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The classification and interpretation of implicit null subjects and objects cross-linguistically in the light of the recent minimalist assumptions

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Introduction

Ellipsis is probably one of the hardest linguistic phenomena to study because it relies on virtually every aspect of human language: syntax, lexico-semantics, and pragmatics. This book verifies how diverse syntactic and lexico-semantic approaches work for empty subjects and objects in Polish and English, as well as in other languages. From Government and Binding (GB) to the Minimalist Program (MP), various theories in different ways are used to explain the contrasts and similarities between them. Yet, although much has been said in general terms about ellipsis in Slavic languages as a whole, we have no comprehensive, explanatory model of what it is actually dependent on, and what are its distributive and interpretive features. That is, we lack a thorough classification, including the most intriguing and problematic issues, such as impersonal reflexives and Accusative reflexives, for instance. In this book, I would like to propose a detailed classification and interpretation of implicit categories, taking advantage of mechanisms of the Minimalist Program, enriched by the lexico-semantic approach where necessary.

This monograph is organized as follows. The first chapter is an introduction to the rest of the book and summarizes mainly the syntactic and semantic research relevant to it. There is a general overview of the approaches to subject drop within the Minimalist Program (MP) in the first part of the chapter and the outline of the treatment of object deletion in the second part of this same chapter.

I lay the groundwork for the remainder of this monograph by describing the motivations and the basic questions and arguments to follow. With reference to subjects, it is suggested, as in Hornstein (1999), that there are two different types of such subjects with two radically different motivations and effects: OC PRO and NOC PRO subjects. It is demonstrated that OC and NOC constructions are of a different nature and that NOC constructions must have also an extra-syntactic analysis with reference to the interpretation of the implicit subject, which is completely separate from the analysis given for the interpretation of obligatory control constructions. I confirm the contrastive characteristics of these two types of omission by examining extensive English and Polish data in the first two chapters.

In chapter two, I examine the phenomenon of implicit subjects in English and Polish from the syntactic, minimalist perspective, and compare it with the data from Romance languages. Contrary to Holmberg's (2005) minimalist view, rejecting Agr-based pro as an empty category, and thus dismissing rich-inflection languages as pro-licensers, I show that the instances of a 'true' 'small' pro subject actually exist in languages with 'rich' inflection and agreement, but in infinitival and gerundive constructions, and not in finite constructions, where an affix is a phonologically overt, phi-complete subject. I also recommend that we should expand the distribution of 'little' pro subjects to 'non-pro-drop', poor-inflection languages like English, which does have 'small' pro subjects – not only in non-finite constructions, but in various forms of informal writing and spoken language as well. In such cases, the highest functional projection is just not projected. Moreover, since English inflection is 'poor', the form of the verb does not tell us much about the person, gender, and number of the dropped subject – at least, not of all the three features simultaneously: some of them are defective, sometimes even all, and then the verb is inflected only for Tense. The subject is recovered pragmatically, or on the basis of extra-linguistic context – just like in the case of arbitrary pro in my theory, i.e., an Indefinite, unspecified for phi(φ)-features and independent from agreement, which coincides with the recent minimalist assumptions concerning pro (as independent from Agr since Agr is no longer interpretable in the MP). In other words, such dropped subjects in some English registers can be called 'small' pro subjects, given that they are deprived of phi-features and are not agreement-based.

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In the third chapter, I demonstrate on the basis of extensive cross-linguistic data that the common notion of subject 'small' pro is, in fact, too narrow, and that Nominative indefinite reflexive clitic się should be added to this class. What is more, in section 3.4, I argue that the subject position (Spec-TP) of Polish -no/-to is occupied by 'little' pro as well (contrary to Lavine, 2005, who claims that it is rather the 'big' PROarb argument).

As far as empty objects are concerned, in chapter 4, I present a detailed analysis of object drop phenomenon and establish what it is that licences it in Polish. The first question is whether the object presence or absence actually depends on aspect in this language and, if yes, whether there are also other, more prominent factors. We will see that there are null objects in English, which undermines the common view (e.g., Authier, 1989) that English does not allow object drop, but this is, in fact, due to other than syntactic factors. All in all, we will see that another empty category common for English and Polish is object pro, which is dependent on verb classes. I will show that there is merely a difference in the productivity of the null object option in the two languages, which is mainly semantically/pragmatically determined. I follow Velasco and Muñoz (2002) and Cummins and Roberge (2003), who distinguish two types of objects: indefinite (or generic) and definite (or latent). Indefinite null objects do not have a contextually available referent, inducing an activity rather than an accomplishment reading of the verb. At the same time, the lexical characteristics of the verb can help to identify the referent of such null object. Definite object omission is, on the other hand, clearly contextual since the referent for definite object drop is always available in the discourse. Adopting the above division, the most important suggestion I make in chapter 4 is that we should treat non-referential subject pro in minimalist terms (i.e., arbitrary NOC PRO or non-Agr-based pro) and non-referential object pro (i.e., indefinite object drop) as two manifestations of the same phenomenon (pro), playing merely different roles in a sentence (that is, subject and object). Correspondingly, referential OC PRO subject should be treated on a par with definite object drop (referential/context-dependent object deletion) since they both represent the group of traces or anaphors. These are the key similarities between null subjects and objects.

In chapter 5, I continue the topic of implicit objects. Following Rice (1988) and Levin (1993), I recommend that the more predictable an

object is (given the meaning of the verb), the more likely it will be left out. There is a semantic class of verbs taking typical items as their objects, and that is why these objects can be dropped. This class of verbs, selected by Levin (1993), is referred to as Unspecified Object Alternation (UOA). I propose that the object omission after these verbs can be referred to as object pro which is syntactically present, despite being phonologically absent. It coincides with Roberge's (2002) Transitivity Requirement saying that an object position is always included in the VP, independently of a lexical choice of the verb. I demonstrate that also a limited group of reflexive verbs licenses null objects as the reflexive clitic itself can be called a(n) (overt) counterpart of object pro (bić się 'beat others'; pakować się 'pack'). I propose that Accusative się is just an explicit equivalent of null object pro and should be kept separate from the inherent reflexive clitic like that in śmiać się 'laugh', a view opposite to that of Golędzinowska's (2004). Nonetheless, following Roberge (2002) and Golędzinowska (2004), among others, I advocate that every verb merges with an object nominal (regardless of whether the nominal is pronounced or null), which is a purely syntactic rule. At the same time, I suggest that what is responsible for the presence/absence of an overt object should, or even must be associated with what is contributing to the interpretation of that object. Summing up, while all verbs require objects in the syntax, it is lexical, semantic, and pragmatic factors that determine whether the object will actually be phonetically realized. Moreover, what emerges from the investigation conducted in chapters 4 and 5 is that it is not necessarily aspect that influences object drop. It seems that various proposals, including verb alternations (chapter 5) and object's semantics (chapter 4), give us important semantic and syntactic information on object deletion. In addition, also genericity is related to null objects, being itself induced by certain adverbials. All in all, I provide evidence for the fact that the role of aspect in object drop phenomenon seems to be overestimated in the literature on this topic.

Finally, in the concluding chapter, I put forward a classification of implicit categories, followed by the description of their interpretive features, which presents a consistent account of these elements in accordance with the current trends in linguistics.

1 Theoretical outline

1.1 Introduction

This chapter is a theoretical introduction to the rest of this mono- graph and summarizes the syntactico-semantic research relevant to it. At this stage, I will not outline the basic assumptions of the Minimalist Program (MP) as such. Instead, I am rather going to focus on general approaches to empty subjects and objects, dating back to the early 1980s up to the current trends in the literature on this topic, and not only within the MP, which has emerged relatively recently. Thus, I would like to present the problem from a wider perspective, not only syntactic, but also semantic, especially with reference to covert objects. As we will see, many important questions in need of an answer will turn up meanwhile. The solutions will be presented in the subsequent chapters, as well as the application of the Minimalist theory to the implicit categories.

1.2 Theory of pro-drop: Recent Accounts of the Pro-drop Parameter (Null-subject Parameter)

Having been a major topic in the 1980s, pro-drop has been recently neglected in the syntactic studies (apart from a few exceptions: Neeleman and Szendrői, 2005, and Holmberg, 2005, among others).

This is partly due to the fact that within the minimalist approach Agreement projections do not exist, whereas in GB theory pro-drop was always connected with rich inflection and agreement.

Agreement has long been associated with pro-drop phenomenon. It is a classic observation that languages with rich inflectional morphology for person and number allow certain arguments of the verb to remain unexpressed syntactically rather easily. Italian, which has a rich subject agreement paradigm, as illustrated for the verb *credere* 'to believe' in (la), allows the subject to remain unexpressed syntactically, as in (lb). English, on the other hand, with its poor agreement paradigm, requires the subject to be present, as in (2b).

(1) a. credere 'to believe'

	Sing.	Pl.
1.	credo	crediamo
2.	credi	credete
3.	crede	credono

b. credo
    'I believe'

(2) a.

	Sing.	Pl.
1.	believe	believe
2.	believe	believe
3.	believes	believe

b. *(I) believe   (Ackema et al., 2006: 2)

A common term to refer to the phenomenon of not realizing an argument syntactically is 'pro-drop', the name given to it in Government and Binding (GB) Theory (Chomsky 1981). This name reflects the GB-analysis of the phenomenon. Since the Italian sentence in (lb) has the same meaning as the English one in (2b), it was argued that in cases of apparent subject drop there is in fact a syntactic subject present that realizes the argument in question, only this constituent does not have phonological content (it is 'dropped', as it were). In other words, an empty pronoun called 'pro' is supposed to be present in these cases.

In GB theory, it was assumed that arguments are always expressed syntactically. In cases of pro-drop an empty pronoun *pro* occupies the relevant argument position. Of course, not all languages allow pro-drop, so it cannot be assumed that *pro* is freely

available. Conditions on the occurrence of *pro* must therefore be imposed, and it is here that the connection with the verbal agreement paradigm of the language is supposed to play a crucial role.

Many languages show this agreement relation, i.e., the agreement between the person and number features of the subject of a sentence and the finite verb. However, as we have seen, not all languages show the same amount of variation in the form of the verb. Some languages, like Italian and Polish, distinguish three distinct persons and two distinct numbers for nouns. This gives six possible feature combinations for person and number. Every one of these different feature combinations in the subject results in a different form for the finite verb in Italian, as illustrated by (la) above. On the other hand, other languages, like English, which show subject-verb agreement as such, may not have distinct forms of the verb for each of the different person and number combinations in the subject ((2a) above). Italian and Polish can thus be said to have a rich inflectional paradigm for person and number agreement (or rich agreement morphology), while English has poor agreement morphology, which abounds in syncretism (one form expressing multiple combinations of features).

An influential proposal within GB theory concerning the conditions on pro-drop was put forward by Rizzi (1986). Rizzi suggested that *pro* is subject to two distinct types of licensing condition: the occurrence of an empty pronoun must be *formally* licensed, and the *content* of the empty element must be licensed. Formal licensing restricts the occurrence of *pro* to a particular syntactic position, or particular positions, in a language. According to Rizzi, there is an arbitrary list of heads in a language (drawn from the inventory of heads such as C, I, V, P, ...) that license the appearance of *pro* within their government domain.

If *pro* is formally allowed to occur, its content must also be licensed, or recoverable, if it is to be usable. This can be achieved by rich inflection: person and number affixes on the verb can identify the person and number features of *pro*, but only if each affix is uniquely specified for a particular person/number feature set – in other words, if the paradigm shows no syncretism.

Since formal licensing and licensing for content are kept distinct, this theory can account for the situation that a language has rich inflection, but does not allow pro-drop (see, for instance, Speas, 1995). In such cases, the inflection of the language is rich enough to identify the content of *pro*, but there happens to be no head

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in the language that formally licenses this element. The classic theory also predicts the reverse situation to be possible: *pro* may be formally licensed in a language, while the agreement inflection in the language is not rich enough to identify its content.

Baker (2006: 295) claims that languages that have rich agreement paradigms typically do not require a full NP argument in the agreed-with position, because – depending on one's theory – the agreement morpheme either counts as a pronoun in its own right, or else licenses the presence of a null pronoun. When a language that is otherwise a pro-drop language happens to lack an agreeing form for a particular combination of person, number, and tense, an overt noun phrase is sometimes required in just such environments; Hebrew and Irish are two prominent examples of this. Thus, agreement is generally required in order to have a null pronominal interpretation in languages that have agreement at all:

(3)   *If a language has agreeing forms, the agreement is needed to license a null pronoun.*

14   This statement is silent about whether a language with no agreement at all will have pro-drop: some do (Chinese), and others do not (Edo). Also, there are problematic borderline cases. Nevertheless, something like the above hypothesis seems to be true in many languages.

All in all, in GB theory the inflection has to be rich in order for *pro* to be licensed. However, soon after the classic theory was put forward, it became clear that this correlation was not entirely correct. Due to Huang's influential work (1984; 1989) and that of Neeleman and Szendrői's (2005; 2006), Chinese has become a famous example of a language that, despite a complete lack of agreement morphology on its verbs, allows arguments to remain unexpressed in both subject and object position:

(4)   (Ta) kanijian (ta) le
(he) see (he) ASP
'he saw him'

Apparently, it is no coincidence that Chinese lacks agreement morphology entirely. Jaeggli and Safir (1989) hypothesized on the basis of the literature available then that a language allows pro-drop if either all, or no cells in its agreement paradigm contain an affix. This is expressed by their Morphological Uniformity Condition:

(5) *Morphological Uniformity Condition* (Jaeggli and Safir 1989): "Null Subjects are permitted in all and only those languages that have morphologically uniform inflectional paradigms."

An inflectional paradigm is morphologically uniform if it contains either only underived or only morphologically complex (affixed) forms. If correct, the condition in (5) has important consequences for the theory on formal licensing of *pro*, as well as for the theory on how the content of *pro* is licensed.

Speas (1995) proposes that MUC follows from a general economy condition on phrase structure that, roughly, states that a phrase may only be projected if its head or specifier contains overt material. Speas assumes that in languages with rich agreement, the agreement affix is an independent lexical item which can be inserted directly in the head of AgrP, thereby licensing this projection. In languages with poor agreement this is impossible, and projection of AgrP is licensed only if this phrase contains an overt subject in its specifier position. Hence, pro-drop is ruled out in this type of language.

Within the MP (Chomsky 1993, 1995), the role played by pronouns and the category *pro* in [+/-null subject] languages is re-analyzed. Under minimalist assumptions, analyses like those of Kato (1999) and Speas (1995) consider pronominal agreement as an independent morpheme; that is, verbal endings are considered to be weak pronouns in the same way as unstressed pronouns. Kato (1999) argues that the distinction between a [+/-null subject] language is located in the distribution of weak pronouns and strong pronouns, as the trees in (6) and (7) show respectively:

(6)

	want	I	[I]	[want]
[English]	want	I	[I]	[want]
[Spanish]	quier-	-o	[-o]	[quier-]
[French]	veux	je	[je]	[veux]

(7)

```
                        AgrP
            ┌─────────────┴───────────┐
           NP                        AgrP
                            ┌──────────┴──────────┐
                          Agr                     VP
                       ┌───┴───┐            ┌──────┴──────┐
                                           NP            V'
                                                          │
                                                          V

      me          want        I        [I]        [want]
      yo          quier-      -o        [-o]       [quier-]
      moi         veux        je        [je]       [veux]
```
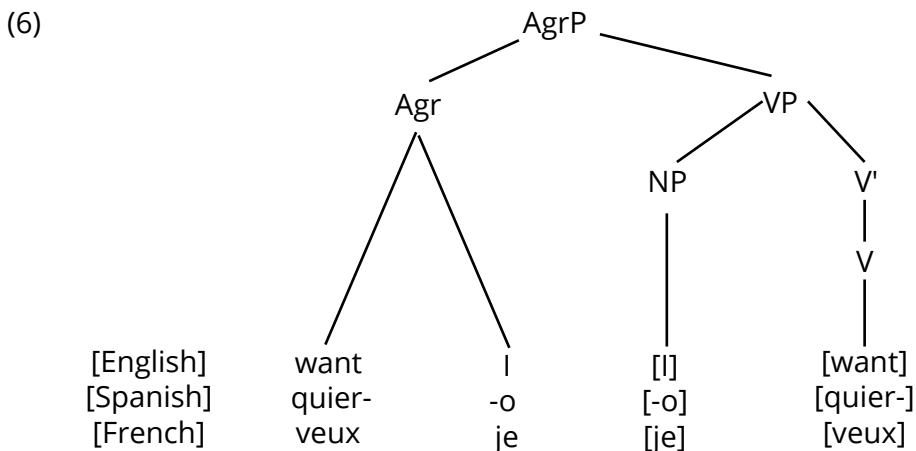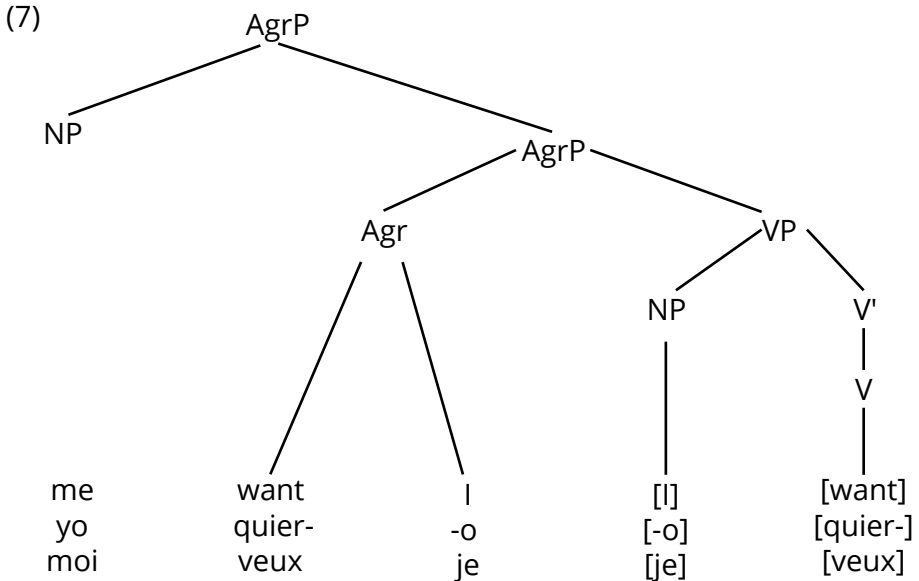
16   Within the group of weak pronouns, we include Nominative Case pronouns in English and French (*I, you, he* ...; *je, tu, il* ...) and the null element *pro* in Spanish (pronominal Agr). The group of strong pronouns includes the Dative/Accusative emphatic pronouns in English and French (*me, you, him* ...; *moi, toi, lui* ...) and the Nominative pronouns in Spanish (*yo, tú, él* ...), as well as the oblique ones (*con él, por ti* ...).

As in the trees in (6) and (7), and for [-null subject] languages or [-pronominal] Agr languages (following Kato's 1999 terminology), weak pronouns merge with a fully inflected verb and may also be doubled by strong pronouns (*me, I want* ...; *moi, je veux* ...). This type of duplication is not seen in surface structure for [+pronominal] Agr languages since the subject weak pronoun is Agr itself (*yo* Agr *quier-o*).

In Pollock's (1989) [weak/strong] Agr parameter, the difference in the richness of inflection among the languages under analysis is what is responsible for an explicit Agr in Spanish and French and an implicit Agr in English. As Rizzi (1986) defends, the recuperability of null subjects requires that the subjects be identified, something that is only possible in [strong] Agr languages. That is, the identification of *pro* is possible thanks to a rich inflection. Ordóñez and Treviño (1999) maintain this relationship between inflection and null subjects, but they eliminate Agr as a functional projection. On

the contrary, they consider Agr as an argument of the verb, as a clitic that absorbs thematic role and Case. In other words, the true argument of the verb is not *pro*, but Person Agr.

The above proposals call into question the very existence of *pro*. The classical GB assumption that pro-drop languages have a structural syntactic subject argument position raises the question of why the subject *pro* that fills this position must be empty. Why, if this position exists, is it impossible to place a subject with phonological content there, just as in non-pro-drop languages? After all, overt subjects in pro-drop languages do not show any alternation between having A and A'-properties. Faced with this question, two lines of inquiry are open.

If we interpret the classic GB Case filter in its strictest sense, only NPs with phonological content require Case (cf. Chomsky 1981). That would mean *pro* does not require Case. Therefore, if agreement in a language is such that it absorbs a verb's Case, only empty *pro* can appear as nominal argument, and no overt NPs are allowed as such.

There is a possible alternative account. Perhaps the reason why there can be no overt subjects in a specific 'EPP' position (spec-IP) in pro-drop languages is not so much that the subject agreement absorbs the Nominative Case, but that this agreement can itself be the realization of the subject argument. It allows for realization of subject arguments (and perhaps other arguments) in other ways than by a constituent in a particular syntactic A-position.[1] The subject argument in a pro-drop language can be realized morphologically instead of syntactically, by the agreement on the verb.

Holmberg (2005) points out that there are two analyses of pro-drop that adhere to minimalist assumptions. First, one could assume that *pro* does not exist, and that the information in I^0 is interpreted as the subject. However, this approach cannot work for languages like Japanese or Chinese, which lack agreement altogether, and yet allow null subjects *pro*. Thus, according to Neeleman and Szendrői (2005; 2006), dramatically different accounts of radical and agreement-related pro-drop are necessary. The alternative is to assume that omitted pronouns carry a full set of phi-features. Nonetheless, this strongly suggests an analysis of pro-drop as zero spell-out of

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[1] An A-position is crucially a position that is required by either the Projection Principle, or the EPP, just as in Chomsky (1986). The Extended Projection Principle is a universal, according to which [Spec, IP] is an A-position.

regular pronouns, as otherwise one would have to postulate a different covert pronoun for each overt one, thus unnecessarily multiplying the number of lexical entries.

In the current literature on the topic of empty subjects (Hornstein, 1999; Holmberg, 2005; Müller, 2005; Neeleman and Szendrői, 2005; Jelinek, 2006, among others), the commonly asked question is whether there is a *pro* in a syntactic A-position that is licensed by inflection on the verb, or whether there is no such syntactic subject position and it is the inflection itself that realizes the syntactic argument. This brings us to the question of how to account for language variation in syntactic argument drop. Jelinek's (2006) Pronominal Argument Parameter is based on the idea that arguments can be realized by inflectional morphology on the verb.

(8)   An affix with the phi features < α, β > can realize an argument of the predicate (yes/no).

According to the Pronominal Argument Parameter, languages either realize all arguments by morphologically attached elements, or realize none at all. However, the problems with the classic pro-drop parameter discussed earlier have led some researchers to proposals that divide languages not into pro-drop and non-pro-drop languages, but into languages that may allow pro-drop in some constructions, or for some persons, but not in others.

Summing up, the classic idea of pro-drop was that if a language has rich agreement, it

may leave the associated arguments empty. This idea soon proved to be problematic in view of the amount of variation that languages show in pro-drop and agreement patterns. As a response to this, the connection between agreement morphology and empty arguments might be abandoned altogether, which would predict a random distribution of agreement properties and empty argument possibilities across languages. This is not what the observed data show either, though.

The various approaches presented in this chapter show that the classic idea is not entirely wrong, but should be refined. It turns out that, at a deeper level of analysis, many more sophisticated and interesting connections between agreement morphology and the absence of one or more syntactic arguments can be found. Therefore, I will try to advance the current theory, showing multiple ways of treating the same linguistic problems. I am going to opt for one of these investigation methods, adding my own ideas to explain the

problem of empty categories on the basis of cross-linguistic data. That will be done in the second and third chapter.

1.3 The notion of PRO and control – theoretical background

The proper formulation of Control Theory has always posed a problem in the theory of grammar. Various theories (structural, thematic, Binding Theory analyses, semantic, and pragmatic) have been proposed to explain the properties of the interpretation of PRO. Nonetheless, to date, very little is known about the control module.

The basis of this chapter is an elementary conceptual idea of the Minimalist Program to eliminate complex conditions on syntactic structure with simpler, local conditions on derivations. For reasons of simplicity and "virtual conceptual necessity" (Chomsky, 1995), only the articulatory-perceptual interface (PF) and the conceptual-intensional interface (LF) are distinguished as levels at which syntactic constraints may hold. The idea contrasts sharply with other principles and parameters theories of syntax, such as Government and Binding (GB) Theory, as presented in Chomsky (1981 and 1982). The three modules – Theta Theory, Binding Theory, and Control Theory – appear to be incompatible with the Minimalist Program at a fundamental abstract level. None of them are involved in the core operations of the Minimalist Program: structure building, movement, and feature checking. As a result of this, it is plausible to investigate how and where Theta Theory, Binding Theory, and Control Theory work, since they, or something like them is certainly required, and previous answers seem to be excluded as possibilities.

The Minimalist Program grew out of the Principles and Parameters framework. Earlier theories in that framework, such as Government and Binding Theory, include a rich set of principles from which it is possible to deduce logically the grammaticality of an utterance. In the Minimalist Program, as presented in Chomsky (1995), it was attempted to simplify the theory of the syntax of natural language to the greatest possible extent. However, even at this time the Minimalist Program is still highly conceptual, and there are a wide range of proposals within the MP which address syntactic problems in strikingly different ways. In fact, standard work in the Minimalist Program has left matters pretty much in this GB state, although this

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is not quite accurate. Recently, control has become a hot area of research largely for the light it promises to shed on minimalist approaches to grammar. My proposal shares with that of Hornstein's (1999) the intuition that control should be reduced to movement. There are two other approaches to control set within minimalist assumptions. Martin (2001) develops a theory exploiting the notion of null Case proposed by Chomsky and Lasnik (1993) to account for the distribution of PRO. Manzini and Roussou (1997) develop a theory of control in terms of feature movement of heads at LF. The wealth of approaches is to be welcomed given the awkward position that the control module has in the Minimalist Program. The version of the Minimalist Program which I will outline is the version with which I feel most comfortable.

A fundamental insight is from Hornstein (1999), who demonstrates that Control Theory may be divided into two separate phenomena with two different clusters of properties: 'obligatory' control and 'non-obligatory' or 'optional' control.

He proposed a theory of theta assignment at LF, which allowed theta roles from more than one head to be assigned to the same Case-chain under certain conditions. Such multiple assignment of theta roles is no longer automatically disallowed, since the Theta Criterion and the Projection Principle, which ruled it out in GB theory, are not part of the Minimalist Program. The theory of theta assignment at LF is used to explain the properties of occurrence and interpretation of 'obligatory control' in the following LF structure:

(9)   [$_{AgrSP}$ Jamie$_1$ [$_{VP}$ t$_1$´´ wants [$_{IP}$ t$_1$´ to [$_{VP}$ t$_1$ leave]]]]

The successive-cyclic Case-chain {Jamie$_1$, t$_1$´´, t$_1$´, t$_1$} is within range to be theta-marked at LF by two different verbs, *wants* and *leave*, and receives both theta roles. There is nothing semantically amiss if we assume that the same element occupies various thematic/argument positions. This, in fact, is how variables in logic are generally understood. In short, were movement between theta-positions possible, we would know how to interpret the resulting structure. Besides, in an approach to grammatical architecture like the MP that does not recognize a level of representation like D-structure, such movement would actually be quite natural. Thus, if in contrast to GB-style theories one dispenses with D-structure, then it is natural to dispense with the restrictions that D-structure brought with it. One of these is movement into theta-positions, the basic construct of the Movement Theory of Control (MTC) (Boeckx and Hornstein, 2004).

Summing up so far, Movement Theory of Control (MTC) – first proposed in Hornstein (1999) and further developed in Boeckx and Hornstein (2004; 2006) – is a simple theory based on a straight-forward idea. The MTC rests on a well-understood construct (A-movement) and on a supposition that movement into θ-pos-itions is licit. As such, it is easy to understand and easy to apply. It is useful because its leading ideas and technical assumptions help narrow down analytic options.

By contrast, as observed by Boeckx and Hornstein (2006) in sup-port of their analysis, the standard GB view of control has many disadvantages, bringing with it the following additional constructs of grammar:

- the Control module, whose function it is to determine the con-trollers of PRO and the interpretation that a particular control structure carries;
- a theory-internal formative PRO, with its own idiosyncratic dis-tributional requirements (e.g., null Case);
- a set of grammatical processes (construal rules) added to the movement processes already assumed to be available, whose function it is to establish dependencies quite similar to those that movement already affords.

On the other hand, treating control as movement (MTC) shows, as Boeckx and Hornstein (2006) maintain, the following virtues, all in accordance with recent minimalist economy conditions:

- the MTC gets rid of an odd-looking element PRO (entirely be-reft of interpretable features, being both phonetically null and anaphorically dependent) by reducing it to an NP-trace;
- the MTC does not need special government conditions (unlike the PRO theorem) or special features like null Case to license the distribution of PRO. Indeed, it is expected that PRO will appear in positions from which A-movement is licensed (gen-erally speaking, non-Case-marked positions);
- the MTC gets rid of an entire GB module (the control module) by reducing the anaphoric dependencies typical of OC PRO to those witnessed in A-chains (traces);
- elimination of construal rules;
- the MTC explains why PRO is always null at PF: copies left by movement are always null at PF;
- the MTC also explains the locality of control (specifically, the fact that PRO occurs only in the highest subject position, and the fact that the controller/PRO relation generally obeys the

Principle of Minimal Distance PMD): PRO must be bound by the closest antecedent. For example, in (10) PRO must be controlled by the object, not the subject:

(10)   John$_1$ persuaded Mary$_2$ PRO*$_{1/2}$ to go home.

The PMD follows on a Movement Theory of Control if one assumes that movement is governed by relativized minimality (a standard assumption). To see this, consider what the derivation of (11) would have to be like were *John* the antecedent of PRO.

(11)   John [VP John persuaded Mary [IP John to [John go home]]]

The copies of *John* mark the history of derivation, in accordance with the now standard copy theory of movement (see Chomsky 1993). In moving from the embedded Spec,IP to the matrix Spec,VP *John* crosses the intervening DP *Mary* – this move violates minimality, and thus is banned. The only derivation not prohibited by minimality is one in which the DP in Spec,IP raises to the next highest potential DP position – in this case, the object. The derivation is illustrated in (12).

(12)   John [VP John persuaded Mary [IP Mary to [Mary go home]]]

So, if PRO is the residue of A-movement, the PMD automatically follows.
- the MTC explains that PRO occurs in non-finite, tense- or φ-defective contexts because subject (A-)movement typically takes place from non-finite, uninflected clauses:

(13)   a. John is likely [t to be home]
       b. *John is likely [t is home]

- the interpretive restrictions found in (obligatory) control contexts (Hornstein, 1999: obligatoriness of a [local] antecedent, ban on split antecedents) are explained by the MTC: for example, the fact that (obligatory control) PRO requires a local c-commanding antecedent follows from the fact that PROs are traces in A-chains and share the properties that traces have. The prohibition against split antecedents (*John$_1$ asked Mary$_2$ PRO$_{1+2}$ to kiss each other$_{1+2}$) follows from the fact that two elements cannot move from the same position (i.e., that traces cannot have split antecedents).

In sum, according to Hornstein (1999) and Boeckx and Hornstein (2004; 2006), the MTC answers questions and provides a unified

theory of PRO's distribution and interpretation, while at the same time simplifying the theory as a whole. Simplification is, in turn, a part of economy, which is one of the main minimalist conditions. Hence, the movement hypothesis offers a kind of reductionism that minimalism requires.

So far, I have provided background information needed for the remainder of this chapter: a short history of control and a summary of GB and minimalist treatments of control phenomenon, where it is the minimalist approach to control which is taken in this book. I have described the MP mechanisms which Hornstein (1999) proposes to replace Control Theory, i.e., independently motivated requirements of movement and feature checking, reducing obligatory control to movement. In the next section, the properties of optional control will be discussed.

1.4 Obligatory control versus non-obligatory control

To date, little consideration has been given to the problem of 'optional control'. In this section, I would like to focus on this issue, showing that, indeed, Control Theory is superfluous and can be eliminated. Following Hornstein (1999), it will be suggested that optional control – unlike obligatory control – can be explained by the Binding Theory. It will be argued that PRO should be replaced by an element like *pro*.

As already stated, control is not a unified phenomenon: obligatory control is to be explained differently from non-obligatory control, and now a syntactic explanation for obligatory control (OC) constructions will be offered, as proposed by Hornstein (1999). It will be shown how many differences there are between obligatory and non-obligatory control, and it will be explained why these differences exist. I will concentrate on differences because the similarities between the two are obvious. Both obligatory control constructions and non-obligatory control constructions involve 'missing' or phonologically null theta-marked subjects of non-finite clauses. It is on the basis of this observation that it has been assumed that both types of constructions were regarded as being instances of the same underlying phenomena, and therefore a unified theory to explain both types of constructions − Control Theory − was proposed.

Yet, in the Minimalist Program, obligatory control construction are explained by independently motivated constraints on Case movement and theta marking. This explains both the distribution and the interpretation of obligatory control constructions. Obligatory control constructions have been assimilated to movement in the Minimalist Program. Why is it not possible for non-obligatory control to be explained in the same way? Consider the following data:

(14) a. John wanted PRO to behave himself/*oneself .
      b. Johnthought that it was time PRO to behave himself/oneself.

(15) a. John asked PRO to see himself/*oneself in the mirror.
      b. John asked how PRO to see himself/oneself in the mirror.

(16) a. John told Mary PRO to wash herself/*himself/*themselves.
      b. John told Mary that it was time PRO to wash herself/himself/themselves.

(17) a. John's sister wanted PRO to behave herself/*himself.
      b. PRO to behave myself/himself/oneself would be wrong.

The examples in (14-17a), presenting obligatory control, have a number of similarities which distinguish them from (14-17b), showing non-obligatory control, and vice versa. Following Nishigauchi (1984) and Hornstein (1999), the properties differentiating the two types of control are listed below:

  • Uniqueness of Antecedence (Nishigauchi, 1984): In the examples (14-17a), there is always a single unique interpretation for PRO, while in the examples (14-17b) there are numerous possible interpretations, because there are multiple probable antecedents. This is reflected by the number of potential reflexives in (14-17b). Let us have a look at a more complicated example in (18):

(18) John told Bill that Fred said that Peter believed that it would be inadvisable [PRO to perjure himself].   (Nishigauchi, 1984)

Here *John, Bill, Fred,* or *Peter* can, in principle, be chosen as the antecedent for PRO. Still, it has been suggested in the literature that the NP most proximate to the argument PRO is most likely to control PRO. From these observations, we can conclude that obligatory control requires a single controller, even if the given functional domain contains more than one argument bearing a seemingly identical thematic relation;

- Long-distance Antecedence (Hornstein, 1999): In optional control constructions, the antecedent may be non-local; in fact, it may be arbitrarily far away from its controlee. This does not happen in obligatory control constructions;
- Arbitrary PRO (indefiniteness): The (14-17b) examples allow the 'arbitrary PRO' interpretation. The 'arbitrary PRO' interpretation is impossible in obligatory control constructions;
- Split Antecedence (Nishigauchi, 1984): Optionally controlled PRO has a number of other features which make its interpretation similar to a pronoun's. For example, in optional control constructions we find split antecedence, in which more than one antecedent binds the controlee; we see this is (16b), where PRO can refer to both *John* and *Mary* and where PRO can be the antecedent for the reflexive *themselves*. This is not possible for obligatorily controlled PRO. The following sentences further prove that obligatory control does not allow split antecedents:

(19) a. *John$_i$ told Mary$_j$ [how [PRO$_{ij}$ to feed each other]].
      b. *John$_i$ gave Mary$_j$ a toy [PRO$_{ij}$ to amuse each other with];
                                                (Nishigauchi, 1984)

- Overtness of Antecedent (Hornstein, 1999): In obligatory control constructions, the antecedent must be an overt DP. We see this in the ungrammaticality of sentences like **John was promised to leave*. However, in non-obligatory control constructions, the antecedent need not be syntactically realized in the sentence (*It is forbidden to smoke here; Dancing on the edge is too dangerous*).

Dating back to the early 1980s, we already find accounts of control similar to that of Hornstein's (1999). Nishigauchi (1984) offers two types of control: thematic control and pragmatic control, which resemble our current minimalist notions of OC PRO and NOC PRO, respectively. He claims that thematic control, unlike pragmatic control, shows such properties as uniqueness of the antecedent and lack of split antecedents, and above all – obligatoriness. It means that in thematic control, PRO is obligatorily controlled if a controller is available. Thus, OC cases do not allow ambiguity. In connection with obligatoriness and lack of ambiguity, Nishigauchi (1984) checks what happens in pragmatic control sentences like the following:

(20) a. John believes [that it would be inadvisable [PRO to behave oneself that way]].

b. John told Mary [that it would be inadvisable [PRO to behave
   oneself that way]].   (Nishigauchi, 1984)

In these sentences, the subject PRO does not have a controller
within the sentence, although there is an NP which can serve as a
controller. Usually, when PRO is not controlled by an NP in the sen-
tence, it receives a generic interpretation, i.e., 'one'. This is true in
(20). However, a PRO without a sentence-internal controller can be
interpreted as referring to some specific individual, given a proper
context:

(21)   Context: John has been hobbling around for two weeks with a
       sprained ankle. One of his friends asks another:
       A: So what did the nurse tell him yesterday?
       B: She$_i$ said that it was not advisable [PRO$_j$ to run so soon after
       injuring himself].   (Nishigauchi, 1984)

In contrast, PRO certainly cannot be controlled by some individual
not mentioned in the sentence when there is an argument which
bears the strongest thematic relation available within the functional
domain – even given a context which could make such an interpret-
ation plausible:

(22)   A: What did Susan do for her child?
       B: *She$_i$ bought a toy [PRO$_j$ to amuse himself with].
                (Nishigauchi, 1984)

According to Nishigauchi (1984), the contrast between (21) and
(22) is to show that an argument PRO serves essentially as some
kind of pronoun when it is not thematically controlled, but acts
as an anaphor when it has a controller determined on the basis
of thematic relations, similarly to NOC and OC PRO, respectively.
Nishigauchi (1984) points out some similarities between the behav-
ior of thematically determined PRO and that of so-called anaphors.
In fact, most of the properties of thematic control discussed above
also apply to anaphors: (i) uniqueness, (ii) lack of split antecedents,
and (iii) obligatoriness. However, as Nishigauchi rightly observes,
uniqueness does not apply to anaphors in the same manner. In
sentences like the following, the reflexive *himself* can be bound by
either *John* or *Bill:*

(23)   John$_i$ talked to Bill$_j$ about himself$_i$.

Nonetheless, it has been acknowledged that properties (ii)-(iii)
are possessed by anaphors. I am convinced by the arguments

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presented in Nishigauchi (1984) that, since some occurrences of PRO share the properties of anaphors, such PRO's should be treated as anaphors, and not as nothing but a coincidence. Going further, if thematically determined PRO is to be treated as an anaphor, then we can say that it is a counterpart of minimalist OC PRO, which – as a trace – is the result of movement and – like an anaphor – needs a local antecedent.

In turn, NOC PRO, just as pronouns, does not need to be c-commanded by its antecedent, and this antecedent may not be local. In fact, its antecedent need not even be syntactically realized in the same sentence. Moreover, similarly to a pronoun, NOC PRO does not need to have a unique antecedent, and usually may have many potential binders, split antecedence being observed as well. By each of these criteria, non-obligatory control constructions act like pronouns, as in Nishigauchi (1984). Hornstein (1999) advances this view and compares NOC PRO to *pro* – a covert counterpart of a pronoun. Consequently, given that "*pro* is a pure pronominal like its overt counterpart" (Chomsky 1982, p. 82), if there is any condition, we expect it to apply to *pro* as well as to lexical argument positions. For instance, it seems that other components of the human language faculty than syntax determine which antecedent a pronoun may take: largely, the semantics and the discourse component specify an overt pronoun's indexation. Likewise, I will assume that these extra-syntactic components determine the interpretation of PRO in non-obligatory control constructions – a covert pronominal subject, or simply *pro*. Thus, semantic factors are responsible for the interpretation of NOC PRO, and syntactic factors for its distribution (non-finite clauses).

What then is the actual structural difference between obligatory and non-obligatory control constructions? Now, the answer is simple: Although both types of control surface as 'missing' subject of non-finite clauses, we have seen through closer investigation that the two types of control have different clusters of properties, an indication that different parts of the language faculty may be responsible for them.

Summing up, we can conclude that in contrast to obligatory control constructions, the interpretation of non-obligatory control constructions is not determined by syntax, and cannot possibly be determined by the syntactic component. Instead, the antecedents of NOC constructions are determined in other components of the grammar, in particular in the semantic and the discourse component.

In short, OC and NOC constructions are of a different nature, hence NOC constructions must have an extra-syntactic analysis which is completely separate from the analysis given in the literature for obligatory control constructions.

1.5 Some exceptions to the rule

Although the Movement Theory of Control (MTC) neatly accounts for many differences between NOC and OC PRO, there are some 'exceptions to the rule'. However, most of them can be finally explained within the MTC and – as a result – constitute a good argument in its favor.

1.5.1 Split antecedents in OC PRO constructions

Rooryck (2000) notes that for certain control verbs, the 'Source' and the 'Recipient' argument can jointly control the PRO subject of the infinitival argument, which undermines both Hornstein's (1999) and Nishigauchi's (1984) conjectures that OC PRO does not allow split antecedents. This type of 'split' control becomes clearer when the interpretation of the infinitive requires a plural subject. This interpretation can be forced by adding an element such as *together* to the infinitive as in (24).

(24) Kim$_i$ offered/promised/asked Sandy$_j$ OC PRO$_{i+j}$ to go to the movies together.

As Rooryck (2000) points out, surprisingly, some verbs of the *force* type expressing 'influence' also allow for 'split' control if the infinitive requires a plural interpretation for its subject. These data have gone unnoticed in the literature. There is a minimal contrast between the (b) sentence of (25), which does not allow for 'split' control, and the (b) sentences of (26-28), which do:

(25) a. Kim$_i$ told/coerced Sandy$_j$ [OC PRO$_{*i/j}$ to do the dishes]
b. Kim$_i$ told/coerced Sandy$_j$ [OC PRO$_{*i+j}$ to do the dishes together]
(26) a. Kim$_i$ forced Sandy$_j$ [OC PRO$_{?i+j}$ to do the dishes together]
b. Kim$_i$ cajoled Sandy$_j$ into OC PRO$_{i+j}$ doing the dishes together]
(27) a. Kim$_i$ made Sandy$_j$ get used to OC PRO$_{i+j}$ doing the dishes together]

   b. Kim$_i$ nagged/browbeat Sandy$_j$ [OC PRO$_{i+j}$ to do the dishes together]
(28) a. Kim$_i$ convinced/persuaded Sandy$_j$ [OC PRO$_{j/*i}$ to do the dishes]
   b. Kim$_i$ convinced/persuaded Sandy$_j$ [OC PRO$_{i+j}$ to do the dishes together]   (Rooryck, 2000)

The difference between the verbs in (25) and those in (26-28) is that the exertion of influence over the Patient argument *Sandy* is progressive and spreads out over time in verbs such as *cajole*, *nag* or *persuade*, while the way in which influence is exerted over the Patient in verbs such as *tell* or *coerce* is punctual and immediate. Rooryck (2000) proposes that the relevant generalization seems to be that 'split' antecedents are possible in obligatorily-controlled structures if the matrix verb expresses 'progressive' exertion of influence over the Patient. These cases demonstrate the interaction between lexical aspect and OC PRO and the importance of verb's semantics, which is neglected in the literature on this topic.

   At this stage, it is worth noting that not all verbs allow PRO subjects, whether it is NOC or OC PRO. As observed by Hornstein and Lightfoot (H&L) (1987), there are verbs like *believe*, which do not permit an empty subject in the lower clause in English, whether it is an anaphor, or a pronoun:

(29) a. *I believe [PRO to be happy].
   b. I believe [Max to be happy].   (H&L, 1987)

Hornstein and Lightfoot (1987) provide a whole list of verbs for English which behave like *believe* in disallowing a PRO subject in a lower infinitival clause:

acknowledge, admit, affirm, allege, announce, assume, certify, concede, consider, declare, deduce, demonstrate, determine, discern, disclose, discover, establish, feel, figure, guess, hold, imagine, judge, know, note, posit, proclaim, reckon, recognize, remember, report, reveal, rule, specify, state, stipulate, suppose, surmise, take, trust, understand, verify.

These verbs, to which one might add those of perception and causation, all take direct objects. Furthermore, there is a distinct non-propositional semantic relationship between the verb and its direct object.

   By contrast, verbs like *expect, intend*, and *want* are free to take an infinitival complement with a PRO subject:

(30) a. I expect/intend/want [PRO to be happy].
   b. I expect/*intend/want [Max to be happy].   (H&L, 1987)

These verbs either allow no direct object (*intend*), or else allow a direct object with an elliptical propositional reading; hence *I expect John* means 'I expect John to come or to be here'. By contrast, *I believe John* is not elliptical. It has been noted by many that an infinitival subject is often transparent in reference. This is also true of many direct objects. Hence, verbs whose direct objects are semantically opaque allow empty infinitival subjects. The fact that the verbs from the list do not allow empty infinitival subjects can be plausibly related to these semantic properties, which once again proves the importance of a semantic component in the investigation of empty categories in general.

1.5.2 Finite control phenomenon

There exists an extensive survey of the so-called 'finite control constructions' where control takes place out of finite clauses (Landau, 2004; Rodrigues, 2004), which is unusual for the control phenomenon. Nonetheless, there are severe restrictions on when finite control can take place. Following Boeckx and Hornstein (2006), movement can take place out of a finite clause in Polish, for instance, only if the finite clause out of which extraction takes place is temporally deficient (subjunctive). Landau (2004) documents numerous cases where control is allowed inside subjunctive clauses:

(31) Hem kivu   še   yelxu   ha-bayta mukdam.   [Hebrew]
      Mieli nadzieję, że   pójdą   do domu wcześnie.   [Polish]
      they hoped   that will-go.3pl home   early
      'They hoped to go home early.'
              (adapted from Landau, 2004, and translated into Polish)

Rodrigues (2004) discusses an interesting gender agreement property active in Brazilian Portuguese (BP) that provides evidence for a movement analysis of the finite control construction under discussion. She observes that although certain nouns in Romance are invariably marked as [+feminine], semantically they can refer to either male or female entities. I have checked that the same situation occurs in Polish, which can mean that the Romance and Slavic languages behave similarly in this respect (like in many others, as will be shown further in this book). Such a noun is the Romance and Polish counterpart of *victim*. When *victim* is combined with the auxiliary verb to be followed by a participial form, the participial form records feminine gender agreement, as the data in (32) from Italian,

BP, and Polish illustrate (all the examples in (32)-(38) I adapted from Rodrigues, 2004, adding their Polish equivalents):

(32)   a. La vittima fu aggredita/*aggredito dai fascisti.   [Italian]
            the victim-fem was.3sg attacked-fem/*masc by fascists
        b. A vítima$_1$ foi atacada$_1$/??atacado$_1$ na rua.
            the victim-fem was-3sg attacked-fem/??masc in.the street
                                                                [BP]
        c. Ofiara została zaatakowana/*zaatakowany na ulicy.
                                                            [Polish]
            the victim-fem was-3sg.fem attacked-fem/*masc on street
            'The victim was attacked by (the) fascists/on the street.'

