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Polish honorific markers as a window into person-feature valuation

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The goal

- present novel evidence for Polish nominals being phases
 - the logic of the argument:
 - DP-size but not nP-size nominal structure exhibits feature interactions with the interfaces
- => If a D-head interacts with the interfaces, it must be a phase-head and trigger spell-out
- empirical focus: syntactic variation in the domain of honorific markers (Pan/Pani)

Polish nominal *Pan/Pani*

- translated as: ‘Mr’/‘Mrs’, ‘sir’/‘lady’, 2nd/3rd person pronoun
=> 3 distinct syntactic environments
 - a regular R-expression
 - a pronominal
 - an adjective-like modifier (honorific)

Pan/Pani as an R-expression

Nie znam tej **Pani_j**, ale wiem, że ona_j tu nie pracuje
not know this Mrs_j, but know that she_j here not work
'I do not know this lady but I know she does not work here.'

- root nominal, forming NP/DP
- inflected for phi-features and case => intrinsically valued phi-features
- can be modified by an adjective
- can serve as an antecedent to a pronoun

R-expression => DP

a. Jan jak i **ten Pan** kichnęli głośno

Jan as and that Sir sneezed loud

‘John as well as this gentleman here sneezed out loud’

b. **Pani**, która poszła spać jest młoda

Mrs who went to sleep is young

‘Lady who went to sleep is young’

- can be coordinated with a proper name (a)
- modifiable by a relative clause (b)

=> regular R-expression => DP-type of nominal

Pan/Pani as an NP-modifier

Nasza wspaniała **Pani** Dyrektorka poszła na emeryturę
Our wonderful Mrs Director (fem) went on retirement
'Our wonderful director retired'

- adjectival-like behavior
- number, gender, case concord with the root nominal => unvalued phi-features
- honorific meaning

Adjacency requirement

(*pani) ta (*pani) nasza (*pani) wspaniała (pani) dyrektorka (*pani) generalna
Mrs that Mrs our Mrs wonderful Mrs director Mrs general

‘That our wonderful Madame director General’

- must be adjacent to the nominal NP complex it modifies

Pan/Pani as a name/DP-modifier

Pan Kowalski

Mr Kowalski

Pani Maria kichnęła

Mrs Mary sneezed.

- adjectival-like behavior
- number, gender, case concord with the root nominal
- honorific meaning

Adjacency requirement

a. * **Pani**, która poszła spać, **Genowefa** jest młoda

Mrs, who went to sleep Genevieve is young

b. **Pani Genowefa**, która poszła spać, jest młoda

Mrs Genevieve, who is young, went to sleep

- when *Pan/Pani* used as DP modifier, a relative clause must modify the complete DP (the head-nominal and the modifier)

Pan/Pani as a pronoun

Wie **Pan** co
know Mr what
'You know what'

- contextually-determined phi-features (addressee, gender, number)

Pan/Pani as a vocative

Panie_j, masz pan_j papierosa
Mr._{vocat.sg.2nd.masc.} have._{masc.sg.2nd} Mr._{nom.masc.sg.2nd.} cigarette
'Mister, do you have a cigarette?'

- pronominal-like but perhaps not quite...

Dual feature behavior

Panie _j ,	masz	pan _j	papierosa
Mr _{.vocat.sg.2nd.masc.}	have _{.masc.sg. 2nd}	Mr _{.nom.masc.sg.2nd.}	cigarette
Panie _j ,	ma	pan _j	papierosa
Mr _{.vocat.sg.2nd.masc.}	have _{.masc.sg. 3rd}	Mr _{.nom.masc.sg.3rd.}	cigarette

‘Hey Mister, do you have a cigarette?’

- the same nominal => variable agreement
 - a nominal-like 3rd person,
 - a pronominal-like 2nd person

Person only variable

Szanowny Panie_j, Szanowna Pani

a. macie szanowni **państwo**_j papierosa

have_{2nd.pl.} respected Mr's_{2nd.pl.} cigarette

b. mają szanowni **państwo**_j papierosa

have_{3rd.pl.} respected Mr's_{3rd.pl.} cigarette

'Hey dear Sir, dear Madam, do respected you/Sirs & Madams have a cigarette?'

- number, gender agreement constant
- person only varies

Questions arising

- One or more representations stored in the lexicon?
- What mechanism underlies variable agreement?
- Why variation only in person valuation, not gender/number valuation?

Proposal in a nutshell

- the same root (with gender, number from the lexicon)
=> up to nP all uses share the same structure

Proposal in a nutshell

- difference emerges at the DP-level:
 - modifiers: no DP, just *nP*
 - R-expressions: D with unvalued person feature reset to default (3rd person) at the interface
 - pronouns/vocatives: person feature on D valued by the CI interface (at spell-out), otherwise reset to a morphological default => 2nd/3rd person

Why is it important?

- if a feature value (person) in the extended nominal projection gets valued at spell-out, the nominal must form a phase
=> a novel argument for phase-hood of Polish DPs, fundamentally distinct from arguments based on extraction properties (narrow-syntax locality)

Emphasis on person features

- person feature must be licensed by the syntax-semantics interface (CI) (Zubizarreta and Pancheva 2017, Pancheva and Zubizarreta 2017 Kučerová 2018)
- for person feature to interact with the CI interface the feature must be located on a phase head
- if person feature valuation is tied to D \Rightarrow D is a phase head

