

John Benjamins Publishing Company



This is a contribution from *Beyond Emotions in Language. Psychological verbs at the interfaces.*

Edited by Bożena Rozwadowska and Anna Bondaruk.

© 2020. John Benjamins Publishing Company

This electronic file may not be altered in any way.

The author(s) of this article is/are permitted to use this PDF file to generate printed copies to be used by way of offprints, for their personal use only.

Permission is granted by the publishers to post this file on a closed server which is accessible to members (students and staff) only of the author's/s' institute, it is not permitted to post this PDF on the open internet.

For any other use of this material prior written permission should be obtained from the publishers or through the Copyright Clearance Center (for USA: www.copyright.com).

Please contact rights@benjamins.nl or consult our website: www.benjamins.com

Tables of Contents, abstracts and guidelines are available at www.benjamins.com

CHAPTER 5

The syntax of accusative and dative Experiencers in Polish

Anna Bondaruk

John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin

The chapter examines the syntax of accusative and dative Experiencers found with stative Object Experiencer verbs in Polish with a view to determining whether they are associated with an unaccusative structure (Belletti & Rizzi, 1988; Pesetsky, 1995; Landau, 2010a) or are simply transitive (Grafmiller, 2013). Binding and passivization properties of the two types of Experiencer in Polish indicate that they are syntactically special, with accusative Experiencers forming a part of complex unergative structure as in Bennis (2004), and dative Experiencers occupying a Spec,vP position. The analysis of two linear orders of accusative and dative Experiencers with respect to the Target/Subject Matter (hence, T/SM) argument demonstrates that in the Experiencer-first order, the Experiencer is scrambled to an A'-position, whereas the T/SM remains in situ, while in the T/SM-first order, the T/SM comes to occupy the Spec,TP position, while the Experiencer is not affected by movement.

Keywords: binding, passivization, unaccusative, stative object experiencer verbs, scrambling, A-topical, split feature inheritance, the Polish language

1. Introduction

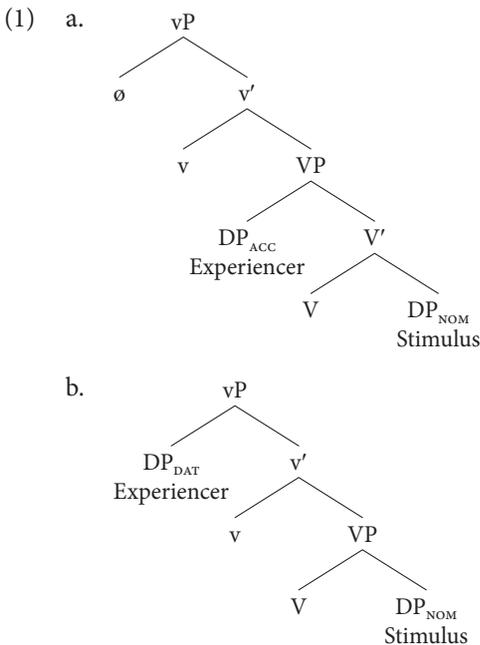
It has been observed in the literature that accusative and dative Experiencers show analogous syntactic properties, and for this reason they have been associated with a uniform structural position. The position in question is VP-internal, with the Experiencer c-commanding the Stimulus (Belletti & Rizzi, 1988; Landau, 2010a), in accordance with the Thematic Hierarchy (Pesetsky, 1995; Landau, 2010a, among

others).¹ Since both the Experiencer and the Stimulus are projected VP-internally, it follows that both accusative and dative Experiencers are part of an unaccusative structure. The unaccusative structure has been taken to be valid for dative Experiencers in general, as well as for those accusative Experiencers that co-occur with stative Object Experiencer (henceforth, OE) verbs, but seems to be inadequate for accusative Experiencers found with agentive or eventive OE predicates, which are typically viewed as transitive (Pesetsky, 1995; Landau, 2010a). Further parallelism between accusative and dative Experiencers is noticeable as regards their syntactic category. For Landau (2010a), both accusative and dative Experiencers are oblique cross-linguistically, i.e. they represent PPs with an overt or covert P head.

The chapter focuses on accusative and dative Experiencers in Polish, found with stative OE verbs only. It examines the syntactic properties of the two types of Experiencer in Polish with respect to binding and passivization. In particular, we check whether accusative and dative Experiencers in Polish give rise to backward binding as regards Condition A effects and pronominal variable binding (Belletti & Rizzi, 1988; Reinhart, 2001). Furthermore, the chapter scrutinises the passivization options available for the two types of Experiencer in Polish. By analysing the syntactic behaviour of accusative and dative Experiencers in Polish as regards binding and passivization, we aim to determine the structural position of both types of Experiencer in this language. In particular, we address the question whether the two types of Experiencer occupy a uniform structural position in Polish, viz. whether both accusative and dative Experiencers in Polish are VP-internal, and whether the VP-internal position of an Experiencer must necessarily be associated with an unaccusative structure. It is demonstrated that the binding facts point towards a non-uniform treatment of the two types of Experiencer in Polish. Evidence is provided that once some intervening factors are controlled for, dative Experiencers behave like subjects in that they can bind subject-oriented anaphors in Polish, which supports treating them as external arguments, generated in Spec,vP. Accusative Experiencers, on the other hand, do not bind subject-oriented anaphors, which forces us to posit that they originate VP-internally. It is also demonstrated that accusative and dative Experiencers, found with stative OE verbs, are immune to verbal passivization in Polish. However, this fact is interpreted in two different ways for the two types of Experiencer. The unavailability of verbal passives with accusative Experiencers is interpreted as resulting from the fact that stative OE verbs lack an external argument. Nonetheless, stative OE verbs with

1. The term Stimulus is used for the time being as a cover term for a number of theta roles, which are made precise in Section 4. The exact meaning of the notion Stimulus, as used in Sections 2 and 3, is explicated at the end of Section 2.

accusative Experiencers are not taken to represent unaccusatives, but are rather viewed as having a complex ergative structure as in Bennis (2004) (cf. Bondaruk et al., 2017b). The immunity of dative Experiencers to verbal passivization is viewed as resulting from the fact that they represent external arguments, and therefore they cannot be externalised under passivization. The overall conclusion reached in the chapter is that accusative and dative Experiencers occupy different structural positions in Polish, with neither type of Experiencer forming a part of unaccusative structure. The syntactic structures proposed for accusative and dative Experiencers in Polish are depicted in (1a) and (1b) below, respectively:²



Having determined the structural position of accusative and dative Experiencers in Polish, we proceed to present the syntactic derivation of two types of structure hosting these two types of Experiencer, namely the linear ordering in which the Experiencer comes before the Stimulus, and the reverse one, i.e., the one in which the nominative Stimulus surfaces in front of the Experiencer.

The chapter consists of six sections. Section 2 concentrates on some general characteristics of accusative and dative Experiencers in Polish, relevant for further discussion. Section 3 centres around the binding properties of the two types of

2. We remain agnostic as to whether Polish has a DP or just an NP, and use the label DP for the sake of convenience, without committing ourselves as to the exact category of the nominal phrase.

In (4), an agentive interpretation is forced by the presence of an Agent-oriented adverbial such as *celowo* ‘deliberately’, no matter whether the verb *irytować* ‘to irritate’ appears in its perfective form, exhibiting the prefix *po-* or in its imperfective form, lacking the prefix altogether (cf. also examples (8) and (9) below). In (5), both an animate and inanimate Stimulus can be used and they yield an eventive interpretation, which is unambiguously marked by the perfective form of the verb. In (6), the presence of an inanimate Stimulus, coupled with the imperfective verb form, triggers the stative interpretation. After Rozwadowska (2012, p. 549), we assume that eventive OE verbs refer to an onset to a state (cf. Marín & McNally, 2011), and are punctual. Stative OE verbs, in turn, refer to the state itself. The chapter concentrates exclusively on stative Class II OE verbs, and eventive Class II OE verbs will only be referred to whenever necessary.

Class III of Polish OE verbs comprises a small set of items, including *podobać się* ‘to appeal to’, *imponować* ‘to impress’, *obrzydnąć* ‘to disgust’, *sprzyskrzyć się* ‘to be tired of’, etc. (Biały, 2005, p. 96). Class III OE verbs are typically associated with the stative interpretation, as confirmed by (3), which conveys the idea that the Experiencer experiences a specific mental state while perceiving the Stimulus. If we insert an Agent-oriented adverbial in (7) below, ungrammaticality ensues, which serves as evidence that Class III OE verbs in Polish are predominantly stative, and they lack the agentive interpretation altogether.⁴

- (7) **Ewa celowo podoba się Markowi.* Class III OE verb
 Eve.NOM deliberately appeals REFL Mark.DAT
 ‘*Eve deliberately appeals to Mark.’

It has been briefly noted above (see examples (4)–(6) and the discussion related to them) that Class II verbs in Polish appear in two forms – perfective and imperfective. Class III verbs also have these two sets of forms. The instances of Class II and Class III verbs appearing in the perfective and imperfective form are provided in (8) and (9) below:

- (8) a. *Fizyka fascynowała Marka.*
 physics.NOM fascinated.IPFV Mark.ACC
 ‘Physics fascinated Mark.’
 b. *Fizyka zafascynowała Marka.*
 physics.NOM fascinated.PFV Mark.ACC
 ‘Physics started to fascinate Mark.’

4. Some verbs that Biały (2005, p. 96) classifies as Class III OE predicates such as *dopiec* ‘to afflict’, *dokuczyć* ‘to harass’, *ublizać* ‘to disparage’, are susceptible to an agentive interpretation. Since the focus of this chapter is on typical Class III predicates that are only stative, the verbs with a possible agentive interpretation are excluded from the list of the verbs to be analyzed here.

- (9) a. *Nowa fryzura podobała się Markowi.*
 new hairdo.NOM appealed.IPFV REFL Mark.DAT
 ‘The new hairdo appealed to Mark.’
- b. *Nowa fryzura spodobała się Markowi.*
 new hairdo.NOM appealed.PFV REFL Mark.DAT
 ‘The new hairdo started to appeal to Mark.’

The data in (8) and (9) show that perfective verbs are prefixed with *za-* in (8b) and *s-* in (9b), whereas the corresponding imperfective verb forms, as in (8a) and (9a), carry no prefixes of any kind. Imperfective forms of OE verbs describe a state, and hence are stative, while the perfective forms of OE verbs denote an onset to a state (Rozwadowska, 2012), and therefore they are eventive.⁵ The distinction between the per-

5. Perfective forms of OE verbs are eventive because they can co-occur with the verb *stać się* ‘to happen’, as shown in (i), for Class II verbs, and in (ii) for Class III predicates:

- (i) *Fizyka zainteresowała Marka. Stało się to dzięki*
 physics.NOM started.to.interest.PFV Mark.ACC happened REFL this thanks
eksperymentom wykonywanym w szkole.
 experiments done at school
 ‘Physics started to interest Mark. This happened thanks to the experiments done at school.’
- (ii) *Nowa fryzura spodobała się Markowi. Stało się to*
 new hairdo.NOM appealed.PFV REFL Mark.DAT happened REFL this
dzięki pochwałom jego dziewczyny.
 thanks praises his girlfriend
 ‘The new hairdo started to appeal to Mark. This happened thanks to his girlfriend’s praises.’

Imperfective forms of Class II and Class III OE verbs are incompatible with the verb *stać się* ‘to happen’, as can be seen in (iii) and (iv), respectively:

- (iii) *Fizyka interesowała Marka. *(Stało się to dzięki*
 physics.NOM interested.IPFV Mark.ACC happened REFL this thanks
eksperymentom wykonywanym w szkole).
 experiments done at school
 ‘Physics interested Mark. *(This happened thanks to the experiments done at school).’
- (iv) *Nowa fryzura podobała się Markowi. *(Stało się to*
 new hairdo.NOM appealed.IPFV REFL Mark.DAT happened REFL this
dzięki pochwałom jego dziewczyny).
 thanks praises his girlfriend
 ‘The new hairdo started to appeal to Mark. *(This happened thanks to his girlfriend’s praises).’

Other tests to distinguish eventive from stative OE verbs in Polish can be found in Biały (2005).

factive and imperfective forms of OE verbs will turn out to be relevant in Section 4, where the passivization options attested for this class of verbs are examined.

By referring to the non-Experiencer argument of OE verbs as the Stimulus, we depart from Belletti and Rizzi (1988), who simply call the two arguments of psych verbs an Experiencer and a Theme. As we shall see in Section 3.1, the notion of Theme is restricted here to an entity affected by the action or state expressed by the predicate and is assumed to amalgamate both the notion of Theme and Patient. The Stimulus, in turn, functions as a cover term for the Cause argument, as well as the two theta roles posited by Pesetsky (1995), namely the Target of Emotion and Subject Matter of Emotion. The Cause (or Causer) argument, according to Pesetsky (1995, p. 56), “must be causally connected to the emotion described by the predicate and borne by the Experiencer”. As we shall see in Section 4.4, the T/SM simply refers to the “Object of Emotion” (Pesetsky, 1995, p. 56), which is evaluated by the Experiencer and is not causally related to the emotion borne by the Experiencer.