(33) shows that feminine gender is also morphologically recorded by a universal quantifier *all*, related to the [+fem] noun:

(33)   a. Tutte/*tutti le vittime arrivarono nello stesso momento.
                                                            [Italian]
            all-fem/*masc the victims-fem arrived-3pl in-the same
            moment
        b. Todas/*todos as vítimas chegaram no mesmo horário.
                                                                [BP]
            all-fem/*masc the victims-fem arrived-3pl at.the same time
        c. Wszystkie/*wszyscy ofiary przybyły/*przybyli w tym samym
            momencie.   [Polish]
            all-fem/*masc the victims-fem arrived-3pl.fem/*masc in
            the same moment
            'All the victims arrived at the same time.'

Rodrigues shows that in obligatory control configurations, raising configurations, and finite control constructions, a quantifier or a past participle form within the embedded clause agrees in gender with the antecedent of the embedded null subject, as represented in (34):

(34)   [$_S$ ...[DP$_{Fem}$]$_1$...[$_{SInf}$ PRO$_1$/e_1...Past Participle$_{Fem}$/Quantifer$_{Fem}$]]

Rodrigues explains the definition under (34) as follows: the embedded null subject is a trace of its antecedent. The past participle and quantifier agree locally with the [+fem] DP, prior to the movement of this DP to the matrix clause.

    To support her hypothesis, Rodrigues provides the following examples, demonstrating obligatory control (35), raising (36), and finite control (37):

(35) a. La vittima$_1$ ha cercato di essere trasferita$_1$/??trasferito$_1$
      the victim-fem had-3sg tried of be-inf transferred-fem/??masc
      alla stazione di polizia di College Park.   [Italian]
      to.the station of police of College Park

   b. A vítima$_1$ tentou ser transferida$_1$/??transferido$_1$ para a
      the victim-fem tried be-inf transferred-fem/??masc to the
      delegacia de polícia de College Park.   [BP]
      station of police of College Park

   c. Ofiara starała się zostać przetransportowana/
      the victim-fem tried-3sg.fem Refl be-inf transferred-fem/
      *przetransportowany do komendy policji w College Park.
                                                    [Polish]
      *masc to the station of police in College Park
      'The victim tried to be transferred to the police station at
      College Park.'

(36) a. La vittima sembra essere ferita/*ferito.   [Italian]
      the victim seems-3sg be-inf injured-fem/*masc

   b. A vítima pareceu estar ferida/*?ferido.   [BP]

   c. Ofiara zdawała się być ranna/*ranny.   [Polish]
      the victim seemed-3sg.fem be-inf injured-fem/*masc
      'The victim seemed to be injured.'

(37) a. A vítima$_1$ disse que e_1 foi atacada$_1$/??atacado$_1$ na rua.
                                                    [BP]

   b. Ofiara zeznała, że została zaatakowana/*zaatakowany na
      ulicy.   [Polish]
      the victim-fem said-3sg.fem/*masc that was-3sg.fem/*masc
      attacked-fem/*masc on street
      The victim said that he was attacked on the street.'

Rodrigues's analysis correctly predicts that gender agreement
would fail if movement does not take place, as in non-obligatory
control configurations. As (38) shows, this prediction is borne out
for Italian and BP.

(38) a. La vittima$_1$ ha   detto che essere *portata$_1$/portato
      alla stazione di polizia
      the victim-fem has-3sg said that be-inf brought-*fem/masc
      to.the station of police
      non e   una buona idea.   [Italian]
      not is-3sg a   good idea

b. A vítima₁   disse   que ser ?? levada₁/levado₁ para a delegacia de polícia não
   the victim-fem said-3sg that be-inf brought-??fem/masc to the station of police not
   é   uma   boa   idéia.   [BP]
   is-3sg   a   good   idea

c. Ofiara powiedziała, że bycie-ger.nominal przetranspor-towaną/przetransportowanym do innego miasta nie jest dobrym pomysłem.
   the victim-fem said-3sg.fem that being brought-fem/masc to another city is not good idea
   'The victim said that being transferred to another city is not a good idea.'

However, what is interesting is that in Polish – contrary to Italian and BP – the feminine participle agreeing with the feminine subject *victim* is fully correct. On the other hand, the masculine version (correct as well) implies that either the victim is a man, or someone else than the victim is to be transferred. The difference lies in the semantic interpretation, depending probably on some pragmatic or extra-linguistic context.

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Rodrigues points out that under a PRO-based analysis of control, the agreement contrast in Romance between obligatory control and non-obligatory control cases, (35) versus (38), is puzzling. Since PRO is assumed to be the subject of the relevant clause in both obligatory and non-obligatory control cases, no contrast is expected. This disparity is absent in Polish, and perhaps in Slavic in general.

All in all, the concord facts discovered by Rodrigues in obligatory control configurations, raising patterns, and finite control constructions are extremely valuable in the context of the MTC, which seems to offer the most straightforward analysis of them.

1.6 Null objects – general theoretical assumptions

In this part of the theoretical chapter, I will present the widely held opinions concerning another empty category in question, namely a null object.

The controversial issue of object deletion appeared in linguistic theory relatively recently and up to now has been rarely touched upon (contrary to empty subjects), so it constitutes an interesting area for research.

In general, this book verifies how different syntactic and lexico-semantic approaches work for object deletion in Polish and English, as well as in other languages. First, I discuss object ellipsis in the context of previous cross-linguistic work done within the theoretical framework of Government and Binding (GB) Theory, and next I extend it by both the minimalist and semantic accounts (chapters four and five). Nevertheless, object drop in Polish is still too poorly understood on the descriptive level to be the foundation for radical theoretical innovations. That is, while much has been said in general terms about object ellipsis in Slavic languages as a whole, we have no comprehensive, explanatory model of what it is actually dependent on in Polish. In this monograph, I would like to take the first steps toward creating such a model.

1.6.1 Null object as a syntactically active category pro

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Following Rizzi (1986), it is assumed that null objects are phonologically empty, but syntactically active elements, and receive an 'arbitrary' interpretation, i.e., they can be interpreted as *one*, *people,* or *us*. In English, however, we observe the absence of such elements. Consider the following paradigm:

(39) a. Ambition leads people [PRO to make mistakes].
       b. *Ambition leads _ PRO to make mistakes]   (Rizzi, 1986)

The ungrammaticality of sentences like (39b) in English led Bach (1979) to formulate the descriptive generalization in (40):

(40) *In object control structures the object NP must be structurally represented*.

Authier (1989), assuming that in English no structurally represented null object of *lead* is possible, claims that Bach's generalization correctly predicts the ungrammaticality of (39b). Next, he considers the French counterpart of the paradigm in (39):

(41) a. L'ambition amène les gens à [PRO commettre des erreurs].

b. L'ambition amène _ à [PRO commettre des erreurs].

(Authier, 1989)

As (41b) illustrates, in French an object gap is possible, in contrast to (39b). Following Rizzi (1986), where similar sentences of Italian are discussed, Authier predicts that Bach's generalization holds universally, and that French as well as Italian differ from English in that they allow structurally represented null objects in constructions like (41b). Moreover, besides being syntactically active as controllers, French zero objects, just like their Italian counterparts, may act as the antecedent of an anaphor:

(42) a. Une bonne thérapeutique réconcilie _ avec soi-même.
        A good therapy reconciles _ with oneself.'
      b. Un bon psychanalyste peut rendre _ à soi-même.
        'A good psychoanalyst can give _ back to oneself.'

(Authier, 1989)

That there must exist a structurally represented binder for the anaphor *soi-même* ('oneself') in (42) is deducible from the fact that the sentences in (43), which lack an antecedent for the anaphor, are clearly ungrammatical:

(43) a. *Une bonne thérapeutique convient à soi-même.
        'A good therapy pleases oneself.'
      b. *Un bon psychanalyste peut partager son savoir avec soi-même.
        'A good psychoanalyst can share his knowledge with oneself.'   (Authier, 1989)

Finally, according to Authier, French arbitrary null objects can function as subjects of predication for small clauses:

(44) a. [PRO jouer au billard] rend [_ adroit].
        *'To play pool makes _ skilful.'
      b. Son audace laisse [_sans voix).
        *'His audacity leaves _ speechless.'   (Authier, 1989)

Again, the difference between French and Italian on the one hand, and English on the other is that the former, but not the latter allow null fillers in V-governed positions, as Authier explains in GB terms. This, according to him, descriptively accounts for the fact that the option in (44) is unavailable in English, as the ungrammaticality of English examples above indicates.

We can assume with others that the empty category like that in (45) is arbitrary in reference:

(45)   Une bonne bière réconcilie [*e*]_{arb} avec soi-même_{arb}.
        'A good beer reconciles arb with oneself.'   (Authier, 1989)

What is more, a category which is assigned an arbitrary index is usually interpreted as an indefinite, and therefore exhibits the force of existential quantification.[2] Thus, the arbitrary zero object is an indefinite, and probably that is why it can be dropped in so many Romance and Slavic languages.

1.6.2 The role of the definite/indefinite distinction in object deletion in Campos (1986)

Campos (1986) preoccupies himself with the object deletion in Spanish, touching upon the question of its definite/indefinite interpretation. He shows that 'indefinite direct objects' may be dropped in Spanish, and the empty element **e** occupying the argument position of the verb functions as a variable. Consider a verb like *comprar* 'to buy', which subcategorizes for an NP, as the examples in (46) show:

(46)   a. Compré un/el libro.
            'I bought a/the book.'
        b. Lo compré.
            it I bought
            'I bought it.'
        c. *Compré.
            '*I bought.'   (Campos, 1986)

Although the verb *comprar* always needs to be followed by an object NP, sentence (46c) is grammatical if used in a context where the object of *comprar* is interpreted as indefinite:

(47)   a. Compraste café?
            'Did you buy coffee?'
        b. Si, compré.
            'Yes, I bought *(some).' (Campos, 1986)

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2 See Rivero and Milojević-Sheppard (2003), who argue that both indefinite pronouns and implicit arguments contain an existential quantifier in semantics, so the same type of semantic operations can apply to both. In particular, they discuss the semantics of subject and object reflexive clitics, claiming

The phenomenon illustrated in (47) concerns direct objects that appear with no specifiers. If a quantifier appears with the direct object, it cannot be omitted. Compare:

(48)   a. Compraste regalos?
          'Did you buy presents?'
       b. Sí, compré *e*.
          'Yes, I bought *(some).'

(49)   a. Compraste algunos regalos?
          'Did you buy some presents?'
       b. *Sí, compré *e.*
          'Yes, I bought *(some).'
       c. Sí, compré algunos.
          'Yes, I bought some.'   (Campos, 1986)

According to Campos, (47b) is an instance of object drop, and not an instance of *comprar* used intransitively, as some may think. I will come back to the question of transitive verbs used intransitively vs. 'true' object drop in the fifth chapter. Assuming that (47b) needs to satisfy the Projection Principle (Chomsky, 1981), Campos argues that its structure is as follows:

(50)   (Yo) compré *e*.
        '*I bought *e*.' (*e*- empty category)   (Campos, 1986)

He claims that *e* must be either *pro* or *wh*-trace. PRO must be discarded since *e* is governed by the verb, while PRO is ungoverned in GB terms. NP-trace must also be rejected because *e* is not bound from an A-position, i.e., has no local antecedent. Following Chomsky (1982), Campos (1986) points out that *pro* is always interpreted as being definite in reference and, as noted above, the constructions like (47b) are possible only with 'indefinite' direct objects. Then, according to him, the only possibility is *wh*-trace. Thus, all the facts discussed in Campos (1986) are supposed to show that the dropped indefinite object in Spanish is actually the trace of the operator OP that has moved in the syntax (suggested already in Chomsky, 1982, and further developed by Rvaposo, 1984).

   In the context of object deletion, Campos adds that Romanian also shows indefinite object drop which seems to obey the same constraints as those he discusses for Spanish. According to him, this

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that they are **indefinites** with a human variable and an existential quantifier that can be eliminated by an adverb through existential disclosure.

phenomenon is not found in Provençal, Catalan, Italian, or French, where a partitive clitic *ne* or *en* appears in such constructions. It occurs in Portuguese, though. Raposo (1984) has suggested that 'definite object drop' ought to be analysed as another instance of constructions involving OP. In connection with the topic of definiteness/indefiniteness in object drop phenomenon, it would be interesting to further investigate the difference between 'definite' and 'indefinite' object drop, which I am going to do in chapters four and five.

To sum up, following Authier (1989), Rizzi (1986) and Campos (1986), French, Spanish and Italian, but not English, allow structurally represented null objects or *pro*. Although these elements are phonologically empty, they can act as controllers or antecedents for an anaphor. Thus, Romance languages, contrary to English, are claimed to admit null fillers in V-governed positions. According to Rizzi (1986), null objects are arbitrary, and therefore indefinite in reference at the same time. On the basis of the accounts cited above, we may assume that any empty category in object position that is assigned an arbitrary index is interpreted as an indefinite, and so exhibits the force of existential quantification. In turn, the quantificational aspect of the arbitrary reading itself is supposed to play an important role in distinguishing between arbitrary (non-specific) and non-arbitrary (specific) interpretations. Campos (1986) presents still another view. Although only indefinite direct objects, which appear with no specifiers, may be dropped in Spanish, he proposes that the empty category **e** cannot be *pro* because, as he maintains, *pro* is always interpreted as being definite in reference. Therefore, he suggests – quite controversially – that the indefinite **e** in object position is a *wh*-trace, instead.

Having presented the notion of zero objects and their dependence on definite/indefinite distinction, I will now proceed to other object drop licensing schemata presented in the literature.

1.7 Yadroff's (1995) aspectual approach to object deletion

Many (Babko-Malaya 2003; Verkuyl 1993, 1999, and Yadroff 1994, 1995, among others) have claimed that aspect influences object drop. Before I discuss this relation, I have to say something about the aspectual interpretations: durative and terminative. In English

– a language with overt determiners – mass nouns and bare plurals in object position generate durative readings, while definite or indefinite quantized objects of some eventive verbs (*build*, *eat*, *kill*, etc.) generate terminative readings. Following Schmitt (1998), in Finnish overt morphological Case seems to encode the durative/terminative distinction in the VP, i.e., when the object appears in the Partitive (PART) the VP has a durative interpretation, and when it appears in the Accusative (ACC) the reading is terminative. In Slavic languages (Czech, for example), prefixes added to verbs influence the object interpretation and are responsible for durative/terminative distinction. It is commonly held that in languages without overt determiners (Finnish, Slavic languages), Case and/or morphology on the verb plays the role of the determiners in determining the VP aspect. Verkuyl (1993) and Krifka (1989) claim that PART/ACC and PERF/IMP distinctions should be treated in the same way. Krifka associates the PART/IMP with progressivity in English. No matter how the aspectual differences are marked in all these languages, they are believed by many linguists to be responsible for object presence or absence. Following Yadroff (1995), I will now focus on this dependence.

Yadroff (1995) discusses the type of null objects that in early transformational studies was called 'Unspecified Object Deletion'. It is a traditional observation for languages with morphological aspect (like Russian, in which perfective verbs are prefixed) that we can use an imperfective transitive verb without an object, whereas this is impossible in the case of the corresponding perfective verb. For example, sentence (51) is acceptable in Russian, whereas (52) is not:

(51) Včera on pisal.
    'Yesterday he wrote$_{\text{IMPERF}}$/was writing.'

(52) *Včera on napisal.
    *'Yesterday he wrote$_{\text{PERF}}$ (down).'   (Yadroff, 1995)

The above examples make one ask: why are null objects (if they are admitted by a verb) licensed by imperfectives, but not by perfectives? Yadroff proposes a purely syntactic explanation: the object of imperfectives is optional, or can be absent at all as a result of the availability of weak discharging with imperfective verbs.

Yadroff (1995) suggests that the projection of Asp° and co-indexation of the Reichenbachian variables R (reference time) and E (event time) with imperfective verbs provide a syntactic explanation

for the occurrence of null objects in Russian, and thus account for apparent asymmetries in the distribution of objects with perfective and imperfective verbs. Yadroff offers a more precise explanation of this approach in his earlier paper (1994), where the role of aspect in Accusative Case assignment in Russian is discussed. He claims that Russian projects AspP under TnsP, that Nominative Case is assigned in SpecTnsP, and Accusative in SpecAspP. The argument positions of Tns° and Asp° correspond to the Reichenbachian variables: S(peech) time, R(eference) time and E(vent) time. S and R are arguments of Tns°, while R and E are arguments of Asp° (Giorgi and Pianesi, 1991). As far as Asp° is concerned, if R and E coincide, we get imperfective aspect; if they do not, perfective aspect results (Timberlake, 1985). According to Yadroff, this fact influences the distribution of null object *pro*. Next, Yadroff examines the licencing of the arguments of Tns° and Asp°. The external position of Tns°, SpecTnsP, is reserved for Nominative Case assignment; In SpecAspP position, abstract Accusative Case is assigned to the object, as sketched in (53):

40   (53)
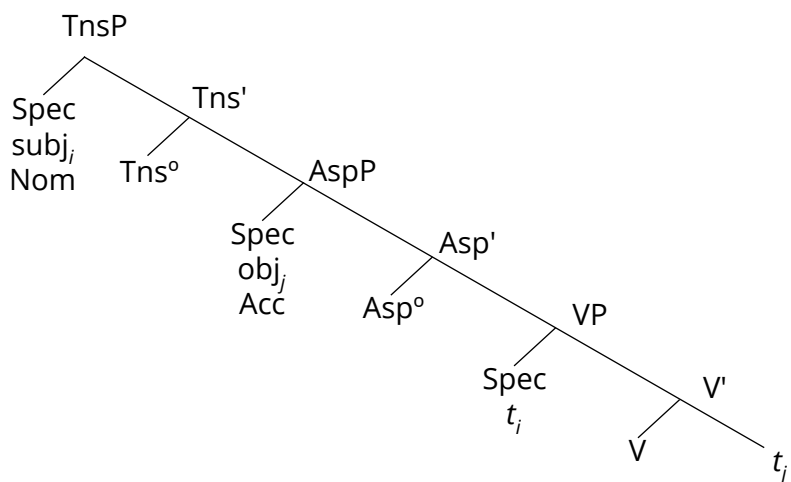
(Yadroff, 1994, 1995)

According to Yadroff, imperfective verb can occur without an Accusative direct object in Russian, while the perfective form of the verb cannot appear without an object. Following Yadroff, in *On pisal* ('He was writing', IMP) the internal argument slot of Asp° is filled by the VP complement, but there is no object to move to SpecAspP and

satisfy the external arguments of Asp°. Yet, the sentence remains grammatical. Yadroff (1994) suggests that "in the imperfective aspectual chain, the external argument of Asp° is discharged indirectly by the verb through co-indexation of the external and internal arguments of Asp°" (Weak Discharging). All in all, this Weak Discharging via co-indexation is supposed to be syntactically responsible for the distribution of phonologically null objects (arbitrary small *pro*). Why does the perfective transitive verb in (52), in contrast to the imperfective one in (51), not allow object deletion? Yadroff (1994) explains that while Asp°'s internal argument is discharged by the VP, the external argument of Asp° is not discharged because there is no object which has raised to SpecAspP to check Case. The external argument of Asp° cannot be weakly discharged, unlike with the imperfective verbs, because there is neither an object in SpecAspP, nor co-indexation between the two arguments of Asp° in the perfective.

Another type of phonologically empty, but syntactically active null objects has been widely debated since Rizzi (1986). The following sentences illustrate such syntactically active empty objects:

(54) a. Il capo possa costringere e_i a [PRO$_i$ lavorare di piu]. [Italian]

    b. Šef možet zastaviť e_i [PRO$_i$ rabotať bol'še]. [Russian]

    c. *The boss can force [PRO to work harder].

    d. Szef może kazać e_i [PRO$_i$ pracować więcej]. [Polish]

    e. Šef može narediti e_i [da PRO$_i$ se radi više]. [Serbo-Croatian]

(55) a. La buona musica riconcilia e_i con se stessi$_i$. [Italian]

    b. Xorošaja muzyka primirjaet e_i s samim soboj$_i$. [Russian]

    c. *Good music reconciles with oneself.

    d. Dobra muzyka pozwala e_i [PRO$_i$ pogodzić się z samym sobą$_i$]. [Polish]

    e. ?Dobra muzika može mir$_i$ e_i sa sobom$_i$. [Serbo-Croatian]

(Yadroff, 1995)

Here we have a problem: why are these null objects possible in Italian, Russian, Serbo-Croatian, and Polish, but impossible in English? Does this phenomenon correlate with aspect, as in the case illustrated in (51) and (52)? In English null objects are not represented syntactically (not visible in syntax), as in (54c) and (55c). If English, according to Yadroff, also has AspP in its clause structure and can license null objects in this way, just as Russian, why does English not permit these null objects to function as syntactically

active elements, in contrast to Russian, Polish, or Italian (except after *advise* and *amuse* type psych-verbs)? That is, quoting Yadroff, "why do we have a contrast in (54) and (55) between Romance and Slavic languages vs. English?"

Schmitt (1998) gets rid of the problem simply by rejecting the idea of using an independent projection with semantic content (in this case, an Aspect Phrase AspP) instead of the checking domain of the verb. Claiming that we should keep syntactic formal features distinct from semantic features, she suggests that "VP aspect is better served if calculated at the checking domain of the verb." Then, she explains, "the aspect semantics will depend partly on the lexical meaning of the elements involved, and partly on the syntactic configuration that arise independently from meaning." Her analysis, though, does not provide an answer to our basic question, namely, why we have object drop in some languages, and not in others.

Yadroff (1995) seems to dismiss the idea that there might be simply no AspP, not only in English, which poses a problem here, but in other languages as well. Following Rizzi (1986), he claims that Italian null objects are phonologically empty, but syntactically represented, since they are syntactically active (they act as binders and controllers). Russian is similar in this respect to Italian and other languages allowing a syntactically active null object (as opposed to English and other languages which do not allow such an object) – null object occupies a syntactic position and participates in such syntactic processes as control and binding. **Yadroff (1994) proposes that this distinguishing feature of Russian, Italian, and other languages allowing object drop, is the interaction of AspP with the *pro-arb* object** (assuming that AspP is represented in the clause structure of any language, and that it is the projection that licences Accusative Case on direct objects). In Russian *pro-arb* object is Case-less, and therefore it cannot move to SpecAspP position for Accusative Case. It remains in the VP instead (unlike other objects). Nevertheless, as Yadroff points out, even with transitive verbs with *pro-arb* objects, the external argument of Asp° needs to be discharged. With imperfective verbs, this is accomplished via weak discharging through co-indexation of R and E. This option is impossible with perfective verbs, which has already been explained above; here the object must move to SpecAspP, where it will be assigned Accusative Case. Since *pro-arb* object is Case-less in Russian, it cannot move to this position. Hence perfective verbs cannot occur with *pro-arb* objects.

Following Yadroff (1995), one might also suppose that this difference between Italian/Russian and English illustrates a strong/weak distinction in aspectual features: Slavic and Romance have strong aspectual features in their morphological exponents, while English has weak aspectual features in their morphological exponents. Morphological strength is expressed in phonologically identified morphemes as an exponent of a feature. English has morphologically weak aspect features, and thus cannot show null objects. With these assumptions, Yadroff (1995) formulates the following hypothesis:

(56) *A language allows arbitrary null objects to be syntactically active (binder, controller, etc.) if and only if the language has aspectual features morphologically expressed.*[3]

This prediction seems to be borne out, as the examples provided by Yadroff (1995) indicate. For instance, besides Romance and Slavic, such diverse languages as Finnish (57a), Hungarian (57b), Tamil (57c), KiNande (57d), and Hausa (57e) have morphologically identified aspect and show syntactically active null objects:

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(57) a. Johtasa voi pakottaa työskentelemään kovemmin.
        [Finnish]
   the boss can force work$_{3d.inf-illative}$ harder
   'The boss can force [(every)one] to work harder.'

   b. Ö mindig arra kér, hogy segítsenek neki.
        [Hungarian]
   he always that-onto requests$_{indef}$ that help$_{3pl-subjunct}$ him$_{dat}$
   'He always asks to be helped.'

   c. pasí kuTram paNNa vekkar-di. [Tamil]
   hunger mistakes to do keep-generic
   'Hunger forces [(every)one] to make mistakes.'

   d. efilme eyi yikaliraia. [KiNande]
   movie this makes cry
   'This movie makes [(every)one] to cry.'

   e. Kullum yam tambaya a taimake shi.
        [Hausa]
   always he+imperf ask impers+subjunct help him
   'He always asks to be helped.'
        (Yadroff, 1995)

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[3] Yadroff's proposal suggests a question whether we can have null objects which are not syntactically active. In chapters 4 and 5, I am going to show that we actually do have such empty objects.

Yadroff's conjecture is biconditional and should be valid in both directions. According to him, we can easily check whether or not a language has morphologically strong aspectual features: if in a certain language we encounter arbitrary null objects, we expect to find morphologically expressed aspectual features as well. Let us take German, for example. German admits a null object, functioning as an antecedent in object control structures (58a), as an antecedent of a lexical anaphor (58b), or as an antecedent for a subject PRO of a small clause (58c):

(58) a. Das schöne Wetter lädt e_i ein [PRO$_i$ zu bleiben].
     the nice weather invites to stay
   b. Ein gutes Gespräch kann wieder e_i miteinander$_i$ versöhnen.
     a good conversation can again one to another reconcile
   c. Diese Musik macht e_i [PRO$_i$ froh].
     this music makes happy (Yadroff, 1995)

Dutch also permits null objects to be antecedents in similar constructions:

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(59) a. Het mooie weer nodigt uit tot wandelen.
     the nice weather invites to walk
   b. Deze beslissing maakt niet gelukkig.
     this decision makes not happy (Yadroff, 1995)

Usually, these Germanic languages are characterized as languages with no morphological category of Aspect, but there is a constant aspectual contrast between unprefixed verbs of activity and their prefixed derivatives (e.g., in Dutch: *eten* 'eat', *lezen* 'read', *schilderen* 'paint', *plakken* glue', and *opeten* 'eat up', *uitlezen* 'read through', *beschilderen* 'put paint on', *beplakken* 'put glue on'; in German: *kampfen* 'fight', *essen* 'eat', *trinken* 'drink', and *erkampfen* 'achieve by means of a fight', *aufessen* 'eat up', *auftrinken* 'drink up'). Thus, Yadroff (1995) concludes that, contrary to common assumptions, the aspectual features in German and Dutch are morphologically expressed, i.e., there is a morphological category of Aspect in these languages.

Interestingly, Dutch and German have no verbal suffixes for expressing aspectual oppositions (and in this respect do not differ from English), but have more systematic ways of expressing aspect through prefixation as compared to English postverbal particles. Yadroff (1995) considers the verbal prefixes in Continental West Germanic to be a morphological means which makes aspectual

features morphologically strong. We thus expect to find arbitrary null objects in Frisian and Yiddish, but not in the Scandinavian languages (Icelandic). It is very interesting that Jacob Grimm was the first to extend the concept of aspect to non-Slavic languages, namely Germanic. He claimed it is possible to encounter the traces of a distinction that is so permanent in the Slavic languages also in the Germanic languages. Composites with *ver-, be-, hin-, durch-,* etc. (as in Slavic with *po-, do-, na-,* etc.) perhaps represent perfectives; uncomposed verbs – on the contrary – imperfectives.

To sum up, giving a syntactic explanation for the distribution of *pro* objects in Russian, Yadroff (1995) touches upon the problem of the differences in the distribution of objects with perfective and imperfective verbs. He, contrary to Schmitt (1998), holds that the grammatical category of Aspect is projected as an independent functional category AspP and proposes that its interaction with the *pro-arb* object is responsible for object drop in languages like Russian and Italian. He points out that aspect is, in turn, related to such factors as morphological strength in Slavic and Romance languages. Following van Hout (1998) and Velasco and Muñoz (2002), in the subsequent section we will see to what factors aspect is related in English and Dutch, and whether these factors also influence object drop.

1.8 Quantization vs. cumulativity or accomplishment vs. activity and their influence on object presence/absence

Assuming that Yadroff (1995) is right and that object drop depends on aspect, let us move to the question of definite/quantized or indefinite/cumulative objects since these, in turn, influence aspectual interpretation of a sentence, and thus the object deletion as well. We will concentrate on van Hout's (1998) and Velasco and Muñoz's (2002) proposals.

Van Hout (1998), among others, has recognized that with transitive verbs the semantics of the direct object is important for aspectual interpretation of a clause/sentence. Namely, a cumulative object does not provide a culmination point, whereas a quantized object does, yielding an atelic or telic predicate, respectively:

(60) a. *eat cake* – atelic
      b. *eat a slice of cake* – telic

In Dutch and English, quantization or cumulativity of a noun phrase is expressed by the presence or absence of an article, respectively; mass terms and bare plurals do not appear with an article, but singular count terms must appear with an article – definite or indefinite. The semantics of the object seems to be crucial for determining telicity. What if the object is not present, i.e., when these verbs occur as intransitives? As van Hout (1998) puts it, "**if there is no object to specify the amount of stuff to which the event applies, the event should be unbounded**."

While in some languages the direct object is the most important source for telicity (e.g., Finnish), still, in others it does not influence telicity (e.g., in Slavic languages). The telic/atelic reading can also be established by using one of Dowty's (1979) well-known tests for telicity: the contrast between durative versus time-frame adverbial phrases. Durative phrases (e.g., *urenlang* 'for hours') select for an atelic predicate, while time-frame adverbials (e.g., *in een uur* 'in an hour') select for telic ones, as illustrated for Dutch and English under (61):

(61) Het paard heeft urenlang/*in een uur gedronken.
      the horse has hours-long/in an hour drunk
      'The horse drank for hours/*in an hour.'   (van Hout, 1998)

Velasco and Muñoz (2002) also maintain that the presence or absence of an object may affect the type of *Aktionsart* or State of Affairs (henceforth SoA) denoted by the predication. They refer to telic/atelic distinction as an accomplishment vs. activity reading. The following two sentences, which only differ in the presence/absence of an object, denote an *activity* and an *accomplishment*, respectively:

(62) a. John is eating _____. (*activity*)
      b. John is eating an apple. (*accomplishment*)
                                (Velasco and Muñoz, 2002)

The presence of an object serves to mark the end point to the verbal process. Consequently, the possible combinations with duration phrases are divergent: *activities* take *for*-phrases, whereas *accomplishments* take *in*-phrases:

(63) a. John was eating for an hour/*in an hour. (*activity*)

b. John ate an apple *for an hour/in an hour. (*accomplishment*)

(Velasco and Muñoz, 2002)

It is not only the presence/absence of a verbal object that allows the transition from an activity to an accomplishment reading with some verbs. When the verbal object is non-specific, indefinite, or generic, it is possible to obtain the same effect:

(64) a. He ate a plate of spaghetti in ten minutes. (*accomplishment*)
      b. He ate spaghetti for ten minutes. (*activity*)

(Velasco and Muñoz, 2002)

Compare:

(65) a. Mario eats pizza. (*activity*)
      b. ?Mario eats a slice of pizza.   (Velasco and Muñoz, 2002)

Combination with durative phrases seems to offer the expected results:

(66) a. Mario ate pizza for an hour/*in an hour.
      b. Mario ate a slice of pizza in an hour/*for an hour.

(Velasco and Muñoz, 2002)

The unrealized argument cannot be interpreted as having a discourse referent. That is, if someone asks, 'Where is my sandwich?', 'Bill is eating' is not an appropriate response if one means that Bill is eating the questioner's sandwich.

As I have already mentioned, when the verbal process itself is stressed in the sentence, the object is more likely to be omitted, and the expression takes an activity reading. In a similar vein, it is expected that the object should not be absent if it becomes the focus of the sentence: this is precisely one of the effects caused by the so-called completive or perfective particles (*up* and *out*) in phrasal verbs such as *drink up, use up, seek out* or *work out*. That is why we find the following contrast:

(67) a. He is eating _____.
      b. *He is eating up _____.   (Velasco and Muñoz, 2002)

One may be tempted to conclude that transitive verbs containing a perfective particle cannot omit their objects. However, Velasco and Muñoz (2002) find an example which clearly runs against the expectations:

(68)   Are you **eating up** _____ ? Would you like me to put the kettle, mummy?

In (68), *eating up* does seem to take an activity reading. Velasco and Muñoz (2002) propose the following solution to this problem: "the relationship between the particle and the possibility of omitting an object can only be reliably tested when the particle has a clear completive semantic contribution." Consequently, the fact that the object omission is possible in sentences like those below is, according to their hypothesis, due to the semantics of the particle which does not show the completive meaning:

(69)   Mary is washing up/tidying up/cleaning up _____.

<div align="right">(Velasco and Muñoz, 2002)</div>

However, the examples like these above may be a sign that perfectivity/completion is not at all as much important in object drop. This issue will be further explored in the fourth chapter.

Summing up, the data provided by van Hout (1998) and Velasco and Muñoz (2002) are supposed to show that the presence of a quantized object, or a time-frame adverbial, or both, triggers a telic interpretation. Thus, according to van Hout (1998) and Velasco and Muñoz (2002), the telic/accomplishment reading requires the presence of an object in English and Dutch, while the atelic/activity reading seems to allow object deletion, as we can see in (62a).

All in all, van Hout's (1998) and Velasco and Muñoz's (2002) approaches are similar to Yadroff's (1995) analysis concerning the licensing and disallowing object drop by, respectively, imperfective and perfective verbs in Russian. Thus, it seems that the aspectual interpretations – telic/accomplishment and atelic/activity in Western tradition and corresponding perfective and imperfective in Slavic tradition – are apparently related to direct objects. Yet, as we will see in the fourth chapter, some sentences in Polish, despite having imperfective readings, do not allow the absence of an object and vice versa: some perfective verbs allow zero objects. Also, some English sentences, like *He already ate*, which is definitely telic in reading and includes a time adverbial, allow null objects quite freely. Therefore, in chapter five, I will check whether such a purely syntactic approach as Yadroff (1995) proposes is really relevant in this case since aspect itself may not have as big influence on object drop. In a word, I am going to challenge Yadroff's conjecture, providing a semantico-syntactic explanation for the differences in licensing null objects among languages.

1.9 **The role of genericity**

It is commonly held that generic (or characterizing) sentences must always have imperfective interpretations (see Delfitto, 1998; D'Alessandro and Alexiadou, 2003) and, as we already know from the previous sections, imperfective aspect is thought by most linguists to be directly related to object drop. As we will see in chapter four, it is possible that genericity may also influence object deletion independently from aspectual form of the verb. Therefore, in connection with our topic, it is interesting to look at a problem concerning the semantics of the genericity operator, which is much like some sort of a universal quantifier. Lawler (1973) and Dahl (1975) have pointed out, though, that there might be two different generic interpretations: one 'universal', and the other 'existential'. In its universal generic reading (a habitual reading), sentence (70) means that beer is the (favourite) alcoholic beverage John drinks. In its existential reading (a dispositional reading), it says that John does not object to drinking beer.

(70) John drinks beer.

Lawler employed two different generic operators to represent these two readings. However, it is problematic. According to Lawler, there can be no 'hidden' (unrealised) operator when the overt quantificational adverb is present. Thus, in *John always drinks beer*, there should be no hidden operators. Yet, the sentence has more than one reading, even though it contains an overt quantificational adverb. It can mean either (i) that whenever John drinks something, it is beer, or (ii) that he drinks beer on every occasion on which it is available. These two interpretations are similar to the two interpretations of (70), which does not have any overt operator. Thus, whatever is causing the ambiguity in (70) also occurs in *John always drinks beer* – so it cannot be hidden operators. Furthermore, (70) has yet another reading, apart from the 'existential' and 'universal' readings. It can also mean that John has the habit of drinking beer, not excluding the possibility that he has the habit of drinking other beverages as well. Since two of the readings of (70) are indicated by different accent placements, it is plausible to suppose that in these cases we are dealing with distinct syntactic objects:

(71) a. John drinks BEER.
       b. John DRINKS beer.
       c. John drinks BEER.

The 'universal' interpretation in (71a) is that in appropriate situations in which John drinks something, this is normally beer. The 'existential' interpretation in (71b) says that in appropriate situations where there is some beer available, John normally drinks it. The 'habitual' interpretation in (71c) says that in appropriate situations which contain John, he will drink beer. So the focus influences the interpretation of generic sentences. In *Marysia gotuje warzywa* ('Mary cooks vegetables') all the three readings are possible as well, just as in the Polish counterpart of (70): *Janek pije piwo* – so the theory works.[4]

Knowing what characterizing sentences and their possible interpretations are, it would be interesting to investigate what readings would the same sentences receive when used without direct objects (if they can be used in such a way at all). This issue, among many others, will be explored in chapter 4.

Concluding, the theoretical introduction to null objects in this chapter was to show how widely it has been argued in the literature that object drop is dependent on aspect. Yadroff (1994, 1995) claims that weak discharging via co-indexation and the interaction of AspP with the *pro-arb* object in Romance and Slavic languages provide a syntactic explanation for that. We have seen in sections 1.7 and 1.8 that aspect itself is, in turn, sensitive to many other factors, such as: morphological strength, quantization or cumulativity of a noun phrase (Dutch and English), or overt morphological Case (Finnish). However, in some languages it may be the object itself that matters as far as its absence is concerned (see the section 1.6.2). In Spanish, for instance, the object must be interpreted as indefinite. Thus, indefiniteness/definiteness of the direct object can also influence the occurrence/non-occurrence of null objects, respectively, in certain languages. It is interesting to find out to what extent quantification is responsible for the object drop phenomenon. It must play a substantial role since quantified direct objects cannot be totally omitted in Spanish: the quantifier cannot. All in all, we must stress that the object drop phenomenon has a cross-linguistic character. However, the conclusion we can draw from a critical overview and analysis of the literature presented in this chapter, is that the object deletion seems to be specific mostly (or only?) to languages with rich inflection (morphologically strong aspectual features). Yet, this is doubtful, as we will see in chapters 4 and 5, where I will present a more

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[4] However, it works probably because of the specific focus placement, the investigation of which is beyond the scope of this monograph.

semantic than syntactic approach to the issue discussed here. Of course, it is true that, generally, languages with a rich inflectional system, like Italian or Polish, apart from dropping the subject, are more likely to drop the object as well. Nevertheless, also languages described by many linguists as those which absolutely cannot delete an object (such as English) can license null objects quite freely, which may be surprising. Therefore, what we have to do is to investigate thoroughly not only the possible influence of aspect on object drop, but also the impact of other – this time semantic/pragmatic – factors. The semantic side of the problem, reconciled with the syntactic one, might help us understand better the properties of null objects, perhaps extending the null object theory and its licensing schemata as well.

2 The new, minimalist view on subject *pro*

2.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to give an account of subject omission in English and Polish within the context of the theory of Minimalist Program (MP). I discuss the factors that, in one way or another, are relevant to understanding the complex nature of this grammatical phenomenon. In so doing, I review the main aspects of some of the analyses that can be found in the literature. Drawing most notably upon Hornstein (1999, 2005), section 2.2 introduces the notion of empty subject argument PRO and Control, and brings a crucial distinction between obligatorily and non-obligatorily controlled PRO. I formulate a number of hypotheses on the properties of subject omission, which are then tested in the light of extensive, cross-linguisic data. In particular, I claim that the formal equipment of the theory is not able to capture the full complexity of the problem, and, in this vein, I suggest that the semantic/pragmatic approach, together with the formalism introduced in the MP, might be better suited to accounting for the facts presented.

The following section introduces the criteria cited in the literature which seem to play a role in the phenomenon of subject omission. I elaborate on them, testing them against extensive cross-linguistic data, which helps me to draw the final conclusions.

2.2 A new look at the pro-drop phenomenon

This section is a scrutiny of Holmberg's (2005) hypothesis, which goes back to works such as Chomsky (1981, 1982) and Rizzi (1986), in the light of more recent developments in syntactic theory, particularly the feature theory of Chomsky (1995), and subsequent work by Chomsky (1999) and others (Hornstein, 1999, 2005).

In languages like Spanish, Italian, and Polish, it is well known that null subjects are possible. Insofar, as other languages lack the possibility of null subjects for no clear reason, it has been proposed that there is a 'null subject parameter' which controls whether a language allows null subjects. However, in the light of the proposals in this chapter, we can offer another explanation for null subjects in these languages. In the MP, as in other recent work within the Principles and Parameters framework, it has been proposed that grammar is universal across all languages; therefore, all variation among language must ultimately be part of the Lexicon. Many parameters, especially those relating to agreement, Case assignment, and movement, can easily be accommodated in such a theory. The advantage of this viewpoint of the Null Subject Parameter is that it lexicalizes the principle; languages which have null pronouns (like Spanish and Italian) would exhibit null subjects, while other closely related languages lacking those lexical items would not show null subjecthood. Therefore, if we accept this line of argumentation, we can go further in eliminating variation in the syntax (a goal of the Minimalist Program) and reduce it to variation in the Lexicon.

However, a subtle point arises here: is it possible for an object with a null interpretation (an expletive, say) to exist at LF? Chomsky (1993) claims not – expletives must be deleted at the LF interface because they have no interpretation. However, there is a difference between not having an interpretation and having a null interpretation. Whether this is a difference which makes no difference is yet to be seen. Besides, according to Minimalist theory, all units of syntax are lexical items, each with its own syntactic, semantic, and phonological properties. The computational mechanism of the syntax utilizes the basic operation Merge to combine these elements in accordance with specific properties of the lexical items themselves, and in compliance with general economy conditions, such as the MLC, whose function is to minimize search. Consequently,

following Chomsky (1982: 82), if there is any condition, we expect it to apply to *pro* as well as to lexical argument positions, given that "*pro* is a pure pronominal like its overt counterpart".

Working on the implementation of recent approaches to *pro* (Neeleman and Szendrői 2005; Holmberg 2005; Hornstein 1999), I am going to propose a unified account of this empty category (hence *e*) for English and Polish. Sentence (72) is an example of a so-called subject *pro*:

(72) a. [*e*] Olen   väsynyt.   [Finnish]
          be.PRES.1SG tired   (Holmberg, 2005)
      b. [*e*] Jest**em**   zmęczony.   [Polish]
          be.PRES.1SG tired
          'I am tired.'

The traditional GB theory of *pro*, developed by Rizzi (1986), says that the sentence like that in (72) has no overt subject, but a phonetically empty subject pronoun or 'little' *pro*, formally licensed and interpreted by the agreement (Agr) on the finite verb or auxiliary. Neeleman and Szendrői (N&S) (2005) notice, however, that this traditional agreement-based theory of pro- drop faces difficulties with languages like Japanese and Chinese, which lack agreement, and yet allow *pro* subjects, as in (73) and (74). N&S refer to this phenomenon as 'radical pro- drop'.

(73) a. [*e*] siken-ni otita.   [Japanese]
          exam-DAT failed
          '*pro* failed the exam.'
      b. [[*e*] mimi-ga] nagai.
          ear-NOM long
          '*pro*'s ears are long.'

(74) a. [*e*] kanjian ta le.   [Chinese]
          see he LE
          '*pro* saw him.'
      b. Zhangsan, [[*e*] baba] hen youqian.
          zhangsan father very rich
          'Zhangsan, *pro*'s father is very rich.'   (N&S, 2005)

What sets apart Neeleman and Szendrői's (2005) proposal from competing theories is that it focuses on the pronominal paradigm. Their main claim is that a language will only allow radical pro-drop if its personal pronouns are agglutinating for Case, number, or some other nominal feature. So, the morphological characteristics of the

pronominal paradigm determine whether radical pro-drop is allowed. In languages that do not have an agglutinative pronominal paradigm, omission of pronouns is possible, but only in the presence of rich verbal agreement.

Their proposal does not address the pragmatic conditions under which pro-drop can take place in discourse. Rather, they intend to find out what grammatical characteristics make radical pro-drop available, and what typological predictions can be derived from these. Nonetheless, a full theory of pro-drop requires an additional pragmatic component that governs the use of null pronouns in languages whose grammar allows them, and my research will deal with this aspect of pro-drop.

Neeleman and Szendrői (2005) believe that the following generalization provides a good approximation of the cross-linguistic distribution of radical pro-drop. A language may drop pronouns if its pronouns either do not vary for Case or, if they do vary, Case morphology is agglutinating. The two options are exemplified by Chinese and Japanese. Chinese is a language with invariant pronouns. The Nominative and the Accusative forms of the third person, singular, masculine pronoun are identical. Japanese pronouns do inflect for Case, but the inflection is clearly separate from the pronominal stem. In other words, the Case morphology on pronouns is agglutinative rather than fusional.

In contrast, languages in which Case on pronouns is fusional do not allow radical pro- drop. This is clearly the case in English (as *He saw him* shows). Hence English pronouns cannot be omitted. The same is true of Italian. The fact that Italian pronouns have fusional Case morphology blocks radical pro-drop, with the consequence that omission of arguments is conditioned by agreement.

Holmberg (2005) advances this novel, non-agreement view of pro-drop, claiming that null pronouns in languages without Agr are not 'radical', but in fact the only 'true' instances of 'little' *pro*, that is to say, "*pro* exists, but (somewhat paradoxically, given the traditional view of *pro*) only in languages which do not have agreement." What is more, as argued by Holmberg (2005), null arguments are regular pronouns that fail to be spelled out at PF, rather than special silent lexical items, *pro*.

Taking the above into account, there are at least two reasons for the need to re-examine the crosslinguistic occurrence of pro-drop. First, as Simpson (2005) observes (following N&S, 2005), there are languages where the absence of verbal agreement does not result

in the availability of pro drop at all. These languages are, for example, Swedish, Norwegian, Afrikaans, and creoles, such as Tok Pisin, Jamaican Creole, or Papiamentu, the last two being presented in (75) and (76), respectively:

(75) *(mi) a rait.   [Jamaican Creole]
      I am write.PRES
      'I am writing.'

(76) Ta kiko *(bo) ta hasi?   [Papiamentu]
      what you do.PROG
      'What are you doing?'   (Simpson, 2005)

What is more, there are languages where the occurrence of partial (i.e., non-full) agreement on verbs does not block the availability of pro-drop patterns, for example Kokota. Therefore, perhaps it would be more desirable to develop a theory that maintains the agreement-based account in relevant languages, but allows pro-drop in those without agreement under clearly-defined circumstances, such as context. Examples of the latter type are Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Malayalam, and Thai, which have no agreement, but rely exclusively on the wider discourse context for the recovery of the subject. Consider Mandarin Chinese sentences in (77) to have a picture of that:

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(77) a. Nǔhái líkāi-le, yīnwéi [e] lèi-le.   [Mandarin Chinese]
          girl leave-ASP because tire-ASP
          'The girl(s) left, because she (they) were tired.'
      b. [e] méi chī zǎofàn.
          no eat breakfast
          '(I/you/he/etc.) have not had breakfast.'   (Holmberg, 2005)

It is often claimed that the richer the inflectional system, the greater the likelihood of context-sensitive pro-drop. Yet, German does not exhibit subject argument *pro*, even though at first glance it seems to have a fairly rich system of verb inflection:

(78) *Ich denke, dass [TP [vP *pro* gesungen habe]]
      I think that sung have-1.SG   (Müller, 2005)

Modern Irish presents the reverse situation: the system of verb inflection is fairly poor, but *pro* is licensed:

(79) Dá gcuirfeá *pro* isteach ar an phost sin gheobhfá *pro* é
      if put-2.SG.COND in on that job get-2.SG.COND it
      'If you applied for that job, you would get it.'   (Müller, 2005)

Icelandic is renowned among the Germanic languages for its rich inflectional morphology; still, it does not permit subject argument *pro*:

(80) a. Hann dansar
          he dance-3.SG
      b. *pro* dansar
          dance-3.SG   (Müller, 2005)

Thus, a superficial look at the paradigms may not confirm our expectations, which poses a problem for approaches in which the number of distinct inflection markers in paradigms determines whether or not subject argument pro-drop is possible (see Neeleman and Szendrői, 2005).