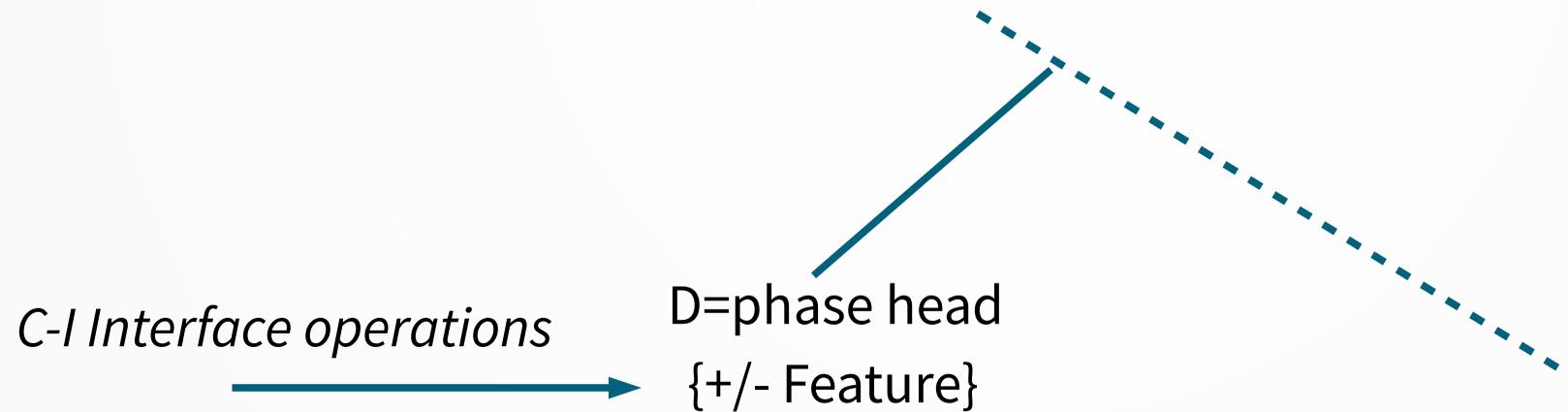
A note on the extent of the argument

- we make **no** claims regarding:
 - whether Slavic, and specifically Polish, has overt determiners
 - whether Polish has a Determiner head in the same sense as English or Italian
- we make a claim that:
 - Polish nominal expressions are phases
 - In our proposal, D stands for a nominal phase head (this could even be a non fixed head, Bošković 2014)

Preserving the Y model

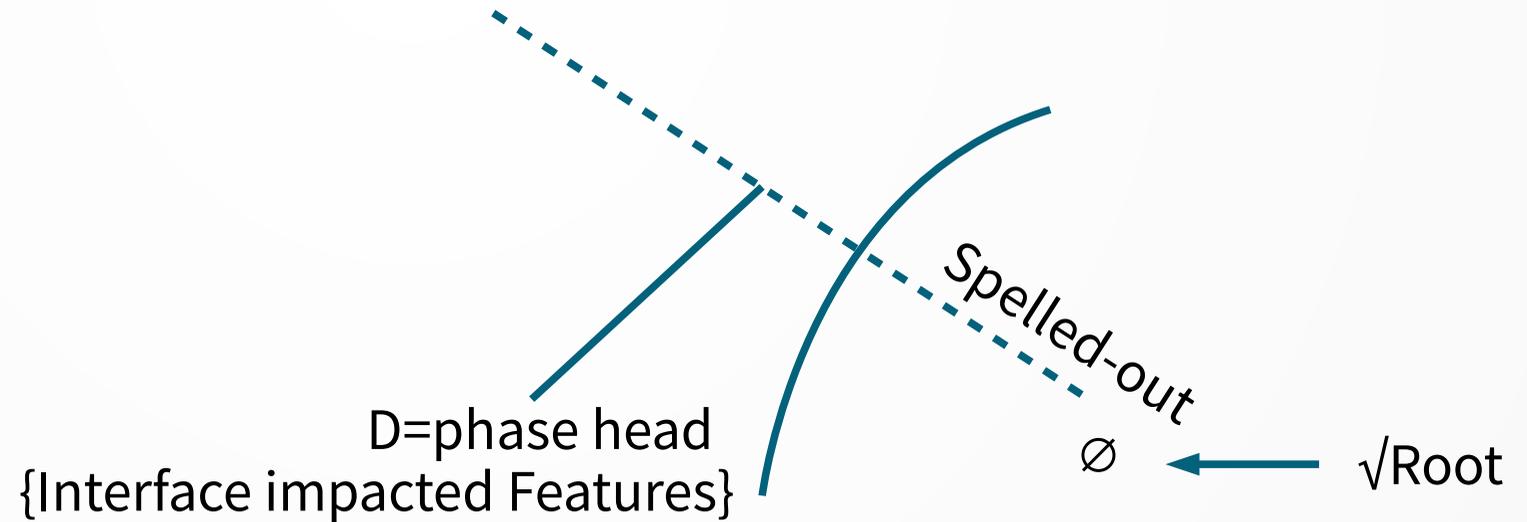
- the architecture we adopt preserves the Y model and exploits the inherent assumption that Spell-out is a window for interface feature interaction with syntactic structure
- we hypothesize that phase heads are inherently endowed with the ability to license features that can interact with interface operations

Spell out and interfaces



- Spell-out: a window where interface operations can impact feature composition of heads
- nominals: interface interaction with the feature composition of **the phase head**

Feature values manipulated at spell out



- our hypothesis is CI can manipulate features
- DM already does that by inserting root – its features go from zero to n

Derivational insight

- despite the syntactic variability, pan/pani syntactically identical to any other regular lexical noun in Polish
=> honorific uses strictly based on a regular nominal structure

Modifier structure

=> a truncated nominal that terminates at the **nP** level and is located at Spec-nP of head noun:

- this accounts for:
 - cannot be modified
 - obligatorily interpreted as a modifier
 - optional
 - adjacency requirement

