.'   (high applicative)
      b. *Ciastka   były pieczone Marysi.
          cookies.NOM were baked   Marysia.DAT
           (Intended) 'Cookies were baked for Marysia.'   (low applicative)

Another syntactic property of Polish high and low applicatives is that they cannot become a subject of a passive sentence.

(17) *Marysi   nieprzyjemnie było   się oskarżaną.
      Marysia.DAT unpleasantly   AUX._{past} SIĘ accused
       (Intended) 'Marysia found being accused unpleasant.'   (high applicative)

(18)a. Upiekłam   Marysi   ciastka.
          baked.1SG.FEM Marysia.DAT cookies.ACC
          'I baked Marysia cookies.'
      b. *Marysia/*Marysi   była   pieczona ciastka.
          Marysia.NOM/Marysi.DAT AUX._{past} baked   cookies.ACC
           '*Marysia was baked cookies.'   (low applicative)

Crucially, the data show that indirect objects and arguments carrying dative that traditionally have been considered direct objects both behave the same way with respect to passivization and control of depictive predicates. This is demonstrated by the examples in (19) and (20) respectively.

(19)a. Pomogłam   (Marysi).
          helped.1SG.FEM   (Marysia.DAT)
          'I helped Marysia.'
      b. *Marysia/*Marysi   była   pomagana.
          Marysia.NOM/Marysi.DAT AUX._{past} helped
          (Intended) 'Marysia was helped.'

(20)a. Marysia   pomogła   Pawłowi   naga.
          Marysia.NOM   helped.3SG.FEM Paweł.DAT naked.FEM
          'Marysia$_i$ helped Paweł$_j$ naked$_{i/*j}$.'
      b. Marysia   upiekła   Pawłowi   ciastka   naga.
          Marysia.NOM baked.3SG.FEM Paweł.DAT   cookies.ACC naked.FEM
          'Marysia$_i$ baked Paweł$_j$ cookies naked$_{i/*j}$.'

The peculiar behavior of direct objects carrying dative case becomes even clearer when compared with the behavior of direct objects carrying accusative case. This is shown by the examples in (21).

(21)a. Widziałam   Pawła.
      saw.3SG.FEM   Paweł.ACC
      'I saw Paweł.'
   b. Paweł   był   widziany wczoraj w kinie.
      Paweł.NOM AUX.$_{past}$ seen   yesterday in cinema
      'Paweł was seen in the cinema yesterday.'
   c. Marysia   widziałam   Pawła   nago.
      Marysia.NOM saw.3SG.NEUT Paweł.ACC naked
      'Marysia$_i$ saw Paweł$_j$ naked$_{i/j}$.'

The sentences in (21) show that direct objects carrying accusative case behave differently from direct objects carrying accusative case as the former, but not the latter, can become subjects of passive sentences and can control depictive predicates. Facts illustrated by the sentences in (19) and (20) seem to suggest that both indirect objects and direct objects carrying dative case might be the same kind of elements. Consequently, this, in turn, means that they are optional elements that are introduced into the structure by the ApplP[35]. Further in-depth research is, however, necessary to determine what other factors apart from optionality are responsible for their syntactic behavior.

4. STRUCTURAL DATIVE

The point of departure for the analysis of the mechanics of case assignment in (1) that I attempt to put forward in this paper is the idea first expressed in Marantz[36] and then developed in McFadden[37], according to which morphological case is not tied to specific syntactic positions, and therefore it should not be, even indirectly, linked to the DP licensing. As argued extensively by McFadden[38], although it is not generally assumed that the DP-licensing and morphological case are the same thing, the two pattern together in such a way that, all other things being equal, one can be reliably derived from the other. What, however, argues against even this mediated connection is, according to

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[35] See T. McFadden (*German inherent datives and argument structure*, in: *Datives and other cases: between argument structure and event structure,* ed. by D. Hole, A. Meinunger, W. Abraham, Amsterdam 2006, p. 47-78) for the similar observation in German.

[36] M a r a n t z, op. cit.

[37] T. M c F a d d e n, *The position of morphological case in the derivation: A study on the syntax-morphology interface.* Doctoral Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 2004. Retrieved from http://www.hum.uit.no/a/mcfadden/downloads/diss.pdf on 01.01.2012.