Let us now check the relevance of rich inflection for context-sensitive pro-drop on the example of Polish:

(81) Tomek próbował odwieść Jacka od zrobienia tego, ale ?[*e*]/ten/
      on nie posłuchał – [*e*] poszedł do biura i [*e*] złożył wymówienie.

It seems that, generally, we can understand properly the implicit subject in (81) as *Jacek*, although for some native speakers of Polish an overt pronoun may be required just after *ale* (either demonstrative *ten* 'this', or personal *on* 'he'). Let us compare this sentence with its English counterpart in (82) below:

(82) Tom tried to dissuade Jack from doing this, but *[*e*] /he didn't want to listen – [*e*] went to the office and [*e*] resigned (from his job).

As we can see in (82), null subjects actually do occur also in English, although under more restricted circumstances: it seems that in an ordinary, written text, we need an overt pronoun just after *but* for an exact understanding (otherwise, we could understand the implicit subject as *Tom*, instead of *Jack*).

It must be emphasized, though, that in many non-null-subject languages, including English, the 1.SG subject is often dropped in spoken language. Moreover, null subjects are not infrequent in informal writing, for instance in personal letters or diaries, note-taking, e-mails, text messaging, and Internet chat. They are met even in newspapers or magazines, and not necessarily in headlines. Examples in (83) and (84) demonstrate a subject deletion in spoken language and American and English press, respectively:

(83) a. "[*e*] Tracked you down!" he said
      b. [*e*] Couldn't help it!

    c. [*e*] Didn't look as though he'd ever hunted or shot a deer.

<div align="right">(Śpiewak, 2000)</div>

    d. [*e*] Can't tell you how disappointed I am to hear this.

    e. John witnessed the accident, but [*e*] doesn't want to talk about it. (Holmberg, 2005)

    f. [*e*] Told you so.

    g. [*e*] Looks like rain.

    h. [*e*] Will do.

(84) a. "Some big winners have filed for bankruptcy within a few years, [*e*] been attacked by family members and [*e*] been besieged by requests from people they didn't know."

<div align="right">(*USA TODAY* Feb 27, 2006)</div>

    b. "Last week [*e*] denounced Johnnie Cochran."

<div align="right">(Haegeman, 1997: 248, citing the *Guardian* newspaper)</div>

In (85) and (86), we can see examples of context-dependent pro-drop in English:

(85) "It was one of the most glorious falls in our area. [*e*] **Went back** to Minocqua for a week in October [...] Finally [*e*] **found** a bike carrier that doesn't mess up the car."

(86) "[*e*] **Spent** only a couple of days in London [...]. [*e*] **Had** no trouble at all sleeping on the flight over! [...] [*e*] **Stayed** home about a week after that trip." (Śpiewak, 2000)

Consider the following examples, (87a) uttered by a customer at a clothing stall who is holding a garment, and (87b) by someone standing in front of a vending machine.

(87) a. [*e*] Feels like real silk.

    b. [*e*] Must be broken.

Of course, pro-drop is rare in English and is not accepted in most literary genres. It is used mostly in manuals and science books. In (88), the description clearly refers generically to a baby:

(88) "[*e*] **Sits** with slight support; [*e*] **balances** well. [*e*] **Can lean** forward or to side. [*e*] **Sits** alone momentarily. [*e*] **May sit** unsupported up to half an hour. [*e*] **Vocalises** pleasure and displeasure." (Śpiewak, 2000)

That these may be correctly regarded as cases of null subject-constructions is suggested by the observation that there are non-null-subject languages which do not allow subject-drop in similar contexts.

Given the syntactic characterization of English as a non-pro-drop language, these sentences should be utterly ungrammatical.

Haegeman (1990b) and Rizzi (2000) discuss the problem of subject drop with a finite verb on the basis of the written register of diaries. Consider the following example:

(89)   A very sensible day yesterday. [*e*] Saw no one. [*e*] Took the bus to Southwark Bridge.
       [*e*] Walked along Thames Street….   (Haegeman, 1990b)

As argued by Haegeman (1990b) and Rizzi (2000), this type of subject omission with a finite verb has structural properties very different from those of full pro-drop in a language like Italian: the omitted subject is limited to root clauses, and it must occur in the structurally highest position of the clause. Thus, subject omission is impossible in a finite clause that is introduced by a *wh*-phrase or by a subordinating conjunction. It does not occur with preposed *wh*-elements or in embedded clauses. The incompatibility of *e* with *wh*-movement and embedded clauses is illustrated by the contrast in (90) and (91), respectively.

(90)   a. What will I buy?
       b. *What will *e* buy?

(91)   a. [*e*] Thought I heard something.
       b. *I thought [*e*] heard something.

Haegeman (1990b) also points out that *e* does not occur with *yes-no* questions (92).

(92)   *Will [*e*] be able to meet him?

In addition to syntactic constraints, Haegeman notes a pragmatic one. The referent of *e* must be recoverable from the context: only subjects that are discourse topics can be omitted. This observation leads Haegeman to propose that diary sentences with non-overt subjects involve some form of topicalisation. Given the syntactic constraints on its distribution, Haegeman (1990a, 1990b) argues that *e* must be some kind of *wh*-trace. The other possibilities are ruled out. *e* cannot be PRO since – unlike *e* – PRO does not occur in finite clauses and is in complementary distribution with overt DPs. The distribution of *e* also indicates that it cannot be *pro*. In those languages where it is licensed, *pro* is not restricted to matrix clauses and can occur with *wh*-movement. The possibility that *e* is a DP-trace is also ruled out. DP-traces do not alternate with overt DPs,

and there is no DP-antecedent in the sentence of which *e* could be the trace. Haegeman argues that *wh*-trace is a more likely candidate. *Wh*-traces are left by elements which undergo movement to an A'-position. Topicalisation structures have been analysed as involving movement to a pre-sentential A'-position (93a), and in certain languages, such as Portuguese, a non-overt topic operator can undergo such movement (93b). Haegeman proposes that diary sentences with non-overt subjects similarly involve movement of a non-overt topic operator, as in (93c).

(93) a. Bill Jones$_i$ [I saw t_i on television last night].
       b. TOp$_i$ [a Juana viu t_i na televisao ontem a noite].
           'Juana saw him/her/it on television last night.'
       c. TOp$_i$ [t_i left at twelve].   (Haegeman 1990a)

As maintained by Haegeman, the constraints on the distribution of *e* provide further support for it being a *wh*-trace. Like *e*, the *wh*-trace left by overt topicalisation cannot occur in the subject position of a subordinate clause.

According to Rizzi's (2000) analysis, these syntactic constraints are due to the nature of the understood subject. By hypothesis, subject omission involves an unpronounced pronominal category whose content must be syntactically recoverable (in technical terms, it must be identified). In a full pro-drop language like Italian, the reference of the unpronounced subject can be recovered by means of the 'rich' inflection of the finite verb, which specifies the values of the person and number features. In Modern English, instead, the verbal inflection is not 'rich' enough to identify a null pronoun. Therefore, the unpronounced subject of the written register of diaries is not syntactically identified within the clause, but its reference is recovered by its being connected to the surrounding discourse. As stated by Rizzi (2000), this type of discourse identification is only possible when syntactic identification is impossible, namely, when the unpronounced subject is in the structurally highest position in the clause, so that there is not any more prominent category that can in principle act as an identifier. This is why the subject omission in the written registers of English is limited to the highest position of root clauses.

Following Haegeman's (1990, 1997) syntactic analysis, we may consider all the above null subjects in English as instances of an antecedent-less empty category with optional pronoun ellipsis available in certain registers. Such an account would unify the majority of instances of subject drop under one analysis.

We must bear in mind, though, that Haegeman's investigation (1990, 1997) was couched in the classical Principles-and-Parameters framework. The development of this framework along minimalist lines has led to significant revision of many fundamental aspects. These revisions mean that analyses within the Principles-and-Parameters framework often require substantial reanalysis before they can be stated in a Minimalist framework. Haegeman's analysis manages to account for the data on non-overt subjects in diaries. However, as we have seen, the phenomenon of null subject arguments is not restricted to marginal registers of the language. It is in fact extremely common in colloquial speech in general, perhaps even to the extent that overt expression of the subject could be regarded as the marked option.

In my opinion, the difference between these particular contexts that allow empty subjects in English and those where the subject must be overt appears to reduce to a single property of the grammar: in the former, but not the latter, the clause may be truncated so that the highest functional projection is not projected. This is possible because in these situations the discourse context is restricted; hence, the highest functional projection is not required to mediate discourse relations. In a Minimalist framework, all the distributional constraints on these null arguments observed by Haegeman (1990) follow from this single basic property. Finally, the grammar does not necessarily provide identification for the null argument in such circumstances. Instead, the null argument may have to be identified with some entity salient in the context of the utterance. Therefore, alongside and complementing this syntactic analysis, I propose that certain pragmatic conditions relating to the context and the abilities and preferences of the speaker must also be met in order to license these instances of subject drop in 'non-pro-drop' English.

Śpiewak (2000) claims that a unified treatment of the various cases of lack of a Nom NP in English may be achieved in terms of treating it as a vehicle of Economy of Surface Representation (ESR), since it is systematic, rather than occasional, non-expression of uneconomical subject NP.

In connection with the non-expression of uneconomical subject NP, let us now consider the contrast in (94):

(94)   a. Śpiewają po ulicach.
           sing$_{-3-PL-PRES}$ on streets$_{-LOC}$
           'People [in general] sing in the street.'

    b. Oni śpiewają po ulicach.
       they$_{-NOM}$ sing$_{-3-PL-PRES}$ on streets$_{-LOC}$
       'They sing/are singing in the street.'   (Śpiewak, 2000)

Franks (1995) observes that inserting the 3rd person plural pronoun *oni* "lifts the arbitrary interpretation" of sentences like (94a) in Slavic languages: (94b) can only mean that a specific group of street-singers is involved. This contrasts with the situation in English, where *they* can be arbitrary in interpretation, as shown in (95):

(95) a. They sell cigarettes in gas stations.
     b. They speak Czech in Prague.   (Śpiewak, 2000)

According to Franks, the difference between the Slavic languages and English concerning the effect of the pronoun has to do with the pro-drop status of languages like Polish. This is also in line with the position taken in Jaeggli (1986), where it is argued that overt pronouns may not be arbitrary in reference if (and only if) the overt/empty alternation obtains in a given language. I claim that, unless for emphatic effect, the subject should not be inserted in sentences like (94b) because it is already there in the form of a suffix. Thus, it is not the question of pro-drop: there is nothing extraordinary in dropping something that needs not be there anyway; the situation becomes interesting when we drop the thing that otherwise should be there. Śpiewak (2000) maintains that in languages like Polish, no NP subject is a default choice: "unless there is a good reason to express an entity (a participant) in the Nominative, do not do so (economy of a language)." When no emphatic or contrastive meaning is to be conveyed, the personal pronoun is avoided and the default no-Nom pattern is applied. For further illustration of this phenomenon, let us have a look at (96):

(96) a. **Ja** kupiłam chleb.
       I buy-3.Sing.Past bread-Acc
     b. Kupiłam chleb.
       buy-3.Sing.Past bread-Acc
       'I bought a loaf of bread.'

In sentence (96a), the inflectional suffix is present, despite the presence of the subject *Ja* 'I'. Then, we have two ways of expressing the same thing appearing together simultaneously. This is against the Economy Principle, unless we want to emphasize the person who bought a loaf of bread.

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However, a question arises in connection with the Polish sentence in (81), repeated in (97): can we treat the implicit subjects in this sentence as an instance of a 'true' subject *pro*?

(97)   Tomek próbował odwieść Jacka od zrobienia tego, ale ?[*e*]/ten/ on nie posłuchał – [*e*] poszedł do biura i [*e*] złożył wymówienie.

In fact, the inflectional suffix itself carries all the phi-features necessary for the recovery of the subject, i.e., we understand it as a 3rd person singular, masculine. Moreover, our knowledge of the circumstances or situational context, that is pragmatics, allows us to presume that the implied subject is *Jacek*, and not *Tomek*. Still, it seems that we can call implied subjects in (97) as *pro*, if we adopt Rizzi's (1986) theory of *pro*, articulated within GB theory. It says that *pro* is inherently unspecified for φ-feature (or phi-feature) values, but its identification is ensured as subject *pro* inherits the φ-features of INFL, by which it is Case-marked. Of course, all this correlates with rich inflection and agreement. Yet, as Holmberg (2005) rightly observes, the theory of *pro* outlined by Rizzi (1986) cannot be maintained in a Minimalist theory, making the distinction between interpretable and uninterpretable features, as in Chomsky (1995). The person, number, and gender features of an NP (or DP) are interpretable, restricting the denotation of the NP. The person, number, or gender features which appear on a verb, auxiliary, or adjective, are uninterpretable as they do not restrict the denotation of these categories. Holmberg (2005: 537) provides the following hypothesis, consistent with the feature theory sketched in Chomsky (1995, 1999):

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(98)   "There is no *pro* at all in null-subject constructions. Instead Agr, the set of φ-features of I, is itself interpretable; Agr is a referential, definite pronoun, phonologically expressed as an affix. As such, Agr is also assigned a subject theta-role, possibly by virtue of heading a chain (…)."

In a word, if Agr is interpretable, there is no need for *pro*. To put it another way, the agreement-based null subjects in, for example, Polish (see (97) and (72b)), Italian, or Spanish, are not instances of *pro*, but regular, carrying a full set of phi-features pronouns in the form of an affix. Thus, in finite null-subject constructions in these languages, the subject position SpecIP is not projected since Agr on the finite verb can check (satisfy) the EPP. Holmberg (2005) concludes that languages with subject agreement cannot have a 'little'

pro subject of the classical type, i.e., a nominal category which is inherently unspecified for number, person, and gender. This type is found only in languages without Agr.

Kato's (1999) analysis also considers that Agr is not a functional projection. Following Speas (1995), Kato defends that Agr morphemes in null-subject languages have content. Nevertheless, differing from her proposal, though similarly to Holmberg (2005), Kato (1999) suggests the elimination of the empty category *pro* altogether in favor of a [+pronominal] Agr with the same status as weak pronouns, and therefore functioning as the subject in languages such as Spanish. In a verb like the Spanish *hablar* 'to speak' in (99), *-o*, *-s*, *Ø*, *-mos*, *-is*, *-n* will be pronominal Agr, forming the following paradigm of weak pronouns in Spanish:

(99)

habl	–o	I	speak
habl-a	–s	you	speak
habl-a	Ø	he/she	speaks
habl-a	–mos	we	speak
habl-á	–is	you	speak
habl-a	–n	they	speak

Kato (1999) terms [+pronominal] Agr the type of agreement that exists in null-subject languages, where Agr appears as an independent morpheme in the derivation, with information on Person and Number, in the same way as an NP.

Therefore, Agr does not come as affixed to Verb/Tense; rather, in [+pronominal] Agr languages, that is, in null-subject languages, these independent morphemes combine with verbs as external arguments of V. In this way, Agr morphemes come from the Lexicon as items independent from verbs. Verbs in null-subject languages, in their turn, come inflected only for tense.

Summing up, contrary to Rizzi (1986), Holmberg (2005) argues that languages like Polish (i.e., with subject agreement) cannot have a *pro* subject which is inherently unspecified for φ-features, and that *pro* cannot be identified by Agr (the φ-features of I) since Agr is uninterpretable in the Minimalist theory. Thus, phonetically empty, implicit subjects in Polish examples in (97) and (72b) are

not instances of *pro*, but ordinary pronouns in the form of an affix. Generally, I concur with Holmberg (2005): indeed, *pro* cannot be identified by Agr, and the implicit, 'inflectional' subjects in Polish cannot be called truly empty. I also agree with Kato (1999) that suffixes in null-subject languages like Spanish, Italian, or Polish function very much like 'weak' pronouns. Yet, contrary to both Holmberg (2005) and Kato (1999), I am going to demonstrate on the basis of Polish data that *pro* subject of the type defined by Rizzi (1986) actually exists in languages with rich inflection and agreement, but in impersonal *się*-constructions and in non-finite causes, rather than in finite clauses as it used to be thought. Thus, I am here following a similar line of reasoning as Holmberg (2005) and Kato (1999), although their proposals do not take into account impersonal *się*-constructions and non-finite clauses as possible locations for subject *pro*. Therefore, the following discussion and solutions proposed are rather different from their suggestions.

2.2.1 The relation between two empty subjects: *pro* and *PRO*

In this section, I will try to present briefly how the empty 'little' subject *pro* discussed above is related to 'big' PRO, the null subject of non-finite clauses.

Hornstein (1999) assumes that 'big' PRO is simply 'small' *pro* in cases where movement is prohibited, and refers to this phenomenon as non-obligatorily controlled (NOC) PRO. NOC PRO is opposed to obligatorily controlled (OC) PRO, which – contrary to NOC PRO – requires an antecedent for its interpretation, and should be treated on a par with a trace or anaphor, being the result of movement (both trace and anaphor must have an antecedent in the sentence, for reference). The contrast between NOC PRO and OC PRO is illustrated in (100a) and (101a), adapted from Hornstein (1999: 73), and their Polish counterparts in (100-101b). More examples of NOC PRO, which is the focus of this section, are presented in English sentences and their Polish equivalents in (102)-(103):

(100) a. It was believed that [NOC PRO shaving was important].
     b. Wierzono, że [NOC PRO golenie (się) jest ważne].

(101) a. The unfortunate$_i$ expects OC PRO$_i$ to get a medal.
     b. Nieszczęśnik$_i$ spodziewa się OC PRO$_i$ dostać medal.

(102) a. [NOC PRO To leave the city] would be stupid. / [NOC PRO Leaving the city] is a stupid idea.

b. [NOC PRO Opuścić miasto] byłoby głupotą. / Głupotą jest [NOC PRO opuszczanie miasta].

(103) a. NOC PRO Keeping in touch with the relatives is important.
b. NOC PRO Utrzymywanie kontaktu z najbliższymi jest ważne.

As we could see, both in English and Polish, non-obligatorily controlled PRO has an arbitrary reading, implying generic *one* or *people* as subject. Nevertheless, according to Bhatt and Pancheva (B&P) (2006), even if PRO has an arbitrary interpretation, it does not mean that it is not controlled. B&P (2006) draw this conclusion from the interpretation of the infinitival complements of evaluative predicates like *fun*. Consider:

(104) It is fun [PRO_{arb} to play volleyball].

Following B&P's (2006) line of reasoning, the PRO_{arb} in (104) is not an instance of uncontrolled PRO. Instead, it is controlled by a non-overt benefactive/experiencer argument of *fun*. (105) shows that this implicit argument of *fun* can also be overtly realized:

(105) It is fun **for Jim** [to play volleyball].

Thus, according to B&P (2006), such instances of 'uncontrolled' PRO are, in fact, instances of control by an implicit argument.

Moreover, as Bhatt and Pancheva (2006) observe, such 'uncontrolled' PRO not always has an arbitrary interpretation. The *arb* interpretation of PRO is available only in generic environments; in episodic environments, the 'uncontrolled' PRO picks its interpretation from the local context. This context-sensitivity of null arguments is demonstrated in English and Polish examples under (106) and (107):

(106) a. It is difficult [PRO_{arb} to dance the tango].
b. Trudno jest [PRO_{arb} tańczyć tango].

(107) a. This evening it was difficult (for us) [PRO_i to dance the tango] since the floor was slippery, and we$_i$ were all tired].
b. Tego wieczora trudno było (nam) [PRO_i tańczyć tango, ponieważ podłoga była śliska i wszyscy byli**śmy**$_i$ zmęczeni].

According to B&P (2006), both in (106) and (107), the PRO is controlled by the implicit argument of *difficult*. They claim that the only difference is that in (106) the implicit argument is bound by a generic operator, and that is why the PRO in (106) has an *arb* interpretation. (107), on the other hand, receives an episodic interpretation as there is no generic operator to bind the implicit argument.

Consequently, the implicit argument picks up its reference from the local discourse context, which is a part of the general context-sensitivity of implicit arguments, as B&P put it.

Thus, following B&P's (2006) approach, we should label PRO in (106) as an OC PRO, assuming that it is controlled by an implicit argument. Nevertheless, contrary to B&P (2006), I presume that PRO_{arb} in (106) is to be analyzed as NOC PRO since we need neither context, nor the overt antecedent to interpret it as arbitrary/indefinite *one*. Even if there actually is a generic operator, as suggested by B&P (2006), still, it is not present in the sentence in the form of an explicit antecedent, which is always the case in obligatorily-controlled constructions. If we actually insert some specific individual(s) in there, as in (105), then we get a completely different interpretation, which is no longer arbitrary, but specific. The subject is obligatorily-controlled (OC PRO) by an overt antecedent present in the sentence. Then, *Jim* becomes the (only possible) antecedent for PRO, making its reading definite and unambiguous. Similarly, in (107), PRO is no longer free like a pronoun and arbitrary in reference: it is bound by the overt pronoun *we* in English and by the inflectional suffix *-śmy* on the verb in Polish, showing the features it inherits from them. In addition, the context itself provides us with the information concerning the subject, making it definite. Therefore, just as PRO in (105), the PRO in (107) should be treated as a result of movement, i.e., OC PRO. To remind, in (106), on the other hand, the PRO_{arb} has no features to inherit from anywhere as it is provided with no context for its reading.[5] Moreover, there is no agreement between the

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[5] One may conclude that one and the same construction involves an OC and NOC PRO, depending on the availability of a local antecedent. Nevertheless, while obligatory control constructions have been assimilated to movement in the Minimalist Program (Hornstein, 1999), optional control, on the other hand, can be explained by the Binding Theory, i.e., NOC PRO should be replaced by an element like *pro*. Dating back to the early 1980s, we already find similar accounts of control to that of Hornstein's (1999). Nishigauchi (1984) offers two types of control: thematic control and pragmatic control, which resemble our current minimalist notions of OC PRO and NOC PRO, respectively. Nishigauchi (1984) claims that thematic control, unlike pragmatic control, shows such properties as uniqueness of the antecedent and lack of split antecedents, and above all – obligatoriness. It means that in thematic control, PRO is obligatorily controlled if a controller is available. In fact, most of the properties of thematic control just cited also apply to anaphors. Following Nishigauchi (1984), the contrast like that between (100) and (101) is to show that an argument PRO serves essentially as some kind of a pronoun when it is not thematically controlled, but acts as an anaphor when it has a controller

implied subject and the verb, so the inflectional system of a language is of no importance, which is crucial for a 'true' subject-drop along the line presented by Holmberg (2005). He actually predicts that since non-finite clauses generally do not have Agr in I, PRO may, on that account, be like 'true' *pro* in discourse pro-drop languages. All the above factors clearly indicate that NOC PRO – both in English and Polish infinitival and gerundive constructions – shows all the properties of *pro* in Holmberg's understanding.

Summing up, I have shown that Polish, just like English, does have a 'true' subject 'little' *pro*, but in the form of an empty subject of non-finite clauses, a view compatible with that of Hornstein's (1999). After all, NOC PRO, similarly to *pro* in Rizzi's (1986) terms, plays the role of a subject in a sentence and is inherently deprived of phi-features, although clearly showing a human feature. What is more, it does not depend on agreement (that is, the inflectional suffix on the verb) for its interpretation, which coincides with Holmberg's (2005) Minimalist theory of *pro*.[6]

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determined on the basis of thematic relations, similarly to NOC and OC PRO, correspondingly. Thus, although both types of control surface as 'missing' subject of non-finite clauses, through closer investigation it may turn out that different parts of the language faculty may be responsible for the two types of control since they have different clusters of properties. NOC constructions should probably be given also an extra-syntactic analysis, as far as their interpretation – often pragmatically determined – is concerned.

[6] There remains the question of PRO's Case, which is problematic for all linguistic theories. Both GB theory and minimalist movement theories of control (Hornstein, 1999, and subsequent work) are committed to the assumption that PRO in general is Case-less. However, this issue has not been settled by now. Sigurðsson (1991) claims that Icelandic has Nominative PRO and that this PRO is assigned structural Case by Infl/-Agr. Chomsky and Lasnik (1993) and Martin (2001), among others, propose that PRO carries a special 'null' Case. Landau (2006) claims that PRO bears exactly the Case that a lexical subject would bear in a parallel finite environment. One may also assume that PRO bears default Case rather than structural Infl-Case, i.e., it does not require predicate agreement, but default non-agreeing predicate forms (for instance, in copular and passive constructions, where PRO is in a default morphological agreement with a passive participle or an adjective). Yet, it might be argued that null Case is needed anyway for arbitrary PRO. However, if Hornstein (1999) is correct in arguing that arbitrary PRO occurs only in non-obligatory control (NOC) constructions, never in OC constructions, then **arbitrary PRO is a null pronominal *pro*, and there is no element like PRO$_{arb}$. Thus, the problem whether PRO is Case-less or not disappears in our Minimalist theory.**

2.3 Conclusions

To conclude, I have shown that the instances of a 'true' *pro* subject actually exist in languages with rich inflection and agreement, which challenges Holmberg's (2005: 558) hypothesis, according to which "*pro* exists, but only in languages which do not have agreement". Nevertheless, the traditional theory of *pro* subject, as presented in Rizzi (1986), ought to be revised. Namely, *pro* should not be viewed as an agreement-based phenomenon. As a result, its place of occurrence is different from that usually described: it should not be looked for in finite, 'inflectional' clauses at all, but in non-finite constructions, instead. In other words, the subject of infinitival and gerundive constructions is *pro*, as suggested by Hornstein (1999). In the subsequent chapter, I will show that Nominative indefinite reflexive clitic can be treated as an *overt* counterpart of subject *pro* category. I am going to demonstrate on the basis of extensive cross-linguistic data that the common notion of subject 'small' *pro* is, in fact, too narrow and should be extended to include new members.

3 Implicit subjects in impersonal constructions

3.1 Introduction

As I have already mentioned, we should look for 'little' *pro* not only in non-finite, but also in the so-called 'impersonal constructions', which is not only novel, but may also seem to be quite controversial. In this chapter, I would like to demonstrate that the impersonal constructions indeed possess such implicit subjects, similar to NOC PRO or *pro* in minimalist terms presented in the preceding chapter. In sections 3.2 and 3.3, I investigate the pro-drop and impersonal reflexive clitic *se/si/się* phenomena, and next I study the implications of my findings for the MP. In section 3.4, I explore the *-no/-to* constructions with respect to empty subjects.

3.2 Impersonal *się/se/si* constructions

Reflexive pronouns are frequently used as the morpho-syntactic expression of a missing arbitrary human argument. From a syntactic point of view, however, arbitrary *se/si/się* constructions can be distinguished from one anvother on the basis of whether they are

personal or impersonal (i.e., whether they have an argumental subject in the surface).

Romance and Slavic reflexive clitics share many uses, illustrated in (108) with Spanish and Polish. All languages display the uses often called (a) reflexive/reciprocal, (b) middle/passive, (c) anticausative/inchoative/unaccusative/ergative, and (d) inherent/intrinsic. The examples below, taken from Rivero (2002), are first in Spanish, next in Polish.

(108) a. Juan se viste.
        John Refl dresses
      a' Janek ubiera się.
        John dresses Refl
        'John gets dressed.'
      b. Este coche se conduce fácilmente.
        This car Refl drives easily
      b' Ten samochód powadzi się łatwo.
        This car drives Refl easily
        'This car drives easily.'
      c. El vaso se rompió.
        The glass Refl broke
      c' Szklanka się rozbiła.
        Glass Refl broke
        'The glass broke.'
      d. María se asusta de Juan.
        Mary Refl fears of John
      d' Maria boi się Janka.
        Mary fears Refl John
        'Mary fears/is afraid of John.'   (Rivero, 2002)

A much debated use of *się/se/si* meaning *one* or *people*, often referred to as Nominative Impersonal (also called indefinite, indeterminate, Nominative, Nominative-less, or subjective), is the topic of this section, separating Romance and Slavic into two groups: Italian, Spanish, Polish, and Portuguese vs. French and Romanian. The first, contrary to the latter, all have Nominative reflexive clitic *si/się/se.* Impersonal constructions introduce an unspecified, generic subject in an utterance. Consistent null subject languages, such as Italian, Polish, Spanish, or Portuguese, allow a definite 3rd person null subject in main as well as embedded clauses, but do not have a generic 3rd person null subject corresponding to English *one*. Instead, to

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express the meaning of generic *one*, they resort to forms like the reflexive *się/si/se*, as in the following examples:

(109) Aqui não se pode nadar.   [European Portuguese]
        here not REFL can swim
        'One can't swim here.'   (Holmberg, 2005)

(110) a. Antes se   leía   estos libros con placer.   [Spanish]
         before REFL read.3S these   books with pleasure
         'In the past {one/people} read these books with pleasure.'
      b. Tę ksiạżkę   {czyta/czytało}   się   z przyjemnościạ.
                                                              [Polish]
         this book.ACC {read.3S/read.NEU} REFL with pleasure
         'One {reads/read} this book with pleasure.'
                                                        (Rivero, 2002)

Alternatively, they resort to generic *you* (which may be null, but with 2.SG agreement on the finite verb), overt quantifiers such as *anyone*, or a variety of other strategies to avoid the use of a null, generic 3rd person pronoun. These are, however, beyond the scope of this work.

  I am going to show that in their impersonal use, the reflexive clitics of Italian, Polish, and Spanish display similar properties. Let us look at the *si/się/se* constructions presented in the examples (111)-(121) (all the Italian examples are taken from D'Alessandro (2001)):

(111) Los domingos no **se** trabaja.   [Spanish]
        the Sunday not REFL work.3SG
        'One does not work on Sunday.'

(112) Na balu **się** tańczy,   nie rozmawia.   [Polish]
        on ball REFL dance.3SG not talk.3SG
        'One dances at balls, not talks.'

(113) Owe przesądy   dzisiaj inaczej   **się** interpretuje.
        these prejudices.ACC   today   differently   REFL interpret.3SG
        'Today, these prejudices are interpreted differently.'
                                                        (Aranovich, 2004)

(114) Tę książkę   czytało   **się**   z przyjemnością.
        this book.ACC read.NEU.PAST REFL with pleasure
        'People read this book with pleasure.'

(115) Tutaj **się**   pracuje   sporo.

here   REFL work.3SG much
'Here people work worked a lot.'
(Rivero and Milojević-Sheppard, 2003)

(116) Tu   **się**   nie pływa.
here   REFL not swim.3SG
'One can't swim here.'

(117) Al   giorno d'oggi   **si**   mangia troppo.   [Italian]
at the   day   of today REFL eat. 3SG too much
'Nowadays people eat too much.'

(118) In Italia **si**   mangia una mela   al giorno per stare bene.
in Italy   REFL eat.3SG an   apple.NOM at the day for stay well
'In Italy people eat an apple a day to keep healthy.'

(119) In Italia **si**   leggono dei   buoni   libri.
in Italy REFL read.3PL some.PL.MASC good.PL.MASC books.PL.MASC
.NOM
'In Italy people read good books.'

(120) Qui   **si**   raccontano favole.
here   REFL tell.3PL   fairy tales.PL.FEM.NOM
'Here people tell stories.'

(121) Qui   **si**   racconta favole.
here   REFL tell. 3SG fairy tales.PL.FEM.ACC
'Here people tell stories.'

In the sentences given, the subject is not specified. Each sentence has a generic meaning, introduced by *si*, *się*, or *se*. The verb in such constructions is often invariable, that is, in a default form without agreement, as in the Spanish example under (111). Italian *si* constructions with transitive verbs, in the present tense, show two main agreement patterns, as in (120) and (121): In (120), the verb shows agreement with the object, which is Nominative, and in (121) it shows the default 3rd singular ending, and the object is Accusative. In Polish, for instance, the verb displays a neuter (NEU) suffix in the Past, as in *czytał-o* in (114), and in the Present it is third singular (3SG), as in *pracuje* in (115). By contrast, verbs must agree with ordinary Nominative NPs in Polish, as in (122) and (123) below:

(122) Marysia   czytał**a**   tę   książkę.
Mary.NOM read.FEM.3SG.PAST this book.ACC
'Mary read this book.'

(123) Te ćwiczenia   wymaga**ją**   wiele   wysiłku.
these exercises.NOM   require.3PL.PRES much   effort.GEN
'These exercises require much effort.'

In (122), the Past *czytała* displays a feminine singular suffix -*a*, and thus agrees with the subject *Marysia*. An analogous situation is in (123), where the Present *wymagają* is plural, and agrees with the plural Nominative subject.

    A common assumption is that impersonal *se/si/się* requires Nominative Case, and a current implementation of this idea is given by Rivero (2002). That Nominative (or simply NOM, for short) is somehow tied to the impersonal receives support from several phenomena. These include (i) the morphological ACC(usative) on the overt NP, as in (113) and (114), which is viewed by many as an indication that the construction is 'active', and not 'passive', (ii) the preposition *a* preceding the overt NP in Spanish in (124a), and (iii) *se/się* combined with an ACC clitic in (124b-c).

(124) a. En esta escuela **se**   castiga   **a** los alumnos.
                                                                  [Spanish]
        in   this   school   REFL   punish.3SG **a** the students
        'In this school one punishes the students.'
    b. Si una niña   es mala, **se**   la   castiga.
        If   a   little.girl   is bad,   REFL her punish.3SG
    c. Jeśli dziewczynka jest niegrzeczna, karze   **się**   ją.
                                                                 [Polish]
        If   little.girl   is   bad   punish.3SG REFL her
        'If a little girl is bad, one punishes her.'
                                                      (Rivero, 2002)

Another factor favouring Nominative Case is that only those Polish modals that accept Nominative subjects may co-occur with the impersonal. Kański (1986) notes that the impersonal is grammatical with modals that take NOM subjects, for example *powinno/powinien* in (125), and impossible with those that do not, for instance *trzeba* in (126).

(125) a. Powinno   **się**   być   łysym.
        Should.NEU REFL be.INF bald.INST
        'One should be bald.'

b. Premier   powinien być   łysy.
    prime.minister.NOM should   be.INF bald.NOM
    'The prime minister should be bald.'

(126) a. Trzeba (***się***)   pracować.
        must   (*REFL)   work.INF
        'One must work.'
    b. *Marysia   trzeba pracować.
        Mary.NOM must   work   (Kański, 1986)

The contrast between (125) and (126) additionally supports the view that *się* is Nominative. In Chomsky (1982), Rizzi (1982, 1986), and related work, also the subject 'little' *pro* is to carry the subject theta-role, possibly Nominative Case, and satisfy the EPP.

The impersonal reflexive clitic *se/si/się* poses a serious problem in GB, and remains unresolved in the MP. Intuitively speaking, it is an 'antecedent-less' expression which somehow does not fit into the restrictive framework of the classical Binding Theory. I would like to show in the following section that, although it is visible at PF, the impersonal *se/si/się* behaves like a covert, generic pronoun rather clearly, and should be viewed as an overt counterpart of arbitrary, empty subject *pro*, defined by Rizzi (1986). There are at least a few causes for this line of reasoning. Similarly to *pro*, *se/si/się* plays the role of a subject and has no phi-features, except a human feature. It also appears in structures without subject-verb agreement, which in turn coincides with Holmberg's (2005) definition of a 'true' subject *pro* as occurring independently from Agr.[7] All these facts highlight the advantages of adding *se/si/się* to the Minimalist framework for empty categories. What circumstances require phonological realization of a pronominal is a matter of debate, but it is clear that under the present proposal contrasts between overt and covert pronouns must be attributed to pragmatic considerations. Therefore, the issue that still needs to be explored is the notion of *się/si/se* in the light of the recent minimalist developments, which is the topic of the next section.

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[7] In fact, the definition of *pro* I adopt here is that of Rizzi's (1986), modified in minimalist terms as regards the occurrence of *pro* (i.e., now *pro* appears in structures without agreement), but also with respect to [+/- human] and definite/indefinite features, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

3.3 Impersonal Nominative reflexive clitic – a covert counterpart of a subject argument *pro*

In this section, I will focus on Polish indefinite Nominative reflexive clitic with respect to empty/implicit subjects. I will compare the results of my investigation with Spanish and Italian data, taken from Rivero (2002), Rivero and Milojević-Sheppard (2003), and Dobrovie-Sorin (1999). Rivero and Milojević-Sheppard (2003) claim that such Nominative Indefinite Pronouns (Nominative *się* or NOM Indefinites, for short) are semantically arbitrary and varied: some correspond to *people in general* or *everyone*, others refer to *many people*. Each time they resemble defective pronouns that lack gender, number, and person. Since non-specific Nominative *się* denotes human beings, functioning often as a controller, binder, or antecedent, Rivero and Milojević-Sheppard (2003) suggest that we should compare it with an arbitrary, empty subject PRO. However, null subjects, apart from being syntactically active and semantically indefinite, are first of all phonologically empty. Then, according to this definition, the NOM Indefinite should not be expressed in PF, but it is. Yet, its phonological form does not change from sentence to sentence, just like the phonologically unrealized form of any 'standard' empty category, and so the meaning of such Nominative *się* does not depend on its outer shape. Taking all of the above into account, probably we could include subject/Nominative indefinite human pronoun among null subjects, the more so that participles and adjectives in copular and passive constructions establish a default morphological connection between the NOM Indefinite and arbitrary PRO, which are both human and both lack phi-features. As illustrated in (127a), the NOM Indefinite appears with a masculine singular Instrumental adjective, just as PRO presented in (127b) does:[8]

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[8] Notice that once the subject is overt, a masculine singular Nominative adjective is absolutely correct, while the Instrumental adjective is questionable or marginal. The reflexive clitic is absent as well in both cases:

Kiedy człowiek/ktoś jest ?młodym/młody i ?inteligentnym/inteligentny, jest ?szczęśliwym/szczęśliwy.

'When a man/sb. is young?$_{mascINSTR}$/$_{mascNOM}$ and intelligent?$_{mascINSTR}$/$_{mascNOM}$, (he) is happy?$_{mascINSTR}$/$_{mascNOM}$.'

(127) a. Kiedy się jest młodym/*młody i inteligentnym/*inteligent-
ny, jest się szczęśliwym/*szczęśliwy.
'When one is young$_{mascINSTR}$/*$_{mascNOM}$ and intelligent$_{mascINSTR}$
/*$_{masc\ NOM}$, one is happy$_{mascINSTR}$/*$_{mascNOM}$.'

b. Miło jest PRO być kochanym/*kochany.
'It is nice to be loved$_{mascINSTR}$/*$_{mascNOM}$.'

Still, if Nominative *się* resembles 'big' PRO, it should denote *people in general*, i.e., be arbitrary in reference, when there is no overt antecedent (Jaeggli, 1986). However, it seems that this hypothesis is not always valid. As suggested by Rivero and Milojević-Sheppard (2003), Polish Nominative *się* found in copular and passive constructions can bring an individual variable into the semantic representation if the sentences contain individual-level predicates, such as *intelligent*. Thus, the reflexive clitic that co-exists with an individual-level adjective is a diagnostic for an individual variable, as can be seen in example (127a) above. Nevertheless, as I have observed, the presence of an individual-level adjective or participle is not obligatory in NOM Indefinite constructions so that we could interpret the clitic as an individual being or the speaker. There are structures without any adjective or participle where Nominative *się* is clearly understood as a specific person, usually the speaker. This is particularly characteristic of colloquial Polish:

(128) Ma **się** głowę na karku! / Ma **się** ten łeb!
'One has one's head screwed on!' (meaning: '*I* have my head screwed on')

(129) Niedobrze **się** robi, jak **się** na to patrzy.
'One feels sick looking at it.' (reference to the speaker's feelings)

(130) Jakoś **się** żyje…
'One can manage somehow…' (meaning: '*I* can manage somehow'.)

(131) Chodzi **się** i pożycza. (the speaker is the implied subject)
'One goes and borrows *e*.' (*e* = empty object)

Compare:

(132) Tutaj **się** pracuje.
here REFL work.3SG
'Here people work.'

(133) Tę książkę   czyta   **się**   z przyjemnością.
     this book.ACC read.3SG REFL with pleasure
     'People read / One reads this book with pleasure'.

As shown in (128)-(131), the Subject Indefinite can denote the speaker instead of *all* or *many people*, and neither the adjective, nor the participle describing such a specific individual subject need to be present. There is no overt antecedent for *się* either, and yet the clitic is understood as a specified individual. This fact differentiates Nominative *się* from PRO, which is interpreted as arbitrary in reference when it occurs without an overt antecedent (Jaeggli, 1986). In addition to that, *się* in the examples above is assigned default Nominative Case, a view compatible with that of Rivero and Milojević-Sheppard's with regard to similar examples, while PRO has been widely claimed in the Government and Binding (GB) Theory as lacking Case. In GB terms, the reason why this is so is that PRO is ungoverned, and since Case is assigned only under government, PRO bears no Case. Thus, should PRO and Nom Indefinite be kept separate? Examples like those in (132) and (133), where we have no explicit antecedent, and *się* – just as PRO – denotes people, prove that drawing such a conclusion would be perhaps too rash. Moreover, NOM *się*, similarly to PRO, can bind or antecede many types of anaphors, as in (134) – (137), or function as a syntactic controller, as in (138). The examples are from Spanish (*se*) or Italian (*si*), followed by their Polish (*się*) counterparts:

(134) a. Ahora **se** piensa sólo en **uno mismo**.
      b. Teraz **się** myśli tylko o   **sobie**.
         now Refl think.3S only {in/of} oneself
         'Now one thinks only of oneself.'

(135) Tutaj **się** ze   **sobą** rozmawia,   a nie kłóci.
     here   Refl with Refl.INST talk.3S, and not argue.3S
     'Here people talk, not argue, with each other.'

(136) **Swoich** przyjaciół tak **się** nie traktuje.
     POSS friends so Refl Neg treat.3S
     'One does not treat one's friends like that.'

(137) a. **Si** ritiene (spesso) che **i proprio** errori siano piu' giustificati di quelli degli altri.
         Refl believe.3S (often) that the own errors are more justified than those of.the others

b. Myśli **się**, że **swoje** błędy są bardziej usprawiedliwiane niż innych.
believe.3S Refl that POSS errors are more justified than of.others
'People (often) think that their own mistakes are more justified than those of the others.'

(138) a. Siempre **se** quiere ser {admirado/apreciado}.
always Refl want.3S be {admired/appreciated}
b. Chce **się** być {admirowanym/lubianym}.
want.3S Refl be {admired/liked.MASC.INSTR }
'One (always) wants to be {admired/liked}.'
(Rivero and Milojević-Sheppard, 2003; Rivero, 2002)

The above sentences seem particularly significant for the idea that the impersonal is an (independent) syntactic argument – just like the subject argument PRO – and not merely the morphological reflection of a predicate that in the Lexicon is inherently reflexive. As Rivero (2002) puts it, "since these predicates are not semantically reflexive, *si*, *se*, and *się* cannot be just (redundant) markers of intrinsic reflexivity, which is the analysis often suggested for reflexive clitics in the Romance languages." As she rightly observes, the examples in (136) and (137) show the need for two positions in the syntactic structure: (a) one for the impersonal, which is not a reflexivizer, nor a marker of lexical reflexivity, and (b) another one for the long distance anaphor. She further explains that, if the impersonal was seen as only a marker of intrinsic reflexivity, there could be only one argument in sentences like (134a-b), namely the constituent *uno mismo*/*sobie*. However, if (136) and (137) must contain two argument positions, this option must also be available in (134).

In languages without the impersonal, *se* is not a binder or antecedent. To illustrate this fact, let us take Bulgarian, which – like Polish – has possessive anaphors, but lacks impersonal *se.* The Bulgarian *se* cannot thus function as the antecedent, so (139) is deviant:

(139) *Svoite kartini **se** gledat s udovolstvie.
POSS pictures Refl see.3P. with pleasure
'One sees one's pictures with pleasure.' (Rivero, 2002)

It is worth adding that NOM *się* and PRO cannot occur together, being as if in complementary distribution, which may prove that they have the same function in the sentence. According to Dobrovie-Sorin's

(1999) analysis, Nominative *si* is illegitimate in Italian non-finite clauses:

(140) *Ritengo non esser**si** promesso di ottemperare alle disposizioni.
'(I) believe not (to) HAVE-SI promised to obey the instructions.'
(Dobrovie-Sorin, 1999)

Się cannot probably combine with control verbs also in Polish, as the following examples show:

(141) PRO Opuścić ***się** miasto byłoby głupotą.
PRO to leave REFL the city would be stupidity.
'To leave the city would be stupid.'

(142) Tu czytać ***się** książki.
here read REFL books
'Here people read books.'

In (143) and (144) below, I present the opposite facts with mainly Italian and Polish finite clauses, respectively:

(143) a. In certi studi basati su fenomeni linguistici, **si** e' cercato di ricostruire la storia politica e sociale ...
in certain essays based on linguistic phenomena, Refl-has tried to reconstruct the political and social history ...
b. **Se** espera llegar al final del camino [Spanish]
Refl hopes to arrive at the end of the road
c. **Si** e' cominciato a prendere in considerazione le esigenze di tutti
Refl-has started to take into account everybody's needs
d. **Si** e' promesso di seguire le istruzioni
Refl-has promised to obey the instructions
(Dobrovie-Sorin, 1999)

(144) a. Tu czyta **się** książki.
here read.3S Refl books.ACC
'Here one reads books.'
b. Dziś opuszcza **się** kraj w celach zarobkowych.
today leave.3S Refl country in purpose.PL earning.ADJ
'Nowadays people leave their country for earning purposes.'

Dobrovie-Sorin (1999) claims that the contrast like that above is due to the fact that *si/się* requires Nominative Case, which cannot be assigned in control configurations (violation of the Case Filter).

In all the NOM Indefinite constructions presented in (127)-(138) the Nominative indefinite reflexive clitic shows an important characteristic in common with PRO: it has a human feature and an implicit interpretation. Moreover, as in (127), it imposes the same default morphological concord pattern as arbitrary PRO on adjectives and participles. But can we go so far as to conclude that both Nominative *się* and PRO could be labeled as 'empty subjects'? Taking all of these considerations and doubts into account, I suggest that either the theory of PRO should be revised, or the notions of Nominative *się* and PRO should be kept separate. In this section, I am going to check which of the two options is the best one. Whatever the results of my analysis should turn out to be, such research may contribute significantly to the current discussion of empty subjects.