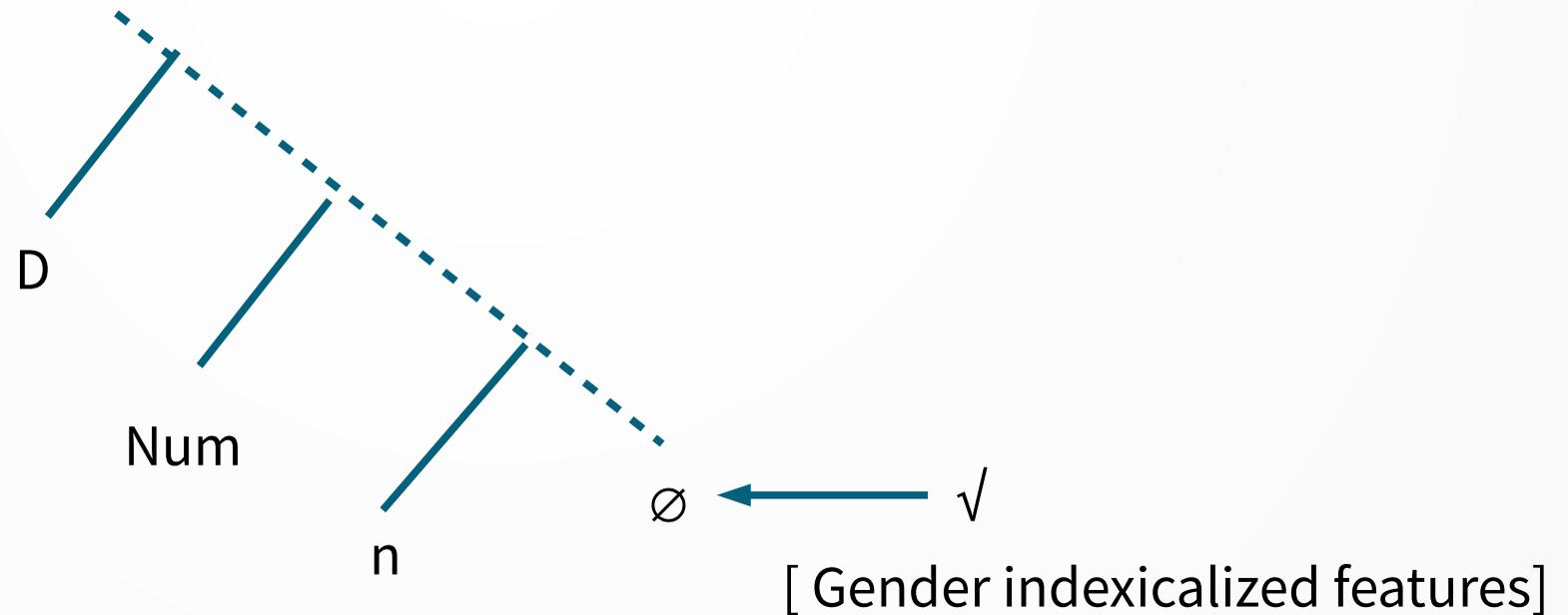
R-expression vs pronominal

- => variation in the composition of the nominal projection's phase head (D)
- D => interaction with C-I interface => impacts the [+/- Person] feature on D

D hosts +/- Person feature

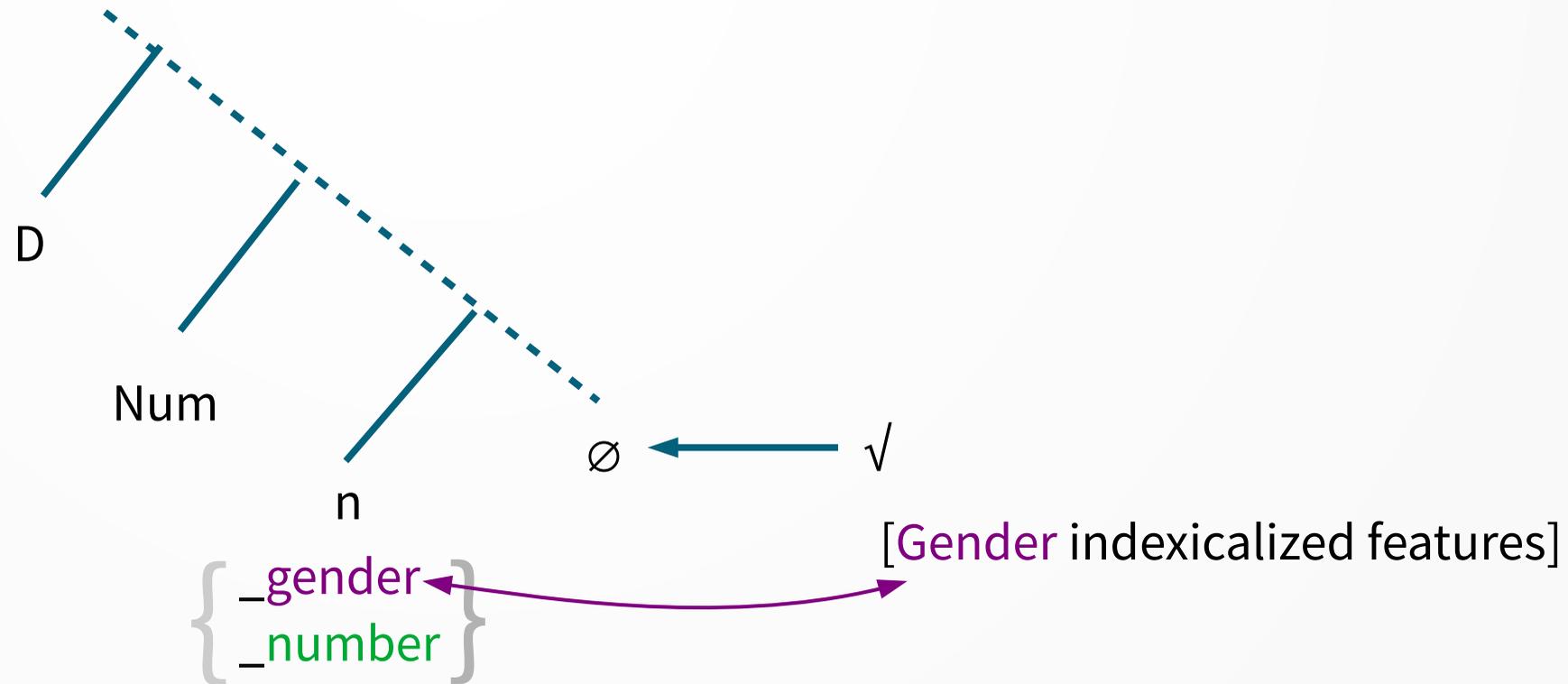
- person feature not an intrinsic property of a nominal representation stored in the lexicon (Ritter 1995; Béjar and Rezac 2003)
- **instead, person only comes to the derivation as part of D**

Simplified nominal structure: root



- root => Late Inserted
 - gender: indexical information on the root, not a syntactic feature (Acquaviva 2014)
 - unvalued n features projected in syntax
 - indexicalized gender mapped during late insertion of the root onto n