3. Binding properties of accusative and dative Experiencers in Polish

OE verbs of Class II and Class III in English can license backward binding of anaphors and pronominal variables, which is considered to be one of the psych effects by Postal (1971), Giorgi (1984), Belletti and Rizzi (1988), Reinhart (2001), and Cheung and Larson (2015), among others (for the discussion concerning the status of backward binding as a psych effect, cf. Landau, 2010a, and Temme & Verhoeven, 2017).⁶ In this section, an attempt is made to check whether backward binding is possible in the case of accusative and dative Experiencers in Polish. First, in Section 3.1, the behaviour of Polish accusative and dative Experiencers is tested with respect to Condition A effects. Subsequently, in Section 3.2, the ability of Polish accusative and dative Experiencers to bind pronominal variables is scrutinised. The binding properties of the two types of Experiencer in Polish are examined in order to determine the syntactic position in which accusative and dative Experiencers originate in this language. Section 3.3 gathers the main findings concerning the syntactic position of the two types of Experiencer in Polish, reached on the basis of their binding behaviour.

6. In contradistinction to Landau (2010a), who calls backward binding a pseudo-psych property, Temme and Verhoeven (2017, p. 299) show on the basis of experimental results that backward binding constitutes a genuine psych effect associated with accusative and dative Experiencers in German.

3.1 Condition A effects with accusative and dative Experiencers in Polish

In English, both accusative and dative Experiencers, co-occurring with stative Class II and Class III OE verbs, license bound reflexives, as illustrated in (10a) and (10b) below:

- (10) a. Each other's supporters worried Freud and Jung. (Pesetsky, 1995, p. 43)
 b. Each other's remarks appealed to John and Mary. (Pesetsky, 1995, p. 53)

The grammaticality of (10a) and (10b) is taken as evidence that the accusative and dative Experiencer are structurally higher than the Stimulus, and hence c-command and bind the anaphor contained within the Stimulus before the Stimulus has moved to its surface position (Belletti & Rizzi, 1988; Pesetsky, 1995; and Cheung & Larson, 2015).⁷ Consequently, Object Experiencers behave in a way distinct from objects of transitive verbs, which can never license backward binding, as can be seen in (11):

- (11) *Each other's parents harmed John and Mary. (Pesetsky, 1995, p. 44)

The ungrammaticality of (11) demonstrates that the Theme (or Patient) argument is always lower in the structure than the Agent, and therefore it fails to bind the anaphor within the Agent. Since Experiencers can act as binders for the anaphor contained within the Stimulus, they must occupy a structural position different from Themes. This conclusion seems to support the claim that OEs are syntactically special, distinct from ordinary objects of transitive verbs.⁸

3.1.1 *The Anaphor Agreement Effect*

Having briefly outlined the binding properties of English stative OE verbs from Class II and III, let us now turn to Polish in order to check whether backward binding is also attested with accusative and dative Experiencers in this language. At first glance, it seems that neither accusative nor dative Experiencers can bind anaphors within the Stimulus argument in Polish, which is shown in (12) and (13) below, respectively:

- (12) **Swoje₁ dtugi martwia Marka₁.*
 self's debts.NOM worry.IPFV Mark.ACC
 'His debts worry Mark.'

7. For this account to go through we must additionally claim that the preposition *to*, introducing the dative Experiencer in (10b), is disregarded for the purpose of c-command.

8. However, the conclusion concerning the special status of OEs drawn from their licensing of backward binding glosses over the problem widely discussed in the literature that backward binding might not, in fact, be licensed by syntactic factors, but rather pragmatic clues (cf. Zribi-Hertz, 1989; Bouchard, 1992; Iwata, 1995; Arad, 1998, among others).

- (13) **Swoje_i zabawki podobają się dzieciom_i.*
 self's toys.NOM appeal.IPFV REFL children.DAT
 'Their toys appeal to children.'

It seems that the ungrammaticality of (12) and (13) has nothing to do with the failure of the possessive anaphor to be bound by the accusative or dative Experiencer, but rather results from the fact that the anaphor *swój* 'self' is contained within the nominative case marked DP, and Polish lacks nominative anaphors.^{9,10} In fact, nominative anaphors are missing in a number of languages, including English, Icelandic and Italian. This gap in the paradigm is regularly attested, and therefore Rizzi (1990) argues that it cannot be treated as a mere coincidence. Instead, Rizzi (1990) argues that anaphors cannot be found in positions associated with agreement. This statement corresponds to the descriptive generalization, called the Anaphor Agreement Effect (AAE). The AAE is formulated by Rizzi (1990, p. 26) in the following way:

- (14) The Anaphor Agreement Effect
 Anaphors do not occur in syntactic positions construed with agreement.

On the basis of the data from Italian and Icelandic involving nominative subjects and nominative objects, Rizzi (1990) argues that in both cases the presence of agreement is incompatible with a nominative anaphor. Woolford (1999) observes, after Rizzi (1990), that the AAE is a universal requirement, which accounts for the lack of subject anaphors cross-linguistically.¹¹ The evidence for the AAE effect, provided by Rizzi (1990), includes the data such as (15):

9. In the literature on binding in Polish, such as Willim (1989), and Witkoś (2003), it is assumed that Polish non-possessive anaphors such as *się* or *siebie* lack a nominative case form. Willim (1989) suggests that the lack of nominative anaphors might follow from the fact that anaphors must be bound.

10. Reviewer 1 asks a question whether Polish really lacks nominative anaphors, since examples like (i) below are perfectly licit:

- (i) *Jan to swój, a Hans – obcy.*
 John is ours but Hans strange
 'John is one of us and Hans is a stranger.'

In (i), *swój* does not function as an anaphor, but rather acts as a noun meaning 'one of us'. Since nouns can be marked for the nominative in Polish, sentence (i) is licit and does not cast any doubt on the lack of nominative anaphors in Polish.

11. Woolford (1999, p. 257) emphasizes that the unavailability of nominative subject anaphors cannot result from the fact that they are associated with the nominative case (contra Brame, 1977; Koster, 1978; Maling, 1984; Everaert, 1991). Woolford observes that there are languages without agreement, such as Khmer, Vietnamese, Chinese, Korean and Thai, in which nominative anaphors in the subject position are perfectly licit. Moreover, Woolford notes that

- (15) a. **A loro interessano solo se stessi.*
to them.DAT interest.3PL only themselves.NOM
‘They are interested only in themselves.’ (Rizzi, 1990, (15b))
- b. *A me interessano solo loro.*
to me.DAT interest.3PL only they.NOM
‘I am interested only in them.’ (Rizzi, 1990, (14b))

If the nominative anaphor triggers agreement in (15a), the resulting structure is unacceptable, and it becomes grammatical only if the pronoun is used instead of the anaphor, as in (15b).¹²

The AAE, depicted in (14), is capable of accounting for the ungrammaticality of (12) and (13) above. The anaphors in (12) and (13) are contained within the nominative DPs which determine ϕ -feature agreement. It is also worth noting that the possessive anaphor in Polish always agrees in ϕ -features and case with the noun it modifies, and therefore the possessive anaphor within the nominative case marked DP is also marked for the nominative. Since the anaphors in (12) and (13) are found in the position construed with agreement, they are banned by the AAE. Assuming that the AAE is operative in Polish also makes good predictions for sentences like (16) below. In (16) the anaphor is marked for the genitive case, while the Experiencer is associated with the dative case. Since in Polish only nominative case marked DPs determine agreement, neither the genitive nor the dative DP participate in ϕ -feature agreement in (16). As a result, the verb in (16) ends up bearing default 3rd person singular agreement, which Polish resorts to in the absence of the nominative subject.

- (16) [*Ewie i Markowi*]₁ *brakowało* [*swoich*₁ *dzieci*].
Eve and Mark.DAT.PL missed.3SG self’s children.GEN
‘Eve and Mark missed their children.’

Additional support for the claim that the AAE blocks anaphors in the presence of agreement in Polish may be obtained from the data such as (17) and (18):

the AAE is at work in the case of anaphors with objective case in languages with object agreement.

12. The grammaticality status of (15a) improves once the plural verb is replaced with a non-agreeing default 3rd singular form, as in (i) below:

- (i) ?*A loro interessa solo se stessi.* (Sundaresan, 2014, p. 500)
to them.DAT interest.3SG only themselves.NOM
‘They are interested only in themselves.’

- (17) [*Marek_i i jego_i/*swoja_i żona*] *poszli spać.*
 Mark.NOM and his self's wife.NOM went.3PL sleep.INF
 'Mark and his wife went to sleep.'
- (18) *Marek_i ze swojq_i/*z jego_i żoną* *poszedł spać.*
 Mark.NOM with self's with his wife.INS went.3SG sleep.INF
 'Mark went to sleep with his wife.'

In (17) the anaphor is a part of a coordinate DP which determines the ϕ -features of the verb, and the sentence is acceptable only if the possessive anaphor is replaced with the possessive pronoun.¹³ The binding requirements of the anaphor seem to be satisfied in (17), as the antecedent of the anaphor *Marek* 'Mark' occupies a specifier position of ConjP from which it c-commands and binds the possessive anaphor within the complement position of ConjP, adopting the complementation account of coordination as in Munn (1987), Johannesson (1993, 1998), and Zoerner (1995), inter alia. Since in (18) it is solely the singular DP *Marek* 'Mark' that determines the ϕ -features of the verb, and the possessive anaphor does not participate in ϕ -feature agreement with the verb, the anaphor is perfectly licit, in contradistinction to the possessive pronoun. Without acknowledging the fact that the AAE is operative in Polish, we would not be able to account for the contrast in the choice between the possessive pronoun and the possessive anaphor in sentences such as (17) and (18) above, as in both cases the anaphor should be licensed by the binding theory requirements alone.

The AAE has been accounted for by Rizzi (1990) by proposing that the expression of agreement on T (or Agr) has a pronominal nature. Consequently, if an anaphor is construed with agreement, then a clash arises, as the anaphor must satisfy Principle A of the Binding Theory, while the pronominal agreement on T is subject to Principle B. The conflicting binding requirements cannot be satisfied within the same domain, and therefore the anaphor is ruled out from the position construed with agreement. Another explanation behind the AAE due to Rizzi (1990, p. 36) is based on the Referential Autonomy Hierarchy, as in (19) below:

- (19) Referential Autonomy Hierarchy
 R-expressions > pronouns > anaphors

The hierarchy in (19) predicts that R-expressions are referentially autonomous, pronouns may be referentially autonomous, whereas anaphors are never

13. In contradistinction to the possessive anaphor, the possessive pronoun in Polish never agrees in case or ϕ -features with the nominal it modifies.

referentially autonomous. If agreement is pronominal in nature and forms a chain with an item it is construed with, then the argument of the chain must be more referentially autonomous than the non-argument of the chain. As a result, the chain cannot be composed of a non-argument that is more referentially autonomous than the argument of this chain (Rizzi, 1990, p. 37). This is exactly what happens in the case of AAE, where the non-argument of the chain, viz. the pronominal agreement, is more referentially autonomous than the argument of the chain (i.e., the anaphor).

Adopting Rizzi's (1990) account based on Italian to Polish, Witkoś et al. (2018b) argue that the structure of DPs with possessive anaphors in Polish (cf. (12) and (13) above) looks as follows:

- (20) $[_{NP} \textit{ swoje} [_{NP} \textit{ zabawki}]]$
 self's toys

The structure in (20), modelled on Despić (2011, 2013, 2015), shows that the possessive reflexive functions as an adjunct. Being an adjunct the possessive is equidistant to T with the NP it modifies. Witkoś et al. (2018b) propose that the reflexive possessive in (20) forces its referential subscript to represent the subscript of the entire NP, as can be seen in (21):¹⁴

- (21) $T_{AGR\ 1/2\dots} [_{NP} \textit{ self}'s_{2(NOM)} [_{NP} \textit{ toys}_{1(NOM)}]]_{1/2}$

When the NP has the subscript of the possessive reflexive on top of its own subscript, the reflexive can indirectly agree with T. Then, the chain is formed between the anaphor and the pronominal agreement (as in Rizzi, 1990), in which the anaphor must be bound by Principle A, whereas the pronominal agreement must be free in accordance with Principle B. This leads to a clash which underlies the AAE. Alternatively, Witkoś et al. (2018b) suggest that the chain in (21) contains a non-argument (the pronominal agreement) which is more referentially autonomous than the argument (the anaphor). This way, Witkoś et al. (2018b) derive the AAE in sentences hosting accusative and dative Experiencers in Polish like (12) and (13) above.

14. Witkoś et al. (2018b) propose that the promotion of the subscript of the possessive reflexive to the subscript of the entire NP, as in (21), resembles logophoric extension, put forward by Landau (2000, p. 109–111), and specified in (i), in order to account for sentences such as (ii):

- (i) For the purpose of control, a logophoric extension [X's NP] is non-distinct from X:
 [X's₁ NP] → [X's NP]₁.
 (ii) It would help Bill's₁ development [PRO₁ to behave himself in public].

(Witkoś et al., 2018b, p. 500)

To sum up, it has emerged from the discussion just presented that possessive anaphors in Polish (and many other languages) may not surface in those syntactic positions that trigger φ -feature agreement. Consequently, the ungrammaticality of (12) and (13) does not seem to result from the failure of backward binding, but follows from an independent requirement, viz. the AAE. The AAE, in turn, has been shown to derive from conflicting Binding Theory requirements which hold of the members of the agreement chain, viz. the anaphor and the pronominal agreement, as proposed by Witkoś et al. (2018b), based on Rizzi's (1990) analysis of the corresponding Italian data.