Although the problem of distribution and interpretation of PRO has aroused a lot of interest in the GB theory and continued to be a recurrent investigation subject in the Minimalist Program (MP), its relation to Nominative *się* has attracted surprisingly little attention, and that is why it still remains an open issue. However, in order to determine the relation between NOM *się* and PRO, we must first take into account the most recent tendencies concerning the treatment of PRO, discussed in the first and second chapter. For the matter of clarity, I will shortly recall the two leading approaches to PRO within the MP: the null Case approach, aiming at deriving the distribution of PRO from the Case theory (Chomsky and Lasnik, 1993), and the Movement Theory of Control, attempting to eliminate PRO as a distinct empty category altogether (Hornstein, 1999). Chomsky and Lasnik (1993) assume that PRO – like other arguments – bears Case, but this Case is a special one, different from all other Cases. They call it a null Case and claim that PRO cannot have any other Case than null. As Bondaruk (2004) puts it, the main advantage of this Case-theoretic approach is the possibility of treating PRO on a par with other arguments. Besides, we no longer have to analyse PRO as a pronominal anaphor, as it used to be in the GB theory. Instead, we can regard PRO either as an anaphor, or a pronominal. This treatment of PRO accounts for obligatorily controlled (OC) PRO, behaving like anaphors, and non-obligatorily controlled (NOC) PRO, functioning as pronouns. OC PRO is bound in its governing category, showing the features of its antecedent, while NOC PRO is free like a pronoun and arbitrary in reference. Thus, the main problem of GB PRO Theorem, which offered only a uniform treatment of the empty category PRO (and so failed to provide a relevant analysis of both

OC and NOC PRO), ceased to exist. Hornstein (1999) advances the minimalist view of OC PRO and NOC PRO, resembling respectively anaphors and pronouns, and many aspects of his proposal carry over to my present analysis. He suggests that OC PRO is the residue of movement, being identical to an NP-trace, whereas NOC PRO should be identified with 'small' *pro*. In a word, there is no grammatical formative like 'big' PRO, which poses a very radical departure both from standard GB and Minimalist theories. Consequently, the problem of PRO's Case is eliminated. Thus, it seems that *pro* is licensed in English NOC structures, although it should not occur in this language, being typical of Slavic and Romance languages. We have already seen in (100b), (102b), and (103b) (section 2.2.1 of the previous chapter) that we can talk about Polish equivalent of such NOC PRO since we actually have NOC PRO constructions in Polish. However, can we label NOC PRO as *pro*? **'Small' *pro* in traditional GB terms is interpreted as a definite pronoun** (*he; she; they – definite group of people; it*) because its phi-features (φ-features) are determined by the inflectional suffix on the verb, as in (145). **Still, we can have arbitrary or indefinite, impersonal subject *pro* in the form of an affix, interpreted as *people in general*, when there is no morphological agreement between the implied subject and the verb**, as in (146)[9]:

(145) *pro* _{in GB terms} Wierzył/Wierzyli w duchy.
     believe.MASC.3SING/3PL in ghosts
     'He/They believed in ghosts.'

(146) Wierzo**no** w duchy.
     believed.IMPERS–*NO* in ghosts
     'People believed in ghosts.'

We have seen that NOC PRO in (102)-(103) (repeated below as (147) and (148)) and arbitrary *pro* in (146) share some interpretive characteristics, both referring to *people*.

(147) a. [NOC PRO To leave the city] would be stupid. / [NOC PRO Leaving the city] is a stupid idea.
     b. [NOC PRO Opuścić miasto] byłoby głupotą. / Głupotą jest [NOC PRO opuszczanie miasta].

(148) a. NOC PRO Keeping in touch with the relatives is important.
     b. NOC PRO Utrzymywanie kontaktu z najbliższymi jest ważne.

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[9] The relation between the impersonal -*no/-to* constructions and subject *pro* is discussed in full detail in section 3.4 of this chapter.

NOC PRO is at the same time distinct from the 'inflectional' *pro* subject shown in (145), postulated as an empty category within GB theory and attributed to 'pro-drop languages' like Polish. Thus, **NOC PRO is more like an arbitrary *pro* subject, rather than the 'inflectional' one, and therefore resembles the 'true' subject *pro* in minimalist terms, i.e., independent of rich inflection and agreement**.

Now, let us bring back the comparison of NOC PRO with some OC PRO structures in English and Polish:

(149) a. The unfortunate$_i$ expects PRO$_i$ to get a medal.
     a'. Nieszczęśnik$_i$ spodziewa się PRO$_i$ dostać medal.
     b. *The unfortunate$_i$ expects that the audience$_j$ will want PRO$_i$ to get a medal.
     b'. *Nieszczęśnik$_i$ spodziewa się, że widownia$_j$ będzie chciała PRO$_i$ zdobyć medal.
     c. *It was expected PRO$_j$ to get a medal.
     c'. *pro*$_j$ Spodziewano się PRO$_j$ dostać medal. (implied subject: *sports team*)

(150) a. Only John$_i$ remembers PRO$_i$ giving the speech.
     a'. Tylko Jan$_i$ pamięta PRO$_i$ wygłoszenie przemówienia.
     b. John$_i$ thinks that people$_j$ remember PRO*$_{i/j}$ giving the speech.
     b'. Jan$_i$ myśli, że ludzie$_j$ pamiętają PRO*$_{i\ /j}$ wygłoszenie przemówienia.

As we could note, the properties of OC PRO are not shared by PRO in NOC environments. The distinction between OC and NOC PRO is based on interpretive grounds: the examples presented in (147) and (148) show that NOC PRO does not need an antecedent both in English and Polish, while OC PRO, as illustrated in (149) and (150), requires an antecedent and this antecedent must usually be local. Therefore, OC PRO is a trace, being the result of movement, just as Hornstein (1999) has observed it for English.

The examples in (151)-(152) prove that English reflexives are the residue of movement in the same way as OC PRO, and so must have a local antecedent. Hornstein (1999) claims that reflexives are put in the place of a phonetically null NP-trace when Case must be checked:

(151) a. Mary$_i$ heard herself$_i$.
     a'. Marysia$_i$ usłyszała siebie$_i$.

  b. He$_i$ loves only himself$_i$.
  b'. On$_i$ kocha tylko siebie$_i$.

(152) a. He$_i$ was expected PRO$_j$ to shave himself$_i$.
  a'. *pro*$_{j\,(3pl)}$ Oczekiwano, że **pro**$_{i\,(3sing)}$ się ogo**li**$_{i\,(3sing)}$.
  b. *It was expected PRO$_j$ to shave himself$_i$.
             (no antecedent for *himself*)
  b'. *pro*$_j$ Oczekiwano PRO*$_{i/j}$ ogolenia się.
  c. *John$_i$ thinks that it was expected PRO$_j$ to shave himself$_i$.
       (no local antecedent for the reflexive)
  c'. Jan$_i$ myśli, że *pro*$_j$ oczekiwano PRO*$_{i/j}$ ogolenia się.

In other words, English OC PRO and reflexives "are the same expression modulo phonetic content" (Hornstein, 1999). Certainly, English cannot use the reflexive pronoun to encode the presence of an arbitrary subject, i.e., NOC PRO. Hornstein concludes that the so-called locally-bound reflexives are spelled-out NP-traces, correspondingly to OC PRO: in Polish, such locally-bound, anaphoric reflexives are, for instance, *sobie* in (134b) and *siebie* in (151). Polish *się* in (152) is in the Accusative and constitutes an inherent part of a lexically reflexive verb *golić się* ('to shave oneself'). Nominative indefinite *się*, as can be seen in (127)-(138), is not a locally-bound reflexive, and it cannot be compared to traces or OC PRO. It is pronominal, not anaphoric, since its interpretation – be it definite, as in (128)-(131), or indefinite, as in (132) and (133) – does not rely on any antecedent. Thus, **from the two types of 'big' PRO offered by minimalists, Polish Nominative *się* resembles the NOC one**. It would be impossible to compare NOM *się* in (127)-(138) with PRO formulated in GB terms: Nominative *się* does not need an antecedent for its interpretation, and therefore it is neither an anaphor, nor the mixture of an anaphor and pronoun, as PRO used to be described in the PRO Theorem. NOM *się* has already been compared by some linguists (Rivero and Milojević-Sheppard, 2003, among others) with PRO. However, since there are two kinds of PRO, according to the MP, we can state that NOM *się* is similar to NOC PRO, and not to PRO in general. Following the minimalist account advanced by Hornstein (1999), I presume there is no such formative as PRO in grammar, and therefore the theory of PRO should be revised not only for English, but also for Polish, and perhaps universally. The remnant of this formative, i.e., NOC PRO, is not a separate category, but constitutes a part of a widely known and formerly established subject *pro* group, to which I have also added Nominative *się*. Thus,

I propose that Nominative *się*, as a pronominal reflexive clitic with an implicit, pragmatically understood, or arbitrary interpretation, belongs to a subject *pro* class – just like NOC PRO, which shows the same interpretive features. Nonetheless, this *pro* is different from *pro* in GB terms: it does not rely on Agr. This revised, minimalist version of subject *pro* does not appear in finite environments, as proposed within GB theory and illustrated below:

(153) *pro* _{in GB terms} Stoi na parkingu. (*a car*, *a human*, or *an animal*)
   stands(3SG) on a car-park

(154) *pro* _{in GB terms} Wrócił do domu. (*a man* or *an animal*)
   (He) came.3SG back home

Instead, in compliance with minimalist stipulations, subject *pro* appears in non-finite and impersonal *się*-constructions like those under (155) and (156), respectively, and so is not determined by the inflectional suffix on the verb, which would define its meaning as [+/– human] or [+/– animate], as in the examples above. **Subject *pro* in my theory, based on recent minimalist assumptions, cannot be other than [+ human]**, as can be seen beneath:

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(155) NOC PRO Wyprzedzanie długich pojazdów jest niebezpieczne.
   NOC PRO overtaking long vehicles is dangerous (only *people* can drive and overtake*,* not *machines* or *animal*s)

(156) Tutaj się stoi. (*people*, not *machines* or *animals*)
   here Refl stands(3SG)
   'Here people stand.'

Compare these interpretations with those in (153) and (154), where the subject can also refer to things or animals.

   I have already mentioned that NOC PRO is simply 'small' *pro*, a view compatible with that of Hornstein's (1999). I have also pointed out that NOM *się* behaves similarly to *pro.* In fact, all three formatives, i.e., NOC PRO, subject *pro*, and Nominative Indefinite *się*, share important features in common. They all play the role of implicit subjects in a sentence and have no phi-features, except a human feature.[10] Additionally, NOM *się* and NOC PRO both appear in

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[10] If we accept the classical GB view that *pro* is always theta-marked (so should be also Case-marked) and appears in a potentially Case-marked, obligatory subject position (thus, heading a chain), then we may

structures without subject-verb agreement, which is crucial for a 'true' subject deletion. Following the line of reasoning presented by Holmberg (2005), I assume that only impersonal structures without agreement, and not active, personal sentences, could involve subject *pro*. In section 3.4, I investigate more such structures, namely Polish *-no/-to* structures, with respect to *pro*.

All in all, I suggest the following preliminary division of implicit subjects for Polish:
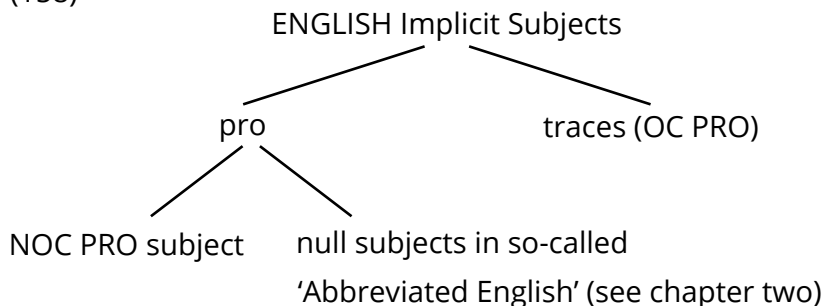
(157)

POLISH Implicit Subjects

Subject argument *pro*   traces (incl. OC PRO)

NOM *się*   NOC PRO
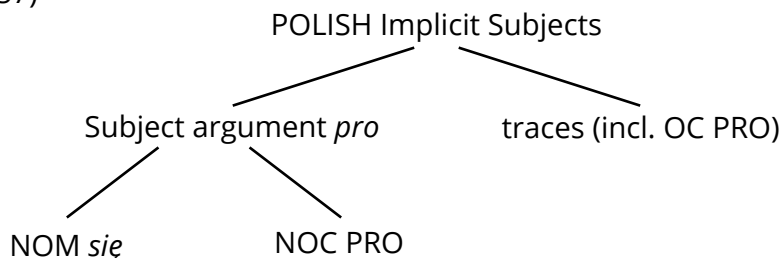
Now, let us have a look at the division of implicit subjects for English:

(158)

ENGLISH Implicit Subjects

pro   traces (OC PRO)

NOC PRO subject   null subjects in so-called
                    'Abbreviated English' (see chapter two)

Since English is not a 'pro-drop language' in a traditional sense, the above analysis may seem to be quite controversial. However, as English NOC PRO shares many features with its Polish equivalent, they should be derived in a similar way. Thus, following Hornstein's proposal that *pro* accounts for NOC PRO, and movement accounts

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assume that *pro* is probably Nominative. Consequently, if NOC PRO is *pro*, as suggested by Hornstein (1999), it should carry the same Case, i.e., Nominative as well. If subject *pro* was indeed Nominative, that would additionally confirm my conjecture that subject Indefinite *się*, which is commonly treated as Nominative (Kański, 1986; Rivero and Milojević-Sheppard, 2003, among others), is an overt counterpart of subject *pro*.

for OC PRO and reflexives like *himself*, we may assume that English does have its subject *pro*. Nevertheless, this *pro* is different from the 'standard' pro-drop subject in GB theory, which 'reserved' this category only for rich- inflection-languages like Polish. As can be seen in (158), I have also included in this group the null subjects of 'Abbreviated English', which have been investigated in chapter 2.

Summing up, I have tried to demonstrate that both Polish and English have the same formative, namely subject *pro.* Hopefully, the comparative analysis presented here contributes to the current discussion of subject *pro* category, not only adding a new member to this class, i.e., Polish Nominative Indefinite, but also extending the distribution of *pro* subjects to English, which used to be thought of as a 'non-pro-drop language'.

3.3.1 **Minimalist account of impersonal** *se/si/się*

Following Rivero's (2002) analysis, the skeleton assumed for the impersonal sentences in (110), repeated below as (159), is as in (160):

(159) a. Antes se leía   estos libros con placer.   [Spanish]
        before Refl read.3S these books with pleasure
        'In the past {one/people} read these books with pleasure.'
     b. Tę ksi*ążkę*   {czyta /czyta*ło*}   się z przyjemno*ścią*.
                                                               [Polish]
        this book.ACC {read.3S/ read.NEU} Refl with pleasure
        'One {reads/read} this book with pleasure.'   (Rivero, 2002)

(160) [CLP [CL *se/si/się]* [TP [T Pres / Past] [VPNP1 V NP2]]]
                                              (CLP = Clitic Phrase)
                                              (Rivero, 2002)

V heads a VP that contains two NP arguments. The 'arbitrary' NP1 as external argument is equivalent to a null defective pronoun: it has a human feature, NOM Case, but no phi-features (φ-features). The internal argument NP2 is the overt ACC object *this/these book(s)*. The T(ense) P(hrase) is headed by T(ense), which is defective in that it also lacks phi-features. TP takes VP as complement and V checks features against T. Given that T is defective, V is either 3S or NEU, i.e., without phi-features. The other functional projection dubbed CL(itic) P(hrase) is headed by the clitic (CL) *se/si/się*. The clitic is a functional category directly merged outside of the VP, and NP1 raises to

it. What forces the deficient NP in (160) to leave the VP? Why MOVE must target functional *se/si/się*? Rivero explains that structural Case combined with the lack of phi-features can provide a formal answer to these questions. In (160), both NP1 and T lack phi-features. Following Chomsky (1995), this lack of phi-features signifies that these two categories cannot establish an appropriate checking relation with each other. Rivero (2002) proposes that the required relation is established between NP1 and the clitic, when the first moves to the second. These categories are each equipped with a structural Case feature, which allows them to match for checking. In brief, absence of phi-features on both the clitic and the verb, two prominent characteristics of the impersonal construction, makes the NP raise to CL to satisfy formal needs (feature checking for Case).

The movement of the phi-less NP up to the clitic ensures that it can be considered +R(eferential). Since the NP checks Case, the chain is also Case-marked. The impersonal uses of *se/si/się* clearly behave like pronouns. They are 'antecedent-less' expressions.

In sum, according to Rivero (2002), *se/si/się* with a NOM feature is merged in CL. There is an NP without φ-features in the sentence, so it cannot enter into an AGREE relation with T, which also lacks φ-features. The NP checks Case by MOVING to *se/si/się*. This operation results in LF-chain interpreted as an expression with a pronominal and human nature, i.e., *se/si/się*.

3.3.2 Semantic account of impersonal *se/si/się*

Looking at colloquial Polish examples in (128)-(131) and specific readings *się* receives in them, we must assume that Polish reflexive clitic should be interpreted on a semantic/pragmatic level as well, and not on a purely syntactic, theoretical level. It is because the interpretation of *się* in these particular sentences is a matter of pragmatic, socio-cultural context, and the pursuit of any logical, formal explanation is a non-starter. For instance, despite the wide range of readings NOM *się* can receive without any antecedent (from individual and specific in colloquial Polish, to generic and plural ones), there is little reason to force any phi-features on the formative that simply does not have any, although it clearly shows a human feature. Semantically, the impersonal *si/se/się* is an indefinite, defective pronoun. This hypothesis is compatible with Rivero's syntactic proposal presented in the previous section, and can serve for Spanish and Polish as well. Following Rivero (2002), among others, I claim

that Polish, Spanish, and Italian impersonals do not differ from each other as indefinite pronouns, which I have already illustrated in this chapter with the gist of data via these languages.

According to Rivero (2002), since the impersonal is an indefinite, it displays quantificational variability. In the sentences in (161)-(164), the impersonal coupled with *always* may be equivalent to *everyone*: (161). When used with *usually* or *often,* it may be equivalent to *many people*, as in (162) and (164), and when joined with *seldom*, it may be equivalent to *few people*: (163).

(161) a. Si **se** juega mal, siempre **se** pierde.
     b. Jeśli **się** gra źle, zawsze **się** przegrywa.
        If Refl plays badly, always Refl loses
        'If one plays poorly, one always loses.'

(162) a. Si **se** juega mal, normalmente **se** pierde.
     b. Jeśli **się** gra źle, zazwyczaj **się** przegrywa.
        If Refl plays badly, usually Refl loses
        'If one plays poorly, one usually loses.'

(163) a. Si **se** juega mal, raramente **se** pierde.
     b. Jeśli **się** gra źle, rzadko **się** przegrywa.
        If Refl plays badly, seldom Refl loses
        'If one plays poorly, one seldom loses.'   (Rivero, 2002)

(164) Obecnie często umiera **się** na raka.
      nowadays often die Refl on cancer
      'People often die of cancer nowadays.'   (Aranovich, 2004)

To conclude, all the above proposals highlight the semantic and syntactic parallelism of Slavic and Romance impersonals. This, in turn, means that an overt counterpart of subject *pro* occurs in both groups of languages.

In the next part of this chapter, I am going to show the syntactic and semantic correspondence between the subject *pro* and other impersonals: Polish *-no/-to* subjects.

3.4 Impersonal *-no/-to* sentences

In this section, I will try to investigate whether we can treat the *-no/-to* impersonal subjects as an instance of arbitrary *pro* or indefinite pronoun, as I consider these two notions to be equivalent concepts.

3.4.1 The status of *-no/-to* constructions in Śpiewak (2000)

Śpiewak (2000) is against the subject status of *-no/-to,* indefinite *się,* and other impersonals, and generally against the idea of null subject. According to him, there is no subject at all in such constructions, also syntactically. Of course, this is against the EPP (Extended Projection Principle) by Chomsky (1981), according to which a subject position is present, whether it has a phonological or semantic content, or not, i.e., a subject may be phonologically null or overt. Śpiewak (2000) claims that subject is not an indispensable element in syntactic structure. Following Babby (1989), he proposes that the EPP should be abandoned (together with the notion of Case Filter). He concludes that impersonal sentences in Polish have no subject NP or a syntactic subject (position) at any level of (syntactic) representation. According to Śpiewak, it is better to use the term Nominative-less Constructions (NLC) than 'impersonal constructions' – the label commonly used in the literature – because in this way we can also include in this class 'personal', active sentences (165), and not only impersonal ones, such as *-no/-to* construction in (166):

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(165) Urwał mi rękę.
    rip$_{3SG.MASC.PAST}$ me$_{DAT}$ arm$_{ACC}$
    'Somebody/something ripped off my hand.'

(166) Urwa**no** mi rękę (rozmyślnie).
    rip$_{-NO/-TO}$ me$_{DAT}$ arm$_{ACC}$ (deliberately)
    'Some people ripped off my arm (deliberately).'
    (Śpiewak, 2000)

Nevertheless, I maintain that we cannot state that any of these (especially the active, personal construction; see section 2.2 in chapter 2) is deprived of a subject. I argue that both constructions have a subject in the form of an affix (see Holmberg, 2005), either definite ('inflectional' subject in (165)) or indefinite (*pro* in (166)), which I will now try to prove.

According to Śpiewak (2000), "the putative null subject of the NLC clauses", as he puts it, "cannot control backward deletion", as shown in (167) and (168):

(167) a. *Przyjechawszy do domu, rozmawiało **się** o tym.
        having-arrived to home talk$_{-ŁO\ (NEUT.PAST)}$ Refl about it
    b. ??/*Przyjechawszy do domu, rozmawia**no** o tym.
        having-arrived to home talk$_{-NO/-TO}$ about it
        'Having arrived home, people talked about it.'

(168) a. *Jadąc autobusem, widziało **się** ich razem.
going bus$_{INSTR}$ see$_{-ŁO\ (NEUT.PAST)}$ Refl them together
   b. *Jadąc autobusem, widzia**no** ich razem.
going bus$_{INSTR}$ see$_{-NO/-TO}$ them together
'Going by bus, people used to see them together.'

<div align="right">(Śpiewak, 2000)</div>

My observation is that (168a) is fully acceptable and grammatically correct, although in Śpiewak (2000) it is marked with an asterisk. Most native speakers of Polish understand by this sentence a habitual experience. Also, the examples below are undoubtedly grammatical:

(169) Jadąc powoli samochodem, widziało **się** ich razem.
Driving$_{PART}$ slowly car$_{INSTR}$ saw$_{-ŁO\ (NEUT.PAST)}$ Refl them together
'Driving slowly, one could see them together.'

(170) Wracając do domu, śpiewa**no** piosenki.
returning$_{GER}$ home sung$_{-NO}$ songs$_{ACC}$
'Returning home, people sang songs.'

The examples I have provided in (169)-(170) put Śpiewak's hypothesis into question. The indefinite subjects can control backward deletion, similarly to empty subject argument PRO in non-finite clauses:

(171) Spacerując ulicami polskich miast, jest już co PRO podziwiać.
walking$_{GER}$ streets$_{INSTR}$ Polish cities$_{GEN}$, is already what admire$_{INF}$
'Walking on the streets of Polish cities, you can already admire things.'

Contrary to Śpiewak, I argue that the examples from (165)-(171) are not subject-less. The subjects are not unexpressed or absent, but are phonologically and syntactically present: either in the form of an affix (-*no/-to*), or the reflexive clitic *się*. Hence, in the first case, such sentences have subjects which are simply incorporated in the form of morphological suffixes within the verb.[11] The latter instance (with

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[11] Probably, these subjects are in the Nominative, so the sentences containing them cannot be Nominative-less, as Śpiewak (2000) calls them. Nominative Case may be here either structural, or default (default Nominative Case is commonly attributed to implicit subjects or PRO – see Sigurðsson, 1991). Another option – i.e., the Dative Case – is excluded here, as the contast presented below shows:

i) *Wracając do domu, Jankowi.DAT zrobiło się niedobrze / zgubił się kapelusz.

the reflexive clitic as subject) was already discussed in full detail in the first part of this chapter (in section 3.2, I have also presented the arguments for Nominative Case of *się*-subjects). On the other hand, the sentences in (167) cannot be grammatical because of the combination of the participle ending with *-wszy*, implying some definite subject known to both the hearer and the speaker, and indefinite *-no/ -to* or *się*-clauses. This fusion of habitual and episodic readings produces ambiguity, and that is the cause of the ungrammaticality of these sentences, and not the lack of subject in the superordinate *-no/-to* clauses.

Another piece of evidence in favour of treating impersonal *-no/-to* constructions as involving the subject in the form of a suffix is provided by the examples in Dyła (1983). According to him, participial clauses functioning as adverbials of time or adverbials of reason can be controlled by *-no/-to* subject in the main clause, which is presented below:

(172) a. Kiedy analizowano szczegółowo zdjęcia satelitarne odkryto
    when analyzed$_{IMPERS}$ in-detail pictures$_{ACC}$ satellite-taken discovered$_{IMPERS}$
    małą wyspę położoną czterysta kilometrów od Bieguna Północnego.
    small island$_{ACC}$ located four-hundred kilometers off pole$_{LOC}$ northern
    'When satellite-taken pictures were analyzed in detail, a small island was discovered four-hundred kilometers off the North Pole.'

b. Analizując szczegółowo zdjęcia satelitarne, odkryto małą wyspę
    analyzing in-detail pictures$_{ACC}$ satellite-taken discovered$_{IMPERS}$ small island$_{ACC}$
    położoną czterysta kilometrów od Bieguna Północnego.
    located four-hundred kilometers off pole$_{LOC}$ northern

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returning$_{GER}$ home Janek.DAT do$_{-ŁO (NEUT.PAST)}$ Refl sick / lost Refl hat

'Returning home, John felt sick / lost his hat.'

ii) Wracając do domu, Janek.NOM źle się poczuł / zgubił kapelusz.

returning$_{GER}$ home Janek.NOM badly Refl felt.3sg.masc / lost hat

'Returning home, John felt sick / lost his hat.'

Thus, *-no/-to* and *się*, standing for ordinary NP subjects, should be Nominative as well.

'While analyzing in detail satellite-taken pictures, a small island was discovered four-hundred kilometers off the North Pole.'

(173) a. Ponieważ uwzględniono konieczność szybkiego opanowania mowy
because took-into-account$_{IMPERS}$ necessity$_{ACC}$ rapid mastery-$_{GEN}$ speech$_{GEN}$
potocznej, wybrano teksty na tematy codzienne i polityczne.
colloquial selected$_{IMPERS}$ texts$_{ACC}$ on topics everyday and political
'Since the necessity of rapid mastery of colloquial speech was taken into account, texts on everyday and political topics have been selected.'

b. Uwzględniając konieczność szybkiego opanowania mowy potocznej,
taking-into-account necessity$_{ACC}$ rapid mastery$_{GEN}$ speech-$_{GEN}$ colloquial
wybrano teksty na tematy codzienne i polityczne.
selected$_{IMPERS}$ texts$_{ACC}$ on topics everyday and political
'Taking into account the necessity of rapid mastery of colloquial speech, texts on everyday and political topics have been selected.'

(Dyła, 1983)

Following Dyła, the perfect well-formedness of the (b)-versions of (172)-(173), taken together with the control of participial clauses by -*no/-to* subjects in the main clauses, very strongly suggest that sentences like this under (174) below are not subject-less at LF. This is exactly opposite to Śpiewak's hypothesis that -*no/-to* sentences like this one are subject-less at any level of syntactic representation:

(174) Tej książki nigdy nie opublikowa**no**.
this book$_{GEN}$ never Neg published$_{IMPERS}$
'This book has never been published.'

(Dyła, 1983)

Summing up, both the above examples and arguments I have provided clearly demonstrate that there actually is a subject in sentences which Śpiewak calls subject-less, that is, in -*no/-to* constructions, as well as in standard finite clauses (see chapter 2). There is also a subject present in impersonal reflexive sentences in the form of the reflexive clitic itself, but that has already been presented in the

previous sections. In brief, Śpiewak's subject-less constructions are, in fact, subject-full.

3.4.2 Alternative line of inquiry in Lavine (2005)

Lavine (2005) provides evidence for the idea that the *-no/-to* morpheme in Polish enters the derivation independently, where it occupies its own syntactic position. In other words, *-no/-to* has a syntactic life of its own, despite the fact that at some level of Spell-Out it is pronounced as a bound morpheme – a view similar to that presented in chapter two with respect to affixes in finite clauses like *Czytał**am** gazetę* '(I) was reading a newspaper.' To recall, Agr morphemes in finite clauses like this cited above come from the Lexicon as items independent from verbs, that is, these agreement-based subjects in Polish are not instances of *pro*, but regular, carrying a full set of phi-features pronouns in the form of an affix. An affix may not be directly associated with its stem in the syntax. Polish *-no/-to* and the verb-stem 'get together' post-syntactically, just like the personal, inflectional suffix in finite sentences.

Lavine's (2005) analysis is premised on the claim that while PF sees an affix, the syntax just sees a head – a legitimate syntactic object. This is what lies behind the syntax/morphology mismatch.

In the recent reformulations of Chomsky (1999) and others (Holmberg 2005), like in earlier versions of Minimalism (Chomsky 1995), syntactic derivations are driven by the need to eliminate uninterpretable features prior to Spell-Out. Uninterpretable features constitute those properties of lexical items that make no semantic contribution. The uninterpretable features relevant to this study are the agreement (φ-features) on T. Under recent theory, uninterpretable features enter the derivation from the Lexicon unvalued. They are valued and deleted (checked, in earlier terms) via the relation Agree. Lavine assumes that structural Case is a reflex of agreement. He maintains that structural Case is assigned a value under Agree with T (NOM) or *v* (ACC) only when the probes contain a complete set of φ-features. A probe that lacks a complete set of φ-features is defective and cannot value structural Case. Chomsky (1999) also suggests that the EPP requirement necessarily correlates with a complete set of φ-features. Lavine suggests that *-no/-to* predicates project a Tense (Infl) projection that is defective with respect to its agreement (φ-)features (that is, T in such cases is non-agreeing or 'φ-incomplete'), and so the Tense projection in such instances lacks

the necessary features to value (license) NOM Case. Nevertheless, I argue that – since *-no/-to* functions as a head and the subject of a sentence – we can assume that it is also Case-marked and inherits exactly the Case which an equivalent, ordinary NP subject (*some people*) would have in a parallel construction (i.e., possibly Nominative Case).

The argument for the view that *-no/-to* is the implicit, empty subject of a sentence is that it can bind and control. In Polish examples in (175), it is plainly the case that the anaphor and the PRO subjects of the adverbial gerunds and infinitive are controlled by the external argument of the *-no/-to* predicates. At the same time, the reading of the *-no/-to* is indefinite, similarly to NOC PRO or subject *pro* in our revised, minimalist version:

(175) a. <u>Binding of Anaphor</u>
   Bi**to**$_i$ strażników$_j$ swoimi$_{i/*j}$ (ich$_{*i/j}$) łańcuchami.
   beaten$_{-TO}$ guards$_{ACC}$ POSS their chains$_{INST}$
   'They$_i$ beat the guards$_j$ with their$_{i/*j}$ chains.'
   b. <u>Control of Adverbial Gerund (GER)</u>   95
   Tę książkę czyta**no** siedząc przy kominku.
   this book$_{ACC}$ read$_{-NO}$ sitting$_{GER}$ at fireplace
   'People read this book sitting by the fireplace.'
   b'. Wracając do domu, śpiewa**no** piosenki.
   Returning$_{GER}$ home sung$_{-NO}$ songs$_{ACC}$
   'They sang songs returning home.'
   c. <u>Control of Infinitival PRO</u>
   Na wzgórzu zaczę**to** [PRO budować dom].
   on hill begun$_{-TO}$ to build house$_{ACC}$
   'They began to build a house on a hill.'   (Lavine, 2005)

The facts discussed above are summarized and accounted for by Lavine (2005) with the following proposal:

(176) *AUX <u>hypothesis:</u> Polish '-no/-to' has been reanalyzed as a syntactically-independent auxiliary element heading a Tense projection.*

The AUX HYPOTHESIS for Polish *-no/-to* immediately accounts for *-no/-to*'s complementary distribution with overt tense-marking auxiliaries. The position ordinarily occupied by tense-marking auxiliaries is already filled by *-no/-to*. Lavine (2005) presents the following structure for Polish *-no/-to*:

(177)
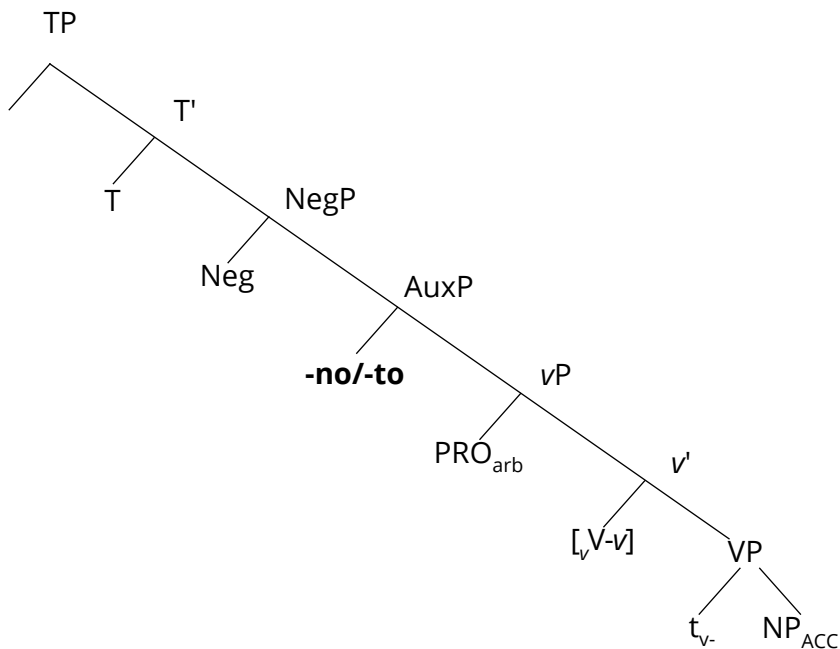
Thus, the *-no/-to* morpheme enters the syntactic structure as an autonomous entity in the head of the lower Aux projection, but is pronounced together with the verb-stem. In a word, Lavine claims that Polish *-no/-to* is an auxiliary element joined with the verb-stem post-syntactically.

According to Lavine (2005), the (phonologically) null external argument of Polish *-no/-to* has the following two properties: (i) it requires a [+sentient/volitional] participant and (ii) its reference is interpreted as arbitrary. The examples in (178) show that non-human animate external arguments are ruled out. The examples in (179) show that the 'Causer' can be neither a non-human concrete object (as in (179a)), nor a natural element (as in (179b)). The example in (180) indicates that the reference of the external argument must be generic; specific reference is precluded.

(178) [Polish *-no/-to*: [+sentient]]
    a. *Na podwórzu szczekano.
       in yard barked$_{-NO}$
       'There was barking in the yard.'
    b. *Ocielono się/okocono się.

calved$_\text{-NO}$ Refl cubbed/kittened$_\text{-NO}$ Refl
'There was given birth to a calf/a cub, a kitten.'

(179) [Polish *-no/-to*: [+sentient]]
    a. *Toczono się po stole bilardowym.
       rolled$_\text{-NO}$ REFL along table billiard
       'They [balls] rolled along the billiard table.'
    b. *Drzewo spalono słońcem.
       wood$_\text{ACC}$ burned$_\text{-NO}$ sun$_\text{INST}$
       'The wood was burned/warped by the sun.'

(180) [Polish *-no/-to*: Generic Reference]
    *Jan$_i$ długo szukał tej ksiażki i wreszcie ją znaleziono$_i$.
    Jan$_\text{NOM}$ long time searched this book$_\text{GEN}$ and finally it$_\text{ACC}$
    found$_\text{-NO}$
    'Jan searched a long time for this book and finally found it.'
                          (Lavine, 2005)

On the basis of these agreement facts (i.e., lack of agreement), together with the facts related to the arbitrary and [+human] interpretation of Polish *-no/-to* subject, Lavine concludes that Polish *-no/-to* involves a 'big' PRO subject, rather than 'small' *pro*, although the PRO$_\text{arb}$ in Polish uncontrolled infinitivals patterns with MASC.SG predicate adjectives, while the PRO$_\text{arb}$ of *-no/-to* is compatible only with predicate adjectives that are MASC.PERSONAL.PL, as in the examples in (181)-(182):

(181) Jest ważne [PRO być szczęśliwym/*szczęśliwymi].
    is important to be happy$_\text{INST.MASC.SG}$ /*$_\text{INST.PL}$
    'It is important to be happy.'

(182) Wyglądano na *szczęśliwego/szczęśliwych.
    look$_\text{-NO}$ happy*$_\text{ACC.MASC.SG}$/$_\text{ACC.MASC.PERSONAL.PL}$
    'They looked happy.'   (Lavine, 2005)

Under my analysis, the contrast above does not constitute a problem to the theory since, as we can remember, there is no formative like PRO any more. Instead, its two sub-types, OC PRO and NOC PRO, belong to traces and 'small' subject *pro*, respectively. At the same time, I claim that *-no/-to* – despite being an affix – is not an ordinary, regular, carrying a full set of phi-features pronoun in the form of an affix like the agreement-based, inflectional suffixes in active, personal clauses. On the contrary – *-no/-to* suffix is just another instance of *pro* – just like other impersonal sentences (containing

the reflexive clitic *się*). Lacking agreement, and showing both the indefinite/arbitrary and [+human] features, *-no/-to* fulfills all the requirements for *pro* in my theory.

Summing up, the subject of Polish *-no/-to* is fully-thematic and, as we have observed earlier, syntactically active. It thus appears reasonable to propose that the subject position (Spec-TP) of Polish *-no/-to* is occupied precisely by the *pro* argument postulated above. Then, Polish *-no/-to* does not violate the EPP, the requirement that the specifier of T be filled (Polish is an SVO language). That is, *pro* itself satisfies the EPP and blocks further movement into this position. Furthermore, since our *pro* contains no agreement features (in accordance with Holmberg's, 2005, minimalist account), there is no conflict with the φ-incomplete T head. *Pro* does not enter into a checking relation with T. Recall that φ-completeness refers to a full set of agreement features, which in current theory (Chomsky 1999) is held to be responsible for checking structural Case. Also the classical GB stipulated that only [+Agr] can assign Nominative Case. It seems that Lavine follows this GB proposal saying that Case (as opposed to other features) is restricted to pronounced, φ-complete elements. On the other hand, *pro* in our account is no longer Agr-based. However, as has already been pointed out earlier in this book, all the subtypes of *pro* (i.e., NOC PRO, impersonal *się*, and *-no/-to*) may have a default rather than structural Case, which does not violate the Minimalist theory. It may turn out that *pro* bears exactly that Case which an ordinary lexical subject NP would bear in a parallel finite environment. At this stage, I leave this issue open for further investigation.

3.5 Conclusions

So far, I have examined the phenomenon of implicit subjects in English and Polish from the syntactic, minimalist perspective, and compared it with the data from Romance languages.

In the first chapter, it has been suggested that there are two different types of such subjects with two radically different motivations and effects: OC PRO and NOC PRO subjects. I have argued that – in contrast to obligatory control constructions – the interpretation of non-obligatory control constructions is not determined by the syntax, and cannot possibly depend on the syntactic component since the implied NOC PRO subject is not influenced by any antecedent or

reference in the surrounding linguistic context. It has been demonstrated that OC and NOC constructions are of a different nature, and that NOC constructions must have also an extra-syntactic analysis with reference to the interpretation of the implicit subject, which is completely separate from the analysis given for the interpretation of obligatory control constructions. I confirmed the different characteristics of these two types of omission by examining extensive English and Polish data.

In chapter two, I have shown that the instances of a 'true' 'small' *pro* subject actually exist in languages with rich inflection and agreement, but in infinitival and gerundive constructions (in Polish, the constructions with *-nie/-cie*), and not in finite constructions, where an affix is a phonologically overt, phi-complete subject. I have also recommended that we should expand the distribution of 'little' *pro* subjects to 'non-pro-drop', poor-inflection languages like English, which does have 'small' *pro* subjects – not only in non-finite constructions, but in various forms of informal writing and spoken language as well. In such cases, the highest functional projection is not projected. This is possible because in these situations the discourse context is restricted, so that the highest functional projection is not required to settle discourse relations. In a Minimalist framework, all the distributional constraints on such null arguments should stem from this single characteristic. Moreover, English inflection is poor, and the form of the verb does not tell us much about the person, gender, and number of the dropped subject – at least, not of all the three features simultaneously: some of them are defective/incomplete, sometimes even all, and then the verb is inflected only for Tense. The subject is recovered pragmatically, or on the basis of extra-linguistic context – just like in the case of arbitrary *pro* in my theory (recall the source of interpretation of NOC PRO and Nom *się*). In other words, such dropped subjects in some English registers can be called 'small' *pro* subjects since they are deprived of a complete set of phi-features, and thus are not agreement-based (in compliance with my new definition of *pro*).

In the third chapter, I have demonstrated on the basis of extensive cross-linguistic data that the common notion of subject 'small' *pro* is, in fact, too narrow, and that Nominative indefinite reflexive clitic *się* should be added to this class. What is more, in section 3.4, I have proposed that the subject position (Spec-TP) of Polish *-no/-to* is occupied by *pro* as well (contrary to Lavine, 2005, who claims that it is rather the PRO$_{arb}$ argument; nevertheless, the discussion

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presented in the second part of chapter 3 owes much to his insights). The Polish *-no/-to* affix should be interpreted as the head of a functional projection since it is in a complementary distribution with anything else heading the lower Aux position, i.e., with any other overt subjects, which is the main empirical claim of Lavine's paper.

It should be noted, though, that the problem of implicit subjects is indeed a very complex one, with ramifications and implications for different grammatical areas. Unfortunately, I have not been able to tackle all of them at this stage. I have presented a specific version of the general approach that makes a number of verifiable predictions; but it seems quite likely that further analysis along these lines will show that significant modifications of my hypothesis are necessary. It needs emphasizing that the problem is impossible to be fully accounted for within current formal syntactic theory like MP, where it remains problematic, just as it has been within GB framework. It seems necessary, therefore, to continue studying in greater detail these interactions in the hope of finding more systematic motivations for the role of implied subjects in language use. Probably, it should be also examined on the pragmatic/lexical/discursive level.

Until now, null subjects have been treated as a separate phenomenon, without any reference to null objects. In my opinion, it is high time to change this state of affairs since the investigation of these two empty categories together can provide us with a greater explanatory power with respect to both of them. That is why the next two chapters of this monograph will be devoted precisely to null objects, although with relation to null subjects.

4 An analysis of object-drop licensing schemata

4.1 Introduction

Having presented the theoretical background for the notion of object deletion, we will now proceed to a more detailed analysis of this phenomenon in Polish and establish what it is that licences it in this language. As we already know from chapter one, according to Yadroff (1995), null objects are licensed by imperfectives, but not by perfectives. The first question I am concerned with here is: does the object presence or absence actually depends on aspect in Polish and, if yes, is it only the aspectual form that is responsible for object deletion in Polish or are there some other factors? Secondly, what is the relation between null objects and null subjects? I will try to answer these questions in this chapter.

Following Levin (1993), Roberge (2002), Velasco and Muñoz (2002), and others, I would like to demonstrate in this part of the book that actually there are null objects in English, but this is in fact due to other than syntactic factors. According to Bhatt and Pancheva (2006), certain verbs in English do not require overt realization of the object. For example, the verb *incite* allows for its object to be omitted, while the nearly synonymous *push* does not:

(183) a. ?An unpopular law can incite against the government.
     b. *An unpopular law can push against the government.

<div align="right">(Bhatt and Pancheva, 2006)</div>

However, if there is an infinitival clause with a PRO subject, then the object needs to be overt universally, as pointed out in the theoretical background of chapter one on null subjects (see Hornstein and Lightfoot, 1987). In English, the possibility of omitting the object seems to be subject to idiosyncratic restrictions. In Polish, in contrast, null objects with *arb* interpretation seem to be generally available in generic contexts across a wide range of verbs, which will be shown in this chapter. Therefore, the second issue that needs to be explored further is the role of semantic/pragmatic factor in *pro* licensing, the importance of which for a proper theory and typology of empty categories has been underestimated both in GB and MP. In fact, it seems highly probable that object *pro*, just as subject *pro*, is strongly influenced by some extra-syntactic factors.

All in all, we will see that another empty category common for English and Polish is object *pro*, which is dependent on verb classes. I will show that there is merely a difference in the productivity of the null object option in the two languages, which is mainly semantically/pragmatically determined.

Before I go to some conclusions, I would like to present the newest developments on the topic of object drop and take a position on them, referring to English and Polish data. Each of the approaches reported below contains some important insights and suggestions, but each deals with a different, limited aspect of the problem. Hopefully, some of these proposals can be combined to provide a more satisfactory, general solution.

4.2 The impact of some verbs and conjunctions on object deletion

Such verbs as *zdążyć/zdołać* ('manage to do sth on time'/'manage to') allow only the infinitive of perfective verb (according to Saloni and Świdziński (1998), there are only two such verbs in Polish) and, despite this fact, the object can be dropped. Consider:

(184) Maria zdążyła/zdołała ugotować$_{\text{PERF.INF}}$.
     'Mary managed to cook (on time).'

I have noticed that also conjunctions show an interesting influence on the realization of objects in Polish. Let us have a look at the conjunction *aż* 'until' or the adverbial phrase (AP) *już* 'already':

(185) Czekałam, aż przeczyta/skończy/ugotuje$_{\text{PERF.FUTURE}}$.
   'I waited until he (had) read/finished/cooked.' (*accomplishment/telic reading*)

(186) Marysia już ugotowała$_{\text{PERF.PAST}}$.
   'Mary has already cooked.'

As we can see, the object is omitted in (185) and (186) and, again, the perfective aspect is the only possible. Conjunction *dopóki* 'till' is even more sophisticated:

(187) Czekałam, dopóki nie$_{\text{NEG}}$ przeczytał/skończył/ugotował$_{\text{PERF.PAST}}$.
   'I waited till he (had) read/finished/cooked.' (*accomplishment/telic reading*)

We observe here the object deletion after perfective verb as well, but the subordinate clause, apart from being in the perfective aspect, has to be negated as well. The conjunction *zanim* 'until'/'before' also requires perfectivity from the verb appearing after it, but this perfectivity is suspended, so to speak:

(188) Przyszłam, zanim skończył/ugotował/przeczytał$_{\text{PERF.PAST}}$.
   'I came until/before he (had) finished/cooked/read.' (*accomplishment/telic reading*)

For some native speakers of Polish, the above sentences may sound better when put in a particular context, as in (189) and (190) below:

(189) Janek kupił nową książkę. Zabrałam mu ją, zanim przeczytał.
   'John bought a new book. I took it from him before/until he (had) read.'

(190) Janek wygłaszał wykład. Przyszłam, zanim skończył.
   'John was giving a lecture. I came before he (had) finished.'

Nevertheless, even without any context, we cannot call these sentences unacceptable or ungrammatical. Their meaning is merely less precise. At the same time, a number of verbs can be found in Polish that do not allow perfectives without objects at all, being definitely ungrammatical, whether in context or not:

(191) Przyszłam, zanim *skrytykował/*zbudował.
  'I came before he *criticized/*built.'

(192) Janek oceniał moją pracę. Przyszłam, zanim *skrytykował.
  'John evaluated my paper. I came before he *criticized.'

(193) Janek budował dom. Przyszłam, zanim ??zbudował.
  'John was building a house. I came before he *built.'