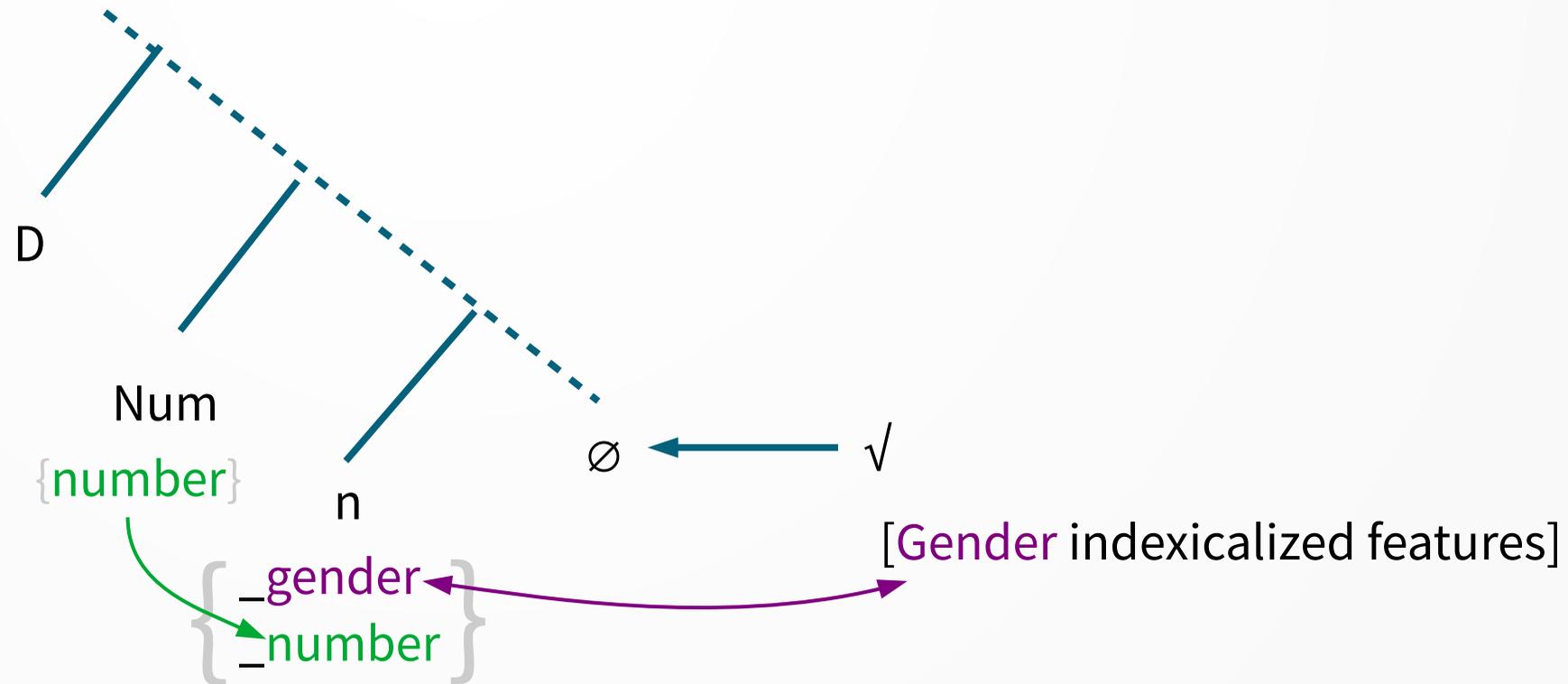
Simplified nominal structure: n



- *n* merged as a bundle of unvalued ϕ -features (gender and number)

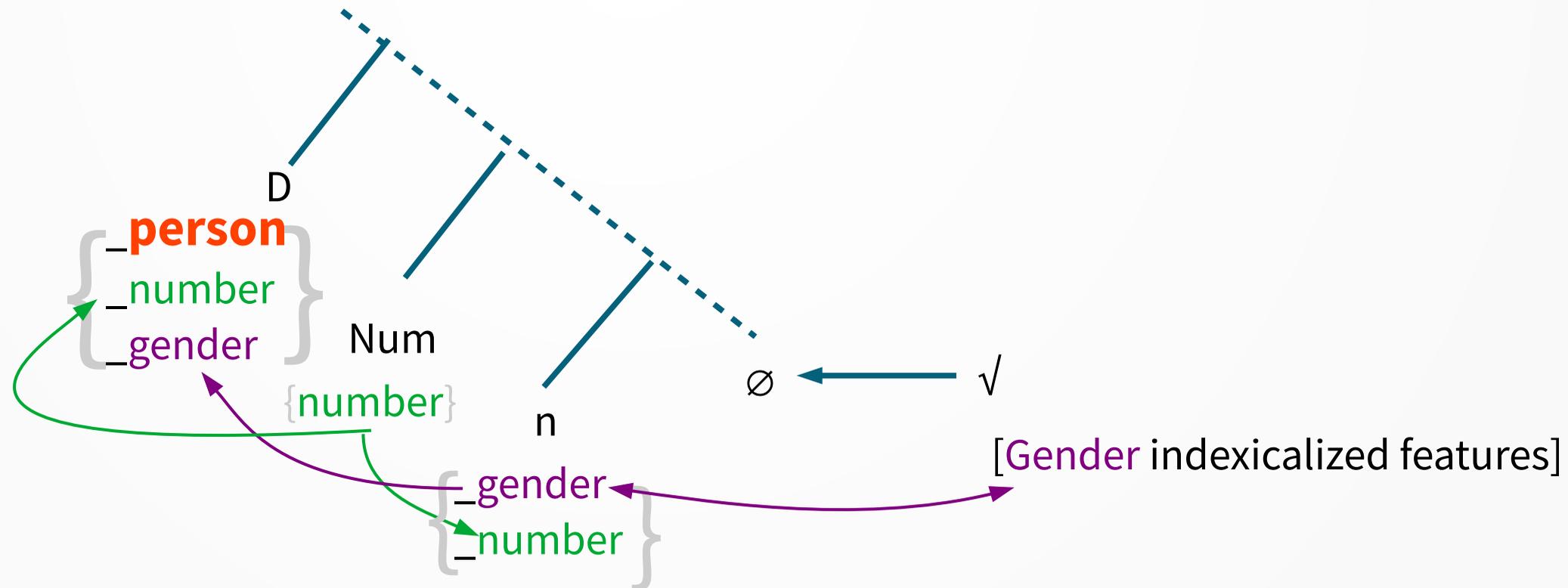
=> gender features matched via index on root

