

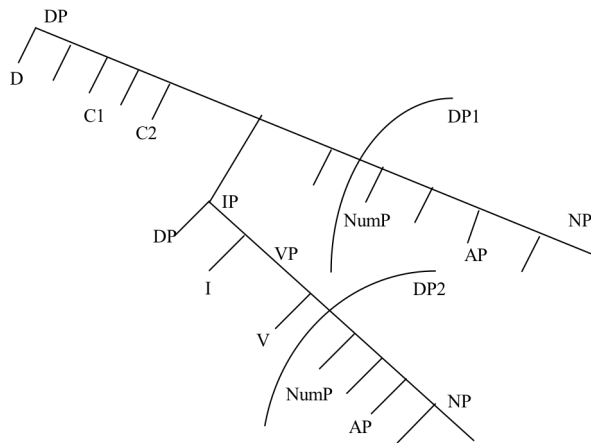
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Polish Relative Clause Structure

1. *Relative clause formation*

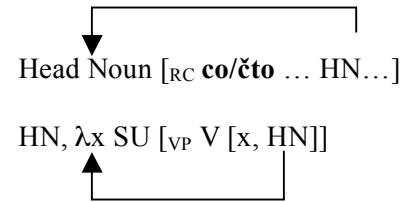
This talk will argue for a derivation of relative clauses along the lines proposed in Cinque (2008).

1.

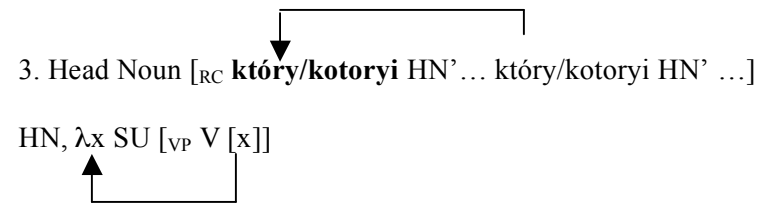


The derivation in (1) is an attempt to unify RC structure and Adjectival modification. Moreover, it aims at providing a single structure for both matching and raising analyses.

2. Raising analysis (Kayne 1994, Sauerland 1998)



- Który/kotoryi relative clauses are generated via operator movement and adjunction to the head noun. (Matching analysis, Sauerland 1998).



2. *Two types of relative clauses in Polish*

4. a. Co/čto relative clauses are generated via head noun movement (Raising analysis, Kayne 1994, Sauerland 1998). There are no null operators.
- b. Który/kotoryi relative clauses are generated via Matching analysis, Sauerland 1998).

2.1 Idiom readings

Vergnaud (1974) observed that idiom chunks can be relativized. Carlson (1977) noted asymmetries in Idiom relativization between the relative operator and a complementizer:

5. The headway *which/that John made was enormous

Polish and Russian behave in the same fashion:

6. a. Słów **co** on nie rzucał na wiatr
words that he not throw on wind
'Empty promises that he did not make'

??b. Słów **których** on nie rzucał na wiatr
words which he not throw on wind
'Empty promises that he did not make'

7. a. Slovo **čto** on ne brosal na veter
words that he not throw on wind
'Empty promises that he did not make'

??b. Slovo **kotoryh** on ne brosal na veter
words which he not throw on wind
'Empty promises that he did not make'

The assumption is that a movement chain allows for reconstruction to the copy position thus retaining an idiomatic reading.

1.3 Degree/Amount readings

Degree/amount readings are possible with relative clauses that are derived via head noun raising (Schachter 1973, Carlson 1977, Heim 1981 and others).

8. It will take us the rest of our long lives to drink the champagne that/Ø/*which they spilled that evening

Same determiners restrict degree readings and Idiom split-up

9. a. The/all/that/what headway that John made was impressive

*b. Some/much/most/little/this headway that John made was impressive.

