

ANNA BONDARUK

POLISH PREDICATIONAL CLAUSES WITH THE PREPOSITION *Z* ‘OF’

Abstract. The paper aims at providing a syntactic analysis of one minor type of predicational clauses in Polish in which the logical subject figures as a complement of the preposition *z* ‘of’, whereas the predicate is marked for the nominative case. The theoretical model used here is the Minimalist Program of Chomsky (2000, 2001, 2008). *Z*-predicational sentences have not been systematically analysed so far and the only available analysis, that of Hentschel (2001), concentrates on determining the restrictions on the type of the PP complement and the nominative DP as well as on discovering the grammatical subject of this type of sentence. It is argued in the paper that the prepositional complement in the clauses under consideration tends to be definite and referential, while the nominative DP must always be indefinite and non-referential. Based on agreement and control, it has been demonstrated that it is the nominative DP that acts as a grammatical subject in this type of copular clauses. Moreover, this DP is always targeted for Agree by T and ends up in the canonical subject position, i.e. Spec, TP. Whenever the PP precedes the subject, it is topicalised and hence moved to Spec, CP. The different positions of the PP and the DP with respect to each other underline their different information structure in the given sentences.

Key words: predicational clauses, Polish, Minimalist Program, information structure, control.

1. INTRODUCTION

The paper aims at providing a syntactic analysis of one type of predicational clauses in Polish in which the logical subject figures as a complement of the preposition *z* ‘of’,¹ whereas the predicate is marked for the nominative

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¹ Although the preposition *z* ‘of’ used in predicational clauses is homophonous with the *P* *z* ‘with,’ found in sentences such as (i) below, they represent two different items, as only the former assigns the genitive case to its complement (cf. (5) below), whereas the latter assigns the

case. Although sentences of this type have been recognized by traditional grammars of Polish such as, for instance, Grochowski *et al.* (1984: 146) and Nagórko (1996: 57), they have not received much attention in the literature. The only available analysis of *z*-predicational clauses is that of Hentschel (2001), who focuses exclusively on the issue of the subject of this type of clauses and does not offer any structural analysis of these sentences.

The paper consists of four sections. Section 2 concentrates on predicational clauses with the preposition *z* ‘of’ and compares them with other types of Polish predicational clauses. Section 3 offers an analysis of the structure and derivation of predicational clauses with the preposition *z* ‘of’ within the Minimalist Program of Chomsky (2000, 2001, 2008). Section 4 concludes the paper.

2. PREDICATIONAL CLAUSES WITH THE PREPOSITION *Z* ‘OF’ VS. OTHER PREDICATIONAL CLAUSES IN POLISH

Predicational clauses represent a type of copular clauses which, according to Higgins (1979), ascribes a certain property to a subject. Whereas English has only one type of predicational clause in which the property ascribed to the subject is expressed by the post-copular element, as in (1), Polish is richer in that it has two common types of predicational clauses, which are illustrated in (2) and (3):

(1) Mark is a good student.

(2) Marek jest dobrym studentem.²
Mark-nom is good-inst student-inst
‘Mark is a good student.’

(3) Marek to jest dobry student.
Mark-nom cop is good student-nom
‘Mark is a good student.’

instrumental to its complement. Their meanings are also different, as is made clear by the way the two prepositions are translated into English.

(i) Marek z Marta poszli do kina.
Mark-nom with Martha-inst went to cinema
‘Mark with Martha went to the cinema.’

² The following abbreviations have been used in the paper: acc—accusative, cop—copula, def—defective, fem—feminine, gen—genitive, inst—instrumental, masc—masculine, nom—nominative, sg—singular, top—topic, utop—unvalued topic feature, ucase—unvalued case, uφ—unvalued φ-features.

In both (2) and (3) the property of being a good student is ascribed to Mark, so they represent predicational clauses. However, there are two basic differences between the predicational sentences in (2) and (3), namely: 1) sentence (2) contains just the verbal copula *być* ‘to be’, while (3) exhibits, in addition to the verbal copula, also the pronominal copula *to*, and 2) the predicate in (2) is marked for the instrumental, whereas in (3) the predicate bears the nominative case. It is only the type with the verbal copula and the instrumental case marked predicate that will be of interest to us here, and the other type, with the pronominal copula, will not be mentioned any further, as *to* is not typically found in *z*-predicational clauses in Polish (for a detailed analysis *to*-predicational clauses, cf. Citko 2008 and Bondaruk 2013).