Summing up, conjunctions *aż* 'until', *dopóki* 'till', *zanim* 'before', and AP *już* 'already' seem to be a kind of 'telicity markers'. They restrict to a great extent the aspectual value of a sentence, allowing only perfective verb in the subordinate clause. At the same time, the object can be dropped after this verb. Thus, up to now, we have noticed that Polish allows object drop after perfectives in certain syntactic constructions. Therefore, it should be opposed to Russian, which is claimed to allow object deletion only after imperfective verbs (Yadroff, 1995). In the sections below, I will check whether the occurrence of zero objects after perfectives in Polish is restricted only to the constructions presented so far in this chapter, or whether it is allowed in other constructions as well. If the latter turns out to be true, I will try to establish what factors are responsible for this phenomenon. They may not be syntactic in nature at all, deriving entirely from lexico-semantic/discourse/pragmatic grounds.

4.3 Unspecified Object Alternation and context

In view of the above observations, it is doubtful that perfective aspect always blocks object drop in Polish. In fact, the conjunctions such as *aż* 'until', *dopóki* 'till', *zanim* 'before', and verbs like *zdążyć/zdołać* 'manage to do sth on time'/'manage to' permit object deletion in perfective environments. However, as we will see, they constitute only two of many factors licensing zero objects, presenting a rather limited illustration of this phenomenon. What we have to do then is to find a more general explanation for object drop in Polish. Perhaps, which is even more probable, there is no such universal account, but there is a number of ways to analyse null objects in Polish. One of them is treating the covert object as lexically dependent on the verb, rather than on aspect. Levin (1993) identifies for English numerous subtypes of unexpressed object alternations, corresponding

to different semantic/syntactic classes of verbs. The one in which I am particularly interested in is Unspecified Object Alternation (UOA), as Levin (1993) calls it, or Unspecified Object Deletion, as Yadroff (1995) refers to it. This alternation is manifested with a wide range of activity verbs. According to Levin, despite the lack of overt direct object in the intransitive variant, the verb in this variant is understood to have as object something that qualifies as a typical object of the verb. An interesting issue appears here, though. Traditional and recent grammatical treatments of the verb system in English usually distinguish between transitive and intransitive verbs. I would like to point out, though, that the dichotomy is by no means clear and absolute since many verbs may occur with or without an object. This observation raises two important questions. First, do we deal in such cases with a pure null object phenomenon, intransitive uses of ordinary transitive verbs, or mere intransitive verbs? Second, how can we know whether a particular verb is a transitive one deleting an object, or simply intransitive, and therefore occurs without an object? We will come back to these questions in chapter five, focusing now on the behaviour of some UOA verbs.

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There are a lot of verbs belonging to Levin's Unspecified Object Alternation (see section 5.2.2 in chapter 5 for the full list of UOA verbs for English and for its Polish counterpart). Let us consider the constructions with *jeść* 'eat' or *gotować* 'cook', and next with *pisać* 'write' and *myć* 'wash' in Polish:

(194) a. Marysia gotuje$_{IMPERF}$/gotowała$_{IMPERF}$/?ugotowała$_{PERF}$.
   'Mary cooks (is cooking$_{IMPERF}$)/was cooking$_{IMPERF}$/has cooked$_{PERF}$.'
   b. Marysia je$_{IMPERF}$/jadła$_{IMPERF}$/zjadła$_{PERF}$.
   'Mary eats (is eating$_{IMPERF}$)/was eating$_{IMPERF}$/has eaten$_{PERF}$.'

(195) a. Ona pisała$_{IMPERF}$. vs. *Ona napisała$_{PERF}$.
   'She was writing$_{IMPERF}$.' vs. 'She has written$_{PERF}$.'
   b. ?Ona myła$_{IMPERF}$/?myje$_{IMPERF}$. vs. *Ona umyła$_{PERF}$.
   'She was washing$_{IMPERF}$/is washing$_{IMPERF}$.' vs. 'She has washed$_{PERF}$.'

As we have seen in the first chapter, Yadroff (1995) used one of the verbs of Unspecified Object Alternation (*write*) to show that the overt realization of an object is obligatory with perfective form of this verb in Russian. The same situation appears in Polish, not only with *write*, but also with *wash*, as we can observe in (195). The examples in (194), however, show that even without any further information added we

can drop objects after perfective forms of some other verbs in Polish, such as *jeść* 'eat' and, perhaps, *gotować* 'cook', despite the fact that *gotować/jeść* 'cook'/'eat' and *pisać/myć* 'write'/'wash' belong to one and the same verb class, as identified by Levin (1993) for English. In fact, all of the Polish verbs and their English equivalents in examples (194) and (195) belong to Unspecified Object Alternation, and yet we can see that each of them behaves differently as far as object deletion is concerned. Thus, either the theory of verb classes and their influence on object drop is not valid, although it may work with a large number of English and Polish verbs, or the class identified by Levin (1993) is too large and should be narrowed down for Polish. I will thoroughly investigate this issue in chapter five.

Anyway, it seems that various proposals, including verb alternations and aspect, provide important semantic and syntactic information on object deletion, but each presents certain difficulties and limitations. Can some of these notions be put together to give a fairly adequate picture of conditions under which objects can be deleted, and a fairly adequate semantic interpretation? I will try to provide a consistent account, although (as in most areas of syntax and semantics) numerous counter-examples and strange contexts can be imagined, in which reasonably sound generalizations do not hold. For instance, we can generate such contexts or situations in which even the most resistant transitive verbs can be used intransitively. To provide a picture of this fact, let us first consider the following sentences:

(196) ?Ona myła$_{IMPERF}$/?myje$_{IMPERF}$.
    'She was washing $_{IMPERF}$/washes (is washing) $_{IMPERF}$.'

There is some doubt as far as the grammaticality of (196) is concerned, but it is dispelled once the sentences are put in the context of reminiscences or conversation:

(197) <u>Reminiscences</u>:
    Wszedłem do domu. Wszystko było tak, jak dawniej: Gosia odkurzała$_{IMPERP}$, Ania myła$_{IMPERF}$, a   Aga krzątała$_{IMPERF}$ się bez celu.
    'I came into the house. Everything was just as before: Margaret was vacuuming$_{IMPERF}$,   Ann was washing$_{IMPERF}$, and Agnes was bustling$_{IMPERF}$ about without any particular   purpose.'

(198) <u>Conversation – telling a story</u>:
    Wyobraź sobie! Wchodzę do domu, a tu Marysia odkurza$_{IMPERF}$, Gosia myje$_{IMPERF}$, a Aga siedzi$_{IMPERF}$ na sofie i się przygląda$_{IMPERF}$!

‘Just imagine! I come into the house and see Mary vacuum-ing$_{IMPERF}$, Margaret washing$_{IMPERF}$, and Agnes sitting$_{IMPERF}$ on the sofa and just watching$_{IMPERF}$!’

With the verb *sprzątać* ‘clean’, though, the situation is different. Here, both perfective and imperfective forms of the verb allow object deletion, even without any context:

(199) Ona sprząta$_{IMPERF}$/posprzątała$_{PERF}$.
    ‘She is cleaning$_{IMPERF}$/has cleaned$_{PERF}$.’

Generally, it seems that **with such perfective verbs as *posprzątać, odkurzyć,* or *zjeść* ($_{PERF}$ ‘clean’, ‘vacuum’, or ‘eat’) we can have an easy object deletion without any contextual information added.** Thus, Yadroff’s (1995) proposal is not valid since **it is not aspect that directly influences object drop, but class member-ship, among others, and no discourse context is needed** (which – according to Yadroff (1994) – is the only object drop licenser in perfective environments).

Notice that there are a lot of constructions in Polish which are problematic, but once they appear in a context, they become fully acceptable. It happens so because the empty object can be easily recovered from the context of a sentence or discourse. Let us take the context of a phone call, for instance:

(200) A: Co robicie$_{IMPERF}$?
      ‘What are you doing$_{IMPERF}$?’
    B: Przygotowujemy warzywa na naszą słynną sałatkę: Ja sie-kam$_{IMPERF}$, Gosia kroi$_{IMPERF}$, a Marysia szatkuje$_{IMPERF}$... – *activity reading*
      ‘We are preparing the vegetables for our famous salad: I am chopping$_{IMPERF}$, Margaret is slicing$_{IMPERF}$, and Mary is shredding$_{IMPERF}$...’

or:

    B: Ja koszę$_{IMPERF}$, Janek orze$_{IMPERF}$... – *activity reading*
      ‘I am mowing$_{IMPERF}$, John is ploughing$_{IMPERF}$...’

Now, let us take a conversation between a host and contestants in a TV quiz, and next an interview with a rock star:

(201) <u>Host</u>:
    Co robicie? (Czym się zajmujecie?)
    ‘What do you do?’ (‘What is your occupation?’)
    <u>Contestants</u>:

Ja gram, a żona piecze/haftuje/maluje/rysuje – *habitual reading*.
'I play, and my wife bakes/embroiders/paints/draws.'

(202) <u>The redactor a TV programme to a rock star</u>:
Jak wygląda twój dzień?
'What does your day look like?'
<u>The rock star</u>:
Zwyczajnie: jem, sprzątam, czytam, śpiewam... – *habitual reading*
'Quite ordinary: I eat, clean, read, sing...'

It is interesting that, although all of these verbs appear one after another without any objects at all, we recognize the meaning very well because each of them is understood to have as object something that qualifies as a typical object of the verb (such verbs belong to Unspecified Object Alternation). Thus, our knowledge of the world allows us to grasp the meaning. So, we eat a meal or something one typically eats, read a book, newspaper, or magazine, sing a song, and so on.

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To conclude, what emerges from the above investigation is that it is not necessarily aspect that influences object drop. Verkuyl (1993), who formulated the theory of compositional telicity, made one strong prediction concerning internal arguments of the telic predicates. Namely, according to him, the internal argument, whether it is a direct object or a prepositional object, is required to be realized with perfective or telic/terminative predicates. In short, according to Verkuyl (1993) (and Yadroff, 1995), in Polish and other Slavic languages objects must be overtly realized with perfective verbs. I would like to argue against this view, adopting at the same time Verkuyl's (1993) proposal that telic/terminative coincides with perfective (van Hout, 1998, is also using these terms interchangeably to refer to the same phenomenon). We have seen that the presence of an internal argument is not necessarily required if a verb form is perfective. I have pointed out that it is not only the aspectual form of a predicate that is responsible for object deletion in Polish (as we have seen, Polish allows object drop both after perfectives and imperfectives). There are also other, even more pertinent factors, such as the nature of the verb itself (i.e., the semantic/syntactic class, to which a verb belongs), adverbial phrases, or conjunctions (such as *dopóki* 'till', *aż* 'until', or *zanim* 'before') that make object deletion possible with perfective verbs. Thus, as we have seen, the aspect itself does not play a decisive role in this respect. Furthermore, I

have proposed that even the most resistant transitive verbs can be used intransitively in the right context, which produces usually a generic reading. I have checked that such verbs can be found even in English:

(203) John hits/robs/writes/murders without thinking/preparation/ mercy (with no mercy).
'Jan bije (uderza)/rabuje (okrada)/pisze/morduje bez zastano- wienia/przygotowania/litości.' (*generic*)

(204) *John hit/robbed/wrote/murdered today/last week.
(*non-generic*)
*'Jan zbił (uderzył)/obrabował (okradł)/napisał/zamordował wczoraj/w zeszłymtygodniu.'

4.4 Object-drop in generic and episodic sentences

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This section is an attempt to answer the question raised in the first chapter (section 1.9), that is, whether we can drop objects in generic (or characterizing) sentences and – if yes – what interpretation(s) we shall receive. It seems that in some characterizing sentences the object can be deleted, and it cannot in others. For a start, recall in (205) the Polish counterpart of the example cited in (71):

(205) Janek pije$_{3SING.PRES}$ piwo.
'John drinks beer.'

As we remember, the sentence has three possible interpretations: (i) the 'universal' interpretation says that in appropriate situations in which *Janek*/John drinks something, this is normally beer; (ii) the 'existential' interpretation says that in appropriate situations where there is some beer available, *Janek* normally drinks it; (iii) the 'ha- bitual' interpretation says that in appropriate situations, which con- tain *Janek*, he will drink beer. Now, let us look at the same sentence in Polish, but without the direct object:

(206) Janek pije$_{3SING.PRES}$.
'John drinks.'

It looks like we can drop the object NP *piwo* only in the case of the third interpretation, i.e., in appropriate situations which contain *Janek*, he will drink alcohol. The two first interpretations are inappropriate here – they require the presence of an object. It is possible, though, that *Janek pije* in its universal generic (habitual) reading means that drinking (most probably alcoholic beverages) is *Janek*'s favourite activity. Then, *Janek pije* means that Janek is a drunkard. Similarly, the possible interpretation of *Marysia szyje* ('Mary sews') is that Marysia is a dressmaker. Now, consider the following sentence in Polish:

(207) Piotr je.
  'Peter eats.'

There is no such reading as **Janek is an eater*, either in Polish, or in English. The only possible generic interpretation is that Janek does not object to eating/has normal eating habits and does not suffer from anorexia. Thus, as the above examples suggest, in the two languages the semantics of the verb itself influences the generic reading of the sentence and, in this way, makes an object deletion more or less possible. Therefore, going even further, we may suppose that some verbs allow object drop, and others do not.[12]

Another interesting issue is that the object can be omitted in non-characterizing sentences, for example in the episodic sentence in (208):

(208) Janek teraz pije.
  John now drinks$_{3SING.PRES}$
  'John is drinking now.'

In such cases, the only reading is an activity reading. Yet, when put in a context, for instance one acquaintance asking the other about what *Janek* is currently occupying himself with (after losing his job or a divorce), the answer like that above would mean that *Janek* started drinking alcohol. *Marysia gotuje* 'Mary cooks' is also problematic. As a characterizing sentence, i.e., without a context, the only possible reading it has is that cooking is *Marysia*'s favourite activity, her hobby. In a particular context, e.g., phone call, it turns into a non-characterizing, episodic sentence:

(209) A: Co robicie?
  'What are you doing?'

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[12] According to Levin (1993), *eat* is one of the verbs with which we may drop the object even if they are not in the progressive.

B: Ja sprzątam, Marysia gotuje.
  'I am cleaning and Mary is cooking.'

In both cases the lack of object in *Marysia gotuje* does not violate the grammaticality of the sentence.

As we have seen, the object drop and genericity are closely related. It seems that generally we can omit the object in non-characterizing (episodic) sentences, which report on a specific event or occasion, and in some characterizing (generic) sentences. In the case of the latter, these may be, however, the semantic/syntactic properties of the verb that finally influence the object deletion.[13] Some generic sentences can appear without an object in a particular context, getting one more interpretation, as in (209). Then, they cease to be generic (characterizing) sentences, though.

4.5 Generic readings of perfective sentences without overt objects

As we have seen above, genericity is very much related to object drop. As it seems to play a substantial role in licensing object deletion, let us have a closer look at it. It is commonly held that generic (or characterizing) sentences must appear in the imperfective in Slavic languages. At the same time, most generic sentences allow object drop, so in this way aspect can be seen as indirectly related to object omission. Consider:

(210) a. Piotr pije$_{IMPERF}$.
       'Peter drinks (is drinking).'
    b. Piotr *wypił$_{PERF}$/pił$_{IMPERF}$.
       'Peter *has drunk up/was drinking (drank).'

(211) a. Piotr je$_{IMPERF}$.
       'Peter eats (is eating).'
    b. Piotr zjadł$_{PERF}$/jadł$_{IMPERF}$. (*zjadł* - perf., correct, but not generic)
       'Peter *has eaten/ate (was eating).'

(212) a. Marysia szyje$_{IMPERF}$.

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[13] More attention to this issue will be given in chapter 5, devoted mainly to verb alternations.

'Mary sews.'

b. Marysia *uszyła$_{PERF}$/szyła$_{IMPERF}$.
'Mary *has sewn up/was sewing (sewed).'

(213) a. Marysia gotuje$_{IMPERF}$.
'Mary cooks.'

b. Marysia *ugotowała$_{PERF}$/gotowała$_{IMPERF}$.
'Mary *has cooked/cooked (was cooking).'

As the glosses from (210)-(213) indicate, most **generic** sentences, independent of their precise reading, i.e., whether it is 'universal', 'habitual', or 'existential/dispositional' (see chapter 1), allow object drop (tense does not matter, either).

Generic reading itself is, in turn, often induced by certain adverbials. Following Schoorlemmer (1995), Borik (2002) claims that in the presence of habitual adverbs like *always*, the verb form must always be imperfective. However, in *On zawsze zrobi/powie coś głupiego* ('He will always do/say something stupid') we have perfective forms of the verbs *robić* 'do' and *mówić* 'say', used together with an adverb *zawsze* 'always', and the reading is, of course, habitual. The same situation appears in the following Polish sentences:

(214) a. On zawsze wypije$_{PERF}$ (zje$_{PERF}$) za dużo/coś zepsutego (zdrowego/dobrego).
'He will always drink (eat) too much/something rotten (healthy/good).'

b. On zawsze wypił$_{PERF}$ (zjadł$_{PERF}$) za dużo/coś zepsutego (zdrowego/dobrego).
'He used to/would drink (eat) too much/something rotten (healthy/good).'

The above pattern seems to be very regular since we can observe also other verbs, such as *czytać* 'read' and *pisać* 'write', occurring in their perfective form together with the adverbial such as *zawsze* 'always':

(215) a. On zawsze przeczyta$_{PERF}$ (przeczytał$_{PERF}$) za dużo/więcej niż trzeba/dobrą książkę.
'He will always read/used to have read too much/more than needed/a good book.'

b. On zawsze napisze$_{PERF}$ (napisał$_{PERF}$) za dużo/więcej niż trzeba/dobry esej.
'He will always write/used to have written too much/more than needed/a good essay.'

Thus, Borik's (2002) hypothesis is not borne out since perfective forms of the verbs, both in the future and past tense, can be used with the adverbial *zawsze* 'always' in Polish.

Consider now the examples below. Each time the perfective form of the verb is used, both for the future and past tense (in brackets), and – what is more – the object is dropped in both instances:

(216) Janek zawsze napisze (napisał) (list) *e*/posprząta(ł) *e*/odkurzy(ł) *e*/zaśpiewa(ł) *e*/zagra(ł) *e*/ugotuje (ugotował) *e*/zamie-cie (zamiótł) *e*. (*whenever asked* – generic r.)
'John will/would always write (a letter)/clean/vacuum/sing/play/cook/sweep.'

Why can the object be deleted here, and yet the sentences remain both possible and grammatical? Probably, the verb class member-ship is the case here as all the four verbs belong to the same verb alternation (Unspecified Object Alternation). It can be genericity as well, given that all the above examples with the use of *zawsze* are generic sentences with habitual interpretation. Perhaps, these two factors together play a decisive role in object deletion. Looking at (216), we may draw a preliminary conclusion that most or all verbs in Polish allow covert objects when used with the adverbial *zawsze* 'always', just as they do with other adverbial phrases:

(217) Czy Marysia już napisała$_{PERF}$ *e*? / Czy Marysia napisała$_{PERF}$ *e* po swoim wyjeździe?
'Has Mary written already?' / 'Did Mary write after she left?'

This prediction is wrong, though. Compare:

(218) a. *Janek zawsze kupi$_{PERF}$. vs. Janek zawsze kupi$_{PERF}$ za dużo.
'*John will always buy.' vs. 'John will always buy too much.'
b. *Marysia zawsze powie$_{PERF}$. vs. Marysia zawsze powie$_{PERF}$ za dużo.
'*Mary will always say.' vs. 'Mary will always say too much.'
c. *Marysia zawsze zje$_{PERF}$. vs. Marysia zawsze zje$_{PERF}$ za dużo. / Marysia zawsze chętnie zje$_{PERF}$ *e*.
'*Mary will always eat up.' vs. 'Mary will always eat too much.' / 'Mary will always eat *e* eagerly.'
d. Tomek zawsze naprawi$_{PERF}$ *e*/wyprasuje$_{PERF}$ *e*. (*generic*)
'Tom will always *mend/iron.'

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e. *Tomek zawsze namaluje$_{PERF}$/narysuje$_{PERF}$/naszkicuje$_{PERF}$/wyrecytuje$_{PERF}$.
'Tom will always paint/draw/sketch/recite.'

vs.

Tomek zawsze namaluje$_{PERF}$/narysuje$_{PERF}$/naszkicuje$_{PERF}$/wyrecytuje$_{PERF}$ *e* jak trzeba/jak się patrzy.
'Tom will always paint/draw/sketch/recite as one should/appropriately.'

In (216) we deal with Polish equivalents of verbs that Levin (1993) lists among her Unspecified Object Alternation for English. All of them allow object deletion when used with the adverb *zawsze* 'always'. It is not so regular, though, since the verbs used in (214), (215a), (218c) and (218e) are also included in Levin's alternation, and yet we cannot drop the object after them in Polish, unless we add some other (quantifying) adverbial phrase. Thus, in these examples some wider context is needed to license zero objects.[14] It seems that Levin's (1993) categorization of verbs is not fine-grained enough to account for the Polish data, so I will attempt to modify it in the next chapter. I would like to point out here, though, that covert objects occurring in sentences possessing some adverbials should not be treated as instances of 'true' null objects since some context is provided (and pure zero objects do not need any additional contextual information to be provided in the sentence or utterance). At the same time, it is true that verbs in (216) need less additional phrases in order to delete an object than those (218c) and (218e). I suggest that, in general, in all the examples above it is genericity that plays a decisive role as far as covert objects are concerned. Therefore, it seems that we have to make the proper choice of adverbial(s) in order to receive a generic or habitual interpretation of a particular sentence because only then can we omit an object.

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[14] One may assume that we can freely omit the object after these same verbs with the adverbial *zawsze* in the imperfective (generic imperfectives): *Tomek zawsze m*ówi/*?kupuje/??naprawia/recytuje/szkicuje/maluje/rysuje* 'Tom always talks/?buys/??mends/recites/sketches/paints/draws.' As we can see, though, the imperfective aspect does not make object drop possible or fully acceptable with every verb. Compare: *Tomek ciągle m*ówi/kupuje/naprawia/recytuje/szkicuje/maluje/rysuje* 'Tom talks/buys/mends/recites/sketches/paints/draws all the time.' When used with the adverb *ciągle* 'all the time', the object can be dropped each time. Thus, once again, it is not aspect that influences object drop to a great extent. Verb classes and proper (time) adverbials are the most important criteria in this respect.

Concluding, the aim of this section was to prove that genericity is related to null objects, being itself induced by certain adverbials. Also, once again, I have shown that the role of aspect in object drop phenomenon seems to be overestimated in the literature on this topic.

4.6 The role of context in definite and indefinite object deletion

Recent studies on French and English by Roberge (2002) and Cummins and Roberge (2003), among others, comprehensively address the issue of null objects (NOs), taking account of previous work on this topic. The findings show clear similarities between French and English. Both studies distinguish two types of objects, the examples of which are illustrated in (219) and (220):

(219) <u>indefinite/generic – not referential; no contextually deter-mined antecedent</u>:
   a. Do you write __?
   b. Wild Guns est un jeu qui défoule __ .
     'Wild Guns is a game that destresses __.'
   c. Un peintre dérange __ bien moins qu'un écrivain.
     'A painter disturbs __ less than a writer.'
   d. On voit bien que ce n'est pas lui qui lave __.
     'You can tell it is not him who cleans __.'
   e. Certaines ressemblances surprennent __.
     'Certain similarities can surprise __.'
   f. Seulement, moi, je n'assassine __ pas, je ressuscite __.
     'It is just that, myself, I don't assassinate __, I resuscitate __.'
   g. Un cambrioleur, ça cambriole __.
     'A burglar burglarizes __.'

(220) <u>definite/latent/anaphoric – referential; contextually deter-mined antecedent</u>:
   a. "Do you like __?" "I love __!"
   b. "Tu as lu les pages?" "Il avait lu __."
     'Did you read the pages?' 'He had read __.'
   c. - Pourquoi devrais-je acheter cet ordinateur?
     - Voyez je mets en marche __, il s'allume et ensuite il n'est guidé qu'à la voix...

'- And why should I buy this particular computer?
- Well, you see, I turn __ on, it starts, and then it is guided only by voice...'

d. Tu quémandes une impression, un avis, sur le pas de ta loge. Tu t'enquiers : « Alors, comment avez-vous trouvé __ ? »
'You seek an impression, an opinion, next to your dressing room. You ask: "So, how   this you find __?" '

e. Le hululement du chien annonçait l'irréparable. Et son regard confirmait __.
'The dog's screeching announced that it was too late. And the expression in his eye   confirmed __.'

f. - Maîtrisez-vous vos interviews? C'est capital, les interviews.
   - Je maîtrise __.
   '- Do you master (control) the interview process? Interviews are very important.
   - I master __.'

<div align="right">(Roberge, 2002; Cummins and Roberge, 2003)</div>

116   Indefinite or generic null objects do not have a contextually available referent. Generic null objects can give rise to an activity rather than an accomplishment reading of the verb; the lexical characteristics of the verb can help to identify the referent of the null object. Definite object omission is, on the other hand, clearly contextual. According to Velasco and Muñoz (2002), those participants, which are given in the context, will be more likely to be omitted than those, which have not been introduced, or are introduced for the first time. A given object can be recovered from the surrounding linguistic context, which is not the case with a new participant. Velasco and Muñoz (2002) illustrate this phenomenon by the following examples:

(221) New = *indefinite*   Bill was watching a match.
      Given = *definite*   Bill was watching the match.
      Supergiven = *proform* Bill was watching it.
      Hypergiven = *deleted* Bill was watching.

As the examples show, the more given the participant is, the more possibilities it has of being left out. Since new information is usually assumed to be the focus of a linguistic expression, *a match* (or *watching a match*) in the first example above is the focus of the sentence, and that is why it should not be omitted. However, if the focus of a linguistic expression is the activity denoted by the main verb, the participants are more likely to be left out (*Bill was wavtching*).

As Velasco and Muñoz (2002) rightly observe, the definite object (DO) omission is clearly contextual, and therefore influenced by the contextual factors mentioned in (221). They provide the following English example to prove their hypothesis:

(222) Paul lied about his age, but Mary found out ____.

In (222) the object of *find out* has just appeared in the previous discourse: what Mary found out is that Paul lied about his age. It should be noted, though, that the context is not the only influencing factor: the object omission is closely related to some sets of verbs, which has already been mentioned in the previous sections and will be explored later on in this book as well.

Sometimes, the right interpretation of the object is made possible by some part of the linguistic context, although the object itself is not available. Velasco and Muñoz (2002) illustrate this with the verb *give*:

(223) Paul gave ____ to Amnesty International.

The verb *give* plus the phrase *to Amnesty International* constitute the relevant context, making immediately accessible the assumption that people give *money* to Amnesty International.

On the basis of the above data, Velasco and Muñoz (2002) provide "a scale of explicitness of the understood object in the sense of different degrees of linguistic expression of the object in the previous discourse:"

(224)   Understood object recoverability

Referent availability
Immediate linguistic context
       Immediate extralinguistic context
              Inferred from linguistic context
                     Inferred from extralinguistic context
Easy to recover   ➢   ➢   **Difficult to recover**

Their prediction is that inferred referents will take more time to process than those which are immediately available, either in the linguistic or extralinguistic context.

As I have pointed out earlier, there seems to be an intimate relation between the object omission and the semantic type of a verb, which has also been noticed by Velasco and Muñoz. In the literature,

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an example of a transitive verb not allowing object omission is *lock*, as in Fillmore (1986):

(225) Context: Absolutely clear to everybody concerned which door is in question:
*Did you lock?

However, according to Velasco and Muñoz, the ungrammaticality of the intransitive *lock* is very questionable. The example used by Fillmore is to demonstrate that no pragmatic explanation is possible for implicit arguments since this verb does not allow contextual omission, even if there is a clear referent available. Still, as has been shown in section 4.3, and as the example in (223) indicates, the specific situation might make the object omission possible. As Velasco and Muñoz (2002) point out, "if the door is still in our shared awareness, i.e., if the participants in the conversation still have the door in their field of vision or, otherwise, in their focus of attention, we certainly could say *Did you lock?* or *Have you locked?*"

Yet, many verbs actually do not allow contextual omission, even if there is a clear referent available. Compare:

(226) I'll be back, I promise _____.

(227) That'll loosen a few apron strings, I guarantee it.
(Velasco and Muñoz, 2002)

Promise, as opposed to *guarantee,* allows the omission of the object. There are many other pairs of verbs behaving similarly:

(228) She found out _____.

(229) If you think like that, you'll conquer the world, but it has taken me ten years to discover it.   (Velasco and Muñoz, 2002)

Coming back to the definite/indefinite object drop distinction, Velasco and Muñoz claim that the difference between the two types of object omission is that indefinite objects are not available in the discourse and, what is more, if there is an adequate referent in the discourse, the sentence may become ungrammatical, as shown in the examples under (230):

(230) A: Have you read today's "New York Times" yet?
B: *Yes, I've read ____ this morning.
B': *Yes, I've been reading _____ for hours.
(Velasco and Muñoz, 2002)

With definite objects, however, the opposite situation holds: there has to be a suitable referent in the context for the sentence to be correctly interpreted.

I concur with Velasco and Muñoz (2002) that there is an important pragmatic difference between DO (definite object) and IO (indefinite object) omission. As they put it, in DO omission, the speaker estimates that his Addressee knows the referent of the missing object. In the case of IO, such knowledge is possible, but not necessary. Contextual omission entails then the referent of a deleted object: either it is introduced in the preceding discourse, or is present in the communicative setting (or it can be inferred from one of the two). This indicates that DO-verbs must be given a representation which allows the expression of an anaphorical relation. Thus, verbs licensing definite object drop should be treated as transitive verbs whose absent lexical material – similarly to anaphor – is coindexed with elements available in the discourse, as the following representation shows:

(231) John lied <u>about his age</u>$_{j}$, but Mary found out $\_{j}$.

(Velasco and Muñoz, 2002)

As we can see in the example above, the anaphoric operator 'j' sets a referential link between the propositional variable of the first clause and the object position of the verb *find out* in the second. As we can remember, the same situation holds in OC PRO constructions as far as empty subjects are concerned. To be properly understood, OC PRO also must have an antecedent (usually local), with which it sets an anaphoric relation. Hence, it is definite/specific in meaning as well. Thus, definite covert objects and OC PRO cannot be treated as 'truly' null since they are not arbitrary/indefinite like NOC PRO or *pro* in minimalist terms. Instead, they are rather similar to traces or anaphors. In a word, both referential (or bound) null objects and subjects, i.e., DO drop and OC PRO, respectively, show similar syntactic and semantic properties, being at the same time distinct from non-referential covert subjects and objects (NOC PRO or *pro* and IO drop, correspondingly).

What is interesting, in Polish sentences similar to that in (231), the semantics of the same verbs as those used by Velasco and Muñoz for English must be different, as the following contrasts indicate:

(232) ?Paweł skłamał co do swojego wieku, ale Marysia wykryła ____.
    'Paul lied about his age, but Mary found out _____.'

(233) ?Paweł dał ____ na Amnesty International.
    'Paul gave ____ to Amnesty International.'

but

    Paweł dał na mszę.
      'Paul gave ____ to the mass.'

(234) Nie będziesz musiał się o nic martwić, gwarantuję ____ / to.
    'You won't have to worry abort anything, I guarantee *____ / it.

(235) A: Czytałaś już dzisiejszą "Wyborczą"?
        'Have you read today's "Wyborcza" yet?'
    B: Tak, przeczytałam$_{PERF}$ ____ dziś rano.
        '*Yes, I've read ____ this morning.'
    B: Tak, czytam$_{IMPERF}$ ____ od wielu godzin.
        '*Yes, I've been reading ____ for hours.'

Bearing in mind the contrast in (232)-(235) between English and Polish uses of the same verbs in similar contexts, one may presuppose that creating any semantic classes of verbs universally is a non-starter, for they are clearly subject to parametric variation among languages. I will come back to this issue and see whether this assumption is right in the next chapter on the occasion of discussing UOA verbs.

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    As we have seen on the basis of English and Polish constructions, the elements of linguistic or extralinguistic context may be present and, still, the object drop patterns can differ from language to language. This fact can be further supported by the examples below, extended by French data (adapted from Cummins and Roberge (2003), and next translated into Polish):

(236) a. On lui tendit <u>une main</u>...Vexé, il négligea __.
        *Wyciągnieto do niego dłoń. Zdenerwowany, *zignorował __.*
        'A hand was extended to him. Annoyed, *he ignored __.'
    b. Si un mec t'offre <u>un café</u> balance __ lui à travers la gueule.
        *Jeśli facet proponuje ci kawę, *rzuć __ mu w twarz.*
        'If a guy offers you a coffee, *throw __ in his face.'

If the absence of an overt object could be explained entirely in terms of pragmatics and context, we would expect all three languages (English, Polish, and French) to allow null objects in the context given. But in fact, as we could notice, there is a subset of latent objects in French that have counterparts neither in English, nor in Polish. These objects, which are taken as definite and referential,

cannot be omitted either in English, or in Polish. Therefore, in the following chapter, I will also present the syntactic, minimalist analysis of covert objects. Nevertheless, as we have seen so far, for an exact investigation of null objects, the semantics, pragmatics, and discourse/context are indispensable – it seems that they are just an inseparable (and probably the greatest) part of object ellipsis promoting factors. To recall, verb classes allowing or disallowing object drop belong to semantics, just as genericity does, the second object-drop-licenser. We have already seen as well that the purely syntactic, aspectual approach proposed by Yadroff (1994, 1995) is not valid since aspect, a syntactic phenomenon, does not influence object deletion, or does it rather indirectly, and not to a large extent. Thus, the best solution in the study of object drop would be a combination of both semantic/pragmatic and syntactic (but not aspectual) approaches, the latter of which will be discussed in the light of the Minimalist Program in the fifth chapter. Hopefully, this combination should give us some universal proposal, covering and explaining the cross-linguistic data presenting null object phenomenon.

Following Cummins and Roberge (2003), in Polish, just as in English, when a referential interpretation is forced, a null object is impossible, as in (237)[15], while in a similar context, but without forcing reference, the null object is fine, as in (238) (however, the contrast between the two can be also due to the progressive form of the verb and the presence of a time adverbial):

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(237) – What happened to that carrot?
    – *Co stało się z tą marchewką?*
    – *I chopped ___.
    – *Posiekałam*$_{PERF}$ ___.

(238) – What happened to all the vegetables?
    – *Co stało się ze wszystkimi warzywami?*
    – Well, John has been chopping ___ and dicing __ all afternoon.
    – *Coż, Janek siekał*$_{IMPERF}$___ *i kroił*$_{IMPERF}$___ *w kostkę całe popołudnie.*

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[15] However, with the verb *jeść* 'eat', the sentence sounds not so bad:
  – What happened to that carrot?
  – *Co stało się z tą marchewką?*
  – I ate ___.
  – *Zjadłam*$_{PERF}$ ___.
Although both *chop* and *eat* are incuded by Levin (1993) in UOA, it seems that only one of them, that is *eat*, allows object deletion in English and Polish. Therefore, once again, Unspecified Object Alternation should be revised for both languages. I will come back to this issue in chapter 5.

Contextual factors can contribute to the inference of a specific reference, as in (239):

(239) – We have to get rid of all the ugly dishes before your boyfriend arrives.
– *Musimy pozbyć się tych wszystkich zapaskudzonych naczyń zanim przyjdzie twój chłopak.*
– Okay, you wash ___ and I'll dry ___.
– *Dobrze. Ty pozmywaj*$_{PERF}$___, *a ja powycieram*$_{PERF}$___.

> [The English examples under (237)-(239) are adapted from Cummins and Roberge, 2003.]

On the basis of English examples only, Cummins and Roberge (2003) conclude that tense-less verb forms and non-referential (imperfective) tenses favour a non-referential reading, while referential tenses, such as perfectives, favour a specific, referential reading. However, as we have seen in the previous sections, it is not always so. It turns out that in non-referential, imperfective tenses of the verb *myć* 'wash', the imposed reading can be referential (definite/specific), and hence the sentence without an overt object sounds awkward (see section 4.3). On the other hand, the perfective verb forms sometimes favour generic readings, as we have seen in the previous section, devoted to the adverbial *zawsze* 'always'. Therefore, it seems to me that these are verb class, object's semantics (prototypical reading and indefiniteness), and adverbials, rather than tense and aspect, that play a decisive role in null object licensing.

4.7 More on definite/indefinite distinction and its relation to zero objects in YES/NO questions

With reference to the role of context in object drop phenomenon, now I would like to check whether we have null object clitics in Polish YES/NO questions and, if yes, whether it is regular. Consider the following examples:

(240) A: Przyniosłaś książkę?
'Did you bring the book?' (*both the speaker and the hearer think of the same particular book*)

B: Tak. / Przyniosłam *e*/ją.
'Yes'. / 'I brought *(it).'

(241) A: Kupiłaś kawę?
'Did you buy coffee?' (*any*)
B: Tak. / Kupiłam *e*/*ją.
'Yes'. / 'Yes, I bought some/it.'

(242) a. A: Nosisz płaszcz?
'Do you wear a coat?' (*any; 'Do you have such a habit?'*)
B: Tak. / Noszę *e*/*go.
'Yes'. / 'I wear one/it.'
b. A: Nosisz ten swój zielony płaszcz?
'Do you wear your green coat?'
B: Tak. / Noszę *e*/go.
'Yes'. / 'I wear *e*/it.'

(243) A: Znalazłeś szalik?
'Did you find the scarf?' *('the one you had been looking for')*
B: Tak. / Znalazłem *e*/go.
'Yes'. / 'I found *(it).'

In (240)-(243), the null object is an empty, clitic-like pronoun. Campos (1986) claims that object drop can be explained in terms of definite/indefinite distinction in such and similar cases (see section 1.6.2), i.e., that indefinite objects can be deleted, and definite cannot. The above examples, however, do not confirm this prediction. In (241) and (242a) the speaker thinks of some unspecified objects, and in (240), (242b) and (243) he has definite objects in his mind – still, despite this difference, each time the object is dropped in Polish B's utterances. The only difference between these two pairs of Polish examples is that while definite objects *can* be dropped in (240), (242b) and (243), indefinite objects *must* be dropped in (241) and (242a). In Spanish, only the answers in (241) and (242a) could occur without overt pronouns – in English it is probably not possible at all (*some*, *it*, or *one* must be present). Thus, Campos hypothesis may work for Spanish, but it has to be somewhat modified for Polish. We may conclude that there is a strong relation between non-expression of objects and indefiniteness, but it is not indefiniteness that licenses object ellipsis in Polish YES/NO questions. In other words, definite/indefinite distinction does not licence null objects in such cases in this language, but merely makes them obligatory or optional, respectively. Further

illustration of this phenomenon is provided below in the context of other YES/NO questions:

(244) A: Kupisz mi rower jak będę grzeczny?
       'Will you buy me a bike if I am a good boy?'
    B: Tak. / Kupię *e*/*go.
       'Yes'. / 'I will buy *(one).'

(245) A: Czy podlałaś moją paprotkę?
       'Did you water my fern?'
    B: Tak. / Podlałam *e*/ją.
       'Yes'. / 'I watered *(it).'

(246) A: Czy zawiadomiłaś Piotra?
       'Did you notify Peter?'
    B: Tak. / Zawiadomiłam *e*/go.
       'Yes'. / 'I notified *(him).'

(247) A: Widziałaś gdzieś może mój zeszyt?
       'Did you possibly see my exercise book somewhere?'
    B: Nie. / Nie widziałam *e*/go.
       'No.' / 'I did not see *(it).'

Again, we can see that Polish quite freely allows null pronominal objects in declarative sentences when the intended referent is provided in the preceding discourse. All B's utterances in (240)-(247) constitute answers to simple YES/NO questions, which contain an antecedent for the object. It is sometimes claimed that null objects appearing in such constructions cannot be treated as 'true' null objects since they are provided with some context, without which they could not be dropped. Compare:

(248) *Przyniosłam./*Noszę./*Znalazłem./*Kupię./*Podlałam./
    *Zawiadomiłam./?Widziałam.
    '*I brought.'/'*I wear.'/'*I found.'/'*I will buy.'/'*I watered.'/*I notified.'/'*I saw.'

We must remember, though, that even such contextual object deletions as those in (244)-(247), which are obvious and natural for the native speaker of Polish, would never be possible in some other languages (in English, for example), or would sound odd to native speakers of these languages.[16]

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[16] In English, instead, we have auxiliaries which can stand for the whole VPs:
  '-*Did you notify Peter*?'
  '-*Yes, I did / No, I didn't.*'

4.8 Structural object deletion

Some linguistic constructions readily favour object omission. Those cited in the literature are summarized in the following:

(249) <u>Linking or sequential</u>:
    a. First she knitted __, then she sewed __.
    b. When he wants __, he goes out and gets __.
    c. Ce film inquiète __, fascine __, révulse __.
       'This movie worries __, fascinates __, disgusts __.'
    d. He will steal __, rob__, and murder __.
    e. Elles ont caressé__, pétri__, étreint __, pénétré __...
       'They have caressed __, kneaded __, clasped __, penetrated __...'

(250) <u>Instructional imperatives</u>:
    a. Drink up __.
    b. Push __ hard.
    c. Fais voir __.
       'Show __.'
    d. Faites voir __!
       'Let me see __!'
    e. Donne __!
       'Give __!'
    f. Simplifie __.
       'Simplify __.'
    g. Drain __ and serve __ immediately.

(251) <u>Contrastive uses</u>:
    a. He theorises about language, but I just describe__.
    b. Seulement moi, je n'assassine __ pas, je ressuscite __.
       'Only I don't murder __, I resuscitate __.'
    c. Bon intellectuel, il ne voulait pas seulement expliquer __, mais convaincre __.
       'As a good intelectual, he did not simply want to explain __, but also to convince _.'

(252) <u>Infinitive/non-finite verb forms</u>:
    a. This is a lovely guitar, with an uncanny ability to impress __ and delight __.
    b. Pour compenser __, j'ai décidé d'adopter dorénavant cette graphie.

'To compensate __, I have decided to use that spelling from now on.'
c. Il y a des gens qui ne savent plus fabriquer __ comme avant.
'There are people who do not know how to make __ like before.'

(253) <u>Generic present tense</u>:
a. There are those who annihilate __ with violence – who devour __.
b. Un peintre derange __ bien moins qu'un écrivain.
'A painter disturbs __ much less than a writer.'

(254) <u>Dative pronoun (French)</u>:
J'étais où quand tu lui avais donné __?
'Where was I when you gave __ to him?'

(255) <u>*Ça* as subject (French)</u>
Ça flingue __ à tout va là-dedans.
'They're shooting __ like crazy in there.'

(256) <u>Fixed phrases</u>:
a. Seek __ and ye shall find __.
b. Hit __ or miss __.

<div align="right">(Cummins and Roberge, 2003; Roberge, 2002; Velasco and Muñoz, 2002)</div>

One property of structural omission is that it seems to override other relevant factors. That is, if a verb typically does not allow object omission, in most cases it will be possible to suggest a structural context in which it does. What is important to remember in these cases is that the omission is motivated by the structure itself, and not necessarily by the properties of either the verb, or the omitted object.

Following McShane (2000), I would like to focus on object deletion in **syndetic coordinate structures** (i.e., coordinate structures containing an overt conjunction), which are the most typical and widely discussed parallel structures (linking/sequential constructions). I hope that this analysis will shed some light on the object drop phenomenon and help us understand it better. First, let us consider (257):

(257) Zdjęła pierścionek(ACC) i schowała **e/go**(ACC) w sejfie.
'She took off the ring and put it in the safe.'

Here, the direct object ellipsis is licensed by structural (the subject is identical in both clauses), morpho-syntactic (relevant Case-marking: ACC antecedent) and lexico-semantic (*zdjąć→schować*) parallelism. The crucial property of **parallelism** with respect to ellipsis is that it functions on many levels simultaneously: **syntactic, phonetic, morpho-syntactic, and lexico-semantic**. According to McShane (2000), the more layers of parallelism that obtain in a given structure, the more strongly the elliptical variant tends to be preferred. This hypothesis seems to be borne out in all of the examples below:

(258) <u>Tomek</u> przyprowadził Marysię(ACC), ale <u>Jacek</u> *__*e/jej__(GEN) nie pocałował/przywitał.
    '<u>Tom</u> has brought Mary(ACC), but <u>Jack</u> has not kissed/greeted *(her GEN).'

(259) Spojrzała na zdjęcie(ACC) tamtego mężczyzny(GEN) i od razu *__*e/go__(ACC) rozpoznała: to był Jan.
    'She looked at the picture(ACC) of that man(GEN) and recognized *(him ACC) at once: it was John.'

(260) Spotkałam/zobaczyłam Tomka(ACC) i pocałowałam *__*e/go__(ACC).
    'I met/saw Tom(ACC) and I kissed *(him ACC).'

(261) <u>Przyniosła</u> komputer(ACC) do biura, a <u>on</u> zabrał *__*e/go__(ACC) do domu.
    '<u>She</u> brought the computer(ACC) to the office, and <u>he</u> took *(it ACC) home.'

(262) Zgubiłam bilet(ACC) do teatru, ale w końcu __e/go__(ACC) znalazłam.
    'I lost the ticket(ACC) to the theatre, but finally I found *(it ACC).'

(263) Szukałam biletu(GEN) do teatru i w końcu ?__e/go__(ACC) znalazłam.
    'I was looking for a ticket(GEN) to the theatre, and finally I found *(it ACC).'

(264) <u>On</u> kupił wiśnie(ACC), a <u>ja</u> chciałam *__*e/je__(ACC) zjeść.
    '<u>He</u> bought cherries(ACC), and <u>I</u> wanted to eat *(some/them).'

The reason why some coordinate structures do not allow covert objects is at least in part due to functional considerations, as in (258), (261), and (264): introducing a new subject (*Jacek* 'Jack' in (258), the pronoun *on* 'he' in (261) and *ja* 'I' in (264)) shifts the theme of discourse, thereby reducing the recoverability of object's reference.

(259), just as (263), does not show morpho-syntactic parallelism (relative Case-marking) between direct object (ACC) in the second clause and its antecedent (GEN) in the first clause, and therefore, again, the object pronoun cannot be elided. As we can see, only ACC antecedents show morpho-syntactic parallelism and, in this way, widely support object omission in Polish. The lack of object deletion in (260) and (264), on the other hand, can be explained in the following way: the verbs in the two clauses of each sentence are semantically unrelated, creating a lack of lexico-semantic parallelism. Semantically related verbs are associated in the literature (Yokoyama, 1986) by a so-called set membership. According to Yokoyama's (1986) proposal, sets can be of the following three types: universal (*live/die*), culturally dependent (*pitch/hit*), and those limited to a certain group of individuals sharing some common knowledge. Evidence provided in the above examples shows that the closer the semantic tie between the verbs in the antecedent and ellipsis conjuncts, the more likely it is that ellipsis of a direct object will be possible. Let us look once again at (262) and (263). In both instances, the two verbs present in each sentence are semantically related, creating significant universal parallelism (*zgubić/ znaleźć* 'loose'/'find'; *szukać/znaleźć* 'look for'/'find'). However, only (262) fulfills the requirements necessary for morpho-syntactic parallelism, although the syntactic equivalence obtains in both examples (no new subject of the sentence is introduced). In (258) and (264) we have neither syntactic, nor lexico-semantic resemblance, and therefore covert objects are not allowed in these cases. In (260) only the symmetry on syntactic and morpho-syntactic levels obtains, and that is why the overt realization of an object pronoun is obligatory in the conjunct clause. The sentence in (261) does not permit null object, either, because the subject of the sentence is shifted, despite the fact that morpho-syntactic (ACC) and semantic parallelism holds in this example (*przynieść/zabrać* 'bring'/'take'). Thus, I guess it is the number of levels of parallelism that makes the object omission possible or optional in the conjunct clauses, a view compatible with McShane's (2000) proposal. It seems that all three levels of parallelism (lexico-semantic, syntactic, as well as morpho-syntactic) must obtain in structures like those in (257)-(264) if we want to delete a co-referential object. As McShane (2000) rightly observes, it is because all of the examples under question lack **phonetic parallelism,** which refers to the relationship between the phonetic shape of the antecedent and the phonetic shape of

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the following co-referential element (object, in this case). Obviously, phonetic correspondence will not obtain when the antecedent for an elided object is a referential expression (R-expression), and not a pronoun (a ring # it). Assuming that all potentially dropped objects are pronominal in nature, they will phonetically match their antecedents only if the antecedent is itself a pronoun (it = it). The evidence presented in the examples below shows that having a phonetically identical antecedent strongly promotes ellipsis in Polish:

(265) a. Kupiłam je i zjadłam *e/!*je.*
      'I bought them and ate (them).'
   b. Zdjęłam go i oddałam *e/!*go.*
      'I took it off and gave (it) back.'
   c. Wymyśliłam to i opisałam *e/!*to.*
      'I made it up and described (it).'
   d. Łowi je, oswaja *e/!*je* i oddaje *e/!!*je.*
      'He hunts them, tames (them) and gives (them) away.'