10. It will take us the rest of our long lives to drink the/*much champagne that they spilled that evening

11. ??a. Całe życie nam zajmie wypić ten szampan, **który**
whole life us take drink this champagne which
oni rozlali dziś
they spilled today
'It will take us our whole life to drink all the champagne that the spilled today'

b. Całe życie nam zajmie wypić ten szampan, **co**
whole life us take drink this champagne that
oni rozlali dziś
they spilled today
'It will take us our whole life to drink all the champagne that the spilled today'

12. a. Nam potrebuetsia tselaja žizn', čtoby vypit' to
Us take whole life that drink that
shampanskoe, **čto** oni razlili etim večerom
champagne that they spilled this evening
'It will take us our whole life to drink all the champagne that they spilled this evening'

- *b. Nam potrebuetsia tselaja žizn', čtoby vypit' to
 Us take whole life that drink that
 shampanskoe, **kotoroe** oni razlili etim večerom.
 champagne which they spilled this evening
 'It will take us our whole life to drink all the champagne
 that they spilled this evening'

If we insert resumptive pronoun, no more degree/amount reading

- 13 ??a. Cafe zycie nam zajmie wypić ten szampan, **co**
 whole life us take drink this champagne that
 ja wiem że **go** oni rozlali dziś
 I know that it they spilled today
 'It will take us our whole life to drink all the champagne
 that I know that they spilled today'
- ??b. U nas zajmiot tseluju zhizn' vypit' vsio shampanskoe čto
 Us-gen take whole life drink all champagne that
 ja znaju **čto** oni prolili **ego** segodnia
 I know that they spilled it today
 'It will take us our whole life to drink all the champagne
 that I know that they spilled today'

but see Herdan (2008) for a different approach.

1.4 Appositive vs. restrictive readings

14. a. Mary, **who** you know, came to the party
 *b. Mary, **that** you know, came to the party
15. *a. Maria, **co** Marek pocałował poszła do domu
 Mary that Mark kissed went to home
 'Mary, who Mark kissed, went home'
- b. Maria, **którą** Marek pocałował poszła do domu
 Mary who Mark kissed went to home
 'Mary, who Mark kissed, went home'

16. *a. Maša, **čto** kupila radio pošla domoj
 Mary that bought radio went home
 'Mary, who bought a radio, went home'
- b. Masha, **kotoraja** kupila radio pošla domoj
 Mary who bought radio went home
 'Mary, who bought a radio, went home'

(See Del Gobbo, 2003)

Evidence that *co/čto* relative clause *must* be generated via head noun movement. (see also Aoun & Li 2003).

1.5 Condition-C

17. *a. [Którą koleżankę Janka_i]₁ Maria chce by on_i poznał t₁
 Which friend John's_i Mary wants that he_i meet
 'Which friend of John's Mary wants him to meet?'
- *b. [Kakogo druga Vani_i]₁ Maria hočet čtoby on_i uvidel t₁
 Which friend Vani-gen Maria wants that he see?
 'Which friend of Vania's Mary wants him to see?'
18. ??a. Znam koleżankę *Janka*₁ **co** on₁ powiedział że chce
 Know friend(fem) John₁ that he₁ said that wants
 polubić
 like
 'I know a friend of John that he said that he wants to
 like'
- ?b. Znam koleżankę *Janka*₁ **którą** on₁ powiedział że chce
 Know friend(fem) John₁ who he₁ said that wants
 polubić
 like
 'I know a friend of John that he said that he wants to
 like'

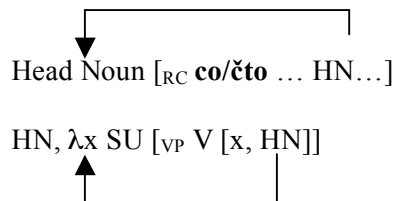
19. ??a. Ja znaju podругu Ivana₁ **čto** on₁ skazal čto hočet
I know friend(fem) Ivan₁ that he₁ said that wants
priglasit'
invite
'I know a friend of Ivan that he said he wants to invite'
- b. Ja znaju podругu Ivana₁ **kotoruju** on₁ skazal, čto hočet
I know friend-fem Ivan₁ who he₁ said that wants
priglasit'
invite
'I know a friend of Ivan who he said he wants to invite'

1.6 Recap

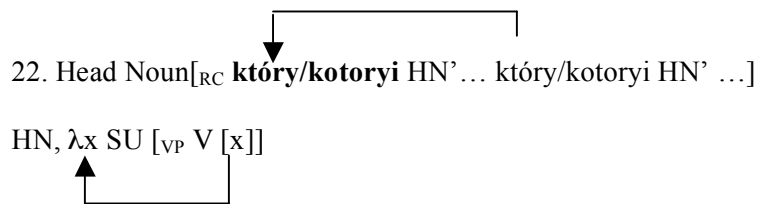
I have shown that relative clause formation is along the proposals in (5).