3.1.2 *The way to obviate the AAE*

It is worth noting that sentences (12) and (13), whose ungrammaticality results from the AAE, become grammatical if the possessive anaphor is replaced with the possessive pronoun, and the Experiencer is scrambled to the left periphery of the clause, as shown in (22) below:

- (22) a. *Marka₁ martwią jego₁ długi.*
 Mark.ACC worry.IPFV his debts.NOM
 'His debts worry Mark.'
- b. *Dziociom₁ podobają się [ich₁ zabawki].*
 children.DAT appeal.IPFV REFL their toys.NOM
 'Their toys appeal to the children.'

In (22a) and (22b), the possessive pronoun is co-referential with the accusative or dative Experiencer, and the sentences are perfectly licit. Willim (1989, p. 70) notes that possessive pronouns in Polish may be bound by a non-subject, in contradistinction to the subject-oriented anaphor *swój*. To prove this, Willim provides the data such as (23a) and (23b):

- (23) a. *Jan₁ zapytał Marię₂ o swojego₁/ *jego₁ adwokata.*
 John.NOM asked Mary.ACC about self's *his lawyer
 'John asked Mary about his lawyer.'
- b. *Jan₁ zapytał Marię₂ o swojego₂/ jej₂ adwokata.*
 John.NOM asked Mary.ACC about self's her lawyer
 'John asked Mary about her lawyer.' (Willim, 1989, p. 70)

In (23a) only the possessive anaphor may refer to the subject John, whereas the possessive pronoun is unacceptable. In (23b) the possessive pronoun may only be co-referential with the complement Mary, not the subject John, whereas the possessive anaphor is totally illicit when co-referential with the complement.¹⁵ Actually,

15. Since anaphors are subject-oriented, whereas pronouns show anti-subject-orientation, it might seem that possessive anaphors and possessive pronouns are in complementary

Willim (1989, p. 71) proposes that in Polish an anaphor is bound if it is co-indexed with a c-commanding subject NP, otherwise it is free, which leads to ungrammaticality. A pronoun, in turn, is bound if it is co-indexed with a c-commanding subject NP and free otherwise. In fact, following Reinhart (1983), we suggest that possessive pronouns are bound in a special way, viz. they are affected by optional (or free) co-reference, and their reference is chosen from a pragmatically determined set.¹⁶ As we shall see in the paragraph below, the accusative and dative Experiencer, as in (22a) and (22b), occupies an A'-, not an A-position, and consequently, any co-reference between the Experiencer and the pronoun does not trigger Condition B violation if condition B is evaluated in the surface representation (cf. Lebeaux, 2009, who argues that Condition B does not apply solely at LF, but rather it must apply throughout the derivation).

The question that arises in relation to (22a) and (22b) concerns the position of the scrambled Experiencer. In particular, it is crucial to determine whether the Experiencer is scrambled to an A- or an A'-position. Witkoś (2008) argues that the scrambled Experiencer occupies an A-position, since it gives rise to Condition C effects, as illustrated by the sentences in (24) with a dative Experiencer, taken from Witkoś (2008, pp. 299–230), and by the corresponding example in (25), hosting an accusative Experiencer:¹⁷

- (24) a. [*Nowe książki o Janie₁*] *spodobały się*
 new books.NOM about John pleased REFL
jemu₁ samemu.
 him.DAT himself
 'New books about John pleased him himself.'
- b. ^{??}*Jemu₁ samemu spodobały się [nowe książki*
 him.DAT himself pleased REFL new books.NOM
o Janie₁].
 about Jan
 'New books about John pleased him himself.'

distribution in Polish. Actually, there are sentence positions in which both types of expression are allowed; the issue that will be tackled in Section 3.1.4.

16. Reinhart (1983, p. 49) states that: "If a pronoun is not marked as disjoint in reference from a given NP, its referential interpretation is free and whether it is assigned the same or different reference as a given NP is subject to pragmatic rather than syntactic considerations."

17. Germain (2017, p. 19) takes the pre-verbal position of the dative Experiencer in Russian to be Spec,FINP, which for her represents an A-position.

- (25) a. [*Nowe książki o Janie₁*] *fascynowały jego₁ samego*.
 new books.NOM about John fascinated him.ACC himself
 ‘New books about John fascinated him himself.’
- b. ^{??}*Jego₁ samego fascynowały [nowe książki o Janie₁]*.
 him.ACC himself fascinated new books.NOM about John
 ‘New books about John fascinated him himself.’

Witkoś (2008) notes that in (24a), where the nominative Stimulus occupies the preverbal position, there is no Condition C violation, as the pronoun does not c-command the R-expression. The same observation applies to (25a), hosting the accusative case marked Experiencer. In (24b), the dative Experiencer has been moved to the preverbal position and a violation of Condition C ensues. Exactly the same happens in the case of the scrambled accusative Experiencer in (25b). Since only A-type antecedents can trigger Condition C effects, the conclusion has been reached by Witkoś (2008) that the scrambled dative (or accusative) Experiencer has been moved to an A-, not an A'-position. However, the argumentation just presented only holds true if one assumes, the way Witkoś (2008) does, that the Stimulus c-commands the Experiencer in (24) and (25) (cf. footnote 18). If, however, the reverse is the case, and the Experiencer is generated higher than the Stimulus, as will be argued in the subsequent part of this chapter (cf. Sections 3.1.4 and 4.4), then the ungrammaticality of (24b) and (25b) may be accounted for in a different way. One may, in fact, argue that the Experiencer is scrambled to an A'-position in (24b) and (25b), and then it reconstructs at LF into its base position, where it c-commands and binds the R-expression within the Stimulus. This leads to Condition C violation, which is responsible for the deviance of these sentences. It seems that (24b) and (25b) also violate the Backward Pronominalisation Constraint (discussed in detail in Section 3.1.3), which blocks configurations in which the pronoun precedes the expression co-referential with it. The Backward Pronominalisation Constraint effects disappear once the co-referential item is scrambled to the left periphery of the clause, and hence precedes the pronoun, as in (24a) and (25a).

Moreover, Witkoś (2008, p. 303, 304) claims that an A-position of the scrambled Experiencer gets support from the fact that after scrambling the Experiencer creates new binding configurations, as in (26) below:

- (26) a. [*Nowe książki Kowalskich₁ o sobie_{1/2}*] *spodobały*
 new books Kowalskis' about each other pleased
się Nowakom₂.
 REFL Nowaks.DAT
 ‘Kowalskis’ new books about themselves/each other pleased the Nowaks.’

- b. *Nowakom*₂ *spodobały się* [*nowe książki Kowalskich*₁
 Nowaks.DAT pleased REFL new books Kowalskis'
*o sobie*_{1/2}].

about each other

'The Nowaks liked Kowalskis' new books about themselves/each other.'

In (26a), where the nominative Stimulus occupies the preverbal position, the anaphor *sobie* may only be bound by the possessor *Kowalskich* 'Kowalskis', contained within the bracketed DP. In (26b), on the other hand, the dative Experiencer has moved to the preverbal position and this time the anaphor *sobie* may be bound not only by the possessor within its own DP, but also by the dative Experiencer. Consequently, it seems that the scrambling of the Experiencer in (26b) extends the binding domain, and therefore it must target an A-position. Just like in (24), Witkoś assumes that the Stimulus in (26) is higher in the structure than the Experiencer.¹⁸ However, if the Experiencer is generated higher than the Stimulus in (26), and elsewhere, then the Experiencer would constitute a potential binder for the anaphor even in its base position. Consequently, one may argue that the scrambled Experiencer *Nowakom* 'Nowaks' in (26b) lands in an A'-position, and hence reconstructs at LF into its base position, from which it c-commands and binds the anaphor within the Stimulus, alongside with the closer potential binder, i.e. *Kowalskich* 'Kowalskis', contained within the Stimulus DP. In (26a), where only the local DP can bind the anaphor, the Stimulus occupies an A-position and hence does not reconstruct below the Experiencer at LF. Therefore, at LF the dative Experiencer *Nowakom* 'the Nowaks' does not c-command or bind the anaphor within the Stimulus argument. Consequently, the data like (26) do not provide any evidence in favour of an A-position of the scrambled Experiencer (for more evidence that the scrambled Experiencer lands in an A', not an A-position, cf. the pronomi-

18. Reviewer 1 asks what arguments Witkoś (2008) provides to support the claim that the Stimulus is structurally higher than the Experiencer. Actually, the evidence that the Stimulus c-commands the Experiencer is only indirect in Witkoś (2008), and it follows from the binding facts he discusses, viz. the data like (24) and (26). For Witkoś (2008), only after the Experiencer has been scrambled to an A-position, as in (24b) and (26b), can it c-command the Stimulus. This makes us conclude that in Witkoś's (2008) account, the Stimulus is generated higher than the Experiencer in (24) and (26), and the Experiencer does not c-command the Stimulus from its base position. If the Experiencer were structurally higher than the Stimulus, as argued here, then the Experiencer would c-command the Stimulus from its base position, and the data in (24b) and (26b) would not provide any evidence for scrambling to an A-position, but would be accounted for by means of A'-movement and reconstruction, the way it is done in the text above.

nal variable binding facts, presented in Section 3.2).¹⁹ Since there is no convincing evidence that the accusative or dative Experiencer is scrambled to an A-position, we assume that the scrambled Experiencer is associated with an A'-position.

Further evidence for an A'-position of the scrambled Experiencer may be obtained from the fact that accusative and dative Experiencers may move across a clausal boundary, in a way typical of A'-movement (cf. Willim, 1989; Witkoś, 1993). This is illustrated in (27) and (28) below:

(27) *Marka*₁ *chcemy* [*żeby* *interesowała* *t*₁ *polityka*].²⁰
 Mark.ACC we.want so.that interest politics.NOM
 'We want politics to interest Mark.'

(28) *Markowi*₁ *chcemy* [*żeby* *podobała* *się* *t*₁ *polityka*].²¹
 Mark.DAT we.want so.that appeal REFL politics.NOM
 'We want politics to appeal to Mark.'

Since both accusative and dative Experiencers may be scrambled across a CP-boundary, their movement must be of an A'-type, not an A-type. Moreover, scrambling of the two types of Experiencers is constrained by islands, in a way typical of A'-movement. Compare the data in (29) and (30), which show an extraction out of a complex NP, as well as the examples in (31) and (32), which exhibit extraction across a *wh*-island:

19. Reviewer 2 rightly notes that more complex data, as in (i) below, receive a more natural account if the dative Experiencer lands in an A-position:

(i) *Nowakom*₂ *spodobały* *się* [*książki* *Kowalskich*₁ *o*
 Nowaks.DAT liked REFL books.NOM Kowalskis' about
*sobie*_{1/2}]₃ *z powodu* *swojej*₃ *brutalnej* *szczerości*.
 each other/themselves because of self's brutal honesty
 'The Nowaks liked Kowalskis' books about themselves/each other because of their
 brutal honesty.' (Witkoś, 2008, p. 307)

In (i) the dative Experiencer can bind into the nominative Stimulus, which in turn can serve as a binder of the anaphor within the Cause phrase. Consequently, both must be found in an A-position. If the dative Experiencer were reconstructed at LF, then it would end up lower than the nominative Stimulus moved to an A-position that does not reconstruct at LF. Hence, the anaphor within the nominative Stimulus would end up not being c-commanded by the dative Experiencer.

20. The symbol *t* stands for the trace of the moved constituent, and is used for the sake of convenience, without bearing any theoretical significance.

21. The trace in (28) is placed VP-internally. However, in Section 3.1.4, we will argue that dative Experiencers act as external, not internal, arguments in Polish.

- (29) **Marka*₁ *czytałem [książkę [która interesowała t₁]].*
 Mark.ACC I.read book.ACC which interested
 ‘*Mark I read the book that interested.’
- (30) **Markowi*₁ *czytałem [książkę [która się podobała t₁]].*²²
 Mark.DAT I.read book.ACC which REFL appealed
 ‘*Mark I read the book that appealed to.’
- (31) ?**Marka*₁ *zastanawiali się [co interesuje t₁].*
 Mark.ACC they.wondered REFL what interests
 ‘*Mark they wondered what interests.’
- (32) ?**Markowi*₁ *zastanawiali się [kto się podoba t₁].*
 Mark.DAT they.wondered REFL who.NOM REFL appeals
 ‘*Mark they wondered who will appeal to.’

The data in (29) and (30) demonstrate that extraction of an accusative or dative Experiencer out of a complex NP leads to ungrammaticality. Examples (31) and (32) show that accusative and dative Experiencers cannot be moved out of a *wh*-island, either. Since the scrambling of a dative or accusative Experiencer is subject to island constraints, it must represent an A'-type of movement.

In the literature, Tajsner (2008), Wiland (2016), Jiménez-Fernández and Rozwadowska (2016, 2017), and Gogłóza and Łęska (2018) argue that the Experiencer is scrambled to an A'-position. For Tajsner (2008), the only reason why the scrambled Experiencer must be associated with an A'-position is related to the fact that sentences such as (33) below are ungrammatical:

- (33) **Marka*₁ *martwią swoje*₁ *długi.*
 Mark.ACC worry.IPFV self's debts.NOM
 ‘His debts worry Mark.’