In the examples (257)-(264), contrary to those in (265), various combinations of overt and covert objects are possible since the antecedent is an R-expression, meaning that it does not phonetically match the pronominal in the following conjunct. When the antecedent is a pronoun, the single pattern of ellipsis shown in (265) is strongly preferred, which has been also proved in McShane (2000). Actually, it is obligatory in these examples because of the layering of ellipsis-promoting factors. Moreover, phonetic correspondence between the antecedent and its co-referential object is superimposed upon the syntactic parallelism. Let us now look at (266):

(266) Marysia wykąpała go(ACC), a Karolina **go**(ACC)/*e* nakarmiła.
      'Mary washed him, and Caroline fed (him).'

Here, the syntactic analogy does not obtain (a new subject, *Karolina*, is introduced, shifting the theme of a discourse), and the deletion of an object pronoun is still preferred, although it is not obligatory. The conclusion we can draw from this fact is that phonetic parallelism is the strongest ellipsis-promoting factor in coordinate structures containing an overt conjunction, a view compatible with that of McShane's (2000). Compare:

(267) Tomek ją(ACC) przyprowadził, ale Jacek *e/jej*(GEN) nie pocałował.
      'Tom has brought her(ACC), but Jack has not kissed *(her GEN).'

Here, both the syntactic (subject change) and morpho-syntactic levels of correspondence (ACC→GEN) do not obtain, and the omission of an object pronoun is still possible (although it is not obligatory or preferred any more). Probably, it is because both the deleted object and its antecedent are pronouns.

To summarize this section, when the antecedent and potentially elided element match phonetically in syndetic coordinate structures, ellipsis is either preferred, or obligatory, depending on the layering of other levels of parallelism.

4.9 Conclusions

All in all, different syntactic constructions and semantic interpretations in Polish may require different approaches to object drop, as the factors licensing null objects may vary. I have shown that there is a number of ways to analyse the null object, and that there exist transitive perfective forms that can be used intransitively, which proves that there is no strict correlation between the aspectual form of the verb and obligatory realization of its internal arguments. Null object constructions are better analysed in terms of genericity, definite/indefinite distinction, or verb type/class, which all usually coincide, triggering one another. In certain cases, null objects occur because of a discourse context, as in free conversation or YES/NO questions, which seem to licence null objects each time. In other cases, structure-type permits zero objects, as in syndetic coordinate structures. There are also such verbs as *zdążyć/zdołać* 'manage to do sth on time'/'manage to', which invariably allow empty categories in object positions after the infinitives of perfective verbs, conjunctions like *dopóki* 'till', *aż* 'until', *zanim* 'before', or adverbial phrases like *już* 'already', which allow covert objects equally freely. Sometimes the cause of object deletion is purely idiosyncratic, and such instances can be treated as an exception to all the above proposals. However, probably the most important suggestion I have made in this chapter is the following division:

(268) Null categories (*pro*):
- non-referential subject *pro* in minimalist terms: arbitrary NOC PRO or non-Agr-based *pro*
- non-referential object *pro* – indefinite (unspecified) object (IO) drop

<u>Traces</u>:
- referential OC PRO
- definite object (DO) drop (referential/context-dependent)

In the concluding chapter, the partition above will be further modified, taking into consideration also the divisions regarding impersonal structures from the previous chapter, and the detailed analysis of implicit objects and Accusative reflexive clitics from the following chapter.

5 The relation between the semantic type of the omitted object and verb semantics

5.1 Introduction

There seems to be a close relation between omission and the semantic type of the omitted object, which has been noticed by now by Fillmore (1986) and Velasco and Muñoz (2002), among others. Fillmore (1986) provides examples of verbs with different senses (269), in which only one sense of the verb with one semantic type of complement permits omission in context (270).

(269) a. He won the race.
    b. He won the gold medal.

(270) He won _____.

Thus, if we omit the second argument, as in (270), the interpretation of the omitted object will be constrained to *the race*. In Fillmore's own words, "the understanding necessarily is that there is a contextually given competition in which he was the winner, not a contextually given reward of which he was the receiver." This same phenomenon is observed in other verbs with different senses:

(271) a. They accepted (my offer)/*(my gift).
    b. I forgot/remembered (to fix it/that she's fixed it)/*(my keys).
    c. I heard (that you resigned)/*(the song).
    d. They know (that she resigned)/*(Louise).
    e. He noticed (that she was blind)/*(the mouse).
    f. I see (that they're here)/*(the rat).

The examples provided by Fillmore (1986) reveal the relation between the possibility of omission and a specific semantic type of object. Although Fillmore is aware of this connection, he does not draw any generalization about which specific semantic type is happier with the omission regarding these examples. In this chapter, I am going to demonstrate that this type is 'unspecified object' which strongly depends on the verb's semantics.

Object omission is also enhanced if the extralinguistic context provides clear clues to the identification of the missing information, as we have already seen in the preceding chapter. For example, the expression in (272) contains an understood argument, which, although totally compatible with the verb *eat,* is not likely to be *an apple*, but one of the meals of the day (*lunch, dinner,* etc.):

(272) Have you eaten _____ yet?

In this case, it is our world knowledge, the fact that we eat several times during the day, which leads us to the right interpretation of the understood object. The verb *write* seems to allow ca. three types of understood objects. Compare the following expressions:

(273) a. Have you written _____?
    b. Do you write _____?

In (273a) the understood object is probably *a letter*, *a postcard*, or *an e-mail message*, whereas (273b), obviously influenced by the habitual interpretation of the present simple, seems to suggest 'professional writing'.

Rice (1988) stresses that the lack of an object NP in sentences like *John ate* is not interpreted as *zero*, but as the *default*. Specifically, the *default* is the most prototypical, basic-level NP complement of a given verb, as exemplified in (274):

(274) a. John smokes _____ (cigarettes/*Marlboros/*a pipe/*smoking
      materials).
    b. John drinks _____ (alcohol/*gin/*coffee/*water/*liquids).

Further, Rice notes that omissible objects tend to refer to whole entities rather than parts of entities, as illustrated by the contrast between the acceptable (275a) and the unacceptable (275b). She motivates this contrast by claiming that "parts are smaller, more specific, more localised, and usually more definite than wholes":

(275) a. Travis let Bill drive/steer ____ (= a car).
      b. Travis let Bill floor *____ (= the gas pedal).
                           rev *____ (= the engine).

As regards conditions on verbs that permit object drop, Rice asserts that they need to be *semantically neutral* (*eat*, *drink*, *study*, *speak*, etc.), as opposed to those that conflate action and manner (*bite*, *devour*, *sip*, *memorize*, *utter*, etc.), as shown in (276):

(276) a. Celia ate ___ vs. *nibbled/*chewed/*devoured/*ingested ___.
      b. Pepys wrote ___ daily vs. *penned/*inscribed/*drafted ____ daily.

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Further, such verbs should not allow too broad a range of possible objects (otherwise no default can be inferred), hence the restriction on object drop with verbs like *shut, lock, sell, buy*, etc.[17] As I will show in the following sections, the same restriction holds in Polish.
   Situational contexts or frames of knowledge are also relevant in some cases of object omission, as has already been mentioned in the former chapter. Rice (1988) points out the following examples:

(277) <u>Restaurant script:</u>
      The man entered, he ordered, he ate, he paid, he left.

(278) <u>Play-by-play of a sports announcer:</u>
      Simmons intercepts, now he passes. Roberts catches and scores.

The above examples could be also considered as cases of structural omission – linking or sequential (see section 4.8 in chapter four). Object drop is also allowed if, as a result, "general semantic frames or scenarios" are evoked and "the pragmatic focus is on the action itself" (Rice, 1988):

(279) a. Hemingway ate, drank, and smoked *too much*.
      b. Joe *finally* married.
      c. Bill *always* interrupts.

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[17] Rice (1988), however, herself mentions cases of verbs with a specific complement which, nevertheless, do not accept omission: *She manicured *(her nails).*

An interesting case is that of recipes. As Massam and Roberge (1989) explain, ellipsis of direct objects with definite reference in English requires a recipe context and the use of verbs of a limited class that are in the imperative, for example:

(280) Take the cake mix, 1 cup of water, and 3 eggs. Mix *e* well and beat *e* for 5 minutes. Pour *e* into a well-greased cake pan and bake *e* for 20 minutes. Remove *e* from oven and cool *e*.

(281) Cook *e* gently for four minutes in plenty of boiling, salted water to obtain an *al dente* texture. Drain *e* and serve *e*.

Indeed, although the omitted objects tend to receive a specific (non-arbitrary) interpretation, they do not need to be present in the linguistic context.

Still, probably the most relevant factor pertaining to object drop is the 'typicality' of the omitted object. By 'typicality' I mean the capacity of the verb to take just one or a very limited number of objects. I assume, then, that if a verb can take few typical objects, those objects – predictable and understood – can be dropped. Rice (1988) comments: "Objects that can be omitted tend to be those whose lexical content is most probable, given the meaning of the verb. Omitted objects are generally restricted to complements with a low degree of semantic independence from the verb. There are many verbs whose omitted objects are clearly understood because they are inferred from a very narrow, if not exclusive, range of possibilities." That is, the more predictable an object is (given the meaning of the verb), the more likely it will be left out. There is a class of verbs taking typical items as their objects, and that is why these objects can be dropped. This class of verbs, created by Levin (1993), is referred to as Unspecified Object Alternation (UOA). The problem is that Levin lists among this class both verbs allowing 'true' null objects, i.e., independent from context, and those allowing object omission only in certain context or situation, i.e., intransitive uses of normally transitive verbs. In the latter case, deleted objects derive entirely from semantic/discourse/pragmatic considerations, and thus cannot be treated as 'true' null objects, which are independent from the discourse. Unspecified or Indefinite Object Deletion, on the other hand, seems to apply to verbs whose activity may be viewed as self-sufficient without an object. Thus, English verbs such as *clean, cook, drive* (motor vehicles), *examine* 'test academically', *hunt, paint, read, sew, think (about)* are all susceptible to indefinite object deletion. What I am going to do, then, in this chapter is to

investigate Levin's verb class carefully, comparing it with Polish data. I will present the data without any context added and see which of the verbs involved in Unspecified Object Alternation for English should belong to this alternation for Polish. Next, I will try to verify this class of verbs for English, distinguishing further between intransitive use of transitive verbs and object deletion. I hope I will meanwhile recognize the rules responsible for object omission in Polish, if there are any. It is possible that all of the approaches to object drop phenomenon presented in chapter four are right, and that all of the factors mentioned in that chapter influence object deletion in Polish in a way, being dependent on each other. That is, as we have seen so far, it seems impossible to investigate object drop without taking into consideration lexico-semantic approach, which just forces itself through verb alternations and object semantics.

5.2 Unspecified Object Alternation verbs

We already know from the previous chapter the distinction *definite* vs. *indefinite/unspecified* with reference to null objects. I have also put forward the idea that similar mechanisms are responsible for the interpretation of definite covert objects and referential empty subjects (OC PRO) on the one hand, and indefinite null objects and non-referential subject *pro* or arbitrary NOC PRO on the other. I have presented in chapter four referential, phonetically covert objects in full detail. Now, I would like to focus on unspecified empty objects, i.e., the object version of 'little' *pro*.

5.2.1 The relation between the UOA verb and the semantic type of an object

As mentioned above, indefinite/unspecified, but pragmatically understood objects lay in the grounds of Unspecified/Indefinite Object Alternation verbs. We already know from chapter 4 that indefinite objects do not present available referents in the surrounding linguistic or extralinguistic context. However, as Velasco and Muñoz (2002) demonstrate on the basis of British National Corpus, there are examples which might seem to run counter to expectations:

(282) In the bakery, which operates from 6am to 3pm, 400 loaves are baked daily, along with rolls, cakes, pizzas and quiches. It is cheaper to **bake** _____ on the premises than buy-in food.

(283) The situation was desperate. There were no biscuits left, no scones or cakes, either homemade or bought. She'd been going to spend the next hour **baking** ____. As a last resort she cut a few squares of the fudge she had made earlier for her father and put them on a little plate, then led the way upstairs where she could plug the kettle in and set a match to the fire.

(Velasco and Muñoz, 2002)

In these two examples, we have potential referents for the understood object of the verb *bake*: *rolls, cakes, pizzas and quiches* in (282), and *biscuits, scones* and *cakes* in (283). However, it seems clear that in both cases the understood object refers to any 'bakable' thing, and not exclusively to the ones mentioned in the context (although most likely those ones too).

The examples in which the predicate *eat* appears with an understood object seem to offer similar results. Most of them clearly take an activity reading and, as expected, no available referent occurs in the surrounding context. Again, a few potentially problematic examples merit some comments. Consider:

(284) The brunette sighed and forked a piece of steak into her mouth, and as she began to chew, Jean-Pierre lost interest. He hated to watch people **eat** _____.

(285) There was a high wind blowing. The night had turned rough and the rattle from the windows had seemed to be emphasised by the silence during supper. They had almost finished **eating** _____ when Martin spoke.

(Velasco and Muñoz, 2002)

The two examples show possible referents for the understood object of *eat*: *a piece of steak* and *supper*, respectively. However, in (284) *eat* clearly refers to the activity of eating rather than to the eating of a piece of steak. Yet, the example (285) does seem to refer to the eating of supper, although the focus seems to be on the social activity of eating a meal.

We may conclude on the basis of these data that **indefinite** object omission serves to turn an accomplishment reading into an activity one, shifting the focus of the sentence to the verbal process. Consequently, if the focus in an activity is the verbal action itself,

rather than the result or effect upon the participants, those verbs whose objects are drawn from a restricted range of possibilities will be likely candidates to take understood objects. Such verbs may be included among Unspecified Object Alternation verbs.

5.2.2 Testing Unspecified Object Alternation against Polish data

In order to thoroughly examine UOA verbs, let me first list all of the verbs Levin (1993) includes in this class for English (in (286)). Under (287), you will find their Polish translations.

(286) <u>Levin's Unspecified Object Alternation for English</u>:
bake, carve, chop, clean, cook, crochet, draw, drink, dust, eat, embroider, hum, hunt, fish, iron, knead, knit, mend, milk, mow, nurse, pack, paint, play, plow (or BrE *plough*), *polish, read, recite, sculpt* (or BrE *sculpture*), *sew, sing, sketch, sow, study, sweep, teach, type, vacuum, wash, weave, whittle, write.*

138 (287) <u>Polish translation of Levin's Unspecified Object Alternation</u> (where necessary, more than one meaning of an English verb has been translated; sometimes there is only one translation for two English verbs, such as *vacuum* and *dust*: it is because they mean the same in Polish – hence, there is only one Polish counterpart for them two):
piec, kroić (wycinać, rzeźbić), siekać, czyścić (sprzątać), gotować, szydełkować, rysować, pić, odkurzać, jeść, haftować (wyszywać), nucić, polować, łowić, prasować, wyrabiać, robić na drutach, naprawiać, doić (dawać mleko), kosić, opiekować się (pielęgnować, kurować się), pakować/pakować się, malować, grać (bawić się), orać, polerować, czytać, deklamować (recytować, wyliczać), rzeźbić, szyć, śpiewać, szkicować, siać, studiować, zamiatać, uczyć, pisać na maszynie, odkurzać, myć/myć się (zmywać, prać), tkać (pleść), strugać, pisać.

Let us now investigate Polish equivalents of the English verbs which Levin lists among those that participate in Unspecified Object Alternation, and see whether they allow true null objects or not (notice that some English verbs may have more than one or two different Polish counterparts). Consider the following Polish sentences, taken out of context (for now, I will concentrate on the grammaticality of Polish sentences only; the acceptability of the corresponding English variants will be investigated in section 5.3):

(288) Janek piecze/piekł.
'John bakes/baked.'
[Four generic readings: Janek is/was a baker; baking is/was Janek's hobby; Janek can/could bake; Janek does/did not object to baking (contrary to most men).]

(289) Zosia rzeźbi/rzeźbiła.
'Sophie sculpts/sculpted.'
[Three possible generic interpretations: sculpting is/was Zosia's profession; sculpting is/was Zosia's hobby; Zosia can/could sculpt.]

(290) Zosia gotuje/gotowała.
'Sophie cooks/cooked.'
[Zosia is/was a cook; cooking is/was Zosia's hobby; Zosia can/could cook; Zosia does/did not resist cooking – it is/was not a problem for her.]

(291) Zosia *kroi/*wycina/*sieka.
'Sophie carves/chops.'
[Each variant has too many distinct items that could function as possible implied objects.]

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(292) *Zosia czyści.
'Sophie cleans.'
[She can clean anything; there is no one specific object that appears with the verb *clean* in Polish.]

(293) Zosia sprząta.
'Sophie cleans.'
[The most probable generic reading: Zosia is a cleaner.]

(294) Maria szydełkuje/rysuje.
'Mary crochets/draws.'
[Implied readings are respectively: crocheting/drawing is the way Maria earns for the living; crocheting/drawing is Maria's favourite activity; Maria does not resist crocheting (but not drawing); Maria can crochet/draw.]

(295) Tadek pije.
'Ted drinks.'
[Tadek is an alcoholic.]

(296) Marysia odkurza/je.
'Mary dusts/eats.'

[Implied typical objects are, respectively: *floor, shelves,* etc. / *meal*. Generic readings are, respectively: Marysia dusts (vacuums) often, taking care of her flat; Marysia does not suffer from anorexia – she has normal eating habits.]

(297) Joanna haftuje/wyszywa.
'Joanna embroiders.'
[Embroidering is Joanna's favourite activity; Joanna can embroider; Joanna does not object to embroidering.]

(298) Joanna nuci (melodię, piosenkę).
'Joanna hums (a melody, a song).'
[Typical implied objects are of the same category: *a tune, a melody, a song*, etc. The reading is that humming is Joanna's habit – she always hums something, whenever one sees her, and whatever she does.]

(299) Janek poluje.
'John hunts.'
[Hunting is Janek's hobby.]

(300) Janek łowi (ryby).
'John fishes.'
[Typical object: *fish*. Readings: fishing is Janek's hobby; Janek is a fisherman.]

(301) Tomek prasuje.
'Tom irons.'
[Typical object: *clothes*. Generic readings: it is Tomek who does ironing in the house; Tomek does not object to ironing – he irons if there is such a need or if he has to.]

(302) *Maria wyrabia (ciasto, glinę).
'Mary kneads (dough, clay).'
[There are two semantically diverse items with which the Polish equivalent for *knead* can occur, i.e., *ciasto* 'dough' or *glina* 'clay'.]

(303) Maria <u>robi na drutach</u> **e**.
'Mary knits.'
[There is no one-word Polish equivalent for English *knit*, but still there is a direct object missing (*sweater*, for instance), so we can consider it in terms of a true object deletion.]

(304) *Janek naprawia.
'John mends.'

[There are a lot of things that can be mended, so we cannot 'guess' which one of them the speaker means, unless some context is provided.]

(305) Janek doi (krowy, kozy).
'John milks (cows, goats).'
[There are few objects that one can milk, i.e., animals; each time the activity means the same: taking milk from a cow, a goat, etc.]

(306) Krowa <u>daje mleko</u>.
'The cow gives milk/is milking.'
[There is no one-word Polish equivalent for one of the meanings of the English verb *milk*. The object is a constant and inseparable element of a two-word counterpart, instead.]

(307) Janek kosi (trawnik)/orze (pole).
'John mows (the lawn)/plows (the field).'
[Typical objects: *grass, field*. Possible interpretations (apart from 'actual' present ones): Janek does not object to mowing – he does it whenever there is such a need/ Janek does not object to plowing – implied reading: he is a farmer.]

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(308) Zosia *pielęgnuje _{ACC}(kogoś)/*opiekuje się _{INSTR}(kimś)/*kuruje/ kuruje się.
'Sophie nurses (somebody)/takes care (of somebody)/nurses (herself) back to health.'
[The first three variants are ungrammatical, although the reflexive *się* appears in the second one (still, the sentence needs a complement). Therefore, we cannot be certain that whenever the reflexive turns up, we can drop the object. The last sentence is fully acceptable, meaning that Zosia does everything to come back to health. Here, *się* refers to *Zosia*, which is its antecedent, and the reading is not generic, but refers to present time only – thus, it is not an example of object drop.]

(309) Janek *pakuje/pakuje się.
John packs/packs REFL-himself
'John is packing.'
[The first Polish sentence is ungrammatical because there are a lot of items that can be packed. The second one is grammatical, but *się* does not refer to *Janek*, i.e., he does not pack *himself* into a bag or suitcase, but things that belong to him.]

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(310) Zosia maluje.
'Sophie paints.'
[The sentence seems to be an example of object deletion, receiving three possible generic readings: Zosia is a painter; Zosia's favourite activity is painting; Zosia can paint.]

(311) Janek gra.
'John plays.'
[Janek is a musician.]

(312) *Janek bawi [nas (swoim zachowaniem)].
'John amuses/entertains [us (with his behaviour)].'
[Whom? What personal characteristics make him funny? Ambiguous without an object.]

(313) Janek bawi się/Janek się bawi.
'John plays/has a good time.'
[If we understand *Janek* to be a child, then the sentences can have the following reading: Janek is playing with toys or with other children (at something). If by *Janek* we mean an adult, then the interpretation is that Janek is having fun. Each time, *się* seems to be an intrinsic part of the reflexive verb in Polish.]

(314) *Ania poleruje.
'Ann polishes.'
[There are a lot of things that can be polished. The sentence is incomplete.]

(315) Ania czyta.
'Ann reads.'
[Possible generic interpretations: reading is Ania's favourite activity; Ania can read *or* Ania does not resist reading.]

(316) Marek recytuje/deklamuje (wiersze, utwory literackie).
'Mark recites (poems, literary pieces).'
[Typical implied object: *poems*. Possible generic readings: Marek is good at reciting; Marek likes reciting; reciting is (a part of) Marek's profession.]

(317) *Marek wylicza (zarzuty).
'Mark recites (complaints).'
[There are too many distinct objects that can be implied: *advantages/disadvantages, complaints, mistakes*, etc.]

(318) Joanna szyje/śpiewa.
'Joanna sews/sings.'
[In both cases we have four generic readings: Joanna is a dress-maker/singer; sewing/ singing is Joanna's hobby; Joanna can sew/sing; Joanna does not object to sewing/ singing if asked to sew/sing something.]

(319) Zosia szkicuje.
'Sophie sketches.'
[Typical objects belong to the same sort of things: *pictures, portraits*, etc. Possible interpretations: sketching is Zosia's hobby; Zosia is good at sketching; sketching, Zosia earns for her living.]

(320) *Jacek sieje (panikę, zamęt, strach, nasiona).
'Jack spreads panic; confusion/inspires fear/sows (seeds).'
[Ambiguous: four distinct items are possible in Polish as objects: *panic, confusion, fear, seeds*.]

(321) Beata studiuje.
'Betty studies.'
[Beata is a student.]

(322) Beata uczy (innych).
'Betty teaches (others).'
[Beata is a teacher.]

(323) Beata zamiata (podłogi, hole).
'Betty sweeps (floors, halls).'
[Narrow scope of possible objects: *floors, halls*. Possible readings: Beata works in the cleaning service; Beata always/often sweeps the floors in her flat and one can see the effects of it whenever one visits her.]

(324) Zuzia pisze **e** na maszynie.
'Susie types.'
[A situation similar to that under (303): *robić na drutach*.]

(325) Zuzia pierze.
'Susie washes (clothes).'
[Three generic readings: Zuzia is a washerwoman; Zuzia does not resist washing; whenever Zuzia does something, it is washing.]

(326) Zosia *myje/myje się.
'Sophie washes/washes herself.'
[The Polish equivalent of *wash* cannot appear without an object because there is much more than one thing that can be washed. However, once we have a reflexive, the sentence is fully grammatical. We cannot call this an object deletion, though, since the reflexive functions here as an overtly realized anaphor for the antecedent present in the same clause, namely *Zosia.*]

(327) Zosia zmywa (naczynia).
'Sophie washes (the dishes).'
[Implied object: *the dishes*; possible generic readings: it is Zosia who washes up at home; Zosia's job is washing the dishes in a restaurant, pub, etc.]

(328) Hania tka.
'Hannah weaves.'
[Probably, Hania is a weaver, but the sentence has also another three generic readings, namely that she does not resist weaving, that it is her hobby, or simply that she can weave.]

(329) *Hania plecie (głupoty; koszyki).
'Hannah blabbers (talks nonsense)/weaves (baskets).'
[Two semantically distinct items possible in Polish: *głupoty* 'nonsense' and *koszyki* 'baskets'.]

(330) *Janek struga (wariata; drewniany kij; ołówki).
'John plays dumb/whittles (a wooden stick; pencils).'
[Too many semantically distinct items possible in Polish: *wariat* 'a madman', *drewniany kij* 'a wooden stick', *ołówki* 'pencils'.]

(331) Janek pisze.
'John writes.'
[Janek is a writer; Janek can write; writing is Janek's hobby.]

As the examples above show, Levin's (1993) semantic class of verbs participating in UOA, which is specified for English only, should be somewhat changed for Polish since not all of the verbs (or their multiple meanings) included by Levin in UOA actually allow object drop in Polish. As we already know, only the verbs belonging to Unspecified Object Alternation imply the items that qualify as typical objects of these verbs, inducing in this way some generic interpretations, and therefore such verbs can drop their objects. Thus,

the proper verb class triggers genericity, and hence licenses null objects. We could see in the examples (288)-(331) that only those sentences allowed object deletion which, usually apart from their 'actual' present reading, had also at least one generic reading. Let us look again at (291): *Zosia *kroi/*sieka/*wycina*. All three sentences do not have any generic interpretations. This, in turn, is due to the fact that each of them can take as possible objects too many distinct items, and not one or two typical objects of the same kind, as all UOA verbs do. Following this assumption, we cannot classify *kroić/ wycinać* and *siekać* among Unspecified Object Alternation verbs, as Levin does with their English equivalents: *carve* and *chop*.

Let us now come back to the question raised in chapter four concerning the verb *wash* and its Polish equivalent *myć*. It seems that we cannot list *myć* among the verbs participating in Polish UOA since it must always appear with a reflexive pronoun, functioning as an anaphor for the antecedent appearing in the same clause in the form of an Agent [see (326): *Zosia myje.* vs. *Zosia myje się*.]. *Myć* is just an ordinary transitive verb which normally cannot drop the object. As has already been mentioned in the fourth chapter, we can possibly omit the object after *myć* in certain contexts without any reflexive added (although it is questioned by some native speakers of Polish). Actually, it has already been stated in this book that there seems to be no such Polish verb that would not drop the object in a particular linguistic or extralinguistic context. Such cases, however, must not be treated as instances of a 'true' object drop. My proposal is that we should treat them, instead, as 'intransitive uses' of ordinary transitive verbs. Another example of intransitive uses of normally transitive verbs is an object deletion after conjunctions in Polish, which we could observe in chapter four. To conclude, every transitive verb can be used intransitively in some special context. 'True' null objects, on the other hand, are those which can be dropped anyway, i.e., not only in particular contexts (phone call, everyday conversation, etc.) or syntactic constructions (after conjunctions). Verbs allowing such 'true' null objects belong to Unspecified Object Alternation. Some may doubt whether such verbs are really those that permit the object drop, or are simple intransitive verbs. The difference between intransitive verbs in traditional generative accounts and Unspecified Object Alternation (i.e., verbs admitting 'true' null objects) is that while the former obligatorily do not take objects, the latter *may* not take them. The verbs considered as intransitive do not license null objects – they just cannot appear with any, just as *biegać* 'run', *mówić*

'speak', or *krzyczeć* 'scream' in (333).[18] On the other hand, verbs like *wyszywać/haftować* 'embroider' and *gotować* 'cook' can appear with an object or without it, allowing 'true' object omission, and thus they are included in UOA, as we can see in (332):

(332) a. Marysia gotuje. / Marysia gotuje warzywa$_{ACC}$.
'Mary cooks.' / 'Mary cooks vegetables.'
b. Babcia wyszywa/haftuje obrusy/serwety etc. / Babcia wyszywa/haftuje.
'Grandma embroiders tablecloths.' / 'Grandma embroiders.'

vs.

(333) a. Marysia biegnie. / *Marysia biegnie bieg$_{ACC}$.
'Mary runs.' / 'Mary runs a run.'
b. Marysia mówi/krzyczy. / Marysia *mówi słowa$_{ACC}$/*krzyczy słowa$_{ACC}$. (sounds artificial)
'Mary speaks/screams.' / 'Mary speaks/screams words.'

Notice that the meaning of zero object variants in (332) remains generic. We could see in all examples from (288)-(332) that generic sentences do not need any additional, specific context to delete an object. Therefore, genericity is a very reliable parameter as far as object drop is concerned (i.e., whenever the interpretation is generic, the null object is possible).[19]

Drawing conclusions from the above discussion, I propose to divide verbs into three groups:
- **I semantically transitive verbs**, such as *kroić, siekać, myć,* etc. These are verbs which must always have an object or a reflexive pronoun *się* functioning as an overtly realized anaphor for the antecedent present in the same clause [*myć*: see (326)]. I would like to maintain that these verbs could also be used intransitively in some special contexts or syntactic constructions (see chapter four for the phone call, reminiscences and conversation context);
- **II semantically intransitive verbs**, such as *biec* 'run', *mówić* 'speak', *krzyczeć* 'scream', *spacerować* 'stroll', *chodzić* 'walk';

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[18] However, they may occur with an object for the purpose of emphasis. Possible transitive uses of normally intransitive verbs will be discussed in secton 5.4.

[19] To recall, generic interpretations, in turn, are normally induced by verbs taking some typical items as their objects, and therefore these objects can be omitted (but the generic reading(s) is/are retained).

- **III Unspecified Object Alternation (or Deletion) –** verbs allowing object drop without any particular information or context added, our knowledge of the world being sufficient to assign to a verb an object that is typical or appropriate for it.

As far as the third group, i.e., UOA, is concerned, definite/indefinite (specified/unspecified) distinction is crucial for the object deletion phenomenon. Generally, indefinite objects can be dropped as their referents' identity is either unknown or irrelevant, being obvious or typical [as in the case of objects of *jeść* 'eat' and *pić* 'drink' in (334) below]. Unexpressed definite objects, on the other hand, must be recoverable from the context. Only in contexts in which both speaker and hearer are able to recover the unexpressed arguments [as in (335)] are these cases felicitous – it is in this sense that they are definite null objects. However, then we cannot call them 'true' null objects. Compare:

(334) Marek jadł i pił (cały wieczór).   (null objects)
    'Mark was eating and drinking (the whole evening).'

(335) (*In the hall*)
    A: Zaczekaj tu. Pójdę do kuchni i zapakuję ci trochę ciasta.
       'Wait here. I will go to the kitchen and wrap up some cake for you.'
    (*After a while*)
    B: Zapakowałaś?
       'Have you wrapped it up?' (intransitive use of a normally transitive Polish verb, which in addition is in the perfective aspect)
    A: Tak – dwa kawałki.
       'Yes. Two pieces.'

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To summarize, there are **four main related conditions associated with object deletion**:
- the verb should belong to UOA;
- the implied empty object should be indefinite (unspecified) or typical/characteristic for the verb;
- the imperfective (or *progressive* for non-Slavic languages) aspect is preferred, but not decisive; tense does not matter;
- one or more generic readings should be possible.

When all of the above conditions are fulfilled, we need no context in order to drop the object. Under (336) below, one of these conditions is not carried out (the aspect is perfective), and we need a special context to omit the object:

(336) Marysia to pracowita dziewczyna – żadnej pracy się nie boi:
i wypierze, i ugotuje, i naprawi, jak zajdzie potrzeba.
'Mary is a hard-working girl – she is afraid of no job: she will
wash, and cook, and mend, if there is such a need.'

(336) is not an instance of a 'true' object deletion. Compare:

(337) Marysia pierze/prała/gotuje/gotowała.
'Mary is washing/was washing/is cooking/was cooking.'

(338) Marysia *naprawia/*naprawiała.
'Mary mends/mended.'

In (337) the aspect is imperfective (although the tense changes), and the reading is generic without any context added, and thus the object can be freely dropped. Sentences under (338) are also in the imperfective, but the object cannot be omitted anyway. It is due to the fact that the verb *naprawiać* 'mend' is simply semantically transitive [in (336) it is merely used intransitively because of the context in which it appears]. Besides, the rest of the conditions necessary for object deletion are violated. According to my definition of object drop, the verb *naprawiać* 'mend' does not belong to Polish Unspecified Object Alternation because there are too many items that could function as its possible objects – there is no just one typical object (or one kind of objects) that is specified in the Lexicon for this verb. What follows, the reading cannot be generic. For these reasons, the sentence is ungrammatical without an object.

5.2.3 Similarities between the reflexive Accusative *się* and object *pro*

This section investigates the problem of object drop with particular attention put on reflexive verbs in Polish. Rizzi (1986) does not mention reflexive verbs as those which can allow null objects or *pro*. According to Dobrovie-Sorin (1999), Accusative *se* does not function as an object clitic, but rather as a morphological marker that affects argument structure at the level of the Lexicon. This section is a step toward extending the null object theory and its licensing schemata. Namely, I suggest that in some cases the reflexive *się* shares certain properties with *pro,* a view compatible with that of Rivero and Milojević-Sheppard's (2003). I will attempt to compare and reconcile my proposal with theirs. My discussion of the narrow class of reflexive verbs will be also helpful in establishing further, more

detailed criteria for what we can consider to be a 'true' null object phenomenon.

Some may claim that reflexive verbs cannot be taken into account as verbs allowing 'true' object deletion because the presence of the reflexive *się* itself makes object drop obvious (as *się* may be treated as replacing an object). However, it seems that the presence of *się* does not mean at all that we can drop the object. Sometimes the sentence without an object remains unacceptable, despite the fact that the reflexive is there, as in one of the sentences in (308), repeated in (339) below for convenience:

(339) *Zosia opiekuje się. (kim? czym?)
    'Sophie takes care.' (of whom? – INSTR)

Obviously, here we must extend the theory of object drop to dyadic predicates whose internal argument is not necessarily in the Accusative Case. For comparison, let us now look once again at (326), repeated below as (340):

(340) Zosia się myje/myje się.
    'Sophie washes herself.'

In this example, *się* behaves as an overtly realized reflexive pronoun, functioning as an anaphor for the antecedent *Zosia* appearing in the same clause. For this reason, we cannot call this example an instance of object drop. Compare it with (341), which contains Polish counterpart of English *beat*, or with (342), which presents the verb *przedrzeźniać* 'mock'. Neither of these verbs is included by Levin in UOA for English:

    Child language
(341) On się bije. [On bije (innych).]
    he REFL beats
    'He beats other people.'

(342) On się przedrzeźnia.
    he REFL mocks
    'He mocks others.'

Under (341) and (342), the clitic *się* is no longer functioning as an anaphor in the form of an overtly realized reflexive pronoun, the subject pronoun *on* 'he' being not the antecedent for *się* any more. Instead, *się* (just as an empty category or *pro*) refers to *one, us*, or *people in general*. Thus, the reference is generic and is not associated

with the discourse topic or the matrix subject. This indicates that the real-world 'victim' is not encoded linguistically, being determined entirely on pragmatic grounds. Therefore, we can say that *się* behaves here exactly like the indefinite, implicit object *pro,* whose referential possibilities are, according to Rizzi (1986), the same as those of an overt pronoun *us* or *them*, or NP *people in general*. According to Dobrovie-Sorin (1999), Accusative *se* cannot be said to be an object clitic because reflexives built with Accusative *se* do not behave as transitives, which means that reflexive *se* is not an object clitic. Thus, Dobrovie-Sorin is against the pronominal status of *se*. One may wonder, though, why reflexives built with Accusative *się* should behave as transitive verbs and take an object, if we assume that the object is already there in the form of the reflexive clitic. That is to say, why should the verb be 'double'-transitive? The object itself is omitted, and the reference is conveyed by the overt reflexive *się*, which refers to something that qualifies as a typical object of the verb [for instance, in (341) and (342) it cannot be *plants* or *cars*] – the feature recognized as important for licensing object deletion.

150 All in all, it seems that we can list the reflexive variants of the verb *bić* 'beat' and *przedrzeźniać* 'mock' (i.e., *bić się* and *przedrzeźniać się*) as the ones participating in the Polish version of Levin's Unspecified Object Alternation, to which we include verbs that drop the objects being typical of them. I claim that (309), repeated in (343), and (344) are also instances of an object drop construction since *się* does not refer to the subject of the sentence, but to the typical object of the verb:

(343) Janek pakuje się.
　　　John packs REFL
　　　'John is packing.' (*things that belong to him* – unspecified, typical object)

(344) Janek się buduje.
　　　John REFL builds (typical object: *a house*)
　　　'John is having his house built.'

Thus, the reflexive verbs can be analyzed in various ways. Sometimes, they can be treated on a par with 'true' null object constructions, where *się* – just as *pro* – refers to *one, us*, or *people* (generic reference) and implies something that qualifies as a typical object of the verb, as in (341)-(344) above and (345)-(347) below: [20]

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[20] Neither of these verbs, except *pack*, is included by Levin (1993) in UOA.

Child language

(345) On się przezywa.
      he REFL calls names
      'He calls other people names.'

(346) On się wyśmiewa.
      He REFL jeers
      'He makes fun of other people.'

(347) On się kopie/pcha/pluje.
      he REFL kicks/pushes/spits
      'He kicks/pushes/spits (at) other people.'

In other cases, *się* exhibits properties similar to those of overtly real-ized referential expressions or anaphora, and thus we cannot refer to such instances as 'true' object deletion constructions (*On myje się* 'He washes (himself)'). Still, in other cases we deal simply with lex-ically reflexive verbs which do not drop the object, *się* being just an integral and inseparable part of the verb (*opiekować się* – 'take care of someone'). Summing up, we can divide reflexive verbs as follows:

I reflexive verbs licensing null objects ('true' null object construc-tions – UOA);

II lexically reflexive verbs:
    a. not allowing object deletion, as *opiekować się* (the reflexive *się* is an integral part of these verbs and – just as the object occur-ring after it – can never be omitted),
    b. not allowing overt objects, as *spóźniać się* 'be late', *naburmuszyć się* 'get angry/upset';

III reflexive verbs, whose reflexive has an antecedent in the same clause or sentence, and thus functions merely as an overtly real-ized reflexive pronoun or anaphora (Compare: *Marysia myje **się*** 'Mary washes herself' / *Marysia uczy **się*** 'Mary learns' vs. *Marysia myje Zuzię* 'Mary washes Susie' / *Marysia uczy Zuzię* 'Mary teaches Susie').

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To conclude, the reflexive verbs used in the examples (341)-(347), contrary to those presented in (339) and (340), seem to allow 'true' null objects, so they belong to the first type of reflexive verbs pro-posed above, being at the same time included in Unspecified Object Alternation (UOA) for Polish. The reflexive verbs shown in (339) and (340) belong, instead, to the second and third type, correspondingly.

My proposal seems to work for Russian as well, although there is some difference concerning the reflexive occurrence, i.e., the verbs

that take a reflexive in Russian do not necessarily take it in Polish. Consider:

(348) (Russ.) Sobaka kusaet**sja**. vs. (Pol.) Ten pies gryzie.
                          'This dog bites.'

Polish equivalents of this particular type of examples do not involve the reflexive marker, but the meaning does not change. Both Russian and Polish sentence under (348) imply the same generic/habitual interpretation, and in Russian, just like in Polish, the implicit object refers to *people* in general, and not to *the dog*. In a word, Russian -*sja* does not have the antecedent in the sentence, referring to the typical object *people*, and thus, according to my hypothesis, we can treat it just as *się* in (341): *On się bije*, i.e., as an overt counterpart of object *pro.* Consequently, the verb *kusaet* 'bite' can be probably included in the first class of reflexive verbs listed above, i.e., UOA for Russian. Compare:

(349) ?Ten pies gryzie się. (or: ?Ten pies się gryzie.)
        'This dog bites himself.'

(349) has a syntactic structure identical to the Russian sentence in (348), but – despite this fact and contrary to its Russian equivalent – it is not an instance of object deletion. If we consider (349) grammatical at all, the only possible reading can be that the dog has fleas (and bites some parts of his own body in order to get rid of the unpleasant feeling of itch). Then, however, the antecedent of *się* (*pies* 'dog') is present in the sentence (*się* functioning as an overt reflexive pronoun), and thus the whole verb belongs in this case to the third group of reflexives. A similar situation occurs under (350) below:

(350) Ten pies się drapie.
        'This dog scratches himself.'

Thus, both (349) and (350) above are semantically comparable to the verb *myć się* 'wash'. Compare:

(351) Janek się drapie.
        John REFL scratches
        'John scratches (himself/others).'

Here, two interpretations are possible: i) Janek scratches himself to reduce itch (because he has a rash, for instance), or ii) Janek is rude because he scratches other children (child

language).[21] The choice of a proper interpretation depends here on some wider context. Nevertheless, only the latter reading could make us include *drapać się* 'scratch' in UOA.

Now, focusing on reflexive verbs that belong to Unspecified Object Alternation for Polish, I would like to point out the syntactico-semantic similarities and differences between the reflexive clitic *się* and *pro* in Polish. First, let me outline briefly Rivero and Milojević-Sheppard's (2003) hypothesis, concerning the nature of *się*, and check it for some of the examples discussed so far. Then, reconciling their view with mine, I will draw relevant conclusions regarding the empty category phenomenon.

Rivero and Milojević-Sheppard (2003) refer to reflexive pronouns in Slavic languages as Nominative Indefinite Pronouns (Polish and Slovenian) and Accusative Indefinite Pronouns (all Slavic languages). The first are found in Polish impersonal constructions with the clitic *się* and cannot co-occur with an overt Nominative NP, as in (352):

(352) Tutaj się pracuje/pracowało sporo.
    'Here people work/worked a lot.'

Rivero and Milojević-Sheppard (2003) claim that when the verb used in the impersonal construction is transitive, it must appear with an overt NP in the Accusative bearing a Patient/Theme role, which indicates that the pattern is active and supports the view that the reflexive clitic is Nominative (Nom). They provide Polish *czytać* 'read' as an example of such a transitive verb and hold that it must occur with an overt Accusative NP in affirmative clauses, as in (353), and a genitive NP in negative clauses, as in (354):

(353) Tę książkę czyta/czytało się z przyjemnością.
    'People read $_\text{PRES/PAST}$ this book$_\text{ACC}$ with pleasure.'

(354) Tej książki nie czyta/czytało się z przyjemnością.
    'People do/did not read this book$_\text{GEN}$ with pleasure.'

In what follows, I would like to argue against this view. I suggest that *czytać* belongs to UOA. As has already been said earlier, the verbs belonging to this class allow object drop since the deleted objects are typical of them. Therefore, the verb *czytać* does not need an overt Acc (or Gen) NP functioning as its object and, still, the

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[21] The latter interpretation is possibile only with a human subject. Generally, the semantics of the verb imposes some restrictions also on subjects in constructions with *pchać* 'push', *kopać* 'kick', *bić* 'beat', etc.

sentences remain grammatical and the pattern is active. The object is, instead, an empty category that appears after the reflexive verb, as in (355):

(355) Tutaj (nie) czyta/czytało się $e_{ACC/GEN}$ z przyjemnością.
'Here people (do/did not) read $e_{ACC/GEN}$ with pleasure.'

This empty category seems to be a null object, although the verb is reflexive. It is because the information about the object is not conveyed by *się*, which – bearing an Agent role – refers to the subject of the sentence. The clitic *się* should be opposed here to little object *pro,* which refers to the typical object of the UOA verb and bears a Patient/Theme role, as in (341)-(347). In other words, when *się* refers to object, bearing a Patient/Theme role, small object *pro* is conveyed by it and the object after the reflexive verb is redundant; on the other hand, when *się* refers to subject, it is just Nom Indefinite or subject *pro* bearing an Agent role, and the object can, but does not have to be overt. We can conclude that **when Nom Indefinite**, as Rivero and Milojević-Sheppard call it, **occurs in the form of the reflexive clitic, the deletion of an object after this clitic is optional**, as in (356):

(356) Tutaj czyta się (książki)/nie czyta się (książek) z przyjemnością.
'Here people read books_{ACC}/do not read books_{GEN} with pleasure.'

However, when small object *pro,* i.e., implicit object, is overtly realized by *się,* we must obviously drop the object after the reflexive *się* in order to avoid unnecessary repetition, as in (357):

(357) On **się** bije. [*child language*]   vs.   *On **się** bije innych.
he REFL beats   he REFL beats other people
'He beats other people.'

Rivero (1999) suggests that Acc Indefinites are the overt counterparts of object arbitrary little *pro* in Italian (Rizzi, 1986). Following Rivero (1999), I assume that also in Polish examples under (357) and (341)-(347), the clitic *się* can be called an overt counterpart of object small *pro*. This, however, raises an important question: namely, whether we can refer to null object as *pro*. Small *pro* and null object differ at least in one respect. Namely, while object *pro* is claimed by many (Rizzi, 1986, among others) to be human in nature, implying *one, us, me, them*, or *people* as object [like *się*, an overt counterpart of *pro* in, let us say, (341)], zero object or empty category *e* does

not always corresponds to humans or any sentient beings, as we have seen in (355), but simply means a typical object of the verb (*czytać książki* 'read books'). Yet, also *się* functioning as object *pro* in (343) or (344) does not have a [+human] interpretation. Therefore, we must not only extend the theory of *pro* to non-Accusative objects [(355)], but also revise it, subtracting [+human] feature, and adding [+typical] feature [(343), (344), (355)], instead. What is more, it is now clear that zero object or object *pro* is distinct from Nom Indefinite not only in reference: while the feature [+human] is not important as far as empty object is concerned, it is crucial for a Nom clitic, which always means people, and not things.