In addition to the two types of predicational clauses mentioned above, Polish has two, less common, types of predicational clauses at its disposal: one in which the verbal copula is followed by the nominative case marked predicate, as in (4), and the other in which the logical subject appears as the complement of the preposition *z* ‘of’, while the predicate is marked for the nominative, as in (5).

(4) Jesteś idiota.
 are idiot-nom
 ‘You are an idiot.’

(5) Z niego jest niezły numerek. (www.nkjp.pl)³
 of him-gen is not-bad-nom number-nom
 ‘He is quite a character.’

Predicational sentences with *być* + DP_{nom} are highly restricted in use, as they are found mostly with 1st or 2nd person subjects and they frequently occur with expressive predicates, such as *idiota* ‘idiot’ in (4) (*być* + DP_{nom} structures are analysed in detail in Bondaruk 2013). *Z*-predicational clauses, which constitute the focus of this paper, are similar to *być* + DP_{nom} sentences in that, as we shall soon see, they favour expressive predicates.

Similarly to *być* + DP_{nom} clauses, predicational clauses with the preposition *z* ‘of’ show certain restrictions as regards the complement of *z* ‘with’ as well as the predicate. First of all, sentences of this type typically require that their logical subject be definite and referential, as can be seen in (6), in which the complement of *z* ‘of’ corresponds to the proper name *Peter*:

³ All the examples marked with the link provided in the brackets come from the National Corpus of the Polish Language (cf. Przepiórkowski *et al.* 2012).

- (6) Z Piotra był dobry piechur. (www.nkjp.pl)
 of Peter-gen was good-nom walker
 ‘Peter was a good walker.’

However, Hentschel (2001) notes that in infrequent cases, the logical subject in this kind of structure may be indefinite and non-referential, as confirmed by (7) and (8):

- (7) Z grubego chłopa nierzadko bywa słabeusz.
 of fat-gen man-gen not-infrequently is weakling-nom
 ‘A fat man is often a weakling.’
- (8) Z każdego studenta może być potencjalny geniusz.
 of every-gen student-gen may be potential-nom genius-nom
 ‘Every student may be a potential genius.’

In (7) the complement of *z* ‘of’, i.e. *grubego chłopa* ‘fat man’, is indefinite and generic, while in (8) the complement of *z* ‘of’ is realised as the non-referential QP *każdego studenta* ‘each student’. Moreover, Hentschel (2001) notes that there is a preference for the logical subject of predicational sentences with *z* ‘of’ to be personal or animate, and therefore sentences such as (9) below, in which an inanimate DP complements the preposition sound slightly odd and hence are infrequent.⁴

- (9) Z tego samochodu jest już stary rzech.
 of this-gen car-gen is already old-nom banger-nom
 ‘This car is already an old banger.’

As regards the predicate in *z*-predicational clauses, Hentschel (2001) specifies that it has to be indefinite and non-referential. This observation is confirmed by (10), which is ungrammatical with the definite referential predicate, in contradistinction to (11), which is fully grammatical, as it contains an indefinite non-referential predicate.

- (10) *Z niego jest mój przyjaciel.
 of him-gen is my-nom friend-nom
 ‘He is my friend.’
- (11) Z niego jest dobry przyjaciel.
 of him-gen is good-nom friend-nom
 ‘He is a good friend.’

⁴ The abbreviation ‘DP’ is used here to refer to nominal expressions of all types, and is not meant to bear any theoretical significance.

Similarly to *być* + DP_{nom} clauses, *z*-predicational sentences most often occur with expressive predicates as in (5) above, as well as in (12) below:

- (12) Z niego jest wielki szaman i czarodziej. (www.nkjp.pl)
 of him-gen is big shaman-nom and sorcerer
 ‘He is a big shaman and sorcerer.’

To sum up, *z*-predicational clauses in Polish differ from the most common type of predicational clauses found in Polish, namely *być* + DP_{inst} clauses, in that their logical subject is not realized by the expected nominative DP, but rather corresponds to the prepositional complement, while the nominative case is realized on the predicate. The structural analysis of *z*-predicational clauses is carried out in Section 3.