Simplified nominal structure: Num



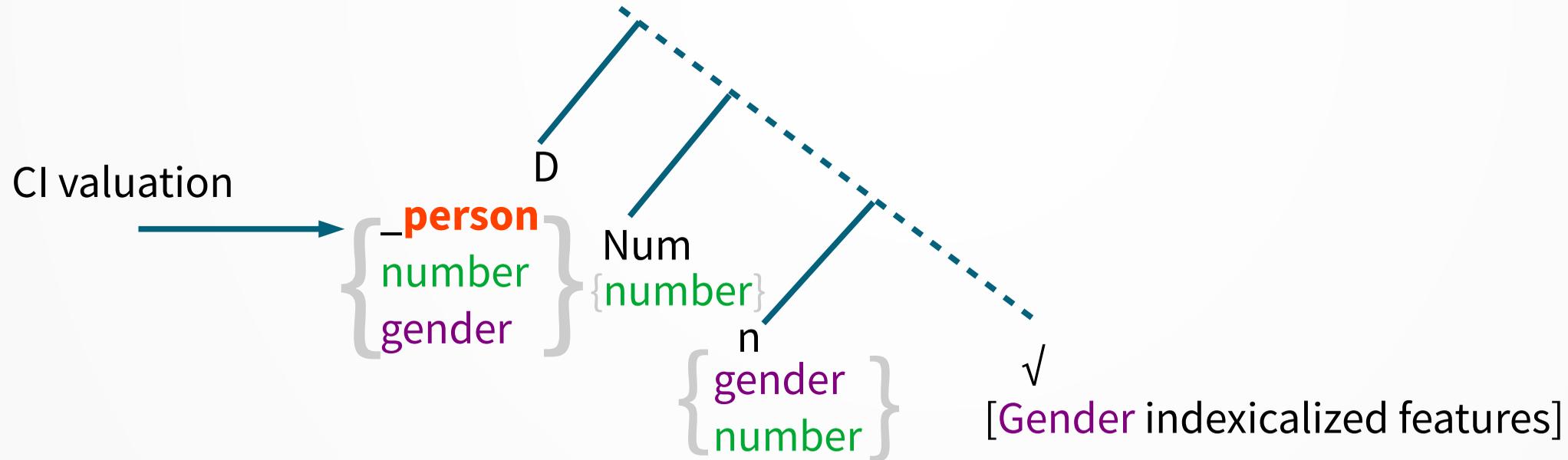
- *Num* merged as a valued number-feature
=> by agree, as matching and valuation, number on *n* gets valued

Simplified nominal structure: D



- D merged as a bundle of unvalued ϕ -features and an **unvalued person** feature
- D triggers agree with Num and n => the unvalued number and gender feature on D get matched and valued by the valued features on Num and n

Simplified nominal structure: person feature on D

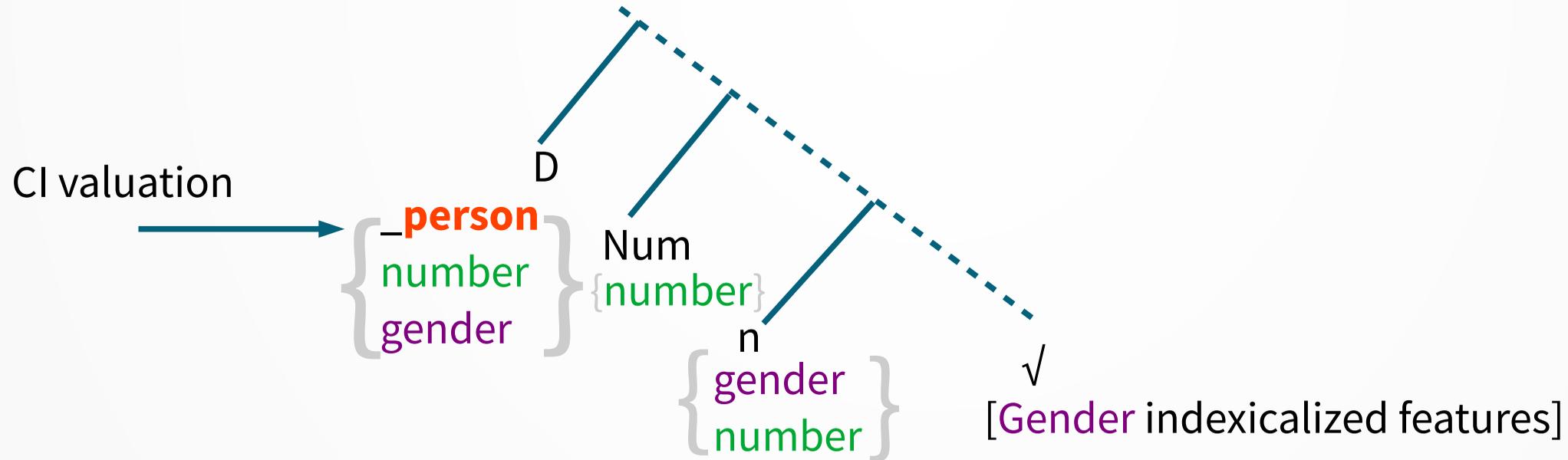


- the C-I interface has access to the whole Phase
 - ⇒ Spell out Domain & Phase head and its edge
- person requires syntax/semantics interface licensing

(Zubizarreta & Pancheva 2017; Pancheva & Zubizarreta 2017)