If the accusative Experiencer in (33) were placed in an A-position, Tajsner (2008) argues, it should be able to license the subject-oriented anaphor *swój* in (33). However, Tajsner (2008) fails to notice that the possessive anaphor in (33) is blocked by the AAE (cf. Section 3.1.1), as it is found in the position construed with agreement. Consequently, the ungrammaticality of (33) has nothing to do with the alleged A'-position of the scrambled Experiencer, but directly follows from the AAE. For Wiland (2016), (33) is excluded as an instance of Condition C violation since he argues that the first step in the derivation of sentences like (33) involves movement of the Stimulus argument to a position from which it c-commands the

22. Sentence (30) is grammatical if *Markowi* ‘Mark.DAT’ is interpreted as an argument of the matrix verb *czytać* ‘to read’.

Experiencer.²³ Wiland (2016) notes that the further movement of the dative Experiencer to an A'-position in sentences like (33) does not alter the binding configuration.²⁴ In order to account for the ungrammaticality of (24b) and (25b), Wiland (2016) appeals to the reconstruction of the Experiencer to its base position, which is above the Stimulus, and from which it c-commands and binds an R-expression contained within the Stimulus. Wiland's (2016) explanation of the ungrammaticality of sentences like (24b) and (25b) thus mimics the account advanced here.

Having argued that the accusative and dative Experiencer is scrambled to an A'-position, we must address the question of what motivates the movement of the Experiencer to the left periphery of the clause and what is the exact landing site of the Experiencer. Following Jiménez-Fernández and Rozwadowska (2016), we assume that the scrambled Experiencer functions as an Aboutness-Topic (A-topic) in all-focus sentences, viz. it functions as a starting point of the message (for a different view concerning the information structure of dative Experiencers in Russian, cf. Germain, 2017). This is supported by the fact that the Experiencer-first order may be used as an answer to the question such as (34):

- (34) *Co słycać?*
 what to.hear
 'What is up?'

The question in (34) may be answered either with the Experiencer-first order, as in (35a), or with the Stimulus-first order, as in (35b), depending on which of them is chosen to be the starting point of the conversation:

23. Wiland (2016, footnote 4) assumes that the referential features of the possessive anaphor percolate to the DP, as in Despić (2013).

24. Following Tajsner (2008, p. 349), Wiland (2016) observes that once the anaphor is embedded, as in (i) below, Condition C is not violated, as the co-referential DP, embedded within the larger DP, does not c-command the R-expression:

- (i) *Jana₁ przestraszył [stan swojego₁ konta].*
 John.ACC frightened balance.NOM self's account.GEN
 'John was frightened by the balance of his bank account.' Wiland (2016, p. 160)

However, the grammaticality of sentence (i) is not warranted and a lot of native speakers of Polish only find a sentence like (i) grammatical if the anaphor is replaced with the pronoun, as in (ii):

- (ii) *Jana₁ przestraszył [stan jego₁ konta].*
 John.ACC frightened balance.NOM his account.GEN
 'John was frightened by the balance of his bank account.'

- (35) a. *Markowi podobają się czeskie filmy.*
 Mark.DAT appeal.3PL REFL Czech films.NOM
 ‘Czech films appeal to Mark.’
- b. *Czeskie filmy podobają się Markowi.*
 Czech films.NOM appeal.3PL REFL Mark.DAT
 ‘Czech films appeal to Mark.’

According to Jiménez-Fernández and Rozwadowska (2016), the topic feature of the Experiencer is checked in Spec,CP, which is an A²-position.^{25,26} In the further analysis, we adopt the motivation behind the scrambling of the Experiencer, proposed by Jiménez-Fernández and Rozwadowska (2016), as well as the Spec,CP position of the scrambled Experiencer. However, our account differs from that of Jiménez-Fernández and Rozwadowska (2016) in the way the movement of the Experiencer to Spec,CP is implemented (cf. Section 5.3).

3.1.3 *Anti-Cataphora Effects*

If the possessive anaphor is replaced with the possessive pronoun in sentences that are blocked by the AAE such as (12) and (13) above, but the Experiencer is not scrambled to the left periphery of the clause, the resulting structure is ungrammatical, as can be seen in (36) and (37) below:

- (36) **?Jego₁ długi martwią Marka₁.*
 his debts.NOM worry.IPFV Mark.ACC
 ‘His debts worry Mark.’
- (37) **?Ich₁ zabawki podobają się dzieciom₁.*
 their toys.NOM appeal.IPFV REFL children.DAT
 ‘Their toys appeal to children.’

In fact, the degradation effect on the bound reading of the pronoun, observed in (36) and (37), can also be found in structures with non-psych verbs, as in (38):

- (38) **?Jego₁ dzieci utrzymują Marka₁.*
 his children.NOM keep.up.IPFV Mark.ACC
 ‘His children keep up Mark.’

25. Likewise, Kučerová (2012) treats scrambling in Czech as involving movement of the given material to the left peripheral position in a clause.

26. However, Germain (2017, Chapter 3) argues that neither the dative-first nor the nominative-first word order in the case of Russian psych verbs is associated with any information structure effects.

The reduced acceptability of (36) and (37), as well as of (38), may be regarded as resulting from the fact that the pronoun precedes its antecedent, which makes the bound interpretation harder to obtain. For Witkoś (2008), sentences such as (38) are highly degraded, because Polish obeys the Backward Pronominalisation Constraint, reproduced in (39):

- (39) Backward Pronominalisation Constraint
 (Pol) * ... [_{NP} pron_i N] ... > ... NP_i ...
 (Witkoś, 2008, p. 318)

The constraint in (39) is meant to capture the so-called Anti-Cataphora Effects (henceforth, ACE), found in a number of Slavic languages, including Russian (Nikolaeva, 2014) and Serbo-Croatian (Despić, 2011, 2013). ACE arise in case a pronoun precedes a co-referential R-expression that it does not c-command from its overt position, as in (36)–(38).²⁷ ACE will be discussed in more detail in Section 3.2.

3.1.4 Backward binding by accusative and dative Experiencers

If the AAE is controlled for, then the dative Experiencer may bind the anaphor within the Stimulus. This is shown in (40):

- (40) *Marii_i jest żal siebie_i/ *jej_i.*
 Mary.DAT is pity herself.GEN *her.GEN
 ‘Mary feels pity for herself.’

In (40), the Stimulus is realised as the anaphor which bears the genitive case, and hence cannot be construed with agreement. Consequently, the AAE is inoperative in (40). The anaphor in (40) can be bound by the dative Experiencer, while the co-referential pronoun is disallowed in the same context. Other predicates which resemble *żal* ‘pity’ in (40) in that they can license anaphors within the Stimulus bound by the dative Experiencer include *wstyd* ‘shame’, *strach* ‘fear’, *szkoda* ‘pity’ (cf. Bondaruk & Szymanek, 2007), etc., which represent non-verbal psych predicates (see Willim, this volume, who argues that the dative Experiencer found in the impersonal middle can bind subject-oriented anaphors, in a way analogous to the dative Experiencer of non-verbal psych predicates in Polish). In contradistinction to dative Experiencers

27. As has been mentioned in relation to (24) and (25), Backward Pronominalisation Constraint effects are ameliorated once the antecedent is scrambled to the left periphery of the clause, as shown in (i) below, which corresponds to (22a) above:

- (i) *Marka_i martwią jego_i długi.*
 Mark.ACC worry his debts.NOM
 ‘His debts worry Mark.’

found with non-verbal psych predicates, accusative case marked Experiencers do not generally bind anaphors in Polish, as shown in (41) below:

- (41) *Marię₁ już mierzi od [?]swoich₁ / jej₁ kłamstw.*
 Mary.ACC already disgusts.IPFV from self's her lies.GEN
 'Mary is already disgusted with her lies.'

In (41), the accusative Experiencer is the sole possible binder for the anaphor contained within the genitive case marked Stimulus. Since neither of the two DPs in (41) determines verbal agreement, the AAE has no role to play, in a way similar to (40). Consequently, the ungrammaticality of the possessive anaphor in (41) cannot follow from the AAE, but seems to result from the inability of accusative Experiencers to bind anaphors in Polish.²⁸

It is worth mentioning the fact that in cases where the anaphor is not a co-argument of the dative Experiencer, it may well be replaced with the possessive pronoun, as shown in (42):

- (42) *Marii₁ jest żal swego₁ / jej₁ brata.*
 Mary.DAT is pity self's her brother.GEN
 'Mary feels pity for her brother.'

Sentence (42) clearly demonstrates that possessive anaphors and possessive pronouns are not always in complementary distribution in Polish.²⁹ The way out of this problem is put forward by Nikolaeva (2014), who observes similar binding patterns in Russian. Nikolaeva (2014) proposes that anaphors and pronouns are allomorphs of the same entity, called index, which represents a referential element, viz. D⁰, without any lexical content. The index undergoes movement at LF in search of a binder and its ultimate spell out, as a pronoun or an anaphor, is determined by reflexivization rules.³⁰ According to Nikolaeva (2014), the lack of complementary

28. Reviewer 2 notes that an example like (i) below, in which the accusative argument binds the anaphor, sounds perfectly fine. However, we believe that (i) does not in fact contain a predicate that can be unquestionably classed as psychological, and therefore it is left aside here:

- (i) *Odrzuciło ją₁ od siebie₁ / *niej₁.*
 put-off her.ACC from herself.GEN her.GEN
 'She was put off herself.'

29. However, the lack of complementarity between possessive anaphors and possessive pronouns is not found with nominative Experiencers, as in (i) below:

- (i) *Maria₁ żałuje swojego₁ / jej₁ brata.*
 Mary.NOM feels.pity self's her brother.GEN
 'Mary feels pity for her brother.'

30. According to Nikolaeva (2014, p. 68), reflexivization is regulated by the following two rules:

distribution between reflexives and pronouns, as in (42), results from the fact that an index of a non-co-argument may either stay in a position where it is subject to reflexivization or may move higher, where it can no longer be spelt out as a reflexive. However, if an index is a co-argument of its antecedent, as in (40), the index always moves to the position where it is subjected to reflexivization. The details of Nikolaeva's (2014) analysis are not relevant for the further discussion, and can be found in Nikolaeva (2014, chapter 4) (for the application of Nikolaeva's index raising to Polish data like (42), cf. Witkoś et al., 2018a, as well as Gogłozka & Łęska, 2018; see also Germain, 2017, chapter 4, who relies on Nikolaeva's 2014 proposal to account for the lack of complementarity between possessive anaphors and possessive pronouns with non-verbal psych predicates in Russian).

The fact that dative Experiencers, found with non-verbal psych predicates, as in (40) and (42) above, can unquestionably bind anaphors makes them distinct from non-Experiencer dative arguments which can never bind anaphors. This is demonstrated in (43), which contains a dative Goal:³¹

- (43) *Marek₁ dał Marii₂ swój_{1/*2} / *jego₁ / jej₂ samochód.*
 Mark.NOM gave Mary.DAT self's *his her car.ACC
 'Mark gave Mary his/her car.'

In (43), the anaphor cannot be co-referential with the dative Goal in the presence of the nominative case marked DP.

It has been noted above that accusative Experiencers can never bind anaphors (cf. (41)). This way, accusative Experiencers resemble accusative arguments in the adversity impersonal structure (Lavine & Franks, 2008), as in (44):

- (i) Co-argument Reflexivization: if an index is at a reflexivization site and is co-indexed with a specifier which is its co-argument, the index has to be realized as reflexive.
- (ii) Reflexivization at spell-out: when the sentence is sent to spell-out, if an index is co-indexed with the specifier of the projection to which it is adjoined, the index has to be realized as reflexive.

The 'reflexivization site' in (i) is understood as follows:

- (iii) Reflexivization site: an index is sister to a node with label D/v/T and is c-commanded by a specifier. (Nikolaeva, 2014, p. 68)

The index is realized as a pronoun if neither of the two conditions in (i) and (ii) is met. Consequently, the pronominal realization of an index is regarded by Nikolaeva (2014) as an elsewhere case.

31. Likewise, datives in existential sentences like (i) below cannot serve as anaphor binders:

- (i) *Markowi₁ brakowało pieniędzy na *swoim₁ / jego₁ koncie.*
 Mark.DAT lacked money.GEN in self's his account
 'Some money was lacking in Mark's account.'

- (44) *Marię₁ zablokowało po *swoim₁/ jej₁ występie.*
 Mary.ACC blocked after self's her performance
 'Mary got blocked after her performance.'

In (44), the anaphor is not licensed by the accusative case marked argument, in a way similar to (41).

The question that arises at this stage is what makes dative Experiencers with non-verbal predicates, as in (40) and (42), licit anaphor binders in Polish, in contradistinction to accusative Experiencers. Before addressing this question, let us mention the fact that Nikolaeva (2014) analyses the binding potential of Experiencers in Russian and notes that both accusative and dative Experiencers in Russian can bind anaphors, in contradistinction to non-Experiencer arguments. Actually, in Russian accusative Experiencers can bind anaphors within the nominative Stimulus, which points towards the conclusion that the AAE is not operative in Russian. This is confirmed by the data like (45) below, taken from Nikolaeva (2014, p. 41).

- (45) *Ninu₁ volnovalo svoë₁ otryaženie v zerkale.*
 Nina.ACC worried self's reflection.NOM in mirror
 'Her reflection in the mirror worried Nina.'

Dative Experiencers in Russian, in turn, mimic the behaviour of their Polish counterparts, as shown in (46), cited after Nikolaeva (2014, p. 72) (cf. also Germain, 2017, chapter 4).