3. STRUCTURE AND DERIVATION OF Z-PREDICATIONAL CLAUSES

This section focuses on the syntax of Polish predicational clauses with the preposition *z* ‘of’. First, in Section 3.1, an attempt is made to determine the syntactic subject of sentences of this type. Then, in Section 3.2, the structure and derivation of *być* + DP_{inst} is provided, which lays the groundwork for the analysis of *z*-predicational clauses, offered in Section 3.3.

3.1. WHAT IS THE SUBJECT OF Z-PREDICATIONAL CLAUSES?

Based on agreement and binding facts, Hentschel (2001) argues that the syntactic subject of Polish predicational clauses with the preposition *z* ‘of’ is the nominative predicate, not the complement of the preposition. This is the line of analysis we would like to follow in this paper although we will question the validity of some of Hentschel’s (2001) arguments.

Let us first concentrate on the evidence in favour of the claim that the nominative predicate acts a syntactic subject of *z*-predicational clauses. The evidence comes from agreement, binding and control. As regards agreement, it is always the nominative predicate that determines the verb form, as can be seen in (13) and (14) below:

- (13) Z ciebie *byłeś /była świnia.
 of you-2sg.gen *were-2sg.masc /was-3sg.fem pig-3sg.fem.nom
 ‘You were a pig.’

- (14) Z nich *są/jest zwykły motłoch.
 of them-gen *are/is-3sg ordinary rabble
 ‘They are an ordinary rabble.’

In (13) the copula agrees in ϕ -features with the nominative predicate *świnia* ‘pig’, and it cannot agree with the oblique argument of the preposition *z* ‘of’. In (14) the verb must be singular, just like the nominative predicate, and can never agree with the plural pronoun used as a complement of the preposition *z* ‘of’. The fact that the copula always assumes the ϕ -features of the nominative predicate clearly indicates that it is the nominative predicate that serves as a subject in sentences of this type.⁵

The binding facts are more complicated than the agreement data provided above. Hentschel (2001) notes that the prepositional complement cannot bind an anaphor *swój* ‘self’s’, as confirmed by (15), which is at best marginal:

- (15) ??W swoim_i zakładzie jest z niego_i nieznośny pedant.
 in self’s company is of him-gen unbearable-nom pedant-nom
 ‘At work, he is an unbearable pedant.’ (Hentschel, 2001: 167)

Hentschel (2001) observes that (15) contrasts in grammaticality with sentences such as (16) below, in which the nominative DP binds the anaphor:

- (16) W swoim_i zakładzie jest on_i nieznośnym pedantem.
 in self’s company is he-nom unbearable-inst pedant-inst
 ‘At work, he is an unbearable pedant.’ (Hentschel, 2001: 167)

The contrast between (15) and (16) shows that the genitive prepositional complement differs from nominative subjects as regards anaphor binding, which argues for its non-subject status. Furthermore, Hentschel mentions that, in contradistinction to (15), sentence (17) below is perfectly licit:

- (17) Ze mnie jest już stara baba w swoich /??moich ostatnich latach.
 of me-gen is already old-nom woman-nom in self’s my recent years
 ‘I have been an old woman in my recent years.’ (Hentschel 2001: 168)

(17) contains an anaphor *swój* ‘self’s’, which is properly bound, as the sentence is perfectly grammatical. The question is what binds the anaphor in (17). Since

⁵ In *być* + DP_{inst} the verb always agrees with the nominative subject, compare the following:

- (i) Ty byłeś świnia.
 you-nom were pig-inst
 ‘You were a pig.’
 (ii) Oni są zwykłym motłochem.
 they-nom are ordinary-inst rabble-inst
 ‘They are an ordinary rabble.’