- Co/čto relative clauses are generated via head noun movement

21. Raising analysis (Sauerland 1998)



- Który/kotoryi relative clauses are generated via operator movement and adjunction to the head noun. (Matching analysis, Sauerland 1998).



2. Bare - VP Ellipsis or ACD Sluices

In Szczegielniak (2004) and Craenenbroeck & Liptak (2006, 2009) ACD like construction that looks more like sluicing:

23. a. Kornél AZT A LÁNYT hívta meg, akit ZOLTÁN.
Kornél that-A the girl-A invited PV who-A Zoltán
'The girl who Kornél invited was the one who Zoltán did.'

b. Kornél AZT A LÁNYT hívta meg, akit ZOLTÁN hívott
Kornél that-A the girl-A invited PV who-A Zoltán invited
meg/*meghivott.
pv/ pv-invited
'The girl who Kornél invited was the one who Zoltán did.'

24. Bare VP ellipsis where only the subject is not elided, is carried out via Focusing the Subject Gengel (2007), Craenenbroeck & Liptak (2006, 2009), but see Baltin (2003)

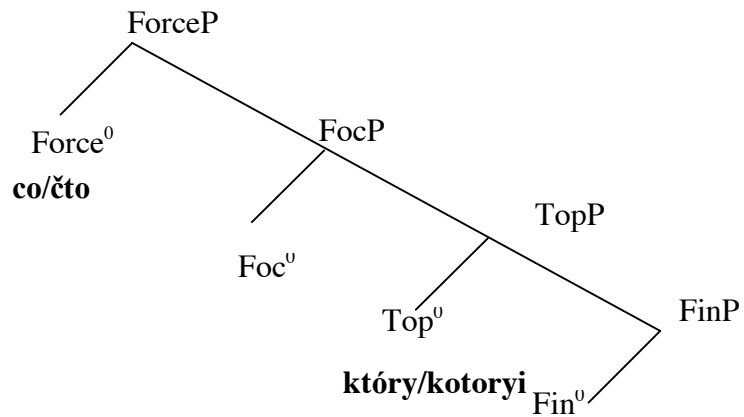
25. a. Ja przeczytałem każdą książkę **co** ty
I read every book that you
'I read every book that you did'
- *b. Ja przeczytałem każdą książkę **którá** ty
I read every book which you
'I read every book which you did'
- c. Ja będę czytał każdą książkę **co/którá** ty będziesz
I will read every book that/which you will
'I will read every book that you will'

26. a. Ja pročital každuju knigu **čto** ty
I read every book that you
'I read every book that you did'
- *b. Ja pročital každuju knigu **kotoruju** ty
I read every book which you
'I read every book that you did'

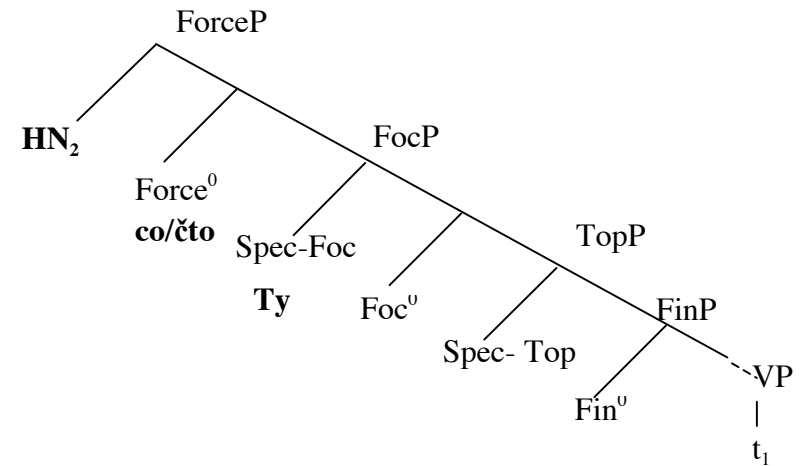
- c. Ja budu čitat' každuju knigu **čto/kotoruju** ty budesh
 I will read every book that/which you will
 'I will read every book that you will'