According to Rivero and Milojević-Sheppard (2003), *się* in (341) or (357) functions as an Accusative indefinite pronoun. They claim that Acc Indefinites show the following properties:

- they must bear Accusative Case (hence, Acc Indefinites);
- they resemble pronouns rather than anaphors. For instance, the gloss in (341) indicates that subject *on*, i.e., 'he', does not bind an object and is not co-indexed with the clitic *się*. Then, such a clitic is, according to Rivero and Milojević-Sheppard, comparable to a pronoun, not an anaphor. This sentence does not describe a reflexive action, but action involving two different sets of participants. On this account, following Reinhart and Reuland (1993), Rivero and Milojević-Sheppard (2003) argue that such sentences are not reflexive-marked and their clitics cannot be reflexivizers, being rather defective pronouns, instead. Besides, they propose that "Acc Indefinites are objects of verbs that do not favour reflexive readings and facilitate pronominal readings because they often describe actions detrimental to the Agent". As examples of Polish verbs used with Acc Indefinites, they give *kopać* 'kick', *pchać* 'push', *bić* 'beat', and *drapać* 'scratch' (all characteristic for child language). I have also added to this group *przezywać* 'to call sb names', *przedrzeźniać* 'mock/tease', *pluć* 'spit', and *wyśmiewać* 'make fun of somebody', but the list is, of course, much longer than that and the interpretation implies always *other people* or *the speaker*, but not *himself*;
- the third property is that Acc Indefinites denote a human or sentient being and lack gender and person;
- another feature is indefiniteness.

Yet, such reflexive verbs as *pakować się* or *budować się,* which have gone unnoticed in Rivero and Milojević-Sheppard's (2003) account,

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question the theory of Acc Indefinites outlined above, although they belong together with the verbs like *bić się* to one class of verbs, i.e., the Polish equivalent of Levin's UOA, which is of main interest to us here. The clitic *się* in (343): *Janek pakuje się* or (344): *Janek się buduje* shows some similarities with Acc Indefinite present, for instance, in example (341): *On się bije*. The *się* in (343) and (344) fulfils four of the characteristics of Acc Indefinite listed by Rivero and Milojević-Sheppard, i.e., it is in the Accusative Case, lacks gender and person, is not anaphoric, and is indefinite. The difference is that the action is not detrimental to the Agent at all and the object is [-human]. The *się* in (343) or (344) must not be compared to the Nom clitic in (352), for instance. In (343) and (344), it is [-human] and it does not refer to the subject, but to the object of the sentence; therefore null object cannot occur after the verb, being already conveyed by the reflexive. That is why the sentences in (358) and (359), similarly to that in (357), are ungrammatical. Here, the overt object (i.e., *rzeczy* 'things'/*dom* 'a house') is redundant, too, being already implied by *się*:

(358) *Janek pakuje się (swoje) rzeczy.
John packs REFL (his) things

(359) *Janek się buduje dom.
John REFL builds a house

All in all, *się* in (343) or (344) is very much like an overt realization of *pro,* although it does not display the feature [+human], listed by Rizzi (1986) and Rivero and Milojević-Sheppard (2003) as an important characteristic of object *pro*. However, also Rivero and Milojević-Sheppard's (2003) Acc Indefinite differs in some still other features from Rizzi's (1986) *pro*: namely, the verb taking it must describe the action that is detrimental to the Agent, being characteristic for child language at the same time. In a word, both Rivero and Milojević-Sheppard's (2003) Accusative Indefinite in (341) or (347) and *się* in (343) or (344) differ in some distinct aspects from 'little' object *pro* in traditional and current accounts. Nonetheless, they resemble it, both being indefinite in reading and lacking gender and person, and so being similar to each other as well (although Rizzi does not rule out that *pro* can show default specifications of person and gender). Moreover, as we can see on the basis of (341) and (343), for instance, they both can appear with verbs that are listed among UOA, functioning as typical, pragmatically understood objects of these verbs. Therefore, the Acc Indefinite like that under (341) and *się* as in (343), owing to their similarities, should be labelled as just one type of a

reflexive that can be compared to the empty category or 'little' *pro*, of which Acc *się* is an overt equivalent. Here, we have to revise Rizzi's (1986) theory of null object or *pro*, which is also adopted by Rivero and Milojević-Sheppard (2003). **I propose to broaden the indefinite reading of zero objects from sentient beings to inanimate things understood as typical of a particular UOA verb** [see (343) or (344)], **thus replacing the feature [+human] with the feature [+typical]**, which has not been mentioned by these linguists. **Moreover, I somewhat extend Rivero and Milojević-Sheppard's view of overt counterpart of *pro*, and accordingly of *pro* itself as well, by rejecting the condition of both detrimental reading of the sentence and child language as potential licensers of *pro* in the position of a reflexive clitic in Polish** [see (343) and (344), where the reading is not detrimental, and the language is not that of children's]. Since usually object *pro* is a non-referential Indefinite, meaning *other people* or *some typical things*, it should display the following features: [+indefinite/unspecified], [+typical], [-anaphoric].

5.2.4 Polish UOA finally established

Having discussed Polish equivalents of the verbs classified by Levin among UOA for English, distinguishing at the same time between context-dependent intransitive uses of verbs and object deletion, we can now move to establishing a list of Polish verbs participating in Unspecified Object Alternation. It looks as follows, the verbs being listed in an alphabetical order:

(360) Polish Unspecified Object Alternation
czytać, deklamować, doić, gotować, grać, haftować, jeść, kosić, łowić, malować, nucić, odkurzać, pić, piec, pisać, pisać na maszynie, polować, prać, prasować, recytować, robić na drutach, rysować, rzeźbić, sprzątać, studiować, szkicować, szyć, szydełkować,śpiewać, tkać, uczyć, zamiatać, zmywać.

Nevertheless, as we have seen in section 5.2.3, also some reflexive verbs may be included in our alternation, i.e., *budować się* 'build', *pakować się* 'pack', *bić się* 'beat', *przezywać się* 'call somebody names', *kopać się* 'kick', *pluć się* 'spit', *pchać się* 'push', *przedrzeźniać się* 'mock', *drapać się* 'scratch'. Notice that only the English (non-reflexive) variant of *pakować się*, i.e., *pack*, is listed by Levin among UOA. She did not include in this class any of the rest of the verbs just cited.

Concluding, to our list of simple verbs participating in Polish Unspecified Object Alternation, we can also add the reflexives selected

in section 5.2.3. Accusative *się* other than reflexives (inherent, inchoative, passive, or middle *się*) cannot even be assumed to correspond to suppressed arguments. They do not resemble 'true' null/implicit objects, and thus cannot be treated as overt counterparts of such.

5.3 Unspecified Object Alternation in English revisited and revised

Let me now check whether all of the English verbs that Levin (1993) lists among Unspecified Object Alternation for this language should really be there. Just as I have done it for Polish, I am investigating each English verb in a simple sentence without any contextual information added. Those verbs which sound natural without objects, implying one or two typical objects of the same kind, and thus triggering one or more generic readings, I have included in the class immediately. The rest, which might seem to be less obvious cases, I decided to discuss briefly, putting them in some more complex sentences for comparison. Consider:

(361) Mary bakes/cooks/crochets/draws/knits/sews/sings/types.

(362) John hunts/fishes/paints/reads/writes/sculpts (sculptures).

As we can observe, the simple sentences in (361) and (362) have the same generic interpretations as their Polish equivalents discussed in the previous section, i.e., ability or skills, profession, attitude, or just a hobby, so it is no use repeating them all for each English sentence separately. It is worth adding that all of the verbs shown in the two examples above, probably just as their Polish counterparts, can be used in the following construction as well:

(363) They learnt to cook/sew/fish/write, etc. at school/at home.

The construction presented in (363) proves that all of the verbs mentioned so far in this section are understood to have some typical object with which they normally occur (*sing a song*, *read a book*, *cook a meal*, etc.), and thus belong to Unspecified Object Deletion. Let us now consider the rest of verbs cited under (286):

(364) Ann studies/teaches.
   [Just as in Polish, each time only one generic interpretation is possible – it is respectively: Ann is a student/Ann is a teacher.]

(365) John mows.   (*the lawn* – an understood typical object for the verb *mow*)

(366) a. John plows. / John learnt to plow in his home village.
b. farmers plow (their fields) in autumn and spring. (typical object: *field(s)*)

(367) Jim irons (*clothes* – implied typical object).
[Implied readings are generic: Jim does not oppose ironing (probably contrary to most men) / He can do it: *Jim learnt to iron at home,* for example.]

(368) a. John milks (a cow, a goat, etc.) / John learnt to milk in his home village.
b. This cow isn't milking (very well).

(369) a. Susan dusts/vacuums (room) every morning.
[Her flat is always clean.]
b. Susan dusts/vacuums.
[She does not object to dusting/vacuuming; she can dust/vacuum.]

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(370) Susan hums (a song, tune, melody).

(371) a. Emma embroiders.
[Generic reading: she can do it. Typical object: *a decorative needlework picture* or *pattern*.]
b. She sat embroidering to pass the time.

(372) Cathy sweeps (the floor).

(373) a. Beth sows (the seeds, the field with grass).
b. That's the best time to sow.
c. One sows/should sow in April.

(374) a. *I stayed in bed and nursed (my cold).
b. She nursed (in a military hospital). / She spent some time nursing (in a military hospital). [= She was a professional nurse.]
c. Dorothy took up nursing. [= Dorothy became a nurse.]

(375) Sue washes (clothes).

(376) *Mary cleans (the car; house; glasses; her teeth/nails; marks off the table, etc.).

(377) *Tom kneaded (a dough; my back, etc.).

(378) *Stanley mends.   (the watch; the car; vacuum cleaners; other things of completely different sorts).

(379) *He carved.   (the wood into the shape of a bird; his initials on the tree, etc.).

(380) *John packed.
[what? – The question remains unanswered as there are few things that could not be packed.]

(381) *James plays.
[Without the context it seems impossible for us to 'guess' what it is that James plays: football, music, a game of chess, or just blind man's buff with his children.]

(382) *Amy polishes.
[Again, there are too many distinct objects possible: her French, silver, the dishes, glasses, a car, etc.]

(383) *He recited.   (a poem; his complaints – two different objects, as the verb has two different meanings)

(384) *Mary sketches.   (a portrait of a person; her plan to us)

(385) *John chops (the firewood; a path through the forest; onions; meat, etc.) every morning.

(386) *Tracy wove.   (fabric; story; basket, nests for birds, her way through the crowd; some branches together to form a roof)

(387) *Ally whittled (down; away).   (wooden stick; profits; the list of candidates)

It seems that some of the verbs Levin classifies as belonging to English Unspecified Object Alternation, such as *mend* or *recite*, cannot be actually included in it since they do not appear without objects. As we have observed, the simple sentences constructed with the use of these verbs have no generic interpretations, as they would have with most 'real' members of this class. It happens so because there are no typical objects in English specified in the Lexicon for the verbs under question. Instead, these verbs are often associated with two, three, or even more objects of completely different sorts. In such cases, dropping the object would produce ambiguity, as in (376)-(387). In these examples, it is just impossible for us to guess what kind of object is implied unless some context is provided. Then, however, we could not refer to such occasions as instances of a 'true' object omission. Taking into account all the above

considerations, I propose to revise Unspecified Object Alternation for English. According to the analysis conducted in this section, it looks as follows:

(388) <u>(Revised) English Unspecified Object Alternation</u>
bake, cook, crochet, draw, drink, dust, eat, embroider, hum, hunt, fish, iron, knit, milk, mow, nurse (to be a professional nurse)*, paint, plow* (or BrE *plough*), *read, sew, sculpt* (or BrE *sculpture*)*, sing, sow, study, sweep, teach, type, vacuum, wash, write.*

5.4 Transitive uses of intransitive verbs and intransitive uses of normally transitive verbs

Following Dobrovie-Sorin (1999), contrary to a long-standing tradition in both general linguistics and generative grammar, the subcategorization properties do not distinguish between transitives and unergative intransitives: both types of verbs may take a direct object (this is standard with transitives, but not uncommon with unergatives which may project a cognate object in their syntactic representation, e.g., *live a peaceful life*), but may also lack one (see unergatives in general, as well as the unergative use of transitives such as *eat, drink, write, read*).[22] Consider:

(389) a. Two young German women wept tears of shame for their country as the car left.   (newspaper corpus)
b. John smiled a wicked smile.
c. Tosca sang an aria.
d. He often went his route.

(390) a. Jouer le jeu.
'To play the game.'
b. Combattre le dernier combat.
'To fight the last fight.'

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[22] Note that such semantically superfluous NPs like these in (i) *dance a dance* or (ii) *sing a song* constitute apparent violations of Economy of Surface Representation (ESR). Indeed, Polish allows only an equivalent of (ii), while the equivalent of (i) is unacceptable: (i) **tańczyć taniec*; (ii) *śpiewać piosenkę*. In view of ESR, cognate objects should be tolerated only if their presence has non-trivial meaning consequences for the entire proposition. Accordingly, the acceptability increases if the object is modified by other constituents, as exemplified in (389) and (390).

     c. Vivre sa vie.
       'To live one's life.'
     d. Quel rêve je rêvai!
       'What a dream I dreamt!'
     e. Il pleure des larmes de joie.
       'He cries tears of joy.'

(391) a. La lune, si t'y mets une porte et tu regardes __ la nuit, tu peux être fier de ton boulot.
       'If you put a door on the moon and you watch __ at night, you can be proud of your work.'
     b. C'est pas lui qui l'a écrit, son livre, le pape, c'est quelqu'un qui lui écrit __.
       'The Pope didn't write his book himself, someone writes __ for him.'
     c. Why then do the psychic gifts often seem to tease __, confuse __ and obstruct__?
     d. This is a rhetorical platitude that presents the posture of a freedom fighter, when really it's the same old argument: Don't bite the hand that feeds ___.
                                 (Cummins and Roberge, 2003)

Since languages seem to allow a wide range of possibilities for conventionally intransitive verbs to appear with a direct object, as illustrated for French and English in (389) and (390), and for conventionally transitive verbs to appear without a phonologically realized direct object (391), Roberge (2002) proposes a syntactic explanation of the problem, rather than a semantic/lexical one. Cummins and Roberge (2003) further explain that such possibilities as those presented above "cannot be attributed solely to lexical properties of the verb; if this were the case, certain verbs would always be able to appear without their objects, regardless of the construction or discourse context, and others would never be able to appear without an object." Following Roberge (2002), null or implicit objects should be attributed to a Transitivity Requirement (TR), just as null subjects are ultimately due to the Extended Projection Principle (EPP). In accordance with the EPP, at the clausal level, a subject position is obligatory, whether it is internal to VP or externalized in the Spec of a higher functional projection. Thus, even when a verb does not select a semantically active subject, a subject position must still be projected. On the other hand, a VP-internal complement (object)

position is present only if the verb has properties that force this presence. Both in GB and Minimalism, for the subject position, the crucial concept is the EPP, seen either as a stipulation or motivated in terms of feature checking. Simply stated, the EPP forces the presence of a subject position at the clausal level. At the same time, the EPP is simply seen as irrelevant for objects. For the object position, there is no such concept. The TR suggested by Roberge (2002) is to fill this gap.

Surprisingly little is ever said about the object position itself, especially from the syntactic point of view. In fact, since the GB theory almost no coherent investigation devoted to this phenomenon was conducted. Therefore, Roberge's (2002) study is so valuable, the more that it is taken within formal syntactic Minimalist framework, based on the recent developments by Chomsky and others. Recoverability for the EPP is morphologically based, as in null subject languages, while recoverability involving the TR may also be semantically and pragmatically determined. Such recovery may be based on information derived from the verb's lexical semantics and Generalised Conversational Implicatures. Under Transitivity Requirement (TR), an object position is always included in VP, independently of the lexical choice of V. The empirical motivation of this hypothesis is to be the well documented evidence that any 'transitive' verb has the potential to appear without a direct object, and any 'unergative' verb has the potential to appear with a direct object. According to Roberge (2002), there must be a mechanism to generate the direct object position, either optionally or obligatorily. Roberge's TR conveys the concept of transitivity as a property of the predicate (the VP), rather than as a property of the lexical content of V. The TR is the internal argument counterpart to the EPP and is given by UG. Formalizing their approach, Roberge (2002) and Cummins and Roberge (2003) maintain that syntactic objects are a consequence of the predication requirement on the verb. The verb becomes a predicate by merging with a complement, as schematized under (392):

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(392) [adapted from Roberge (2002) and Cummins and Roberge (2003)]
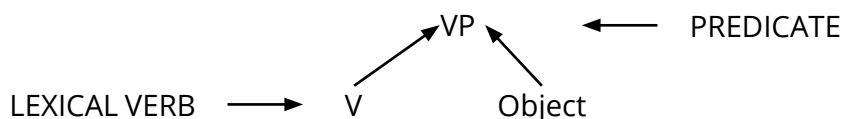
That is how Cummins and Roberge (2003) define unexpressed objects: "there is an x such that x is phonologically null, involved in the event denoted by the VP, and is not an external argument." This definition correctly excludes empty object positions that are directly linked to an element in external argument position such as in passives, unaccusatives, and middles, all of which cannot be treated as null object licensers, as already mentioned in this chapter.

Throughout the literature, both GB and minimalist, all the authors implicitly or explicitly adopt the position that the missing argument is not syntactically represented: syntactically the verb is intransitive. In a generative framework, this position finds a counterpart in Rizzi (1986), who proposes that both the arbitrary third-person human interpretation, meaning *people in general* or *some people*, and the prototypical-object interpretation (UOA), where the verb's lexical semantics identifies the object, are available lexically to saturate the argument's theta role and block projection. In a word, according to this view, the verbs belonging to UOA are intransitive in syntax. Thus, in line with this proposal, the prototypical object omission is not a 'true' null object *pro*. The absence of a syntactic object is to explain why, in Rizzi's account, the type of sentence exemplified in (393) is impossible in English: there is no object that can bind the anaphor or be modified by the adjective. However, such sentences are grammatical in Romance and Slavic; hence several accounts (Rizzi 1986; Authier 1989; Roberge 2002) posit a syntactically present null object in these languages:

(393) a. Ce gouvernement rend __ malheureux.   [French]
       Ten rząd unieszczęśliwia __.   [Polish]
       *'This government makes __ unhappy.'
   b. Une bonne bière reconcilie __ avec soi-même.   [French]
       ??Dobre piwo godzi __ z sobą samym.   [Polish]
       *'A good beer reconciles __ with oneself.'

I concur with Roberge (2002) that under the TR the object position is projected and the verb remains transitive in syntax. Although we do not find sentences like those in (393) in English, and some are problematic in Polish, there is nonetheless evidence that a null object has an effect on syntax in English, Polish, and French. For example, following Cummins and Roberge (2003), null objects can enter into a network of relationships with compatible pronouns, and sometimes require coreference, either with pronouns or with another null object, as the examples adapted from Cummins and Roberge (2003) and translated into Polish demonstrate:

(394) a. Ce roman amuse ___ quand <u>on</u> le prend avec humour.
    Ta powieść bawi ___, jeśli traktuje sie ją z przymrużeniem oka.
    'This novel amuses __ if one takes it with a sense of humour.'

   b. Qui aime __ bien châtie __ bien.
    Kto należycie kocha __, ten należycie karze __.
    'Who loves __ well, punishes __ well.'

   c. His attitude intimidates ___, until you figure out he's a phony.
    Jego sposób bycia onieśmiela/zastrasza ___ do czasu, gdy zrozumie się, że on udaje.

   d. It's better to reuse __ than to recycle __.
    Lepiej jest NOC PRO użyć ponownie ___ niż NOC PRO poddać ___ recyklingowi.

This network of relations, as well as the null object's interpretive features, once again shows that an empty indefinite object (394) is similar to empty non-referential/arbitrary NOC PRO subject, while a covert definite object (see chapter four for a detailed analysis of definite object deletion) is comparable to referential OC PRO subject. This shows the necessity, even under a lexical account, of projecting an empty argument in object position. Other examples proving this necessity are the following:

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(395) a. C'est une chose si douce que de louer ___, et surtout ses amis.
    Chwalić ___ jest słodko, szczególnie swoich przyjaciół.
    'To praise __ is such a sweet thing, and especially one's friends.'

   b. *C'est une chose si difficile que de partir __, et surtout ses amis.
    /??Trudno jest opuszczać ___, szczególnie swoich przyjaciół.
    'To depart __ is such a difficult thing, and especially one's friends.'

These facts argue, according to Cummins and Roberge (2003), against both the lexical and the constructional accounts, which treat such sentences as object-less. Under the TR, all null objects are syntactically represented, which ensures syntactic representation. This allows for an account of differences in referentiality and syntactic activity of null objects among languages.

According to Roberge (2002), the recoverability of null subjects is morphologically driven. On the other hand, the recoverability of null objects is semantically driven. Note that past participle agreement does not seem to be involved in the recoverability mechanism for the null object:

(396) a. Tu as dit la vérité à Pierre? Oui, je lui ai dit (*dite).
     'You told Pierre the truth? Yes, I have told (*FEM) him.'
   b. Tu as promis une bière à Pierre? Oui, je lui ai promis (?promise).
     'You promised Pierre a beer? Yes, I have promised (?FEM) him.'   (Roberge, 2002)

Roberge (2002) proposes the following descriptive generalization: an object position is given by the syntax and it can be left empty subject to interpretation. Transitives without objects do not become unergatives or intransitive verbs – they have an object, whether it is null or implicit. In short, a predicate must have a projected argument. According to Erteschik-Shir and Rapoport (2000), a verb always projects as a verb-complement structure, a predicate. The merged complement realizes a meaning component of the verb. Following Bowers (2002), we can assume the existence of a TrP (transitive phrase). Tr assigns Accusative Case to the object and the object moves up to Spec,Tr to statisfy an EPP feature of Tr.

As already stated, under Transitivity Requirement, an object position is always included in VP, independently of a lexical choice of V. In other words, there are only 2 possible frames: SVO (transitive and unergative verbs) and VO (unaccusative verbs; extends to SVO with the EPP). TR is the internal argument counterpart to the Extended Projection Principle (EPP), which requires that [Spec,IP] be realized (perhaps by an empty category) and reduces to a morphological property of Tense: strong or weak NP features (Chomsky, 1995). The EPP is clearly a requirement of the clause, in the functional layer of a clausal structure. Thus, the EPP is the subcategorization component of the presence of a subject. TR appears to be a requirement of the VP, in the thematic layer of the clause. As a result, TR is the subcategorization part of the presence of an object. This helps account for cognate objects and null objects, among others. That is why the Transitivity Requirement (TR) is compared to the EPP. Assuming that TR applies in the thematic layer of the clause, whereas the EPP applies in the functional layer, TR involves broadly defined semantic recoverability, whereas the EPP involves morphological recoverability conditions.

In this section, my intention was to demonstrate also the syntactic view of object *pro*, as a complement to my semantico-pragmatic/ lexical analysis presented so far and based mainly on Levin's (1993) UOA. Following Roberge (2002) and Cummins and Roberge (2003), I have opted for the existence of a Transitivity Requirement as a

syntactic condition based on structural requirements relating to V. This requirement gives rise to a thetic interpretation of the predicate (emphasis on the event involving the object, not on the object itself). The predicate is then opened to further interpretation based on the lexical choice of V and the functional make-up of the clause. What is more, Roberge's TR seems to fulfill the conditions of the latest developments in the MP. We already know that the **numeration** – introduced in 'early Minimalism' (Chomsky 1993) and kept throughout the 'classical period' (Chomsky 1995) – is the starting point of every derivation. It is the collection of lexical and functional items selected from the Lexicon that is to be used up by sending all items into the derivation. Hornstein (2005), in order stick to the Minimalist project as close as possible, further assumes that the mapping from a given numeration N to an LF object λ is subject to two conditions:

(397) *Inclusiveness Condition*
    The LF object λ must be built only from the features of the lexical items of N.

(398) *Uniformity Condition*
    The operations available in the covert component must be the same ones available in overt syntax.

The Inclusiveness Condition is meant to save us from the temptation of introducing theoretical primes that cannot be defined in terms of lexical features. Uniformity Condition does not ban the possibility that overt and covert syntax actually employ different operations, *if* the differences are independently motivated (in terms of the interface levels). If they are not, then a violation of the Uniformity Condition entails that Spell-Out is in fact being treated as a level of representation, being responsible for ruling out unwanted overt applications of 'covert operations.'

TR Condition proposed by Roberge (2002) and maintained by Cummins and Roberge (2003) fulfills both conditions provided by Hornstein (2005) and cited above. **Syntactic position for the object is ready to host it (syntax), which realizes Uniformity Condition, but the lexical choice belongs to the verb (Lexicon), which satisfies Inclusiveness Condition.** Levin's (1993) approach, based on verb's semantics and Lexicon, seems to fit into Inclusiveness Condition in particular. Generally, it seems that both Roberge's and Levin's proposals presented and supported in this chapter are right and work best together, which has been confirmed on the basis of

cross-linguistic evidence. This proves the necessity of investigating null objects within a semantico-syntactic framework.

In the following section, I will present the tree-diagrams for various forms of implicit-object-constructions.

5.5 Structural representation of implicit/empty objects

Roberge (2002) and Cummins and Roberge (2003) claim that all verbs are inherently transitive, and the fact that some take DO objects and others do not depends on the lexical choice of the verb itself. In their scheme, the object requirement on V parallels the sentential subject requirement encoded in the [EPP] on T°: it is a strictly structural notion, independent of factors contributing to the interpretation of that object. In accordance with the TR, I suggest that **all verbs require objects in the syntax, and it is lexical, semantic, and pragmatic factors that determine whether the object will actually be overtly realized**. I propose that **what is responsible for the presence/absence of an explicit object should or even must be associated with what is contributing to the interpretation of that object. Therefore, although all verbs are transitive on a syntactic level, they may be transitive or intransitive semantically** (see the lexico-semantic division on page 147-148). Similarly to Golędzinowska (2004), I assume for the current proposal that **every verb would merge with an object nominal, regardless of whether the nominal is pronounced or null**. At the same time, it coincides with the TR put forward by Roberge (2002) and Cummins and Roberge (2003), according to which all verbs are underlyingly transitive, regardless of whether they need an object or not. The cognate verbs like *dream, live, die, laugh, dance* are supposed to provide evidence for that. Consider:
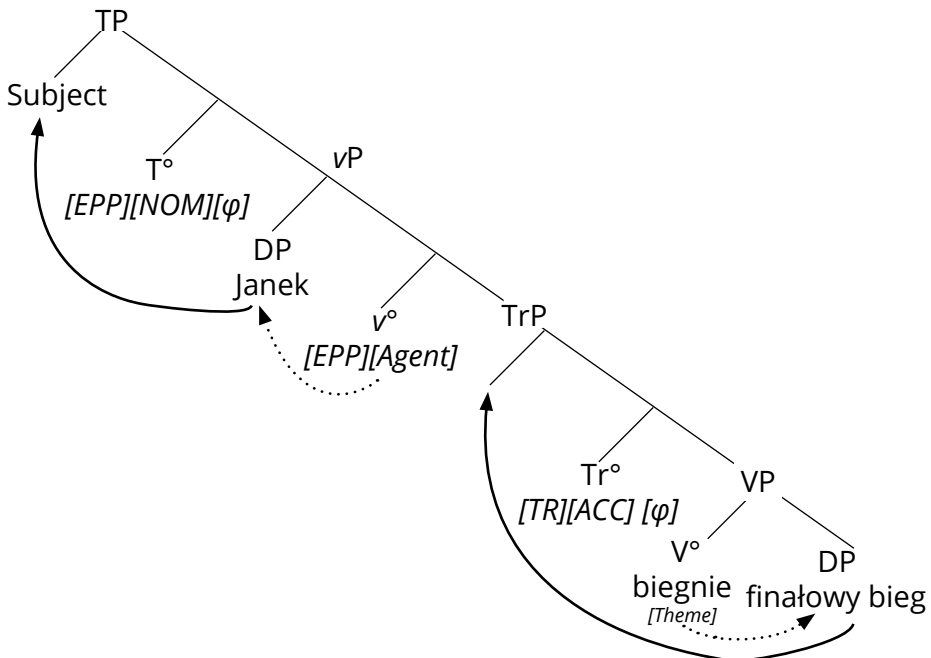
(399) a. John dreamt a frightful dream$_{ACC}$.
      Jankowi$_{DAT}$ śnił się-Refl straszny sen$_{ACC}$
    b. *Janek zaśpiewał arię$_{ACC}$.*
      'John sang an aria$_{ACC}$.'
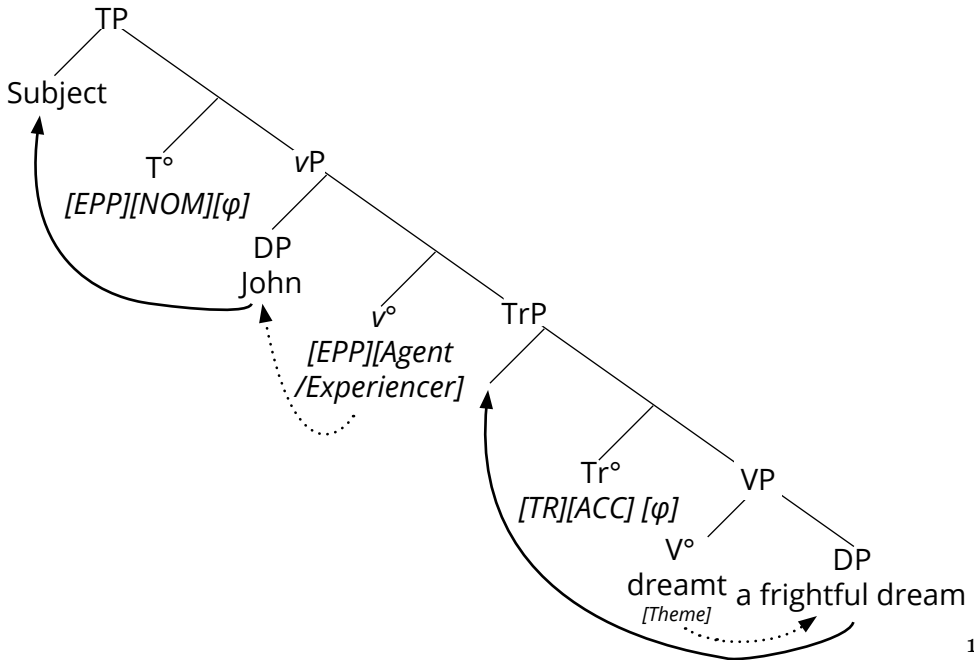
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Even the verbs such as *run* seem to behave like cognate verbs, as presented in (400):

(400) *Janek biegnie (dziś) swój pierwszy bieg*$_{ACC}$ */ finałowy bieg*$_{ACC}$.
    'John runs (today) his first run/a final run.'

Some sort of scale or degree of specificity of verbal objects has been also suggested in this chapter. At one side we would have the so-called 'cognate' objects, so specific and predictable that they do not usually appear in linguistic expressions. Examples of verbs taking them include: *dream, live, die, laugh, dance, sing* (see section 5.4). According to Lehrer (1970), cognate objects are believed to coincide with the selection restrictions on the object position, which make an object redundant if present in the actual expression. A second group of verbs take their objects from a very limited range of potential candidates, and therefore can be easily retrieved if omitted. These verbs are incorporated in UOA and comprise, among others: *bake, read, write, eat, sew*. The object omission after these verbs can be referred to as object *pro* which is syntactically present, despite being phonologically absent. It coincides with Roberge's (2002) Transitivity Requirement which I have adopted here, that is, an object position is always included in the VP, independently of a lexical choice of the verb. We have seen that also a limited group of reflexive verbs licenses 'null' objects as the reflexive clitic itself can be called a(n) (overt) counterpart of object *pro* (*bić się* 'beat others'; *pakować się* 'pack'). In order to stick to the minimalist assumptions, I propose that Polish *się* is framed within a version of minimalist checking theory (Chomsky 1999, 2001) as outlined in Bowers (2002). Following Golędzinowska (2004), I suggest that Polish sentences with unspecified/indefinite *się* as object are all transitive in the strict syntactic sense of Bowers (2002): the VP is nested in a TrP, which, in turn, is nested in a *v*P.

According to Bowers' (2002) and Golędzinowska's (2004) verb typology, as well as Roberge's (2002) and Cummins and Roberge's (2003) Transitivity Requirement, even Polish *się*-'unergatives' (*śmiać się* 'laugh') are not structural unergatives. They are supposed to have the transitive structure, containing an agentive *v*° and an object in Comp, VP. That is, the object position of these verbs is believed to be available for cognate objects, paralleling the English *laugh a merry laugh*. Golędzinowska (2004) considers that the structural object is present also in a small, closed class of regular transitive reflexive verbs of Unspecified Object Alternation (*kopać/bić się* 'kick/beat others'). These are the unspecified object constructions such as *Janek się bił/kopał* 'John$_{NOM}$ used to beat/kick (others)' discussed in section 5.2.3. In these sentences, the addition of *się* allows for an unspecified object reading, where the object is an entity different from the agentive subject. According to Golędzinowska (2004), the

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object is licensed by moving to Spec,TrP. However, she claims that, unlike in the reflexive reading, there are two DPs in the unspecified object reading: one checking [Agent] and one checking [Theme]. TrP is defective and headed by *się*; Golędzinowska (2004) argues that for this reason, the object cannot surface with ACC. Having received its Theme theta-role from V° and raised to Spec,TrP to check [EPP], the object DP in the unspecified object construction surfaces as a phonetically null DP. Thus, according to Golędzinowska, both *się*-'unergatives' and unspecified object constructions are underlyingly transitive – both have Agents and objects:

(401) (adapted from Golędzinowska, 2004)

Się-unergatives and unspecified object constructions with się [Agent] checked with overt DP; [Theme] checked with cognate or null object DP
a. *Janek się śmieje.*
   Janek Refl laugh
   'John is laughing.'
b. *Janek się bije/kopie.*
   John_{NOM} REFL beat/kick_{PRES.3SG}
   'John beats/kicks (other children).' (about a child's bad behaviour)
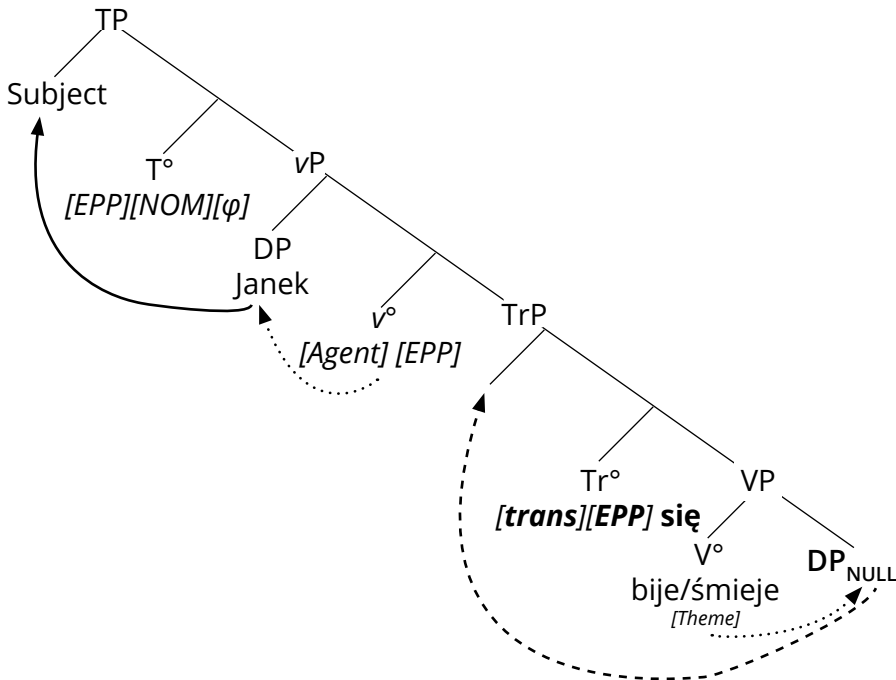
The structure in (401), proposed by Golędzinowska, relies on the presence of the structural position for objects. As we can see, Golędzinowska treats *się*-'unergatives' on a par with unspecified object constructions which involve phonologically null internal arguments. These arguments are theta-saturated because of the strong interpretation of the presence of a Theme and an Agent. In the approach presented, these arguments check the relevant theta-features, and so must be active in the syntactic derivation. They cannot, by the feature-movement account of theta-roles, be present only at LF. The syntactic mechanism licensing such arguments is Roberge's (2002) TR mentioned above.

I propose a somewhat different analysis. Namely, I suggest comparing *się* in UOA verbs like *bić się* 'beat' with *pro*, instead of treating the reflexive clitic *się* as a licenser of a separate null object position after the reflexive itself. **Się in *bić się* 'beat others' is just an overt counterpart of null object *pro*, and should be kept separate from the inherent reflexive clitic like that in** śmiać się **'laugh'**. As a result, the structural representation like that under (402) below better accounts for this relation, contrasting at the same time with the structure presented in (401):

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(402) *Janek się bije/kopie.*
John$_{NOM}$ REFL beat/kick$_{PRES.3SG}$
'John beats/kicks (other children).'
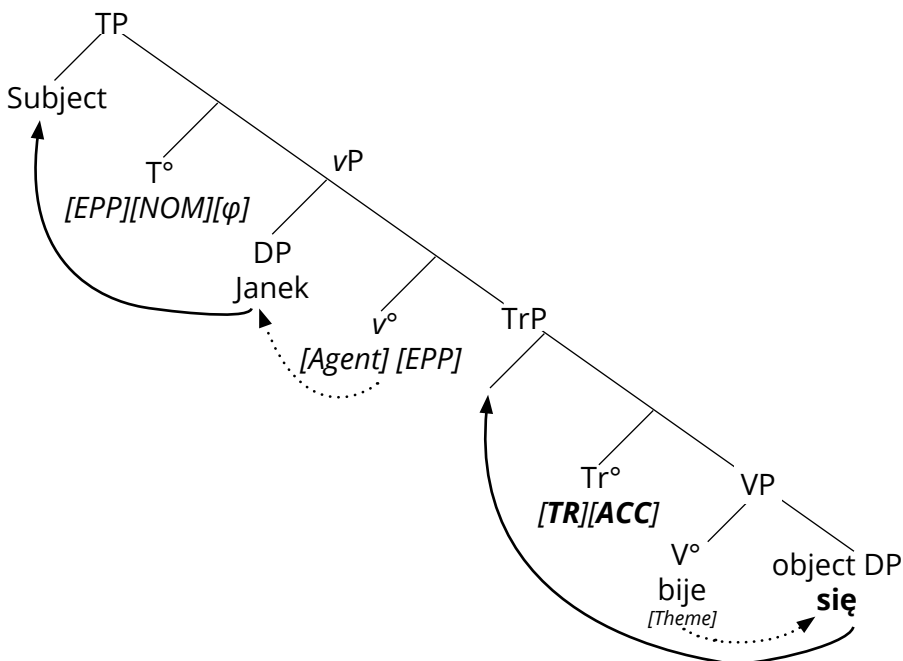
According to Bowers (2002) and Golędzinowska (2004), φ-incomplete *się* cannot assign ACC. Since theta-assignment is separate from Case assignment in this system, the presence of *się* does not change or reduce the thematic requirements of the verb. Depending on the lexical meaning of the verb, the derivation may include internal and external theta-roles satisfied by a merge of a DP into the structural positions. Bowers treats Case as a feature checked along with [EPP] and [φ]. If the assignment of ACC correlates with checking [EPP] and [φ], then in order to assign ACC, Tr° must bear these features.

    I propose that sentences like that in (402) above (*Janek się bije*) surface with ACC: Tr° searches for a (local) category to check the equivalent of the [EPP] for internal arguments, i.e., [TR] and, as a result, assigns default ACC Case to *się*. The object DP, having the internal theta-role transferred from its sister V°, is a felicitous goal for Tr°. The DP moves by short object movement and merges in Spec,TrP, checking the (required) default features on Tr°. The result of this Specifier-Head relation in TrP is the assignment of ACC to the DP. Eventually, Case can be assigned post-syntactically as a reflex of particular syntactic configurations (also subject *pro* is a post-syntactic (PF) phenomenon: see chapter 2 for Holmberg, 2005). Thus, we can ultimately refer to unspecified *się* in object positions as an Accusative Indefinite (see Rivero and Milojević-Sheppard, 2003) or an overt counterpart of object *pro* occurring after UOA verbs like *eat*. Consider:
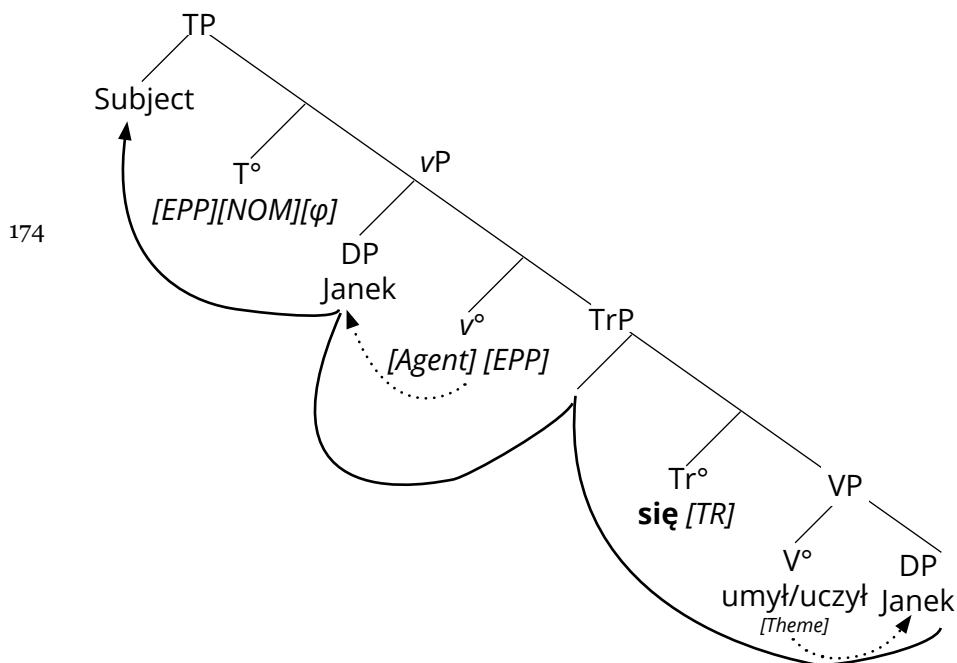
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(403) *Janek je.* 'John eats.'
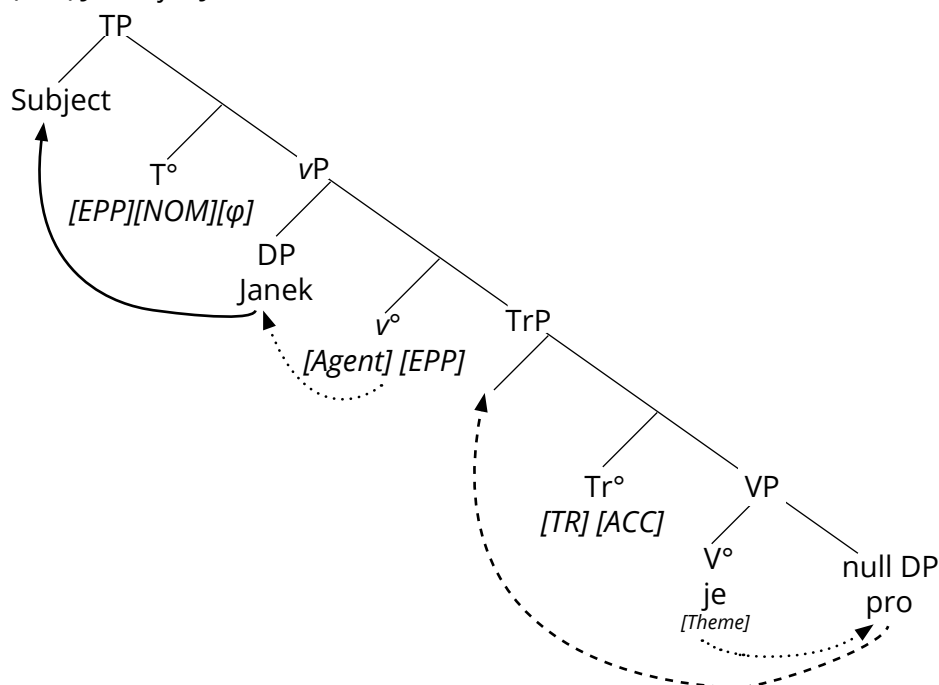
For comparison, let us now look at the structural representations of the anaphoric/referential *się* in verbs like *myć się* 'wash' or *uczyć się* 'learn' (the third group of reflexive verbs – see the division on page 153):

(404) a. *Janek się umył.*
 John Refl washed
 'John washed (himself).'
 b. *Janek się uczył.*
 John Refl learned
 'John learned.'

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All in all, we may assume that φ-incomplete indefinite *się* probes for Spec,TrP to check the required [transitive] features on Tr° [T(ransitivity)R(equirement)]. The Transitive Phrase merges with VP headed by the lexical V° with an inherent Transitivity Requirement (Roberge, 2002; Cummins and Roberge, 2003). What is more, this proposal agrees with Hornstein's (1999) feature-movement approach to theta-roles, allowing a single DP to check multiple theta-roles of the verb via syntactic movement. This particular syntactic treatment of unspecified *się*, together with a feature-movement

approach to theta-theory, neatly covers the morphosyntactic properties of reflexives in Polish, creating a novel, syntactic theory of null objects and Accusative reflexive clitic *się* in minimalist assumptions.

5.6 Conclusions

The aim of the study conducted in the last two chapters was to investigate the phenomenon of object drop. The theoretical background presented in the first chapter of this monograph, as well as the analysis of the issue made mainly on the grounds of Polish and English in the fourth and fifth chapter, reveal the important object *pro* licensing schemata in these languages. Namely, they both share at least one and surely most crucial characteristic with relation to null object, i.e., Unspecified Object Alternation. As we have seen, the verbs participating in this class allow the deletion of objects being typical of them, inducing in this way generic interpretations. Both Polish and English possess such verbs, although they may be not exactly the same in the two languages. Therefore, contrary to the common view (e.g., Authier, 1989), we may conclude that **English *does* allow zero objects**. In addition, having established UOA list for Polish and having revised Levin's list for English, I assume that it is possible to identify semantically equivalent and coherent classes of verbs, allowing optional object structures, although the contents of these classes may differ across languages.

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    Moreover, I challenge another popular hypothesis (Yadroff, 1995, 1994; Babko-Malaya 2003; Verkuyl 1993, 1999, among others) that perfective verbs in Slavic do not permit object drop, and that aspect to a great extent influences object deletion. The diversity of other, much more important object drop determinants, such as genericity, indefiniteness, and Unspecified Object Alternation, demonstrated in chapters four and five on the grounds of extensive cross-linguistic evidence, shows that there is no strict correlation between the aspectual form of the verb and obligatory realization of its internal arguments. I have also indicated in the two chapters that similar *pro*-licensing factors seem to apply to both English and Polish, usually co-occuring in null object constructions in these languages. However, there are some differences as far as definite/indefinite distinction is concerned. For instance, whereas the ellipsis of direct objects with definite reference is widely possible in Polish, it is impossible both in Spanish and in English, except some special

contexts, like recipes. Thus, while direct object ellipsis is a highly productive process in Polish, it is extremely limited in English.