the prepositional complement cannot bind the anaphor in (15), the only possible binder for the anaphor in (17) must be the nominative predicate, i.e. *stara baba* ‘an old woman’. Since the anaphor *swój* ‘self’s’ is subject oriented,⁶ the fact that the nominative predicate can bind it points towards the conclusion that it is the predicate that acts as a subject in *z*-predicational clauses in Polish. Hentschel specifies that the fact that the anaphor in (17) cannot be replaced with the possessive pronoun *moich* ‘my’, as demonstrated in (17), additionally supports the claim that the nominative predicate acts as a subject in (17). This is so, because the replacement of *swój* ‘self’s’ by a possessive pronoun in the 1st and 2nd person is regularly possible in Polish, but not in the 3rd person, and since the replacement of *swoich* ‘self’s’ by *moich* ‘my’ is not feasible in (17), this indicates that it is not the 1st person pronoun *mnie* ‘me’ that binds the anaphor but rather the 3rd person DP *stara baba* ‘old woman’.

There are two problems with Hentschel’s (2001) analysis. First of all, in his analysis it is not at all clear why (15) with the anaphor *swój* ‘self’s’ is deviant, whereas a very similar sentence (17) with the same anaphor is fully licit. The second problem with Hentschel’s (2001) analysis concerns the alleged contrast between the anaphor and the pronoun in (17). The grammaticality contrast between the anaphor and the pronoun in (17) does not seem to be real, which is supported by the data such as (18), in which both the anaphor and the pronoun are possible.

- (18) ?Wielki bałaganiarz jest z niego w swoim/jego domu.
 big-nom sloven-nom is of him-gen in self’s/his house
 ‘He is a real sloven in his house.’

Although (18) is slightly marginal, it is equally good or marginal with the anaphor and the pronoun. In this respect it clearly contrasts with (19) below, containing a *być*-predicational clause with the predicate marked for the instrumental.

⁶ Żychliński (2013: 123) argues that the claim that the anaphor *swój* ‘self’s’ is subject-oriented is dubious on the basis of the following data:

- (i) Piotr_i oddał kluczy_j swojemu_{*i/j}/jego_{*i/j} właścicielowi.
 Peter-nom returned key-acc self’s /its owner-dat
 ‘Peter returned the key to its owner.’

In (i) both the anaphor and the pronoun can be bound by the accusative object, in the presence of the nominative subject. To us, however, the anaphor in this context does not sound very natural.

- (19) *Marek_i jest wielkim bałaganiarzem w swoim_i/*jego_i domu.*
 Mark-nom is big-inst sloven-inst in self's/his house
 'Mark is a real sloven in his house.'

In (19), in contradistinction to (18), only the anaphor is possible, whereas the pronoun is banned, which argues in favour of treating the nominative case marked DP *Marek* 'Mark' as a subject of this sentence. Since there is no grammaticality contrast between the anaphor and the pronoun in *z*-predicational sentences such as (18), we must conclude that binding facts do not provide any conclusive evidence as to which item functions as a subject in sentences of this type.

The third piece of evidence in favour of the subject status of the nominative predicate, not mentioned by Hentschel (2001), relates to control. Consider the following:

- (20) *?Z niego jest dobry polityk [by PRO rządzić naszym krajem].*
 of him-gen is good-nom politician-nom so-that to-govern our country
 'He is a good politician to govern our country.'

Sentence (20) is slightly marginal, in comparison with the fully grammatical (21) below, in which the nominative subject occurs in the *być*-predicational clause:

- (21) *On_i jest dobrym politykiem [by PRO_i rządzić naszym krajem].*
 he-nom is good-inst politician-inst so-that to-govern our country
 'He is a good politician to govern our country.'

In (21) PRO is controlled by the nominative subject *on* 'he', and the question arises what controls PRO in (20) - the prepositional complement or the nominative predicate. The PRO subject in (20) and (21) is contained in a noun complement clause. In clauses of this type the PRO subject can be controlled by an oblique argument, as can be seen in (22):

- (22) *Zdjął z niej_i obowiązek [by PRO_i być trzeźwą w pracy].*
 he-freed of her-gen obligation so-that to-be sober-fem at work
 'He freed her of the obligation to be sober at work.'

In (22) it is the prepositional complement *njej* 'her' that controls PRO, as is made clear by the feminine form of the predicative *trzeźwą* 'sober'. This, in turn, demonstrates that the prepositional complement in (20) can control PRO, and consequently the control data such as (20) appear to be inconclusive as regards which element—the prepositional complement or the nominative DP present in *z*-predicational clauses—serves as their subject.