- (46) a. *Vanje₁ žal' sebja₁/ *ego₁.*
 Vanja.DAT pity self.ACC *him.ACC
 'Vanja is sorry for himself.'
 b. *Vanje₁ žal' svoix₁/ ego₁ družej.*
 Vanja.DAT pity sefl his friends.ACC
 'Vanja feels sorry for his friends.'

Sentence (46a) corresponds to (40) above, while (46b) resembles (42). Nikolaeva (2014) also notes that in Russian the predicate *tošnit'* 'to nauseate' is ambiguous between the 'bad health' interpretation and the psychological interpretation. However, whenever reflexivization takes place, only the latter interpretation is possible, as shown in (47), while (48) with the possessive pronoun can give rise to both interpretations:

- (47) *Mašu₁ tošnit ot sebja₁/ ot svojej₁ strjpani.*
 Maša.ACC nauseates from self's from self's cooking
 'Maša is sick of herself/ of her cooking.'

- (48) *Mašu_i tošnit ot eš_i strjpani.*
 Maša.ACC nauseates from her cooking
 ‘Maša is sick of her cooking.’ or ‘Maša is nauseous from her cooking.’
 (Nikolaeva, 2014, p. 76)

The contrast in interpretation between (47) and (48) makes Nikolaeva postulate that the accusative Experiencer in (47) is placed in Spec,vP and from this position it binds the subject-oriented reflexive, whereas the accusative DP in (48) is located in Spec,VP, and therefore it cannot bind the reflexive, only the possessive pronoun. This is so, because in Nikolaeva’s (2014) model, reflexivization is restricted to v and T, but not to V, which accounts for the subject orientation of anaphors in Russian.

The contrast between (47) and (48), present in Russian, does not seem to hold in Polish, as shown in (49) and (50):

- (49) *Marię_i już mdli od [?]*swoich₁/jej₁*
 Mary.ACC already nauseates.IPFV from ?*self’s her
ulubionych cukierków.
 favourite sweets.GEN
 ‘Mary is already sick of her favourite sweets.’ or ‘Mary is already nauseous from her favourite sweets.’
- (50) *Marię_i już mdli od [?]*swoich₁/jej₁ kłamstw.*
 Mary.ACC already nauseates.IPFV from *self’s her lies
 ‘Mary is already sick of her lies.’

In (49), which seems to favour a bad health interpretation (although it also admits a psych interpretation), the possessive anaphor is not licensed, as predicted by Nikolaeva’s (2014) analysis. However, the unacceptability of (50), which only gives rise to the psych interpretation, with the possessive anaphor indicates that Polish differs from Russian in that it fails to license anaphors in the presence of accusative Experiencers. Consequently, the data like (49) and (50) do not provide any evidence for the claim that the accusative Experiencer in Polish may be associated with either Spec,VP or Spec,vP, depending on the interpretation involved.

Following Nikolaeva’s (2014) analysis of analogous Russian data, we would like to suggest that dative Experiencers, attested with non-verbal psych predicates in Polish, must originate in Spec,vP, because they can actually bind reflexives, as in (40) above.³² Since they are generated in the base position of the subject, dative

32. Reviewer 1 points out that subject-orientation of anaphors is here understood as being bound by an antecedent placed in Spec,vP, not in Spec,TP. Actually, both positions – Spec,vP

Experiencers can bind subject-oriented anaphors, as in (40).³³ We leave it aside here why the binding of both the possessive pronoun and the possessive anaphor is possible when they do not act as co-arguments of the dative Experiencer, as in (42). It might be tentatively suggested that the position of the dative Experiencer relevant for binding the possessive anaphor is Spec,vP, while the binding of the possessive pronoun results from the free co-reference, as suggested after Reinhart (1983) in Section 3.1.2, with the pronoun co-referential with the scrambled Experiencer in an A'-position.

Turning back to Class III verbal predicates, it has been stated in Section 3.1.1 that dative Experiencers found with these verbs do not bind anaphors, as illustrated in (51) below (cf. also (13)):³⁴

- (51) *Dziociom_i podobają się *swoje_i/ ich_i zabawki.*
 children.DAT appeal.to.PL REFL self's their toys.NOM
 'Their toys appeal to the children.'

The reason why no anaphor binding can take place in (51) is the AAE, which blocks anaphors in positions construed with agreement. Additionally, it has been mentioned in Section 3.1.2 that there are some infrequent cases where the dative Experiencer, found with Class III OE verbs, may bind the anaphor within the Stim-

and Spec,TP – are relevant for the subject-orientation of anaphors. The Spec,TP position has a role to play in forward binding, analysed in Section 3.1.5 below, and illustrated in (i) below:

- (i) *Marek_i podoba się sobie_i.*
 Mark.NOM appeals REFL himself.DAT
 'Mark appeals to himself.'

In (i), it is the nominative Stimulus that binds the anaphor after it has moved to Spec,TP, while it is the dative Experiencer that occupies the Spec,vP position. For the derivation of the Stimulus-first word order, cf. Section 5.2.

33. Poole (2016) argues that in Hindi dative-nominative structures, the dative Experiencer can bind subject oriented anaphors, and therefore the dative acts as an external argument, generated in Spec,vP, while the nominative corresponds to the internal argument. Likewise, Bayer (2004) notes that in German, dative Experiencers are external, while the nominative Stimulus is internal. A different stance is taken by Jurczyk (2015) in relation to the dative Experiencer in Polish. For Jurczyk (2015), the dative Experiencer is projected in Spec,VP, while the nominative Stimulus occupies the Spec,vP position.

34. Russian behaves like Polish in that it does not license anaphor binding by dative Experiencers of Class III verbs. This is illustrated in (i) below, taken from Citko et al. (2018, p. 23):

- (i) *Devuške_i ne nraivitsja eĭ_i/*svoj_i sviter.*
 girl.DAT not appeal.to her self's sweater.NOM
 'The girl does not like her sweater.'

ulus. The relevant example is [26b] from Witkoś (2008, pp. 303–304), repeated for convenience below:

- [26b] *Nowakom₂ spodobały się [nowe książki Kowalskich₁*
Nowaks.DAT pleased REFL new books Kowalskis'
o sobie_{1/2}].
 about themselves
 'The Nowaks liked Kowalskis' new books about themselves/each other.'

In [26b], the anaphor is embedded within the nominative Stimulus and is marked for the instrumental, hence the AAE does not block it. As has been argued in Section 3.1.2, the dative Experiencer in this case is reconstructed at LF to its base position from which it binds the anaphor. Since the dative Experiencer in [26b] can bind the subject-oriented anaphor from its base position, the conclusion must be reached that it is first merged in Spec,vP, the position of an external argument. Similarly, Witkoś et al. (2017) observe that even possessive anaphors may be bound by dative Experiencers, as in (52), subject to varying native speakers' judgements.³⁵

- (52) *Jankowi₁ podobały się listy od swoich₁/ jego₁ fanek.*
John.DAT appealed.to.PFV REFL letters from self's.GEN his.GEN fans
 'Letters from his fans appealed to John.'

In (52), both the possessive anaphor and the possessive pronoun are acceptable to some native speakers of Polish, which makes it very much like example (42) above with the dative Experiencer of a non-verbal psych predicate.

Since the dative Experiencer of Class III predicates can bind anaphors (cf. (26b) and (52)), subject to the AAE and speaker variation, the conclusion must be reached that it occupies a Spec,vP position, in a way similar to the dative Experiencer found with non-verbal psych predicates, as in (40) and (42) above (contra Jiménez-Fernández and Rozwadowska (2017), for whom the dative Experiencer

35. Additionally, Dziwirek (1994, p. 135) mentions data like (i) below, where the dative Experiencer of Class III verb binds the anaphor within the adjunct *dla* 'for'-phrase.

- (i) *Ta sukienka podobała się Ewie₁ dla siebie_p, a nie dla mamy.*
 this dress.NOM appealed.to REFL Eve.DAT for self but not for mum
 'Eve liked this dress for herself, not for her mum.'

Likewise, the dative Experiencer in (ii) below can bind the anaphor:

- (ii) *Marii₁ nudziło się w swoim₁/ jej₁ domu.*
 Mary.DAT bored REFL in self's her house
 'Mary was bored in her house.'

of Class III predicates occupies Spec,VP). Since dative Experiencers are taken to be generated in Spec,vP, which corresponds to the base position of external arguments, OE verbs which host dative Experiencers (or, in other words, Class III OE verbs) cannot be treated as unaccusative (contra Miechowicz-Mathiasen and Scheffler (2008), and Gogłóza and Łęska (2018)).

Since accusative Experiencers fail to license subject-oriented anaphors in Polish, they cannot be associated with a high position, viz. Spec,vP, but instead are generated VP-internally. This conclusion only partly overlaps with the claims made by Witkoś et al. (2018a), who argue that for some Polish speakers accusative Experiencers can bind anaphors which are deeply embedded within the Stimulus, as in (53) below, taken from Tajsner (2008, p. 349):³⁶

- (53) *Marię₁ irytowały [historie ze %swojego₁ dzieciństwa].*³⁷
 Mary.ACC irritated.IPFV stories.NOM from self's childhood
 'Stories from her childhood irritated Mary.'

To account for the fact that accusative Experiencers may bind anaphors embedded within the Stimulus, as in (53) above, subject to speaker variation in Polish (cf. also footnotes 24 and 36), Witkoś et al. (2018a) propose that *v*, being a phase head, is equipped with unvalued ϕ -features and the EPP feature, and thus triggers movement of the Experiencer from its base position to Spec,vP. It is the derived position that must be relevant for anaphor binding in (53), for those speakers who find it acceptable. For those who only accept the possessive pronoun, not the possessive anaphor, in (53), Witkoś et al. (2018a) argue that the phase head *v* transfers its ϕ -features and EPP-feature onto *V* (cf. Citko, 2014), and consequently the accusative Experiencer ends up in Spec,VP, the position from which it can only license possessive pronouns. Witkoś et al. (2018a) assume that the feature transfer between *v* and *V* is lexically governed, and it is arrested for OE verbs in Polish, for those who find the possessive anaphor in sentences like (53) acceptable. For those

36. Reviewer 2 observes that some examples with an accusative Experiencer binding an anaphor like (i) below do not sound bad:

- (i) *Marię przeraził stan ?swojego/ jej konta w banku.*
 Mary.ACC frightened balance.NOM self's her account in bank
 'The balance in her bank account frightened Mary.'

We agree with the reviewer that more empirical studies must be run to throw new light on the issue of acceptability judgements that native speakers provide for cases where accusative Experiencers act as anaphor binders in Polish.

37. The % symbol indicates that native speakers' judgements concerning (53) are not unanimous.

speakers who admit just possessive pronouns in sentences like (53), the feature transfer between *v* and *V* does indeed take place for OE verbs, just like for other transitive verbs. Although Witkoś et al.'s (2018a) analysis is capable of accounting for the speaker variation just described, it gives rise to the following problem: the EPP feature associated with *v* is normally treated as an escape hatch for A'-movement (Chomsky, 2000, 2001), whereas in Witkoś et al. (2018a), this feature triggers A-movement, as the accusative Experiencer moved to this position can participate in anaphor binding. The problem of the alleged speaker variation attested for the data like (53) also calls for a thorough examination.³⁸

3.1.5 Forward binding

Stative Class II and Class III OE verbs in Polish can license forward binding. This is shown in (54) and (55) below:

(54) *Marek*₁ *fascynuje* *?(samego) siebie*₁.
 Mark.NOM fascinates.IPFV him.ACC himself
 'Mark fascinates himself.'

(55) *Marta*₁ *podoba* *się sobie*₁.
 Martha.NOM appeals.IPFV REFL herself.DAT
 'Martha appeals to herself.'

Sentence (54) sounds better if the anaphor in the Experiencer position is accompanied by the emphatic pronoun *sam*. In (55) the anaphor, corresponding to the dative Experiencer, can be bound by the *c*-commanding nominative Stimulus.³⁹ The grammaticality status of forward binding with stative Class II OE verbs improves (cf. (54)) if instead of the reflexive anaphor, the reciprocal anaphor is used, as in (56):⁴⁰

(56) [*Marek i Maria*]₁ *fascynują* [*siebie (nawzajem)*]₁.
 Mark.NOM and Mary.NOM fascinate.IPFV each.ACC other
 'Mark and Mary fascinate each other.'

38. The native speakers consulted for the sake for this analysis unanimously reject examples like (53).

39. Sentence (55) shows that Polish allows forward binding with Class III OE verbs, and this way it differs from English, in which the anaphor in place of the dative Experiencer is only marginally acceptable (Postal, 1971):

(i) ??John appeals to himself. (Rákosi, 2006, p. 170)

40. Forward binding also improves with reciprocals in the case of Hungarian OE verbs (Rákosi, 2015).

The data in (54)–(56) show that the nominative Stimulus can c-command and bind the subject-oriented anaphor. However, beside sentences like (54)–(56), there are cases where no forward binding is possible. One such example is provided in (57) below:

- (57) **[Marek i Maria]₁ interesują [siebie (nawzajem)]₁.*
 Mark.NOM and Mary.NOM interest.IPFV each.ACC other
 ‘Mark and Mary interest each other.’