Nevertheless, the parameters responsible for object drop clearly show that argument omission is a complex phenomenon which affects two main grammatical areas: the Lexicon and discourse or context in a broad sense. These parameters are (i) type and nature of verbal object ('typicality' and indefiniteness) and (ii) verbal class or verb's semantics as far as Lexicon is concerned; (iii) structural omission and (iv) discursive/situational context as far as pragmatics is concerned. Object *pro* – similarly to Holmberg's (2005) subject *pro* – is an empty category independent from morpho-syntactic features and can be assumed as a post-syntactic (PF) phenomenon as well. Just like 'true' subject *pro*, it does not rely on morphological properties of the verb or Infl (Agr), but depends on the lexico-semantic nature of a given verb. Object-drop can also rely on a wider discourse context or pragmatics – then we can probably refer to it as a discourse object-drop, just as we do in the case of discourse (or 'radical') pro-drop pertaining to empty subjects (see the second chapter on null subjects: Neeleman and Szendrői, 2005; Holmberg, 2005). Syntactic view that aspect influences object drop is also right, although its importance is exaggerated. Aspect may be a crucial null object licenser in some languages (like Russian), but in others it plays a minor role (Polish). Nonetheless, the syntactic proposals offered in Roberge (2002) and Golędzinowska (2004), concerning Transitivity Requirement (TR) and Transitive Phrase (TrP), respectively, seem to work cross-linguistically.

Thus, the most important conclusion reached here is that we can achieve far more predictive power regarding object drop than was previously thought possible. Ellipsis is not a purely discourse or Lexicon-oriented phenomenon whose functioning lies beyond the reach of explicit rules; rather, it is a phenomenon that is influenced by syntactic, lexico-semantic, and pragmatic factors alike (whose relative weights differ from context to context). In order to gain maximal predictive and explanatory power, we must categorize examples according to the combination of factors that affect their ellipsis possibilities. In other words, as I have already pointed out in chapter four, different syntactic constructions and semantic interpretations in Polish may require different approaches to object drop, although usually most null object licensing factors coincide in the sentence. **We have observed that various semantic analyses, as well as the recent minimalist approaches in the field of syntax, provide**

best explanation for the object-drop phenomenon when put together. That is why it would be advisable to create a new theoretical framework which would better account for empty objects and ACC reflexive clitics than any present theory does (GB, MP, and various semantic approaches). The best solution would be 'Context Minimalism', combining context/discourse/ pragmatic and syntactic factors alike.

Moreover, we must bear in mind that object drop phenomenon has a cross-linguistic nature, and there may be different factors licensing it, which is due to parametric variation among world languages.
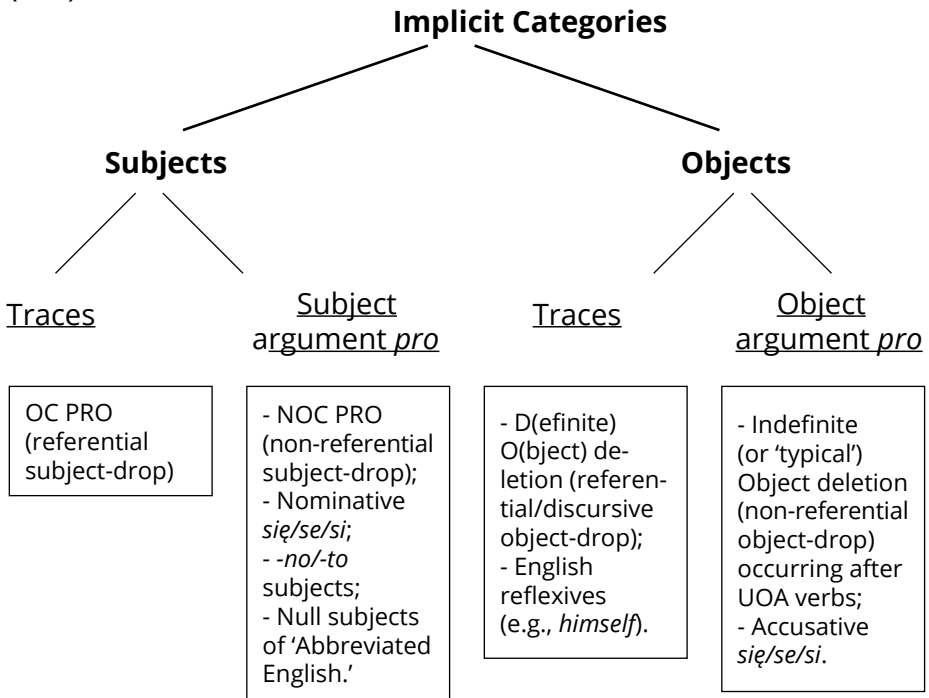
6 Conclusions

The aim of this book was to classify and interpret empty subjects and objects in the light of the recent minimalist developments. It turned out, though, that sometimes it is not possible to advance the current assumptions concerning empty categories without taking into consideration also lexico-semantic accounts. Moreover, investigating such implicit subjects and objects in context sheds more light on the problem. So far, the phenomenon of covert categories has been explained in purely syntactic terms, putting aside the pragmatic factors licensing null categories, such as context or special language register (like 'Abbreviated English' in the case of null subjects). Hopefully, I have managed to demonstrate a somewhat broader perspective with reference to subject and object ellipsis, which may constitute a starting point for further research, extending the traditional Minimalist Program to a new framework that would also address the lexico-semantic and pragmatic issues alike. Such framework could be termed as 'Context (or Discourse) Minimalism', covering in this way the phenomena that traditional syntactic theories were unable to account for properly, and so multiplying the research possibilities. For instance, the unpronounced subject of the written register of diaries is not syntactically identified within the clause, but its reference is recovered by its being connected to the surrounding discourse. As stated by Rizzi (2000), this type of discourse identification is only possible when syntactic identification is impossible, namely, when the unpronounced subject is in the structurally highest position in the clause, so that there is not any

prominent category that can in principle act as an identifier. This is why the subject omission in the written registers of English is limited to the highest position of root clauses. Following Haegeman's (1990, 1997) syntactic analysis, we may consider the above null subjects in English as instances of an antecedent-less empty category with optional pronoun ellipsis available in certain registers. Yet, Haegeman's analysis manages to account only for the data on non-overt subjects in diaries. However, as we have seen, the phenomenon of null subject arguments is not restricted to marginal registers of the language. It is in fact extremely common in colloquial speech in general, perhaps even to the extent that overt expression of the subject could be regarded as the marked option. Besides, Haegeman's investigation (1990, 1997) was couched in the classical Principles-and-Parameters framework. The development of this framework along minimalist lines has led to significant revision of many fundamental aspects. These revisions mean that analyses within the Principles-and-Parameters framework often require substantial reanalysis before they can be stated in a Minimalist framework. In my opinion, the difference between these particular contexts that allow empty subjects in English and those where the subject must be overt appears to reduce to a single property of the grammar: in the former, but not the latter, the clause may be truncated so that the highest functional projection is not projected. This is possible because in these situations the discourse context is restricted; hence, the highest functional projection is not required to mediate discourse relations. In a Minimalist framework, all the distributional constraints on these null arguments observed by Haegeman (1990) follow from this single basic property. Finally, the grammar does not necessarily provide identification for the null argument in such circumstances. Instead, the null argument may have to be identified with some entity salient in the context of the utterance. Therefore, alongside and complementing this syntactic analysis, I proposed that certain pragmatic conditions relating to the context and the abilities and preferences of the speaker must also be met in order to license these instances of subject drop in 'non-pro-drop' English. Also, as we have seen, there are instances of so-called 'true' object drop and contextual/discursive object deletion. Although, as I have argued, we cannot call the latter an instance of object *pro*, we cannot ignore it if we want to gain a full understanding and provide a detailed classification of all implicit elements of grammar. That is, as we have seen so far, it seems impossible to investigate object drop without

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taking into consideration lexico-semantic and discursive/pragmatic approaches – they are just indispensable for a proper partition and interpretation of empty objects in particular (recall verb alternations and object semantics), and thus help us gain a much more explanatory power. Hence, Context/Discourse Minimalism would be the best framework to account for both the distribution and interpretation of such phenomena, and not only for their distribution, as it used to be in syntactic theories. That would help us to divide null categories into a 'true' subject/object *pro* and just a(n) trace/anaphor.

This monograph was to offer a more uniform, refined treatment of empty categories, classifying and interpreting them properly. Now, I would like to sum up my proposals. Let me start from the classification of Implicit Categories, depicted in the following diagram:

(405)

Implicit Categories

Subjects

Traces

Subject argument *pro*

OC PRO (referential subject-drop)

- NOC PRO (non-referential subject-drop);
- Nominative *się/se/si*;
- *-no/-to* subjects;
- Null subjects of 'Abbreviated English.'

Objects

Traces

Object argument *pro*

- D(efinite) O(bject) deletion (referential/discursive object-drop);
- English reflexives (e.g., *himself*).

- Indefinite (or 'typical') Object deletion (non-referential object-drop) occurring after UOA verbs;
- Accusative *się/se/si*.

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Notice that I have not included in the above classification the 'inflectional' subjects characteristic for languages with 'rich' inflection and agreement. *Pro* cannot be identified by Agr (the φ-features of I) since Agr is uninterpretable in the Minimalist theory. Thus, the implicit, so-called 'inflectional' subjects in Polish cannot be referred to as 'empty subjects'. I agreed with Kato (1999) that suffixes in null-subject languages like Spanish, Italian, or Polish function very much like 'weak' pronouns. They carry all the phi-features necessary for a proper interpretation of a subject. Thus, they are not instances of *pro*, but ordinary pronouns in the form of an affix. Therefore, I was following a similar line of reasoning as Holmberg (2005). Yet, Holmberg (2005) argues that languages like Polish (i.e., with subject agreement) cannot have a *pro* subject which is inherently unspecified for φ-features at all. In his proposals, he does do not take into account impersonal *się*-constructions and non-finite clauses as possible locations for subject *pro*. This is what I tried to do in this book. As a result, the discussion presented and solutions proposed in this work are rather different from his suggestions, although owing much to his insights. In a word, I have shown that the instances of a 'true' *pro* subject actually exist in languages with rich inflection and agreement, which challenges Holmberg's (2005: 558) hypothesis, according to which "*pro* exists, but only in languages which do not have agreement". Nevertheless, the traditional theory of *pro* subject, as presented in Rizzi (1986), ought to be revised. Namely, *pro* should not be viewed as an agreement-based phenomenon. As a result, its place of occurrence is different from that usually described: it should not be looked for in finite, 'inflectional' clauses at all, but in non-finite constructions. In other words, the arbitrary/ indefinite subject of infinitival and gerundive constructions (NOC PRO) is *pro*, as suggested by Hornstein (1999). After all, NOC PRO, similarly to *pro* in Rizzi's (1986) terms, plays the role of a subject in a sentence and is inherently deprived of phi-features, although it is clearly showing a human feature. What is more, it does not depend on agreement (that is, the inflectional suffix on the verb) for its interpretation, which coincides with Holmberg's (2005) Minimalist theory of *pro*.

Since English is not a 'pro-drop language' in a traditional sense, the classification under (405) may seem to be quite controversial. However, as English NOC PRO shares many features with its Polish equivalent, they should be derived in a similar way. Thus, following

Hornstein's proposal that *pro* accounts for NOC PRO, we may assume that English does have its subject *pro*. As can be seen in (405), I have also included there the null subjects of 'Abbreviated English', which were investigated in chapter 2. Since English inflection is poor, the verb form does not tell us much about the person, gender, and number of the dropped subject – at least, not of all the three features simultaneously: some of them are defective/incomplete, sometimes even all, and then the verb is inflected only for Tense. The subject is recovered pragmatically, or on the basis of extra-linguistic context – just like in the case of arbitrary *pro* in my theory (recall the source of interpretation of NOC PRO and Nom *się*). In other words, such dropped subjects in some English registers can be called 'small' *pro* subjects because they are deprived of a full set of phi-features and are not agreement-based (in compliance with our new definition of *pro*).

Locating *pro* in non-finite, as well as in the so-called 'impersonal constructions' (constructions with *się/se/si* and *-no/-to*) is not only novel, but may also seem to be quite divisive. In chapter 3, I have shown that the impersonal constructions indeed possess such implicit subjects, similar to NOC PRO or *pro* in minimalist terms presented in chapter 2. In their impersonal use, the reflexive clitics of Italian, Polish, and Spanish display comparable properties. The subject is not specified. Each sentence has a generic meaning, introduced by *si*, *się*, or *se*. The verb in such constructions is invariable, that is, in a default form without agreement, which is compatible with the new minimalist version of *pro*. The impersonal *se/si/się* requires Nominative Case, an idea supported by Rivero (2002). The facts proving this include (i) the morphological ACC(usative) on the overt object NP, which is viewed by many as an indication that the construction is 'active', and not 'passive', (ii) the preposition *a* preceding the overt NP in Spanish, and (iii) *se/się* combined with an ACC clitic. Another factor favouring Nominative Case is that only those Polish modals that accept Nominative subjects may co-occur with the impersonal. The Nominative Case is also attributed by many to implicit subject *pro*, which also stands for an understood subject in the sentence. I suggest that *pro* bears exactly the Case that an ordinary overt lexical subject would bear in a parallel finite environment. One may also assume that *pro* bears default Case rather than structural Infl-Case, i.e., it does not require predicate agreement, but default non-agreeing predicate forms (just as the implied subject *się*).

All in all, I have shown that although it is visible at PF, the impersonal *se/si/się* behaves like a covert, generic pronoun rather clearly, and should be viewed as an overt counterpart of arbitrary, empty subject *pro*, defined by Rizzi (1986). There are at least a few causes for this line of reasoning. Similarly to *pro*, *se/si/się* plays the role of the subject, it has no phi-features, except a human feature. It also appears in structures without subject-verb agreement (establishing a default morphological connection with the verb), which in turn coincides with Holmberg's (2005) definition of a 'true' subject *pro*, as occurring independently from Agr. Nominative indefinite *się* is not a locally-bound reflexive, and it cannot be compared to traces or OC PRO. It is pronominal, not anaphoric, since its interpretation does not rely on any antecedent. Thus, from the two types of 'big' PRO offered by minimalists, Polish Nominative *się* resembles the NOC one. It would be impossible to compare such NOM *się* with PRO formulated in GB terms, a view opposite to that suggested by Rivero and Milojević-Sheppard (2003): Nominative *się* does not need an antecedent for its interpretation, and therefore it is neither an anaphor, nor the mixture of an anaphor and pronoun, as PRO used to be described in the PRO Theorem. Following the minimalist account advanced by Hornstein (1999), I presume there is no such formative as PRO in grammar, and therefore the theory of PRO should be revised not only for English, but also for Polish, and perhaps universally. The remnant of this formative, i.e., NOC PRO, is not a separate category, but constitutes a part of a widely known and formerly established subject *pro* group, to which I have also added Nominative *się*. Thus, I propose that the subject *się*, as a pronominal reflexive clitic with an implicit, pragmatically understood, or arbitrary interpretation, belongs to a subject *pro* class – just like NOC PRO, which shows the same interpretive features. Nonetheless, this *pro* is different from *pro* in GB terms: it does not rely on Agr. This revised, minimalist version of subject *pro* is not met in finite environments, as proposed within GB theory. To illustrate this, recall the examples from chapter 3, repeated below for convenience:

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(406) *pro* _{in GB terms} Stoi na parkingu. (*a car*, *a human*, or *an animal*)
     stands(3SG) on a car-park

(407) *pro* _{in GB terms} Wrócił do domu. (*a man* or *an animal*)
     (He) came.3SG back home

Instead, in compliance with minimalist stipulations, subject *pro* appears in non-finite and impersonal *się*-constructions like those under (408)-(409), and so is not determined by the inflectional suffix on the verb, which would define its meaning as [+/– human] or [+/– animate], as in the examples above. *Pro* in my theory, based on recent minimalist assumptions, cannot be other than [+ human], as can be seen beneath:

(408) Tutaj się stoi. (*people*, not *machines* or *animals*)
　　　here Refl stands(3SG)
　　　'Here people stand.'

(409) NOC PRO Wyprzedzanie długich pojazdów jest niebezpieczne.
　　　NOC PRO Overtaking long vehicles is dangerous. (Only *people* can drive and overtake, not *machines* or *animal*s)

In finite environments, on the other hand, the subject can also refer to things or animals, that is, it may be [-animate] or [-human], as in (406) and (407).

184　　In sum, all the above facts highlight the advantages of adding *se/si/się* to the Minimalist framework for empty categories. What circumstances require phonological realization of a pronominal is a matter of debate, but it is clear that under the present proposal contrasts between overt and covert pronouns must be attributed to pragmatic considerations.

　　Assuming that only impersonal structures without agreement can involve subject *pro*, in chapter 3, I investigated Polish *-no/-to* structures as another instance of arbitrary *pro* category. I hope I managed to prove that subject *pro* and *-no/-to* impersonals are equivalent concepts, a view opposite to that of Śpiewak's (2000). To recall, he is against the subject status of *-no/-to,* indefinite *się,* and other impersonals, and generally against the idea of null subject. According to him, there is no subject at all in such constructions, also syntactically. Of course, this is against the EPP (Extended Projection Principle) by Chomsky (1981), according to which a subject position is present, whether it has a phonological or semantic content, or not, i.e., a subject may be phonologically null or overt. Śpiewak (2000) claims that subject is not an indispensable element in syntactic structure. Following Babby (1989), he proposes that the EPP should be abandoned. He concludes that impersonal sentences in Polish have no subject NP or a syntactic subject (position) at any level of (syntactic) representation. Contrary to Śpiewak, I

argue that the examples like *Wracając do domu, śpiewa**no** piosenki* 'Returning home, people sang songs' are not subject-less. The examples I have provided in chapter 3 put Śpiewak's hypothesis into question. The indefinite subjects can control backward deletion, similarly to empty subject argument PRO in non-finite clauses (*Spacerując ulicami polskich miast, jest już co PRO podziwiać* 'Walking on the streets of Polish cities, you can already admire things'). The subjects in impersonal constructions are not unexpressed or absent, but are phonologically present in the form of an affix (*-no/-to*). At the same time, I claim that *-no/-to* – despite being an affix – is not an ordinary, regular, definite pronoun incorporated in the form of a morphological suffix within the verb. The impersonal *-no/-to* is not carrying a full set of phi-features like the agreement-based, definite, inflectional suffixes in active, personal clauses. On the contrary, φ-incomplete *-no/-to* suffix is simply another instance of *pro* – just like the impersonal Nom reflexive clitic *się*. Thus, I propose that the subject position (Spec-TP) of Polish *-no/-to* is occupied by the *pro* argument postulated above. Then, Polish *-no/-to* does not violate the EPP, the requirement that the specifier of T be filled. That is, *pro* itself satisfies the EPP and blocks further movement into this position. Furthermore, since our *pro* contains no agreement features (in accordance with minimalist account of Holmberg, 2005), there is no conflict with the φ-incomplete T head. *Pro* does not enter into a checking relation with T. Recall that φ-completeness refers to a full set of agreement features, which in current theory (Chomsky, 1999) is held to be responsible for checking structural Case. However, it has been pointed out that, since *-no/-to* functions as a head and the subject of a sentence, we can assume that it is also Case-marked and inherits exactly the Case which an equivalent, ordinary NP subject (*some people*) would have in a parallel construction (i.e., possibly Nominative Case).

In conclusion, I maintain that we cannot state that any of the so-called 'impersonal' constructions is deprived of a subject. I argue that both active/personal and impersonal sentences have a subject in the form of an affix (see Holmberg, 2005): definite and indefinite, respectively. In brief, the examples and arguments I have provided in chapters 2 and 3 clearly demonstrate that Śpiewak's (2000) 'subject-less' constructions are, in fact, 'subject-full'.

Summing up so far, both Polish and English have the same formative, namely subject *pro.* Hopefully, the comparative analysis presented in this book contributes to the current discussion of subject

pro category, not only adding a new member to this class, i.e., Polish Nominative Indefinite, but also extending the distribution of *pro* subjects to English, which used to be thought of as a 'non-pro-drop language' (see the diagram presented earlier in this chapter).

As far as implicit objects are concerned, we could observe that, indeed, null objects and null subjects display similar interpretive and distributive properties, although they have different functions in the sentence. They seem to be derived in a similar way, and therefore their classification is so parallel. Here, we also have the reflexive clitic, but in the Accusative. Rivero (1999) suggests that Acc Indefinites are the overt counterparts of object arbitrary 'little' *pro* in Italian, just like Nom Indefinites are the overt counterparts of subject *pro.* Following Rivero (1999) and Rivero and Milojević-Sheppard (2003), in chapter 5, I assume that also in Polish examples like *Janek się bije* 'John beats other children', the clitic *się* can be called an overt counterpart of object small *pro*. Nevertheless, since the implicit objects often imply things, and not people, as in *Janek się buduje* 'John is having his house built', we must revise the theory of object *pro*, subtracting [+human] feature and adding [+typical] feature, instead. What is more, it is now clear that zero object or *pro* is distinct from Nom Indefinite not only in reference: while the feature [+human] is not important as far as object *się* is concerned, it is crucial for subject *się*, which always means people, and not things (*Tutaj się stoi* 'Here people stand'). All in all, object *pro* and subject *pro* differ not only with respect to Case, but also with respect to the features [+human] (subject *się*) / [+typical] (object *się*). Nonetheless, they share other interpretive features, both being indefinite in reading and lacking gender and person features (phi-features), although it is not ruled out that they can show some default specifications of person and gender. The Accusative *się* can appear with verbs that are listed among UOA, which additionally proves that it plays the role of a null object in a sentence. Apart from replacing the feature [+human] with the feature [+typical], I further modified Rivero and Milojević-Sheppard's (2003) description of an overt counterpart of *pro,* and accordingly of *pro* itself as well, by rejecting the condition of both detrimental reading of the sentence and child language as potential licensers of *pro* in the position of a reflexive clitic in Polish (e.g., *Janek pakuje się* 'John packs', where the reading is not detrimental, and the language is not that of children's). Summing up, since usually object *pro* is a non-referential (implicit) Indefinite, meaning *other*

people or *some typical things*, it should display the following features: [+indefinite/unspecified], [+typical], and [-anaphoric].

In chapter four, following Velasco and Muñoz (2002) and Cummins and Roberge (2003), I have divided object deletion into definite object (DO) and indefinite object (IO) drop. The difference between the two types of object omission is that indefinite objects are not identified by any element in the discourse and, what is more, if there is an adequate referent in the discourse, the sentence may become ungrammatical. With definite objects, however, the opposite situation holds: there has to be a suitable referent in the context for the sentence to be correctly interpreted. As we can remember, the same situation holds in OC PRO constructions as far as empty subjects are concerned. OC PRO must also have an antecedent (usually local), with which it sets an anaphoric relation. Hence, it is definite/specific in meaning as well. Thus, definite covert objects and OC PRO cannot be treated as 'truly' null since they are not arbitrary/indefinite like NOC PRO or *pro* in minimalist terms. Instead, they are rather similar to traces or anaphors. In a word, both referential (or bound) null objects and subjects, i.e., D(efinite) O(bject) drop and OC PRO, respectively, show similar syntactic and semantic properties, being at the same time distinct from non-referential covert subjects and objects (NOC PRO or *pro* and IO drop, correspondingly).

In chapter 4 as well, I challenged a popular hypothesis (Yadroff, 1995, 1994; Babko-Malaya 2003; Verkuyl 1993, 1999, among others) that perfective verbs in Slavic do not permit object drop, and that aspect to a great extent influences object deletion. As we could note in this chapter, Polish allows non-referential (indefinite) object drop after perfectives. Therefore, it should be opposed to Russian, which is claimed to allow object deletion only after imperfective verbs (Yadroff, 1995). Generally, it seems that with such perfective verbs as *posprzątać, odkurzyć,* or *zjeść* ($_{PERF}$ 'clean', 'vacuum', or 'eat') we can have an easy object deletion in Polish without any context, which – according to Yadroff (1994) – is the only object drop licenser in perfective environments. Thus, Yadroff's (1995) proposal that aspect directly influences object deletion is not valid. The diversity of other, much more important object drop determinants, such as genericity, indefiniteness, and Unspecified Object Alternation, demonstrated in chapters four and five on the grounds of extensive cross-linguistic evidence, shows that there is no strict correlation between the aspectual form of the verb and obligatory realization of its internal

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arguments. It is probable that all of the factors mentioned influence object deletion in a way, being dependent on each other.

Generally, different syntactic constructions and semantic interpretations may require different approaches to object drop, as the factors licensing null objects may vary. However, probably the most influencing factor is the 'typicality' of the omitted object, i.e., the capacity of the verb to take just one or a very limited number of related objects. I assumed, then, that if a verb can take few typical objects of similar kinds, those objects – predictable and understood – can be dropped. That is, the more predictable an object is (given the meaning of the verb), the more likely it will be left out, an observation made also by Rice (1988). The class of verbs taking typical items as their objects is Unspecified Object Alternation (UOA), created by Levin (1993). Levin listed among this class both verbs allowing 'true' null objects in our terms, i.e., independent from context, and those allowing object omission only in certain context or situation, i.e., intransitive uses of normally transitive verbs. In the latter case, deleted objects derive entirely from semantic/discourse/pragmatic considerations, and thus cannot be treated as 'true' null objects, which are independent from the discourse. My intention was to investigate Levin's verb class carefully, comparing it with Polish data, and revise it, both for Polish and for English. I presented the verbs involved in Levin's Unspecified Object Alternation without any context added, and next I verified this class, distinguishing further between intransitive uses of verbs and object deletion. Having selected UOA list for Polish, and having modified Levin's list for English, I assumed that it is possible to identify semantically equivalent and coherent classes of verbs, allowing optional object structures, although the contents of these classes may differ across languages. At the same time, contrary to the common view (e.g., Authier, 1989), I concluded that English possesses zero objects.

It became obvious to me in the last two chapters that the object omission concerns two main grammatical areas: the Lexicon (type and nature of verbal object, i.e., its 'typicality' and indefiniteness; verbal class and verb's semantics) and pragmatics (structural omission and discoursive/situational context). Referring to Minimalism, the object *pro* – similarly to Holmberg's (2005) subject *pro* – is an empty category independent from morpho-syntactic features and can be assumed as a post-syntactic (PF) phenomenon as well. Just like 'true' subject *pro*, it does not rely on morphological properties of the verb or Infl (Agr), but depends on the lexico-semantic nature of a

given verb. Object drop can also rely on a wider discourse context or pragmatics – then we can probably refer to it as a discourse object drop, just as we do in the case of discourse (or 'radical') *pro* drop pertaining to empty subjects (see the second chapter on null subjects: Neeleman and Szendrői, 2005; Holmberg, 2005). Also, the minimalist, syntactic proposals offered by Roberge (2002) or Golędzinowska (2004) and Bowers (2002), concerning Transitivity Requirement (TR) and Transitive Phrase (TrP), respectively, seem to work cross-linguistically, being especially valuable accounts. Following them, in chapter 5, I assumed that all verbs are transitive (by default) on the syntactic level, but they can be transitive or intransitive on the semantic level. That is, the syntactic position for the object is ready to host it, which realizes Uniformity Condition, but the lexical choice belongs to the verb, which satisfies Inclusiveness Condition.

I hope I managed to provide evidence for what I attempted to prove, that is, the ellipsis as such is a phenomenon that is influenced by syntactic, lexico-semantic, and pragmatic factors alike. It seems that sometimes it is no longer optional, but preferred in certain language registers or colloquial speech. Growing to be more frequent, it becomes even more fascinating and worth further research as it develops. We have observed that various semantic analyses, together with the recent minimalist approaches in the field of syntax, provide the finest explanation for the implicit categories. That is why, in order to best define such and related phenomena, the next step should be creating a new theoretical framework which would better account for empty objects and ACC reflexive clitics on the one hand, and empty subjects and NOM Indefintes on the other. As we could see throughout this book, such a framework is necessary since any theory up to now (GB, MP, and various semantic approaches) somehow could not unequivocally describe the interpretive and distributive features of implicit or empty elements of grammar. The best solution would be 'Context Minimalism', combining context/discourse/pragmatic and syntactic factors alike. Thus, the idea for further study is providing a unified and coherent theory within a framework joining all these aspects. This monograph is a first step towards creating such a theory.

Streszczenie (Summary)

Cel monografii pt. *Klasyfikacja i interpretacja implikowanych podmiotów oraz dopeł-nień w perspektywie porównawczej w świetle najnowszych założeń minimalistycznych* jest dokładnie sformułowany w samym jej tytule. Klasyfikacja zaprezentowana w publikacji uwzględnia uwarunkowania pragmatyczne implikowanych argumen-tów oraz najbardziej intrygujące i problematyczne kwestie, takie jak bezosobowe zaimki zwrotne. Analiza dotyczy w głównej mierze języka polskiego na tle innych języków świata, a tym samym wzbogaca i weryfikuje najnowocześniejsze podej-ścia teoretyczne zaproponowane w literaturze światowej, a dotyczące tzw. kate-gorii „pustych". Należy zaznaczyć, iż analizę składniową domyślnych kategorii ję-zykowych poszerzono o rozwiązania leksykalno-semantyczne tam, gdzie jest to niezbędne dla prawidłowej ich interpretacji, a więc także przy klasyfikacji tychże elementów gramatycznych.

Wstęp stanowi krótkie wprowadzenie w tematykę omawianej książki oraz uka-zuje cele analizy. Rozdział pierwszy przedstawia tło teoretyczne opracowania, m.in. hipotezę Hornsteina (1999), który wyprzedza tradycyjne spojrzenie minimalistów na obligatoryjnie (OC PRO) oraz nieobligatoryjnie (NOC PRO) kontrolowany pod-miot zdania bezosobowego. Hornstein postuluje, że OC PRO powstaje w wyniku przesunięcia elementu w zdaniu (*movement*), będąc tym samym zjawiskiem iden-tycznym z *NP-trace*, czyli anaforą powstałą na skutek owego przesunięcia, podczas gdy NOC PRO należy identyfikować z kategorią *pro*, tj. fonetycznie niezrealizowa-nym, ale implikowanym pragmatycznie podmiotem zdania osobowego. Słowem, kategoria językowa PRO nie istnieje w gramatyce, co stanowi radykalne odejście zarówno od dotychczasowych Teorii Rządu i Wiązania (*Government and Binding Theory* – GB), jak i tych najnowszych, obecnych rozważań minimalistycznych.

Zakładając, że wszystkie implikowane elementy o interpretacji arbitralnej należą do kategorii *pro*, w rozdziałach drugim i trzecim zweryfikowano definicję

przypisywaną temu pojęciu w teorii GB. W rozdziale drugim zaproponowano wznowioną wersję minimalistycznej teorii dotyczącej podmiotu typu „małe" *pro*. Według najnowszych założeń minimalistycznych (Holmberg, 2005, Neeleman i Szendrői, 2005) *pro* nie powinno być rozpatrywane jako zależne od związku zgody (*agreement*), a co za tym idzie, również od bogatej fleksji (*rich inflection*), jak to miało miejsce w teorii GB (patrz: Rizzi, 1986). Holmberg (2005), którego podejście stanowi jedno z najważniejszych źródeł inspiracji w omawianej monografii, posuwa się nawet do stwierdzenia, iż „*pro* istnieje, ale (nieco paradoksalnie, zważywszy na dotychczasowy, tradycyjny pogląd na *pro*) jedynie w językach nie przejawiających związku zgody", a więc w językach niefleksyjnych, bądź o marginalnej fleksji. Niemniej jednak, jak ukazano w rozdziałach drugim i trzecim, podmiot typu „małe" *pro*, zgodny z obowiązującymi trendami w językoznawstwie minimalistycznym, tj. niezależny od związku zgody, występuje w językach o bogatej fleksji, jak np. język polski. Podmiot *pro* pojawia się w zdaniach pozbawionych odmiennej formy czasownika (*non-finite clauses*), tj. zdaniach bezokolicznikowych, zdaniach zawierających rzeczowniki odczasownikowe z końcówką *-nie/-cie* oraz w konstrukcjach bezosobowych z użyciem zaimka nieokreślonego *się* (*impersonal się-constructions*), a nie – jak zwykło się przypuszczać w teorii GB – w konstrukcjach z odmienną, osobową formą czasownika (*finite constructions*), gdzie sam przyrostek fleksyjny stanowi już jawny podmiot posiadający wszystkie cechy osobowe (*phi-features*) niezbędne do precyzyjnej interpretacji podmiotu w zdaniu. Ponadto, podmiot fleksyjny może odnosić się do ludzi, zwierząt lub rzeczy, będąc tym samym [+/–human], tj. odnoszący się do osób lub nie, bądź [+/–animate], czyli należący do grupy podmiotów ożywionych lub nie. Zgodnie z teorią minimalistyczną zaprezentowaną w niniejszej książce, podmiot *pro* występujący w zdaniach z nieodmienną formą czasownika (*non-finite clauses*) nie może być inny niż [+human], tj. odnosi się wyłącznie do ludzi, a nie zwierząt lub rzeczy, co zostało zademonstrowane na przykładach w trzecim rozdziale.

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W rozdziale trzecim wskazano na relacje semantyczno-składniowe pomiędzy *pro* a *się* w języku polskim, *se* w języku hiszpańskim oraz *si* w języku włoskim. Analiza obszernych danych językowych ukazuje, iż bezosobowy zaimek zwrotny *se/si/się* zachowuje się w zdaniu tak jak niezrealizowany fonetycznie, utajony zaimek *pro* i dlatego też stanowi jego jawny odpowiednik. Podobnie do *pro*, *se/si/się* pełni w zdaniu funkcję podmiotu, nie posiada cech osobowych (poza cechą „ludzką" [+human]) oraz wykazuje przypadek mianownikowy. Ponadto, pojawia się w strukturach pozbawionych związku zgody, co z kolei pokrywa się z minimalistyczną wizją *pro* jako niezależnego od związku zgody. Mianownikowe domniemane *się* (*Nominative indefinite się*) bywało już porównywane do podmiotu zdania bezokolicznikowego PRO przez Rivero i Milojević-Sheppard (2003). Niemniej jednak, z racji podziału kategorii PRO na dwie podgrupy: OC PRO i NOC PRO i eliminacją samego „dużego" PRO (patrz: Hornstein, 1999), porównanie takie zdaje się być nieaktualne. Z racji nieposiadania elementu poprzedzającego w zdaniu, *się* w funkcji podmiotu nie może być ani anaforą, ani swoistą mieszanką anafory i zaimka, jak „duże" PRO zwykło być opisywane w teorii GB. Z badań przeprowadzonych w rozdziale trzecim dowiadujemy się, że *się* nie może być również porównywane do OC PRO z powodu swojej niezależności interpretacyjnej od jakiegokolwiek elementu w zdaniu. *Się* jest kategorią zaimkową, a nie anaforyczną, stąd nie powinno się jej kojarzyć z obligatoryjnie kontrolowanym podmiotem zdania bezosobowego (OC PRO), bądź traktować jako ślad (*trace*) czy wyrażenie anaforyczne (*anaphor*). Znaczenie zaimka zwrotnego *się* jest bowiem zawsze domyślne. Dlatego też, z dwóch rodzajów PRO proponowanego przez minimalistów, mianownikowe *się* przypomina raczej NOC

Streszczenie (Summary)

PRO. NOC PRO z kolei nie jest oddzielną kategorią gramatyczną, ale częścią uprzednio ustanowionej i powszechnie znanej grupy elementów niejawnych *pro*, do których zdaje się należeć także nieokreślony zaimek zwrotny w funkcji podmiotu.

Zakładając, że podmiot *pro* zawierają wyłącznie struktury bezosobowe niezależne od fleksji i związku zgody, w rozdziale trzecim wykazano, iż także polskie konstrukcje zdaniowe z końcówką *-no/-to* posiadają taką arbitralną kategorię *pro* w roli podmiotu. W świetle proponowanej teorii, podmiot *pro* i końcówki bezosobowe *-no/-to* są równorzędnymi pojęciami. Takie podejście stanowi przeciwwagę dla hipotezy Śpiewaka (2000), który nie tylko sprzeciwia się nadawaniu statusu podmiotu przyrostkom *-no/-to*, zaimkowi nieokreślonemu *się* i innym formom bezosobowym, ale sprzeciwia się samej idei implikowanego czy „pustego" podmiotu. Według Śpiewaka, w takich konstrukcjach podmiotu nie ma w ogóle, także na poziomie składniowym, co narusza oczywiście regułę sformułowaną przez Chomsky'ego (1981), tj. Extended Projection Principle (EPP), zgodnie z którą podmiot jest obecny zawsze, bez względu na zawartość fonologiczną czy semantyczną. Przykłady przytoczone w rozdziale trzecim stawiają hipotezę Śpiewaka pod znakiem zapytania, ukazując, iż zdania takie jak *Wracając do domu, śpiewano piosenki* nie są pozbawione podmiotu. Podmioty konstrukcji bezosobowych (*impersonal constructions*) są obecne pod postacią przyrostka *-no/-to*. Nieokreślone podmioty typu *-no/-to* mogą, na przykład, kontrolować (*control*) elipsę zdania poprzedzającego (*backward deletion*), podobnie jak aktywny syntaktycznie, choć niejawny fonetycznie podmiot zdania bezosobowego w teorii GB (*Spacerując ulicami polskich miast, jest już co PRO podziwiać*), któremu od zawsze przypisywano aktywność, a zatem i obecność na poziomie syntaktycznym. Niemniej jednak, choć *-no/-to* jest przyrostkiem, nie należy mylić go ze zwykłym, osobowym zaimkiem określonym pod postacią przyrostka fleksyjnego, posiadającego wszystkie cechy osobowe (*phi-features*), a występującego w zdaniach w stronie czynnej w związku zgody. W przeciwieństwie do przyrostka fleksyjnego, przyrostek *-no/-to* nie posiada cech zgody, co jest podstawowym warunkiem dla *pro* w wersji minimalistycznej (patrz: Holmberg, 2005). Słowem, z analizy przeprowadzonej w rozdziale trzecim wynika, że tak zwane konstrukcje bezosobowe nie są pozbawione podmiotu, ale posiadają go pod postacią końcówki *-no/-to*, bądź zaimka *się.* Zatem zdania, które Śpiewak (2000) nazywa „bezpodmiotowymi" (*subject-less*), są w istocie „podmiotowe" (*subject-full*).

Rozdział czwarty i piąty poświęcone są zjawisku *pro* w funkcji dopełnienia. W rozdziale czwartym przyjęto podział dopełnień na nieokreślone (*indefinite object* IO) i określone (*definite object* DO), jakiego dokonali Velasco i Muñoz (2002) oraz Cummins i Roberge (2003). Implikowane, bądź puste fonetycznie dopełnienia nieokreślone (IO) nie posiadają odniesienia w kontekście, a za ich należytą interpretację odpowiedzialne są właściwości leksykalne czasownika. Absencja dopełnienia określonego (DO) jest z kolei absencją czysto kontekstową, ponieważ punkt odniesienia dla dopełnienia określonego jest zawsze obecny w dyskursie. W związku z powyższym, najważniejszą sugestią poczynioną w rozdziale czwartym jest przyrównanie nieokreślonego, pozbawionego punktu odniesienia w zdaniu podmiotu *pro* w ujęciu minimalistycznym (tj. arbitralnego NOC PRO czy też niezależnego od związku zgody *pro*) do także nieokreślonego i pozbawionego punktu odniesienia dopełnienia *pro*, czyli dopełnienia nieokreślonego (IO). Zakłada się, iż te dwa elementy są przejawami tego samego zjawiska (*pro*), pełniąc jedynie różne funkcje w zdaniu, tj. podmiotu i dopełnienia. W rezultacie, określony, anaforyczny podmiot OC PRO powinno traktować się na równi z dopełnieniem określonym (DO), ponieważ obie kategorie posiadają punkt odniesienia (*antecedent*) w kontekście,

od którego zależy ich interpretacja, reprezentując w ten sposób grupę śladów czy też wyrażeń anaforycznych (*traces/anaphors*), pełniąc jednakże odmienne funkcje w zdaniu. Z tego też powodu, zarówno dopełnienie określone, jak i obligatoryjnie kontrolowany podmiot zdania bezokolicznikowego OC PRO nie mogą być traktowane jako prawdziwie domniemane czy implikowane kategorie, ponieważ ich interpretacja nie jest arbitralna czy nieokreślona, tak jak to ma miejsce w przypadku dopełnienia nieokreślonego i nieobligatoryjnie kontrolowanego podmiotu zdania bezokolicznikowego NOC PRO czy *pro* we wznowionej wersji minimalistycznej. Stąd też ani dopełnienie określone, ani OC PRO nie mogą należeć do kategorii typu *pro*, będąc raczej rodzajem śladów (*traces*).

Rozdział piąty stanowi kontynuację analizy implikowanych dopełnień. Przyjmując podejście Rice (1988) oraz Levin (1993), założono, że im bardziej przewidywalne czy też typowe dla danego czasownika jest dopełnienie (biorąc pod uwagę znaczenie tego czasownika), tym bardziej prawdopodobna jest możliwość jego opuszczenia w zdaniu. Wskazując na ścisły związek pomiędzy eliptycznymi dopełnieniami typu *pro* a właściwościami semantycznymi orzeczenia, w rozdziale piątym omówiono polskie odpowiedniki angielskich czasowników, które Levin (1993) zaklasyfikowała jako należące do *Unspecified Object Alternation* UOA (tj. do grupy czasowników przyzwalających na absencję dopełnienia zwyczajowo występującego z danym czasownikiem). Powyższe badania zostały uwieńczone ustaleniem polskiej wersji klasy czasownikowej UOA oraz weryfikacją dotychczasowej klasy dla języka angielskiego. Zarówno język angielski, jak i polski zdają się posiadać klasę czasownikową UOA, co jest charakterystyczne dla języków zezwalających na absencję dopełnienia. Dlatego też – wbrew powszechnej opinii (patrz: Authier, 1989) – możemy stwierdzić, iż w języku angielskim *występują* fonetycznie niezrealizowane dopełnienia.

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Okazuje się, że zaimki zwrotne *się/si/se*, pełniące rolę dopełnienia w zdaniu, mają wiele cech wspólnych z dopełnieniem typu *pro*. Jak sugerują Rivero i Milojević-Sheppard (2003), *się* w funkcji dopełnienia można traktować wręcz jako jawną, choć wciąż domniemaną wersję domyślnego, eliptycznego dopełnienia *pro*. Niemniej jednak, nieokreślone dopełnienia domyślne często odnoszą się również do rzeczy, a nie osób, jak np. w zdaniu *Janek się buduje/pakuje.* Należałoby zatem w przypadku dopełnienia *pro* cechę [+human], przypisywaną mu przez Rivero i Milojević-Sheppard (2003), a określającą dopełnienie jako osobę, bądź grupę osób, zastąpić cechą [+typical], określającą dopełnienie jako najbardziej prawdopodobne czy też typowe dla danego czasownika. Co więcej, podkreśla to różnice pomiędzy dopełnieniem *pro* a podmiotem *pro*. Mianowicie, podczas gdy cecha [+human] nie jest istotna w przypadku zaimka zwrotnego *się* w funkcji dopełnienia czy też dopełnienia typu *pro*, jest ona kluczowa dla zaimka zwrotnego *się* w funkcji podmiotu czy też podmiotu typu *pro*, który zawsze odnosi się do ludzi, a nie rzeczy (np. *Tutaj się stoi*). Okazuje się, że oba *pro* różnią się także w kwestii przypadka – *się* w funkcji podmiotu jest w mianowniku, a *się* w funkcji dopełnienia w bierniku. Aczkolwiek, oba elementy wiele też łączy, na przykład nieokreślona interpretacja czy brak cech rodzajowych i osobowych (*gender and person features – phi-features*). Zaimek zwrotny *się* w funkcji dopełnienia może występować z czasownikami z grupy UOA, co dodatkowo ukazuje, iż pełni on rolę pustego dopełnienia domyślnego w zdaniu. Poza tym, zarówno interpretacja ukazująca pewnego rodzaju niekorzystność czy wręcz szkodliwość dla obiektu zdarzenia w zdaniach z *się* w roli dopełnienia, jak również dziecięcy charakter wypowiedzi nie są nieodzowne w tego typu konstrukcjach, co podważa hipotezę Rivero i Milojević-Sheppard opartą na przykładzie zdań typu *On się bije/kopie/przezywa*. Zaprzeczeniem tejże hipotezy mogą być takie zdania jak

Streszczenie (Summary)

Janek się pakuje/buduje/urządza, gdzie *się* nie tylko odnosi się do rzeczy martwych, takich jak ubrania czy dom, ale interpretacja nie wykazuje znamion szkodliwości ani dla przedmiotu, ani dla sprawcy czynności, a język wypowiedzi nie jest językiem charakterystycznym dla dzieci.

Ponadto, jak wynika z analizy zjawiska absencji dopełnienia przeprowadzonej w rozdziałach czwartym i piątym, aspektualna forma czasownika nie jest czynnikiem wiodącym, jeśli chodzi o elipsę dopełnienia. Stanowi to przeciwwagę dla dość popularnego twierdzenia, postulowanego między innymi przez Yadroffa (1995, 1994), jakoby w językach słowiańskich czasowniki w trybie dokonanym nie zezwalały na opuszczenie dopełnienia, co wskazywałoby na ogromne znaczenie aspektu dla tego typu absencji. Jak możemy zaobserwować na podstawie danych językowych w rozdziale czwartym – także tych pozbawionych kontekstu – puste fonetycznie, nieokreślone (uogólnione - *generic*) dopełnienia tak naprawdę występują po wielu czasownikach dokonanych w języku polskim (np. *posprzątać, odkurzyć, zjeść*). W rezultacie, nieuzasadniona zdaje się być hipoteza Yadroffa (1995), iż to właśnie aspekt bezpośrednio wpływa na obecność, bądź brak dopełnienia w zdaniu, a kontekst jest jedynym czynnikiem umożliwiającym opuszczenie dopełnienia po czasowniku w trybie dokonanym. To raczej typ czasownika sprawia, że dane dopełnienie może zostać pominięte w zdaniu. Rozdział czwarty ukazuje również szereg innych czynników, mających o wiele większe znaczenie w kwestii absencji dopełnienia niż aspekt, którego rola wydaje się być przeceniana w literaturze poświęconej temu zagadnieniu.

W rozdziale szóstym zostały podsumowane i porównane rezultaty analizy oraz przedstawione wnioski, które z niej wynikają. Na ich podstawie dokonano szczegółowej klasyfikacji oraz interpretacji implikowanych podmiotów oraz dopełnień w perspektywie porównawczej, uwzględniając nie tylko najnowsze odkrycia w zakresie teoretycznego językoznawstwa minimalistycznego, ale również podejścia semantyczno-leksykalne, bez których, jak się okazuje, podział takich formantów językowych nie byłby możliwy, bądź byłby niekompletny. W rozdziale tym wskazano również możliwe kierunki dalszych badań nad zagadnieniami poruszonymi w niniejszej monografii. Interesującym, obszernym zagadnieniem byłoby, na przykład, poszerzenie dotychczasowego Programu Minimalistycznego (*Minimalist Program*) o składnik semantyczno-leksykalno-pragmatyczny/kontekstowy. Mogłoby to zapoczątkować proces tworzenia nowych ram teoretycznych (jak choćby Minimalizm Kontekstowy *Context Minimalism*), tłumaczących zjawiska składniowe, które są wedle obowiązujących teorii i wielości hipotez opisywane w sposób zaskakująco różny, często sprzeczny.

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