A more telling instance of control is the one in which the phrase *po pijanemu* 'while drunk' appears. Dziwirek (1994) proposes that this phrase is subject oriented and consequently a sentence such as (23) can be interpreted only in the way suggested by the indexation, i.e. that he made jokes of her while he was drunk, and cannot mean 'he made jokes of her while she was drunk.'

- (23) pro_i Żartował z niej_j po $PRO_{i/*j}$ pijanemu.
 he-joked of her-gen while drunk
 'He made jokes of her while he was drunk.'

The phrase *po pijanemu* 'while drunk' can be inserted in *z*-predicational clauses, as in (24):

- (24) Z niego jest niezły zbój_i po PRO_i pijanemu.
 of him-gen is not-bad thug while drunk
 'He is quite a thug while he is drunk.'

Since complements of prepositions cannot control PRO in the phrase *po pijanemu* 'while drunk' (cf. (23) above), it must be the nominative DP that controls PRO in (24). Since the phrase *po pijanemu* 'while drunk' is subject oriented, the data such as (24) provide evidence for treating the nominative DP as a syntactic subject in *z*-predicational clauses.

All in all, there are two pieces of evidence, based on agreement and control, that support the claim that the nominative DP functions as a syntactic subject of *z*-predicational clauses in Polish. The evidence based on binding, however, has been shown to be inconclusive.

3.2. THE STRUCTURE AND DERIVATION OF *BYĆ* + DP_{INSTR} PREDICATIONAL CLAUSES

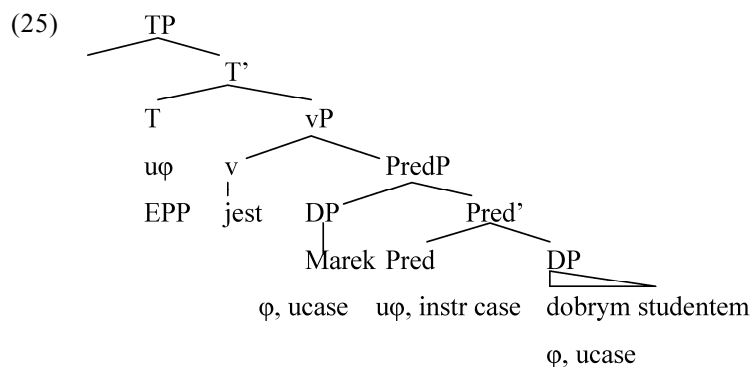
Before embarking on a syntactic analysis of predicational clauses with the preposition *z* 'of', let us briefly sketch our account of the structure and derivation of Polish predicational clauses with the copula *być* 'to be', followed by an instrumental case marked predicate, as it will be relevant for the syntax of the type of predicational clauses analysed in the paper.

After Bailyn and Citko (1999) and Citko (2008), who follow Bowers (1993, 2001), we take the predication relation to be syntactically encoded, and its pivot is the Pred head of PredP. Just like Bailyn and Citko (1999) and Citko (2008), we assume that the Pred head present in predicational clauses with *być* 'to be' has a full set of ϕ -features and the instrumental case to assign. Following Citko (2008), we assume that in sentences of this type, the Pred head, by virtue of its unvalued ϕ -features, acts as a probe, whose goal is the DP predicate. The two items undergo Agree (cf. Chomsky 2000), as a

result of which the ϕ -features of Pred get valued, and the case of the DP predicate is valued as the instrumental.⁷

However, contra Citko (2008), we do not treat the copula verb *być* ‘to be’ as a member of the class of Pred, but rather regard it as a subtype of unaccusative verbs, which in contradistinction to unaccusative verbs proper, does not select a VP complement, but rather a PredP. We also propose that *być* ‘to be’ is placed in v, outside the core of the predication relation (for a similar view concerning the English copula cf. Mikkelsen, 2005: 167). The evidence in support of the claim that the Polish copula verb does not represent a Pred is provided in Bondaruk (2013) and relates to the fact that there are predicational sentences in which the verb *być* ‘to be’ is either unnecessary or even disallowed, to encode the predication relation.⁸

Having presented our basic assumptions concerning the predicational clauses with the verbal copula followed by an instrumental case marked DP in Polish, we are now ready to provide the structure for a predicational clause such as (2) above, as in (25) below.