Sentence (57) improves once instead of an OE verb *interesować* ‘to interest’, its reflexive Subject Experiencer variant *interesować się* ‘to be interested’ is used, as in (58):

- (58) *[Marek i Maria]₁ interesują się [sobą (nawzajem)]₁.*
 Mark.NOM and Mary.NOM are.interested REFL each.INS other
 ‘Mark and Mary are interested in each other.’

Consequently, it seems whereas the Class II OE verbs behave in a non-uniform way with respect to forward binding, Class III verbs regularly license this kind of binding.

3.2 Pronominal variable binding with accusative and dative Experiencers in Polish

Backward binding of pronominal variables is licensed by accusative and dative Experiencers in English. This is shown in (59) and (60), where the pronoun contained within the Stimulus may be bound by the quantifier phrase, corresponding to the accusative or dative Experiencer, respectively:

- (59) *[His₁ health] worries [every patient]₁.* (Reinhart, 2001, p. 2)
 (60) *[His₁ solution] appealed to [every student]₁.* (Reinhart, 2001, p. 3)

Sentences (59) and (60) contrast in grammaticality with (61), in which there is no psychological verb, but an ordinary agentive predicate. Sentence (61) is ruled out as a standard violation of Weak Crossover (cf. Chomsky, 1981; Koopman & Sportiche, 1982; Hornstein, 1995, *inter alia*). In (61), the quantifier undergoes Quantifier Raising (henceforth, QR) at LF in order to make sure that the pronoun falls within its scope. While moving to its scope position at LF, the QP in (61) crosses the pronoun, which violates the Weak Crossover, and hence gives rise to ungrammaticality.

- (61) **[His₁ doctor] visited [every patient]₁.* (Reinhart, 2001, p. 2)

The licensing of backward binding of pronominal variables by stative Class II and Class III OE verbs, as in (59) and (60), commonly serves as evidence that the

accusative or dative Experiencer underlyingly c-commands and binds the pronominal variable. As a result, there is no need for the quantifier to undergo QR so that the pronoun would fall within its scope, and therefore, there is no violation of the Weak Crossover in sentences like (59) and (60).

It is worth noting that bound-variable anaphora involves c-command by an argument from an A-position (Reinhart, 1983; Büring, 2004, among others). The Weak Crossover violation arises if the item that has “crossed over” has moved to an A²-position, not to an A-position, and hence is incapable of binding the variable. Consequently, A²-binding dependencies and pronominal variable binding configurations must be kept separate.

Having demonstrated that backward binding of pronominal variables is possible in the case of English stative OE verbs, let us now turn to Polish stative Class II and Class III OE verbs in order to check whether they can give rise to this kind of binding. It seems that Polish does not allow backward binding of pronominal variables by accusative and dative Experiencers, found with stative OE verbs, as can be seen in (62) and (63):⁴¹

(62) **[Jego₁ porażki] martwiły [każdego zawodnika]₁.*
 his defeats.NOM worried.IPFV every player.ACC
 ‘His defeats worried every player.’

(63) **[Jego₁ zabawki] podobały się [każdemu dziecku]₁.*
 his toys.NOM appealed.IPFV REFL every child.DAT
 ‘His toys appealed to every child.’

At first glance, it might appear that sentences (62) and (63) are ungrammatical, because the pronominal variable fails to be bound by the accusative or dative Experiencer. This explanation, however, is problematic in the light of the fact that both (62) and (63) seem to show the pattern typical of ACE, depicted in (39) above, and illustrated in (36)–(38). In (62) and (63), the possessive pronoun precedes, but does not c-command, the co-referential QP which is symptomatic of ACE. As a result, in order to determine the source of the ungrammaticality of (62) and (63), the ACE must be controlled for. Anti-Cataphora Effects tend to disappear once the pronoun is embedded (cf. Witkoś, 2008). Therefore in (64) and (65) below, an attempt has been made to embed the pronominal variable deep

41. Both (62) and (63) have the verb in the past tense in order to control for event genericity which makes the bound reading available for the pronominal variable, even in the absence of c-command (cf. Temme & Verhoeven, 2017), as shown in (i) below:

(i) Her₁ thesis year is the hardest for every₁ student. (Fox & Sauerland, 1996, (32))

within the Stimulus in order to check whether this affects the grammaticality of the bound pronoun.

- (64) ?[*Informacje w prasie o jego₁ porażkach*] *martwiły*
 information.NOM in press about his defeats worried
 [*każdego zawodnika*]₁.
 every player.ACC
 ‘The information in press about his defeats worried every player.’
- (65) ?[*Niskie ceny jego₁ ulubionych zabawek*] *podobały się*
 low prices.NOM its favourite toys appealed REFL
 [*każdemu dziecku*]₁.
 every child.DAT
 ‘Low prices of its favourite toys appealed to every child.’

Despite the fact that sentences (64) and (65) are not perfect, they are much better than (62) and (63), which makes it clear that the ungrammaticality of (62) and (63) follows from Anti-Cataphora Effects.⁴² The sentences in (64) and (65) are degraded, because they violate the WCO, since in this case the QP has raised at LF across the co-referential pronoun. WCO violations in Polish, however, are not felt to be strongly unacceptable (cf. Witkoś, 2008, who observes that in OVS orders WCO effects are absent altogether, and they are mild in OSV orders in Polish).⁴³

Sentences (62) and (63), which are banned as instantiations of ACE, can license bound pronominal variables once the accusative or dative Experiencer, corresponding to the QP, has been scrambled, as in (66) and (67):

- (66) [*Każdego przedsiębiorcę*]₁ *martwiły* [*jego₁ długi*].
 every entrepreneur.ACC worried his debt.NOM
 ‘His debt worried every entrepreneur.’
- (67) [*Każdemu dziecku*]₁ *podobały się* [*jego₁ zabawki*].
 every child.DAT appealed REFL his toys.NOM
 ‘His toys appealed to every child.’

42. Nikolaeva (2014) and Antonyuk (2015) observe that the embedding of the pronoun does not improve the grammaticality status of Russian sentences with QPs. However, Ukrainian seems to pattern in a way analogous to Polish, as noted by Antonyuk (2015, p. 49).

43. Witkoś (2008, p. 316–317) notes that sentences with the OVS word order, as in (i) below, are exempt from the Weak Crossover, since the scrambled object first targets an A-position before moving to an A'-position.

(i) [*Którego chłopca*]₁ *zawołała* [*jego₁ matka*] *t₁*?
 which boy.ACC called his mother.NOM
 ‘Which boy did his mother call?’

It seems that the scrambling of the Experiencer does not extend the binding domain either in (66) or in (67). This is so because the Experiencer is generated higher than the Stimulus, as suggested in 3.1.2 above. If the Experiencer, realised as a QP, occupies an A'-position after scrambling in (66) and (67), and is reconstructed at LF to its base position, then after reconstruction it A-binds the pronominal variable. The Weak Crossover is not violated in (66) and (67) if the QP qua Experiencer moves to the left periphery from a higher position than that of the Stimulus. Consequently, the data like (66) and (67) do not provide evidence that the scrambled Experiencer lands in an A'-position (contra Witkoś, 2008; also cf. Nikolaeva, 2014, p. 102, who notes that in Russian scrambling also makes pronominal variable binding possible without triggering WCO violations), but rather support the conclusion, reached in Section 3.1.2, that the scrambled Experiencer targets an A'-position.⁴⁴

Finally, it is possible for the variable contained within the accusative or dative Experiencer to be bound by the quantifier placed within the Stimulus argument, as in (68) and (69):

- (68) [*Każdy samochód*]_i cieszył [swego_i właściciela].
 every car.NOM pleased.IPFV its owner.ACC
 'Every car pleased its owner.'

44. Reviewer 2 notes that the problem for the claim that scrambling targets just an A'-position arises in the context of Weak Crossover, as in (i) below:

- (i) [*Każdego chłopca*]_i wołała [jego_i matka].
 every boy.ACC called his mother.NOM
 'His mother called every boy.'

If the quantifier were moved to an A'-position and reconstructed at LF, then we would end up with (ii), which is ungrammatical:

- (ii) **[Jego_i matka] wołała [każdego chłopca]*.
 his mother.NOM called every boy.ACC
 'His mother called every boy.'

The grammaticality of (i) naturally follows if the quantifier is moved to an A'-position and hence does not trigger Weak Crossover effects. Wiland (2016) proposes the derivation of sentences like (i) in Polish, in which the quantifier ends up in an A'-position. Wiland (2016) argues that no Weak Crossover effects are attested in sentences such as (i) because the object does not move across the subject. According to Wiland (2016), the derivation of a sentence like (i) first involves the movement of the subject to its ultimate landing site (Spec,φP in Wiland, 2016), then the remnant movement of TP to the position above the landing site of the subject, and finally the movement of the object quantifier phrase to the left periphery of the clause. Since the object moves from within the moved TP, it does not cross the subject, and therefore no Weak Crossover violation ever arises. Wiland's (2016) account is adopted for the derivation of Polish OE verbs with accusative Experiencers, presented in Section 5.1.

- (69) [*Każdy pies*]₁ *podobał się* [*swojemu*₁ *właścicielowi*].
 every dog.NOM appealed.IPFV REFL self's owner.DAT
 'Every dog appealed to its owner.'

In (68) and (69) the nominative quantifier phrase can bind the variable within the accusative and dative case marked Experiencer, respectively, as this time the quantifier phrase, being a subject, has moved to an A-position, and therefore it can bind the subject-oriented anaphor. In (68) and (69), the variable is realised as an anaphor, not as a pronoun, in contradistinction to (66) and (67). The anaphor is licit in (68) and (69), as it is contained within the accusative or dative Experiencer, not within the nominative Stimulus, and therefore it is exempt from the AAE.

3.3 Binding of accusative and dative Experiencers – the summary

To wrap up, in Section 3 two kinds of data have been analysed concerning binding, viz. anaphor binding (Section 3.1) and pronominal variable binding (Section 3.2). It has been noted that once independent conditions, such as AAE and ACE, are controlled for, the anaphor within the Stimulus argument may be bound by the Experiencer in Polish, subject to additional restrictions. However, this kind of binding does not resemble backward binding, since the binding configuration in question always involves the Experiencer which linearly precedes the Stimulus due to the fact that the Experiencer has been scrambled to the left periphery of the clause. Nonetheless, the binding of the anaphor within the nominative Stimulus is restricted in Polish to just one type of Experiencer, namely the dative one, found with both non-verbal and verbal psych predicates, whereas the accusative Experiencer cannot bind the anaphor within the Stimulus at all. This observation has made it possible to conclude that since they can bind subject-oriented anaphors, dative Experiencers in Polish are subject-like, and hence occupy a Spec,vP position. Accusative Experiencers, in turn, never bind subject-oriented anaphors (for apparent exceptions, cf. Section 3.1.4), and are therefore treated as VP-internal. The variable binding data have demonstrated that the ACE delimits the availability of the bound interpretation of the pronominal variable. The pronominal variable may be bound by the QP, corresponding to the accusative or dative Experiencer, once the Experiencer has been scrambled. The pronominal variable is bound by the QP, corresponding to the Experiencer, once the scrambled QP has been reconstructed in its base position at LF from which it c-commands and binds the pronoun. This account, however, crucially relies on associating scrambling with an A'-position, the conclusion reached independently on the basis of Condition A effects in Section 3.1.2.

4. Passivization of accusative and dative Experiencers in Polish

The inability of stative OE verbs to form the verbal passive is considered to be one of the core psych properties by Landau (2010a, p. 76). In this section, the focus is laid on the passivization options available for Polish stative Class II and Class III OE verbs. The overview of the passivization patterns found with the two types of stative OE verbs in Polish is meant to throw light on the syntactic structure these verbs make use of. First, in Section 4.1, a brief introduction to the verbal (eventive) and adjectival (stative) passives in Polish is provided. Subsequently, in Section 4.2, verbal passives formed of Class II OE verbs are examined. Afterwards, in Section 4.3, the question is addressed whether Class III OE verbs can give rise to the verbal passive. Next, in Section 4.4, an attempt is made to explain why stative OE verbs with accusative and dative Experiencers in Polish do not form verbal passives. Then, in Section 4.5, some observations concerning adjectival passives formed of the two types of stative OE verbs in Polish are provided, relevant for the syntactic structure of these verbs. Finally, Section 4.6 presents the main conclusions, reached on the basis of the passivization patterns, attested for stative OE verbs with accusative and dative Experiencers in Polish. The discussion in this section is based, to some extent, on Bondaruk et al. (2017a, b), as well as on Bondaruk & Rozwadowska (2018a, b).

4.1 Verbal and adjectival passives in Polish

Following Zabrocki (1981) and Laskowski (1998, p. 195), we assume that Polish has the verbal (eventive) and adjectival (stative) passive. The adjectival passive is realised by means of the auxiliary *być* ‘to be’, followed by the perfective passive participle, as in (70) below. The verbal passive, in turn, has two morphological forms, one hosting the auxiliary *zostać* ‘to become’, selecting the perfective passive participle, as in (72) below, and the other exhibiting the auxiliary *być* ‘to be’, co-occurring with the imperfective passive participle, illustrated in (71) below.

(70) *Książka jest sprzedana.*
 book.NOM is sold.PFV
 ‘The book is sold.’

(71) *Książka jest sprzedawana.*
 book.NOM is sold.IPFV
 ‘The book is (being) sold.’

(72) *Książka została sprzedana.*
 book.NOM became sold.PFV
 ‘The book has been sold.’