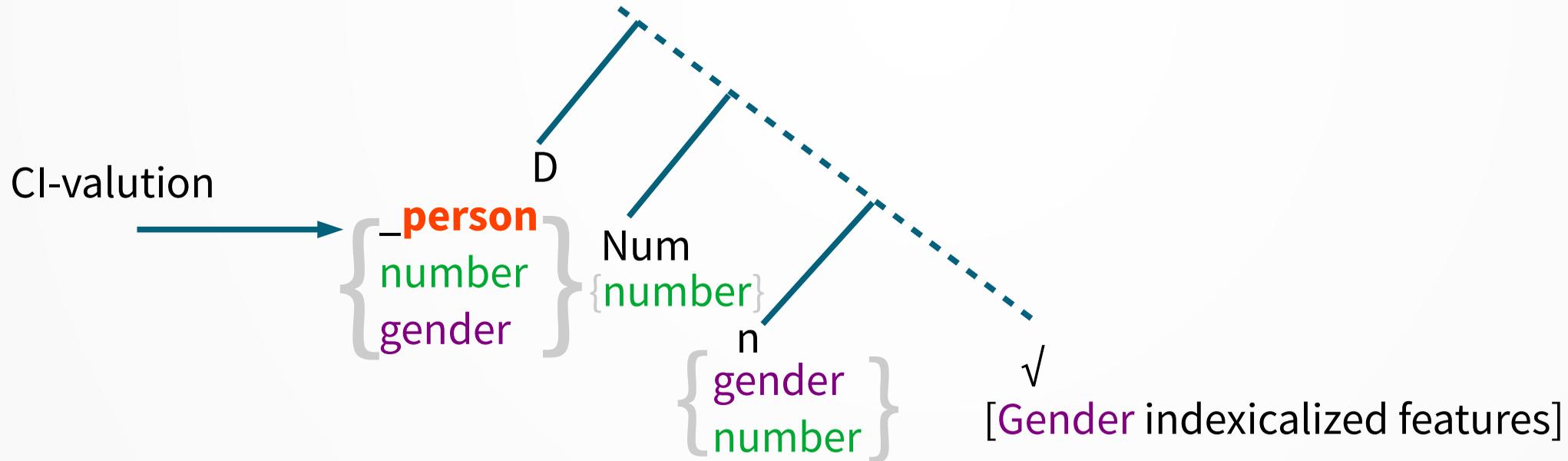
⇒ the C-I interface can manipulate PERSON features

Simplified nominal structure: person feature on D



- at spell-out, the person feature on D remains unvalued
- => the interfaces can supply a value

Morphology-interface valuation



- the morphology module then either realizes the syntactically unvalued feature as:
 - as the CI-informed value (+/-Participant → +/-Speaker, or +/-Hearer)
 - **morphological default** for person => **3rd person (pronominal/vocative usage)**

Person feature on D => DP duality *Pan/Pani*

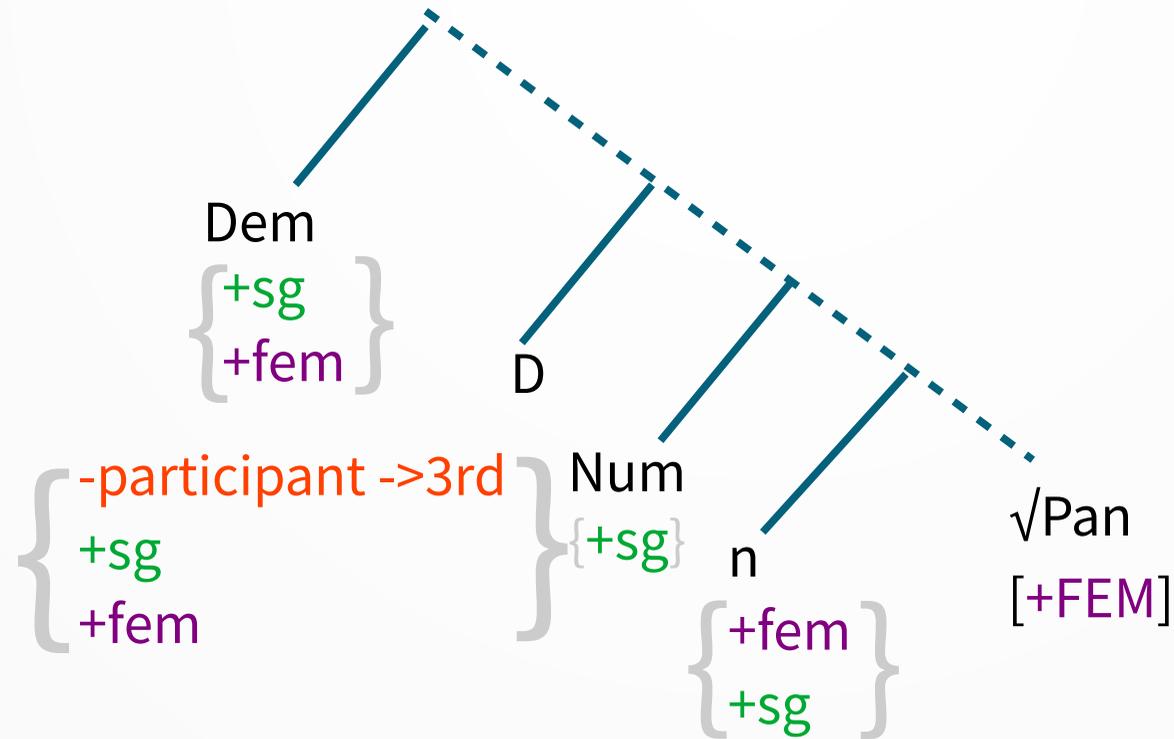
- CI-valuation of person features determines the type of expression a full DP *Pan/Pani* is:
 - [– **Participant**] => R-expression
 - [+ **Participant**] => pronominal-like usage and the 2nd/3rd person alternation
 - 3rd person: default; C-I uninformed valuation
 - 2nd person: marked; C-I informed valuation

Pan/Pani as R-expression

Nie znam tej **Pani**_j, ale wiem, że ona_j tu nie pracuje
not know this Mrs_j, but know that she_j here not work
'I do not know this lady but I know she does not work here.'