[38] Ibidem.

McFadden[39], the pervasive and systematic nature of the mismatches. These are not merely aberrations from some norm of correspondence between the two phenomena, but rather show an internal regularity that cannot be handled by deriving morphological case from syntactic licensing features or vice-versa. As observed by McFadden[40], the dissimilation is manifested in the following three ways:

– The relationship between structural positions and particular morphological cases is not

one-to-one or one-to-many, but many-to-many.

– Morphological case can be assigned to a structural position where no overt DP is licensed.

– DPs can be structurally licensed in positions where they are not properly assigned

morphological case.

What follows is, as noted by Sigurδsson[41], that case must be considered a PF interpretation or expression of a complex syntactic correlation because there seems never to be a one-to-one correlation between a particular morphological case and a single feature in syntax. Rather, as maintained by McFadden[42], cases are assigned according to a dependency relationship, with accusative case assignment being dependent on there being another higher argument within the same phase (which I take to be the VoiceP) to which structural case has been assigned. This other higher argument in (1) is, I argue, the dative nominal. In other words, it is argued here that dative case on the DP *Marysi* 'Marysia.DAT' is structural not inherent. It is considered to be structural[43] as it is assigned in a particular configuration by a functional not lexical

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[39] Ibidem.

[40] Ibidem.

[41] S i g u r δ s s o n, *Case: abstract vs. morphological*.

[42] M c F a d d e n, *The position of morphological case...*

[43] To be more specific, this kind of dative case may be better conceived of as both structural (because of the reasons mentioned above) and semantic as theta roles carried by the nominal to which dative case is assigned are more often than not that of a recipient or benefactive, these in turn being dependent on the type of applicative head. I do not claim that particular cases are assigned depending on a theta role of a nominal, but I assume that there is an observable trend especially in the case of dative for it to be assigned to the nominals carrying the aforementioned theta roles (see K. Blume (*A contrastive analysis of interaction verbs with dative complements*, „Linguistics" 36(1998), p. 253-280) and W. Abraham (*Datives: structural vs. inherent – abstract vs. morphological – autonomous vs. combinatory – universally vs. language-specifically configured?*, in: *Datives and other cases: between argument structure and event structure,* ed. by D. Hole, A. Meinunger, W. Abraham,

head. As a result, the internal argument of the verb in (1) can receive accusative case because it is dependent on the structural dative case assigned by the high applicative head which is merged above the VP.

It is assumed that dative case in Polish can be assigned in two ways: structurally (by a functional head) and inherently (by a lexical head). Inherent dative case is assigned by a lexical head to an element that is an argument of that verbal head[44]. The structural dative case, on the other hand, is assigned to a DP in the spec-head configuration by the head of the functional projection that introduces this DP. This functional projection is either high or low applicative in the sense of Pylkkänen[45]. DPs introduced by applicative heads are always optional; they are not a part of verb's subcategorization frame. It is important to bear in mind the fact that the notion of structural case used herein relation to dative case does not have exactly the same implications as in relation to nominative and accusative case. Namely, an argument carrying structural dative case does not behave syntactically the same as those arguments which carry structural accusative case, that is dative case does not change into nominative as a result of passivization. In this respect, structural dative is different from structural accusative but the crucial point here is that dative case in all the examples above is not assigned idiosyncratically but in a certain configuration. The fact that it behaves differently from other structural cases appears to be caused by the fact that it is assigned to non-core arguments.

5. PROBLEMATIC CASES

In this section I will briefly mention some data from Polish which at first sight might appear problematic for the analysis of case assignment hypothesized here. These include examples such as the following:

Amsterdam 2006, p. 3-46) for the discussion of the observation that the 99% of recipients/benefactives in German receives dative case).

[44] As for inherent dative case, I am currently aware of one verb which might qualify as assigning inherent/lexical dative case to its subject, and it appears to be the verb *zależeć* 'depend/want' as in the following sentence:

    (i) Zależało   mi   na tym.
       wanted.3SG.NEUT I.DAT on   this
       'I wanted this.'

[45] P y l k k ä n e n, p. cit.