2.1 The Left Periphery

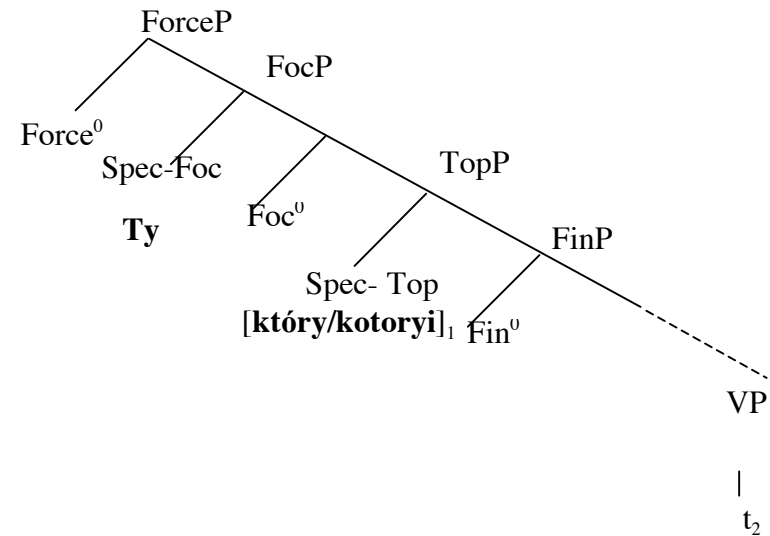
27. Position of *co/čto* and *który/kotoryi* markers in Left Periphery (Rizzi, 1997)



28. a. Ja przeczytałem każdą książkę **co** ty
 I read every book that you
 'I read every book that you did'

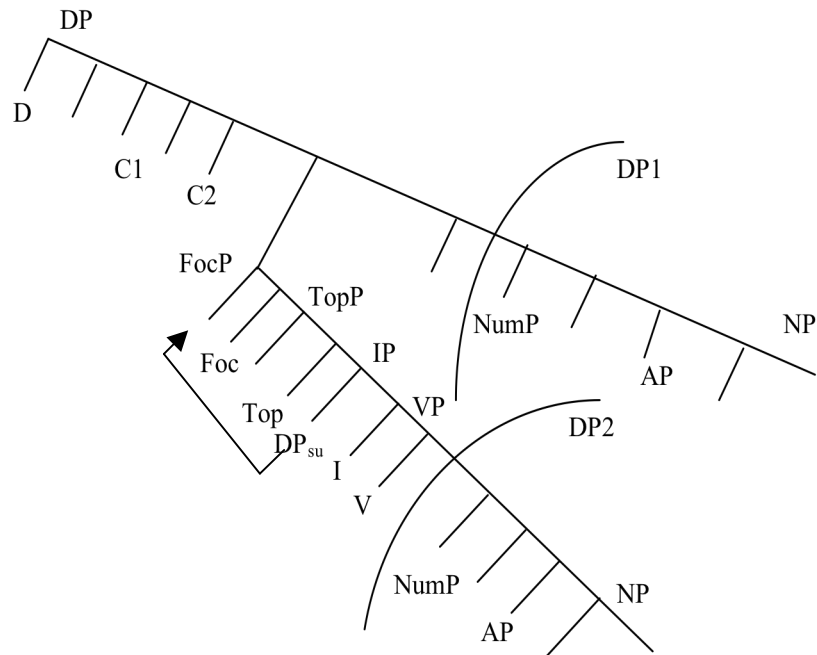


- *b. Ja przeczytałem każdą książkę **którą** ty
 I read every book that you
 'I read every book that you did'



3. Cinque (2008) modified

29.



30. We can account for why only raising construction allows vP deletion in ACD. If the vP is to be deleted then DP2 has to ‘escape’ it in order to license deletion of DP1.

4. Coordination like focus

The construction in (31) is similar to those involving coordination. In Polish and in Russian ACD is possible regardless of the type of relative marker and regardless whether it is bare or not, if we use the particle *I* ‘and’ right after the relative marker

31. a. Ja przeczytałem każdą książkę **co i** ty
I read every book that and you
‘I read every book that you did’
- b. Ja przeczytałem każdą książkę **którą i** ty
I read every book which and you
‘I read every book which you did’
- c. Ja będę czytał każdą książkę **co/którą i** ty będziesz
I will read every book that/which and you will
‘I will read every book that you will’
32. a. Ja pročital každuju knigu **čto i** ty
I read every book that and you
‘I read every book that you did’
- b. Ja pročital každuju knigu **kotoruju i** ty
I read every book which and you
‘I read every book that you did’
- c. Ja budu čitat’ každuju knigu **čto/kotoruju i** ty budesh
I will read every book that/which and you will
‘I will read every book that you will’

Note ‘i’ cannot just be ‘also’ since above examples fine with *również* ‘also’ at the end.

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