⁷ Bailyn and Citko (1999) propose that the Pred assigns the instrumental to its complement in the course of Merge of the two elements, rather than as a result of Agree, as suggested above, after Citko (2008).

⁸ There exist sentences such as (i), which are predicational, but nonetheless, do not contain *być* ‘to be’, and those like (ii), in which the predicational relation is expressed by the P *na* ‘for’, and in which the occurrence of the verb *być* ‘to be’ is totally banned.

(i) Marek dyrektorem! Niemożliwe!

Mark manager-instr impossible

‘Mark manager! Impossible!’

(ii) Wybrano Marka na dyrektora /*być dyrektorem.

elected Mark-acc for manager-acc/*be director-instr

‘They elected Mark to be a manager.’

The derivation in (25) proceeds in the following way: the Pred head with unvalued ϕ -features probes its c-command domain for a suitable goal with valued ϕ -features and it establishes the Agree relation with the DP *dobrym lekarzem* ‘good doctor’; as a result of this Agree operation the ϕ -features of Pred get valued and the case feature of the DP is valued as the instrumental. Another active probe in (25) is T which enters into Agree with the subject DP *Marek* ‘Mark’, whereby it gets its ϕ -features valued and the case feature of the subject is valued as the nominative. The EPP feature of T triggers the movement of the subject to the Spec, TP position. As a result, all the unvalued features have been valued, and all the uninterpretable features have been deleted, and therefore the derivation converges.

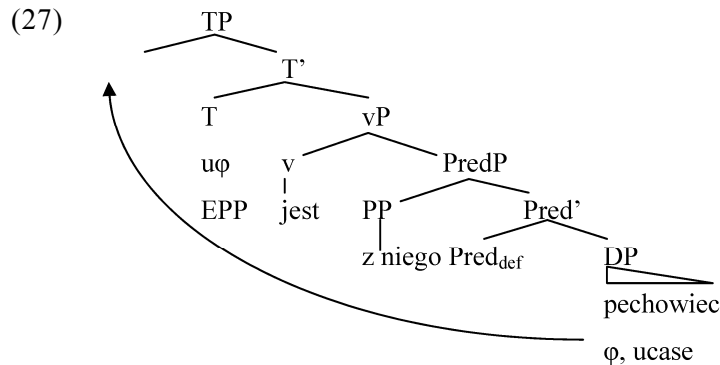
3.3. THE STRUCTURE AND DERIVATION OF Z-PREDICATIONAL CLAUSES

Since copular clauses with the preposition *z* ‘of’ are predicational, they must host a PredP, in a way analogous to *być* + DP_{inst} predicational sentences. This time, however, the predication relation is established between the PP and the DP, not between two DPs’s (cf. (25) above). Furthermore, the Pred head present in *z*-predicational clauses must be different from the one found in *być* + DP_{inst} sentences. This is so, because, as has been mentioned in Section 3.2, the Pred head found in *być* + DP_{inst} sentences enters into Agree with the predicate and values its case as the instrumental. Since the predicate present in *z*-predicational clauses is never marked for the instrumental, the Pred head these clauses contain must be different from the one attested in *być* + DP_{inst} sentences. Following Citko (2008) and Bondaruk (2013), we would like to suggest that, alongside a non-defective Pred which is equipped with ϕ -features and capable of valuing the instrumental, there exists a defective Pred deprived of these features and hence unable to value any features. This is the kind of Pred head present in *z*-predicational clauses.⁹ Just like in *być* + DP_{inst} clauses, we assume that *być* ‘to be’ in *z*-predicational clauses is located in v.

Let us first examine the derivation of sentence (26) below, whose structure is provided in (27):

⁹ Citko (2008) and Bondaruk (2013) argue that a defective Pred is present in predicational clauses with the pronominal copula *to* (cf. (3) above). Bondaruk (2013) posits that the defective Pred is also found in predicational clauses with *być* ‘to be’ followed by a nominative predicate, as in (4) above.

- (26) *Pechowiec* *jest z niego.*
 unlucky person-nom is of him-gen
 ‘He is an unlucky person.’