(22) Mdli/Dusi/Skręca   mnie   od   tego zapachu.
     nauseates/chokes/convulses   me.ACC   from this smell
     'This smell makes me nauseous/choke/convulse.'[46]

On the surface, it might appear that the only argument of the verb receives accusative case suggesting that accusative is not a dependent case, as argued in this paper, but is assigned first. However, as argued by Kibort[47], although the common assumption is that these predicates do not accept a nominative subject, in modern Polish their morphosyntax does not actually disallow it. This is illustrated by the example in (23).

(23) Bolała/Swędziała   mnie   głowa.
     ached/itched.3SG.FEM   me.ACC   head.NOM
     'My head ached/itched.'[48]

Because verb such as allow the overt expression of the subject in nominative, it means that the external argument is projected. Such verbs, as argued by Kibort[49], belong to a larger class of object-experiencer predicates (such as 'frighten' or 'surprise'), and their argument structure is basically like that of any other transitive (two-place) predicates. In the apparently subjectless variants of sentences with these verbs, such as sentences as, the syntactic subject is a dropped 'indefinite' non-hum pronoun *coś* 'something'. That is, sentences in are an instance of pro.$_{indefinite}$-drop[50]. Now, if this is the case, then it means that nominative case is assigned to the null element, and as a result the nominal *mnie* 'me.ACC' in (22) receives accusative case, as predicted.

6. CONCLUSION

    This paper presents the results of the preliminary investigation into the mechanics of case assignment in Polish. It argues, first of all, that cases are assigned according to a dependency relationship, with accusative case assignment being dependent on there being another higher argument to which structural case has been assigned. Secondly, it suggests that there are two types of dative case in Polish: structural and inherent. Arguments carrying structural

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[46] K i b o r t 2004
[47] Ibidem, p. 316-318.
[48] Ibidem, p. 317.
[49] Ibidem.
[50] Ibidem, p. 318.

dative case are introduced into the structure by Applicative Phrases and appear to display similar syntactic behavior.

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ON NON-CORE ARGUMENTS AND DATIVE CASE IN POLISH

S u m m a r y

This paper is concerned with the mechanics of the case assignment in Polish SIĘ construction with the overt dative nominal. It is argued that dative case on such nominals is assigned structurally by a high applicative head, not idiosyncratically by a lexical one. The preliminary

analysis shows that most arguments carrying dative case in Polish display similar syntactic behavior with regards to e.g. passivization and control of depictive predicates. Due to their properties and to the way in which they are introduced into the structure, it is postulated that dative nominals should be best treated as the so-called non-core arguments that is arguments not selected by the verbal head. As for accusative case, it is assumed, following McFadden (2004), that its assignment hinges on the presence of another argument within the same phase to which structural case has been assigned. This other argument in the case of the SIĘ construction in question is the dative nominal.

O ARGUMENTACH NIEOBLIGATORYJNYCH I CELOWNIKU W JĘZYKU POLSKIM

S t r e s z c z e n i e

Celem artykułu jest próba wyjaśnienia sposobu ustalania form przypadków w polskiej konstrukcji składającej się z cząstki SIĘ i wyrażenia nominalnego w celowniku. Autorka zakłada, że celownik w takich wyrażeniach opisywany jest przez główny człon frazy aplikacyjnej będącej elementem funkcjonalnym, a nie jak tradycyjnie uważano, przez werbalny element leksykalny. Wstępna analiza pokazuje, że w języku polskim większość argumentów w celowniku wykazuje podobną łączliwość syntaktyczną wobec m.in. strony biernej czy predykatów opisowych. Ze względu na właściwości i sposób, w jaki są one wprowadzane do struktury, autorka stwierdza, że wyrażenia nominalne w celowniku powinny być zakwalifikowane do grupy argumentów nieobligatoryjnych, czyli niewybieranych przez człon werbalny. Jeśli chodzi o biernik, za McFaddenem uważa, iż jest to przypadek zależny, tzn. używany, kiedy w tej samej fazie syntaktycznej znajduje się inny argument, do którego został przypisany nieleksykalny przypadek strukturalny. Argumentem tym w przypadku analizowanej konstrukcji jest wyrażenie nominalne w celowniku.