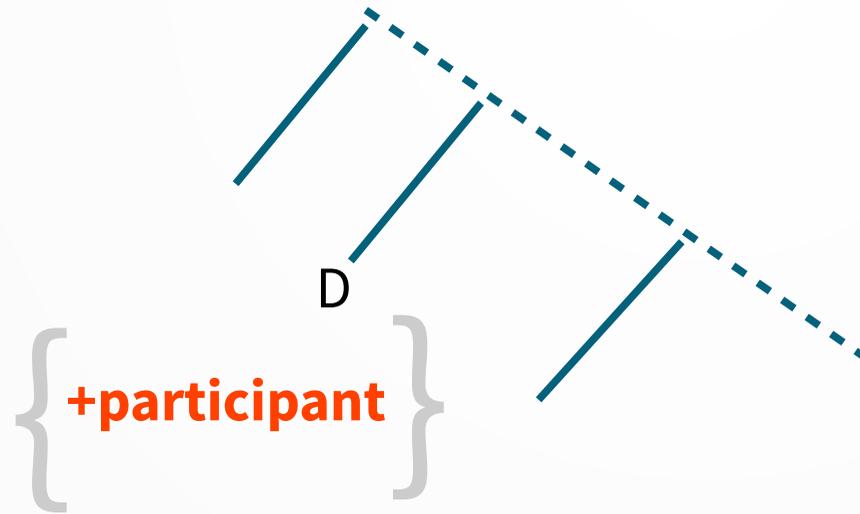
- unvalued person feature on D
- => CI value: [-participant] and the morphological default converge on 3rd person
- demonstrative in Spec-DP => concord with valued D

Pan/Pani as an R-expression



- Tej Pani
this lady

[+ Participant]



- 3rd person default when C-I uninformed value
 - 2nd person when C-I informed value
- => pronominal-like properties
- => no demonstratives

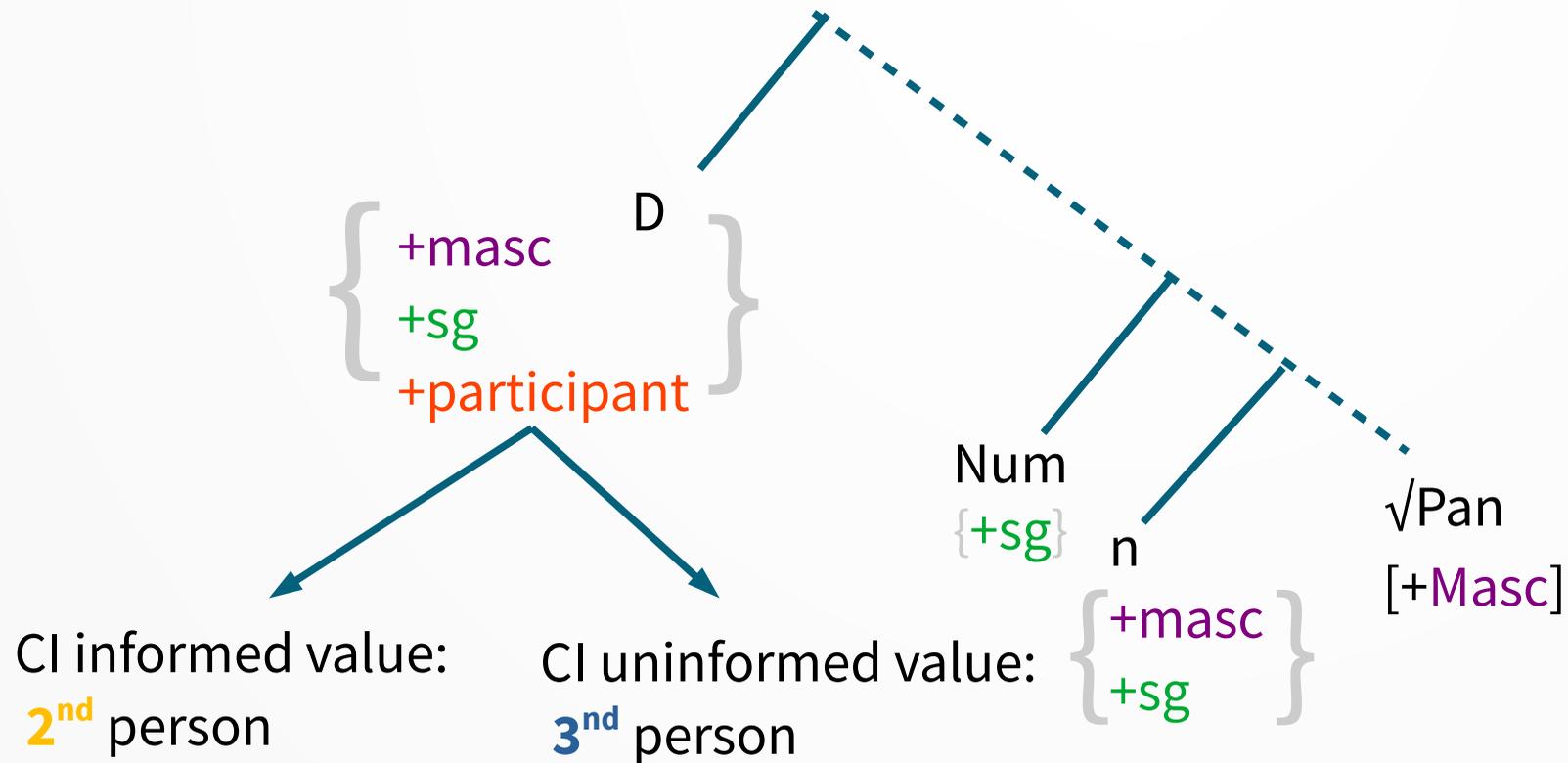
[+Participant]

- R-expressions such as *pan/pani* => can be in the 3rd or 2nd person
- Vocative
- 3rd vs 2nd person agreement alternation

a. (Panie _j),	masz	pan _j	papierosa
Mr _{.vocat.sg.2nd.masc.}	have _{.masc.sg. 2nd}	Mr _{.nom.masc.sg.2nd.}	cigarette
b. (Panie _j),	ma	pan _j	papierosa
Mr _{.vocat.sg.2nd.masc.}	have _{.masc.sg. 3rd}	Mr _{.nom.masc.sg.3rd.}	cigarette

‘Hey Mister, do you have a cigarette?’