In (27) the Pred is defective and hence unable to value the case feature of the DP *pechowiec* ‘unlucky person’. Instead, the DP enters into Agree with T, whereby it values the ϕ -features of T and has its case feature valued as the nominative. The pronoun *niego* ‘him’ in the PP does not count an active goal for T, as its case feature has been valued as the genitive by the P. It also does not intervene between T and the DP because it does not c-command the DP. Subsequently, the DP moves to Spec, TP to satisfy the EPP-feature (or the Edge Feature (EF), cf. Chomsky 2008) of T. This way all the unvalued features have been valued and all the uninterpretable features have been deleted, which makes the derivation converge.

Let us now turn to the derivation of sentence (28), in which the PP appears in front of *być* ‘to be’, while the nominative DP follows the copula.

- (28) *Z niego* *jest pechowiec.*
 of him-gen is unlucky person-nom
 ‘He is an unlucky person.’

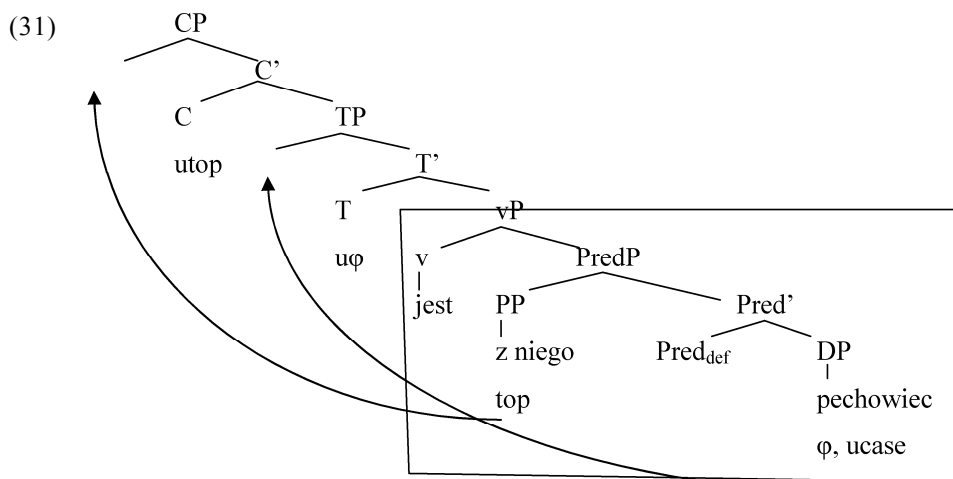
We would like to suggest that the structure of (28) is analogous to that of (26), provided in (27) above, but they differ in their derivation. They also differ in their information structure. Sentence (26) is used when the PP is focused, as confirmed by the fact that (26) can be used as a felicitous answer to a question such as (29) below:

- (29) *Z kogo* *jest pechowiec?*
 of whom-gen is unlucky person-nom
 ‘Who is an unlucky person?’

However, (26) cannot be used as an answer to the question in (30), unless the nominative DP is heavily stressed:

- (30) Kto jest z niego: pechowiec czy farciarz?
 who-nom is of him-gen unlucky person-nom or lucky
 ‘Who is he: an unlucky person or a lucky one?’

Sentence (28), on the other hand, shows quite an opposite behaviour, as it can most felicitously answer the question in (30), but when used to answer question (29), it requires a special stress on the PP. This indicates that the DP in (28) is focused, whereas the PP acts as a topic. Bearing this fact in mind, we would like to suggest that in (28), just like in (26), it is the nominative subject that enters into Agree with T and subsequently moves to Spec, TP. In (28), unlike in (26), the PP has a valued topic feature and therefore it constitutes a matching goal for C with an unvalued topic feature. After Agree has applied between the PP and C, the PP moves to Spec, CP to satisfy the EF of C. The resulting order is: *Z niego pechowiec jest* (lit. ‘Of him an unlucky person is’), which is different from what we find in (28). To generate the word order in (28) and to guarantee that the nominative DP is associated with the focus interpretation, we would like to appeal to remnant movement. The subject final word order in Russian is derived by Slioussar (2011) by appealing to remnant movement (first put forward by Müller 1998). Following Slioussar (2011), we propose that in sentences such as (28) it is the remnant vP that moves to the outer Spec, TP to guarantee that the subject is associated with the focus interpretation. The derivation of (28), just outlined, is schematized in (31) below, where the remnant vP to be moved to the outer Spec, TP is boxed.