The three types of the passive, illustrated in (70)–(72) above, not only differ in form, but also in meaning. While the adjectival passive in (70) refers to the state of the book being sold, the instances of eventive passive in (71) and (72) have an action interpretation, i.e. they relate to the action of book selling. Although the generalisation associating the verbal passive with an action interpretation and the adjectival passive with the state interpretation has been commonly adopted in the literature (cf. Zabrocki, 1981; Kibort, 2004, p. 170), it is not entirely adequate. In Bondaruk and Rozwadowska (2018b), we note that the verbal passive in some cases (including the verbal passive formed of Subject Experiencer henceforth, SE verbs) may refer to a state, not to an event. Since the difference in meaning cannot serve as a reliable diagnostic to distinguish the verbal from adjectival passive in Polish, the distinction between the two types of passives is drawn here on the basis of the formal differences they show.

4.2 Verbal passives formed of OE verbs with accusative Experiencers in Polish

The view commonly held in the literature is that agentive and eventive Class II OE verbs can form verbal passives, whereas stative Class II OE verbs can only give rise to adjectival passives, and can never surface in verbal passives (Pesetsky, 1995; Arad, 1998; Landau, 2010a; Fábregas & Marín, this volume). The existence of a close co-relation between a psychological verb's interpretation and its ability to form the verbal passive has been recently questioned by Grafmiller (2013). Drawing on the English data extracted from a number of corpora, Grafmiller (2013) argues that all Class II OE verbs are compatible with the verbal passive, and there is no difference as regards passivization between stative Class II OE verbs, on the one hand, and agentive and eventive Class II OE predicates, on the other. In this section, the passivizability of Polish Class II OE verbs is examined in order to check whether these predicates differ as regards the passivization options they allow, depending on their interpretation.

In the corpus-based study, Bondaruk et al. (2017a) demonstrate that the passivization patterns attested for Class II OE verbs in Polish depend on their interpretation. The data in (73) and (74), taken from the National Corpus of Polish <www.nkjp.pl>, indicate that agentive and eventive (i.e., non-stative, cf. Section 2 above) Class II OE verbs can serve as an input to two types of verbal passives, viz. with *zostać* + perfective passive participle, and with *być* + imperfective passive participle:

- (73) a. *Nasze serca zostaną przez kogoś oczarowane.*
 our hearts.NOM will.become by someone spellbound.PFV
 'Our hearts will be spellbound by someone.'

- b. *Rodzina jest poniżana przez komendanta.*
family.NOM is humiliated.IPFV by commander
'The family is (being) humiliated by the commander.'
- (74) a. *Został zaszokowany przez nową ekranizację "Dziadów".*
became shocked.PFV by new screening of. "Dziady"
'He was shocked by the new screening of "Dziady".'
- b. *Nękanie jest kontrolami Sanepidu.*
bothered.IPFV is inspections.INS DCPC.GEN
'He is (being) bothered with inspections from the Disease Control and Prevention Centre.'

In (73a) and (73b), the agentive *przez* 'by'-phrase is present, which clearly indicates that Class II OE verbs *oczarować* 'to spellbind' and *poniżyć* 'to humiliate', found in both these sentences, are associated with an agentive interpretation. In (74a) and (74b), eventive Class II OE verbs, such as (z)szokować 'to shock', and nękać 'to bother' (cf. Section 2), have been passivized, and the Stimulus argument is realised either as an inanimate complement of *przez* 'by'-phrase or the instrumental case marked DP *kontrolami sanepidu* 'inspections of the Centre for Disease Control and Prevention'.

Stative Class II OE verbs in Polish can only form the verbal passive if they trigger an agentive or eventive interpretation. This is possible due to their polysemy (cf. Section 2 above). The data such as (75) and (76) below, taken from Bondaruk et al. (2017a, p. 63) make this point clear:

- (75) *Ponieważ sytuacją w nowotarskim oddziale został*
because situation.INS in Nowy Targ branch became
zainteresowany również szczebel ministerialny.
interested.PFV also level.NOM ministerial
'Because the ministerial level was also interested in the situation in the Nowy Targ branch.'
- (76) *Został poruszony przez ostatnie wydarzenia polityczne.*
became moved.PFV by latest events political
'He was moved by the latest political events.'

Sentences (75) and (76) contain the *zostać*-passive, which in the former has an agentive interpretation, i.e. it implies that somebody made the ministerial level interested in the situation in the *Nowy Targ* branch, while in the latter yields an eventive interpretation, in which these were the latest political events that moved him.

Bondaruk et al. (2017a, p. 64) mention that stative Class II OE verbs are sporadically found in the *być* + imperfective verbal passive. Actually, the verb *niepokoić*

‘to concern’ is the only one that can be frequently attested in this kind of verbal passive. However, when used in the *być* + imperfective passive, this verb has either an agentive or eventive interpretation, as in (77) and (78) below, respectively, cited after Bondaruk et al. (2017a, p. 65):

(77) *Sędziowie nie będą niepokojeni przez kibiców czy media.*
 referees.NOM not will.be bothered.IPFV by fans or media
 ‘Referees won’t be bothered by fans or media.’

(78) *nie jesteś niepokojony przez strach, wątpliwości...*
 not you.are bothered.IPFV by fear doubts
 ‘you are not bothered by fear, doubts...’

In both (77) and (78) the verb *niepokoić* is translated into English as *bother*, rather than *concern*, which strongly argues in favour of its eventive, not stative, interpretation.⁴⁵

Finally, unambiguously stative Class II OE verbs in Polish, such as *martwić* ‘to worry’, and *przygnębić* ‘to depress’, are immune to the verbal passive, and the only type of passive, they can give rise to is the adjectival passive (cf. Section 4.5). Since Polish non-stative Class II OE verbs can only form verbal passives, whereas unambiguously stative Class II OE verbs resist the verbal passive altogether, Polish patterns with English, Dutch and Finnish, and hence belongs to Type A languages in Landau’s (2010a) typology. The question why stative Class II OE verbs cannot serve as an input to verbal passives in Polish is addressed in Section 4.4.

4.3 Verbal passives formed of OE verbs with dative Experiencers in Polish

Having analysed the passivization options available for stative OE verbs with accusative Experiencers in Polish in Section 4.2, let us now turn to the question

45. Żychliński (2013, p. 109) argues that the grammaticality of sentences like (i) below points towards the conclusion that stative Class II OE verbs do, in fact, form verbal passives in Polish:

(i) *Miejscowa ludność jest wciąż niepokojona przez ciągłe podwyżki cen żywności.*
 local citizens.NOM is still worried.IPFV by constant rises prices food
 ‘Local citizens are still being worried by the constant rises of food prices.’

However, the conclusion that Żychliński (2013) draws from the data like (i) is unwarranted, as the sentence in (i) has an eventive interpretation, involving a recurrent change of state or onset to a state (Rozwadowska, 2012). Consequently, the grammaticality of (i) only shows that *niepokoić* can form the verbal passive on its eventive interpretation and has nothing to say about the ability of stative Class II OE verbs to form the verbal passive.

whether stative OE verbs with dative Experiencers can form verbal passives. It appears that dative Experiencers do not give rise to verbal passives, as shown in (79b) below, the passive equivalent of the active sentence in (79a):

- (79) a. *Ewa zaimponowała Markowi.*
 Eve.NOM impressed Mark.DAT
 ‘Eve impressed Mark.’
- b. **Marek został zaimponowany przez Ewę.*
 Mark.NOM became impressed.PFV by Eve
 ‘Mark was impressed by Eve.’

The ungrammaticality of (79b) indicates that OE verbs with dative Experiencers resist the verbal passive with the auxiliary *zostać*. The verbal passive with *być* + imperfective cannot be formed of stative Class III OE verbs, either, as can be seen in (80):

- (80) **Marek jest imponowany przez Ewę.*
 Mark.NOM is impressed.IPFV by Eve
 ‘Mark is (being) impressed by Eve.’

Biały (2005) argues that dative Experiencers do not passivize, because they are associated with an inherent case. This explanation turns out to be dubious in the light of the fact that some inherently case marked arguments can passivize in Polish. Dziwirek (1994, p. 83) notes that instrumental and genitive case marked DPs can undergo passivization, as shown in (81) and (82), respectively:

- (81) a. *Dyrektor kierował fabryką.*
 director.NOM managed factory.INS
 ‘The director managed the factory.’
- b. *Fabryka była kierowana przez dyrektora.*
 factory.NOM was managed.IPFV by director
 ‘The factory was managed by the director.’
- (82) a. *Policja pilnuje porządku.*
 police.NOM secure order.GEN
 ‘The police secure order.’
- b. *Porządek jest pilnowany przez policję.*
 order.NOM is secured.IPFV by police
 ‘Order is secured by the police.’

In (81b) and (82b), the verbal passive with *być* + imperfective passive participle is formed of verbs that assign either the instrumental or genitive to their internal arguments, which proves that arguments with an inherent case can become subjects of passive sentences in Polish. Moreover, infrequently even dative case marked DPs can passivize, as confirmed by the following data, taken from Zabrocki (1981, p. 125):

- (83) a. *Imperialiści zagrozili pokojowi.*
 imperialists.NOM threatened peace.DAT
 ‘Imperialists threatened the peace.’
- b. *Pokój został zagrożony przez imperialistów.*
 peace.NOM became threatened by imperialists
 ‘The peace was threatened by imperialists.’

Although the data like (83) are quite rare, they show that some dative complements, namely the dative complement of the active verb *zagrozić* ‘threaten’, can serve as a subject of the verbal passive with *zostać* in (83b).⁴⁶ Consequently, on the basis of the data in (81)–(83) the conclusion may be reached that the inherent case of the argument in the active does not exclude it from becoming a passive subject in Polish (but cf. a different conclusion reached at the end of this section).

However, not all dative case marked arguments can be passivized in Polish (cf. footnote 46). It is worth noting that dative Goals do not passivize in Polish (cf. Zabrocki, 1981; Dziwirek, 1994), as can be seen in (84b), the passive variant of (84a):

- (84) a. *Marek dał Ewie kwiaty.*
 Mark.NOM gave Eve.DAT flowers.ACC
 ‘Mark gave Eve flowers.’
- b. **Ewa została dana kwiaty.*
 Eve.NOM became given.PFV flowers.ACC
 ‘Eve was given flowers.’

Neither can the dative argument in (85a) below be made passive, as confirmed by the ungrammaticality of (85b):

- (85) a. *Marek ufa Ewie.*
 Mark.NOM trusts Eve.DAT
 ‘Mark trusts Eve.’
- b. **Ewa jest ufana przez Marka.*
 Eve.NOM is trusted.IPFV by Mark
 ‘Eve was trusted by Mark.’

46. In general dative complements in Polish resist passivization, as can be seen in (i) below:

- (i) a. *Ewa pomaga Markowi.*
 Eve.NOM helps Mark.DAT
 ‘Eve helps Mark.’
- b. **Marek jest pomagany przez Ewę.*
 Mark.NOM is helped by Eve
 ‘Mark is helped by Eve.’

The data provided above show that the dative Experiencer (cf. (79) and (80)) resembles the dative complement in (84) and in (85) in that they all resist passivization, but is distinct from the dative complement in (83) which may be passivized (cf. Sigurðsson et al., 2018, who note that in Lithuanian only the dative complement of a monotransitive verb may turn into the nominative under passivization, but not the dative indirect object of a ditransitive verb). The way to approach the contrast between the sentence in (79), on the one hand, and the data in (84)–(85), on the other, might be to assume that, in contradistinction to the accusative case, dative in Polish is a mixed case, either inherent or structural, as proposed for the dative case in German, Ancient Greek, Japanese and Icelandic by Alexiadou et al. (2014). Based on the data from the languages listed above, Alexiadou et al. (2014) propose that the inherent dative does not alternate with the nominative in the passive, whereas the structural dative does show this kind of alternation.⁴⁷ If this line of analysis is applied to Polish, then the dative in (83a) must be viewed as structural, as it alternates with the nominative in the passive in (83b), whereas the dative in (84a) and (85a) must be treated as inherent, and for this reason it does not alternate with the nominative in the passive, as in (84b) and (85b). Alexiadou et al. (2014) also note that the question whether the dative alternates with the nominative or not is subject to a number of conditions, including thematic restrictions, where dative Themes typically alternate (e.g., in Ancient Greek), whereas Benefactives and Locatives do not normally alternate (e.g., in Japanese).⁴⁸ The question why dative Experiencers in Polish resist verbal passivization (cf. (79b) and (80)) is tackled in the subsequent Section 4.4.

47. Sigurðsson et al. (2018) argue that the dative that turns into the nominative under passivization in Lithuanian is not structural but inherent.

48. Dative Goals/Benefactives alternate with the nominative in a special kind of passive in German, called *bekommen* ‘to get’ passive (Alexiadou et al., 2014). This kind of passive might be taken to correspond to the *mieć* ‘to have’ passive in Polish (cf. Witkoś, 2013), also called a recipient passive by Bunčić (2015), as in (i) below, in which the dative Goal (cf. (ii)) alternates with the nominative subject in the passive (cf. (i)):

- (i) *Maria miała nakazane posprzątać w domu.*
 Mary.NOM has told to.clean at home
 ‘Mary was told to clean at home.’
- (ii) *Nakazaliśmy Marii posprzątać w domu.*
 we.told Mary.DAT to.clean at home
 ‘We told Mary to clean at home.’