Pan/Pani 2nd/3rd person alternation



- **Panie** masz **pan** vs **Panie** ma **pan**

Mr(2nd) have (2nd) you vs. Mr (2nd) have (3rd) you

Prediction: if DP is a phase, CI-valuation independent of the position in the clause

Szanowny Panie, chciałbym przedstawić **Pana** mojemu znajomemu
respected Mr.voc.m. sg wouldlike 1.m.sg introduce Mr. acc.2.m.sg. my friend.dat
'Sir I would like to introduce you to a friend of mine'

- if DP itself is a phase, it does not matter where in the structure such a DP is merged => CI valuation always possible

No speaker/hearer head needed

- the proposal thus differs from proposals that require a syntactic association with some form of a speaker/hearer head in the left periphery of a clause (e.g., Sigurðsson 2004)

Not every use of *Pan/Pani* involves a full phase

- *Pan/pani* can be a truncated **nominal nP**
=> not a phase
- no +/- Participant alternation
- no independent reference
- used as a modifier
- distribution limited to vicinity of head noun

Non-phase nominals

Nasza wspaniała Pani dyrektorka
our wonderful Mrs director
'our wonderful madame director'

- *Pan/Pani* marker as a modifier

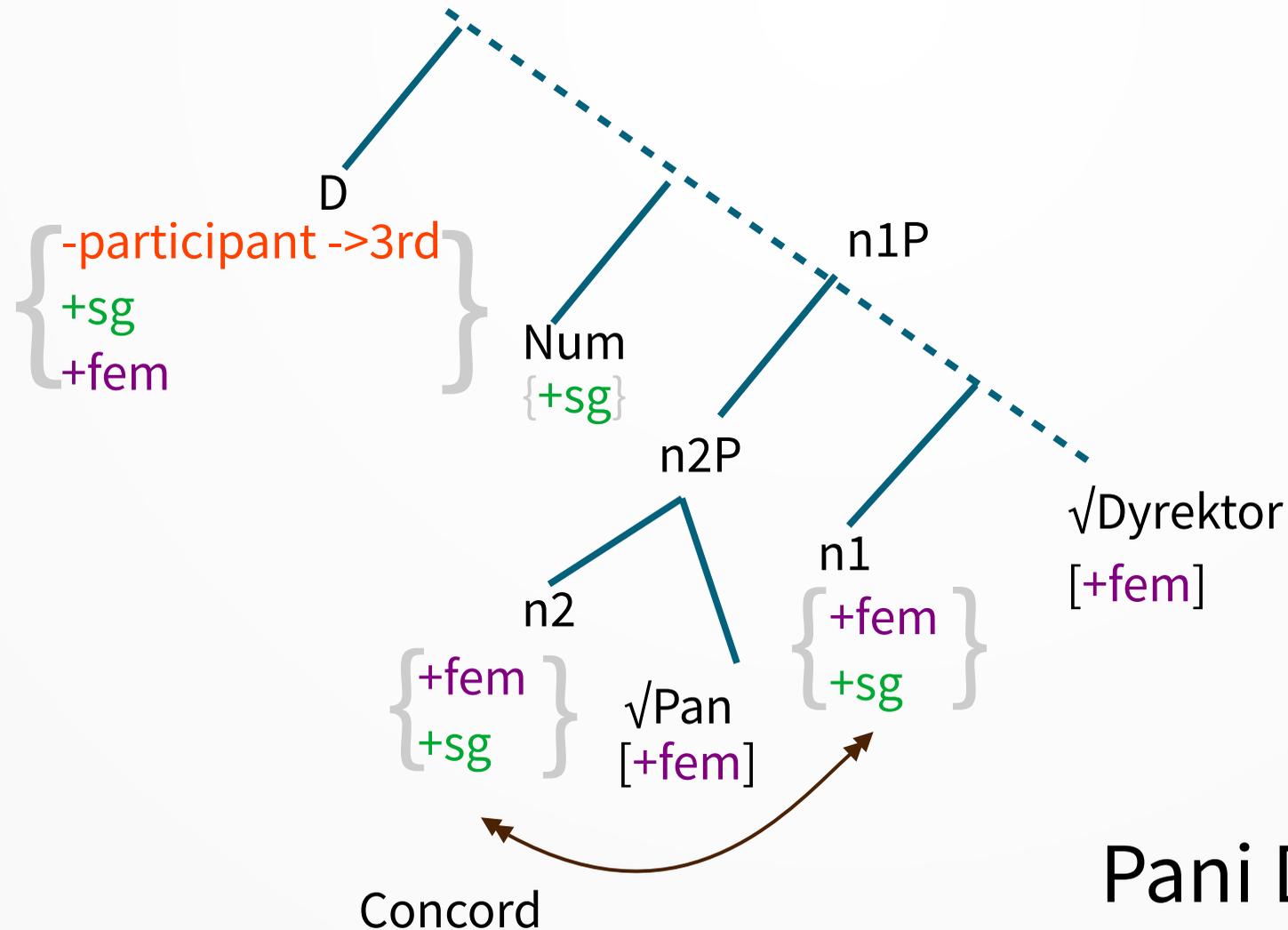
adjacency restriction

- when used as a modifier the *nP* Pan/Pani has to be preceded by all modifiers but attributive adjectives:

(*pani) ta (*pani) nasza (*pani) wspaniała (pani) dyrektorka generalna
that_{.fem.sg.3rd} our_{.fem.sg.3rd} wonderful_{.fem.sg.3rd} Mrs_{.sg.fem.3rd} headmaster_{.fem.sg.3rd} general_{.em.sg.3rd}

- attributive adjectives: NP adjacent
=> *pan/pani* as Spec-*nP*

Pan/Pani as an nP modifier



Pani Dyrektorka

Madame Director

Summary

- *Pan/Pani* => 3 distinct syntactic structures based on the same root and *nP*:
 - full DP [-person] → R expression
 - full DP [+person] → 2nd and 3rd person pronominal type
 - *nP* → nominal modifier/honorific

Consequences

- phase heads subject to interface feature manipulation
- novel methodology for determining a phase-status of a syntactic head, based on interactions with the CI module
- at least some Polish nominals are phases