Finally, let us note that when the PP is not focused, the word order in (26) is not acceptable, but instead the PP is scrambled to the position immediately behind the nominative DP, as can be seen in (32):

- (32) Pechowiec z niego jest.
 unlucky person-nom of him-gen is
 ‘He is an unlucky person.’

In (32) the nominative DP may be frequently associated with the contrastive focus interpretation, as confirmed by the fact that (32) can be continued as in (33):

- (33) Pechowiec z niego jest, a nie farciarz.
 unlucky person-nom of him-gen is but not lucky-person-nom
 ‘He is an unlucky person, not a lucky one.’

In (33) *pechowiec* ‘an unlucky person’ is contrasted with *farciarz* ‘a lucky person’.

4. CONCLUSION

The paper has focused on a minor type of Polish predicational clauses, i.e. those in which the logical subject functions as a complement of the preposition *z* ‘of’. It has been demonstrated, following Hentschel (2001), that in sentences of this type the prepositional complement tends to be definite and referential, whereas the nominative predicate must be non-referential and indefinite. It has been argued that it is the nominative DP that functions as a grammatical subject in this type of sentence, because it determines verbal agreement and it can control PRO in the subject oriented phrase *po pijanemu* ‘while drunk’. It has been shown that from the fact that the subject-oriented anaphor *swój* ‘self’s’ is possible in *z*-predicational sentences we cannot conclude which element—the complement of PP or the nominative DP—acts as its subject, because the anaphor can be replaced with the pronoun without triggering ungrammaticality. It has been argued that the predicational relation in *z*-predicational clauses is encoded in a way analogous to *być* + DP_{instr} sentences, i.e. by means of a PredP, which in the former, in contradistinction to the latter, is defective and hence lacks the ability to value the instrumental case. It has been shown that it is always the nominative DP that undergoes Agree with T and ends up in the Spec, TP position, and whenever the PP precedes the nominative DP, the PP functions as a topic and ends up in the Spec, CP position, while remnant vP movement takes place in those cases in

which the DP is associated with the focus interpretation. The placement of PP in the clause final position, in turn, guarantees that the PP bears the focus interpretation.

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POLSKIE ZDANIA PREDYKATYWNE Z PRZYIMKIEM Z

Streszczenie

Celem artykułu jest przedstawienie analizy składniowej jednego, dość rzadkiego, typu zdań predykatywnych w języku polskim, w którym podmiot logiczny znajduje się w pozycji dopełnienia przyimka *z*, predykat zaś występuje w mianowniku. Modelem teoretycznym użytym w artykule jest Program Minimalistyczny Chomsky'ego (2000, 2001, 2008). Zdania predykatywne z przyimkiem *z* nie były dotąd analizowane w sposób systematyczny, a jedyna dostępna dotychczas analiza, zaproponowana przez Henschela (2001), koncentruje się na określeniu ograniczeń, co do typów dopełnień w ramach PP oraz mianownikowego DP, jak również na znalezieniu podmiotu gramatycznego tego typu zdań. W artykule przedstawione są argumenty za tym, że dopełnienie przyimkowe w analizowanych zdaniach zwykle jest określone i posiada referencję, natomiast DP w mianowniku musi być zawsze nieokreślone i musi nie posiadać referencji. W oparciu o związek zgody i zjawisko kontroli zostało pokazane, że DP w mianowniku jest podmiotem gramatycznym tego typu zdań kopularnych. Ponadto owa DP jest zawsze celem dla T w operacji Uzgadniania i przesuwa się do kanonicznej pozycji podmiotu, tzn. Spec, TP. Jeśli PP występuje przed podmiotem, to podlega tropikalizacji i przesuwa się do Spec, CP. Różne pozycje PP i DP w stosunku do siebie wynikają z różnic w strukturze informacji poszczególnych zdań.

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Słowa kluczowe: zdania predykatywne, język polski, Program Minimalistyczny, struktura informacji, kontrola.