4.4 Why don't stative OE verbs with accusative and dative Experiencers passivize in Polish?

The fact that stative OE verbs with accusative Experiencers do not form verbal passives is often taken in the literature as evidence for their unaccusative status (Pesetsky, 1995; Landau, 2010a, *inter alia*). In Bondaruk et al. (2017a), arguments are put forward that although immune to the verbal passive, stative OE verbs with accusative Experiencers are not unaccusative in Polish. The crucial piece of evidence against the unaccusativity of stative Class II OE verbs relates to the fact that the accusative on the Experiencer is structural, not inherent (*contra* Belletti & Rizzi, 1988 for Italian, and Landau, 2010a for Russian), since it must be turned into the genitive under negation, as illustrated in (86) below:

- (86) a. *Brak pieniędzy martwił Marię.*
 lack.NOM money.GEN worried Mary.ACC
 'The lack of money worried Mary.'
- b. *Brak pieniędzy nie martwił Marii.*
 lack.NOM money.GEN not worried Mary.GEN
 'The lack of money did not worry Mary.'

The genitive of negation is a syntactic rule which cannot override the inherent case (Landau, 2010a, p. 25). Since the accusative case of the Experiencer in (86a) turns into the genitive under clausal negation (*cf.* (86b)), the conclusion must be reached that the accusative of the Experiencer does indeed represent a structural case.⁴⁹ Moreover, stative Class II OE verbs do not license any expletive in the external argument position, in contradistinction to their English counterparts, which can co-occur with the expletive *it*, when they select a clausal Stimulus (Reinhart, 2001; Cheung & Larson, 2015), as demonstrated in (87):

- (87) It worried John that he failed the exam.

Consequently, it seems that stative OE verbs with accusative Experiencers in Polish cannot be considered unaccusative (for more arguments against the unaccusativity of stative Class II OE verbs in Polish, *cf.* Bondaruk et al., 2017a).

The reason why stative Class II OE verbs in Polish fail to form the verbal passive relates to the fact that they lack an external argument. Since the pas-

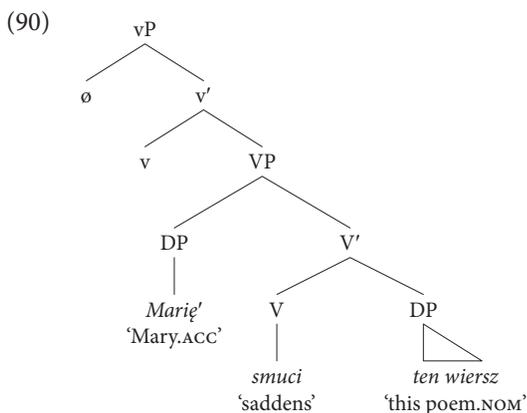
49. Reviewer 1 asks how the data in (86) may be used as an argument against the unaccusative analysis of OE verbs with accusative Experiencers. To explain, the accusative in (86a) is structural, as confirmed by the fact that it turns into the genitive under negation (*see* (86b)). Unaccusative verbs lack the little *v* that assigns the accusative case (*cf.* footnote 50), and hence cannot assign the structural accusative case to the Experiencer in (86a).

sive morphology absorbs the external theta role and vacuous dethematization is impossible (Marantz, 1984, pp. 144–149), only those predicates that project an external argument can serve as an input to verbal passives. Although stative OE verbs with accusative Experiencers in Polish lack an external argument, they cannot be treated as unaccusative, as pointed out above, but should rather be viewed as complex ergative structures, as proposed for Dutch Class II OE predicates by Bennis (2004). Following the Thematic Hierarchy in (88) below, the structure of a verb phrase headed by a stative OE verb, selecting an accusative Experiencer, as in (89) below, is depicted in (90):

- (88) Causer >> Experiencer >> Target/Subject Matter (T/SM)

(Landau, 2010a, p. 55)

- (89) *Ten wiersz smuci Marię.*
 this poem.NOM saddens.IPFV Mary.ACC
 ‘This poem saddens Mary.’



The Target/Subject Matter (T/SM), listed in (88), has been postulated by Pesetsky (1995), and it corresponds to what we have referred to so far as a Stimulus (cf. Section 2). In the complex ergative structure like (90), *v* lacks an external argument, but nonetheless, it must be able to value the accusative case on the Experiencer.⁵⁰ This is a violation of Burzio’s Generalisation, stated in (91) below:

50. One of the reviewers rightly observes that in a complex ergative structure like the one in (90) both arguments are VP-internal, which makes it very similar to an unaccusative structure. The main difference between the complex ergative and the unaccusative structure lies in the nature of the little *v*, which is capable of valuing the accusative case in the former, but not in the latter structure. Alternatively, one might assume that unaccusatives lack the little *v*

- (91) Case is assigned to the object iff a θ -role is assigned to the subject.
(Burzio, 1986, p. 178)

Following Bennis (2004, p. 107), we assume that Burzio's Generalisation is empirically wrong. As a result, even the *v* lacking an external argument may act as the accusative case assigner.⁵¹ In sentence (89) above, on the stative reading, the nominative DP *ten wiersz* 'this poem' acts as a T/SM, not as a Cause, and the sentence expresses an evaluation of the poem as being sad.⁵² Furthermore, in Bondaruk et al. (2017b), evidence is provided that sentences like (89) above lack an implicit Cause in Spec,vP. Although it might appear that stative OE verbs with accusative Experiencers are triadic, they are in fact dyadic. Compare the following data:

- (92) *Ten wiersz smuci Marię swoim przesłaniem.*
this poem.NOM saddens.IPFV Mary.ACC its message.INS
'This poem saddens Mary with its message.'

altogether, and project just a VP (cf. Chomsky, 1995, pp. 315–316, Bennis, 2004, p. 88). Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (2004, p. 121), in turn, argue that unaccusatives in Greek may project three different structures, viz. (i) just a VP, (ii) a vP on top of VP, and (iii) a vP on top of VOICEP.

51. In Adversity Impersonals in Polish, as in (i) (cf. also (44) above), the accusative case is assigned in the absence of any external argument, which provides additional support for the claim that Burzio's Generalisation does not operate in Polish.

- (i) *Droge zasypało śniegiem.*
road.ACC covered snow.INS
'The road has been covered with snow.'

In Lavine and Franks (2008), Russian Adversity Impersonals are taken to host an implicit external Cause, and therefore they do not constitute an exception to Burzio's Generalisation. For Lavine and Franks, the Cause in (i) would be realized as the instrumental case marked DP *śniegiem* 'snow'. This kind of approach to Polish Adversity Impersonals like (i) is advanced in Gogłóza (2018). However, it seems that the instrumental DP in (i) is rather an adjunct, as it can be omitted, as shown in (i) below:

- (i) *Drogi zawiąło i nie da się jeździć.*
roads.NOM covered.PFV and not give REFL drive.INF
'Roads have been covered with snow and it is not possible to drive.'

Kibort (2004, p. 309) notes that the instrumental DP *śniegiem* 'snow' may co-occur with a Cause argument, as demonstrated in (ii), where *huragan* 'storm' acts as a Cause:

- (ii) *Huragan zasypał drogę śniegiem.*
storm.NOM covered.PFV road.ACC snow.INS
'A storm covered the road with snow' (Kibort, 2004, p. 309)

52. Sentence (89) may also have an eventive interpretation in which *ten wiersz* 'this poem' acts as a Cause.

It seems that (92) contains three arguments, viz. *ten wiersz* ‘this poem’, *Marię* ‘Mary’ and *swoim przesłaniem* ‘its message’. However, as observed by Biały (2005), the instrumental case marked DP in sentences like (92) is only possible if it contains an anaphor co-referential with the surface subject. This is confirmed by (93), which is ungrammatical, as it hosts an instrumental DP, which is non-co-referential with the surface subject:

- (93) *Ten wiersz smuci Marię (?*tematem śmierci).*
 this poem.NOM saddens.IPFV Mary.ACC topic.INS death.GEN
 ‘This poem saddens Mary with the topic of death.’

Following Biały (2005), we conclude that the argument in the instrumental in sentences like (92) describes inherent properties of the T/SM, and therefore does not act as an independent argument of a stative OE verb, which is hence dyadic, with one argument realised as the accusative Experiencer, and the other represented as the T/SM, which is split into two distinct items (cf. Klimek & Rozwadowska, 2004), viz. the nominative and the instrumental case marked DP.⁵³ Consequently, we cannot rely on the idea that stative OE verbs with accusative Experiencers have an implicit Cause in Spec,vP in order to maintain the validity of Burzio’s Generalisation for the data analysed here. Actually, as has been stated above, we must assume that stative Class II OE verbs in Polish constitute an exception to Burzio’s Generalisation (a number of exceptions to Burzio’s Generalisation have been reported in the literature, see, for instance, Haider, 1985; Haegeman, 1986; Babby, 1989/2002; Woolford, 1993, 1997, inter alia).

The complex ergative structure put forward for stative OE verbs with accusative Experiencers in Polish in (90) has also been adopted by Klimek and Rozwadowska (2004) and has been made use of for stative Class II OE verbs in Brazilian Portuguese by Petersen (2016, p. 116). Since the *v* in the complex ergative structure, as in (90), lacks an external argument, stative Class II OE verbs fail to form the verbal passive. The complete derivation of sentences like (89) above is provided in Section 5.

53. Biały (2005) notes that agentive OE verbs can have three independent arguments (cf. also Żychliński, 2013, p. 139–147), as in (i) below:

- (i) *Marek rozbawił mnie tą historią.*
 Mark.NOM amused me.ACC this story.INS
 ‘Mark amused me with this story.’

In (i) the instrumental DP is not co-referential with the matrix subject, but despite this, the sentence is perfectly grammatical. The instrumental DP in (i) is treated by Biały (2005) as an Instrument argument, licensed by the Agent external argument. Since the instrumental DP represents an Instrument, not a T/SM, sentence (i) does not violate the T/SM restriction of Pesetsky (1995).

Having presented the reason why stative Class II OE verbs are immune to the verbal passive, let us now turn to the problem why stative Class III OE verbs are resistant to verbal passives in Polish. In the literature, Alexiadou et al. (2014), who analyse datives outside psych contexts, and Fábregas and Marín (2017), who analyse OE verbs with dative Experiencers in Spanish, suggest that dative Experiencers (presumably, also other kinds of dative argument, see Section 4.3 above) are oblique, i.e. they represent PPs with a silent P head (cf. Landau, 2010a, who treats all types of Experiencer, including accusative and dative ones, as oblique; see also Pesetsky, 2010, p. 7, who argues that dative arguments (as well as other inherent cases) in Russian are PPs). However, the explanation why dative Experiencers in Polish resist the verbal passive offered here does not depend on their oblique status. Instead, we capitalise on the fact, noted in Section 3.1.4, that dative Experiencers in Polish occupy the Spec,vP position. Alternatively, following Kratzer (1996), the dative Experiencer, as an external argument of Class III OE predicates, may be associated with the Spec,VOICEP position if one assumes that Voice and v should be separated, where Voice introduces an external argument, while v is the locus of event implications (Alexiadou et al., 2015). If passivization is treated as a process that absorbs an external theta-role (as elaborated on above after Marantz, 1984), then the Voice head present in the passive must lack ϕ -features, and hence be incapable of valuing any case on the internal argument. The internal argument, then, enters into Agree with T, and subsequently moves to Spec,TP to satisfy the EPP feature of T (Alexiadou et al., 2014). This line of analysis implies that sentences like (80) (cf. also (79b)), repeated for convenience below, cannot be derived, since in (80) it is the external argument, not the internal one, that surfaces as the passive subject.

- [80] **Marek jest imponowany przez Ewę.*
 Mark.NOM is impressed.IPFV by Eve
 ‘Mark is impressed by Eve.’

Since no external theta role has been absorbed in [80], the resulting passive is totally illicit. Consequently, the absence of verbal passives formed of stative OE predicates with dative Experiencers in Polish has been accounted for by making recourse to the mechanism of passivization itself, without relying on the oblique status of dative Experiencers. It has been argued that dative Experiencers cannot surface as passive subjects, since they are associated with an external argument position, and hence they must be demoted, not promoted, under passivization.

4.5 Adjectival passives formed of stative OE verbs with accusative and dative Experiencers

In the literature, it is observed that cross-linguistically, stative Class II OE verbs can form adjectival (stative) passives (cf. Belletti & Rizzi, 1988; Pesetsky, 1995; Landau, 2010a, among others). In this section, it is first demonstrated that stative OE verbs

with accusative Experiencers can form adjectival passives in Polish, and subsequently an attempt is made to specify what type of adjectival passive the passives formed of stative Class II OE verbs belong to. The brief overview of adjectival passives derived from stative Class II OE verbs in Polish, provided here, is supposed to verify the validity of the complex ergative structure proposed for these verbs in Section 4.4.

Following Kratzer (2000), Bondaruk and Rozwadowska (2018a) demonstrate that Polish has two types of adjectival passive – the resultant state passive and the target state passive. The resultant state passive refers to an irreversible state, while the target state passive denotes states that can be reversed, and hence are transitory. Bondaruk and Rozwadowska (2018a) note that the resultant state passive closely resembles the verbal passive in that it allows modification by agentive *przez* ‘by’-phrases, Agent-oriented adverbials and instrument phrases. Since resultant state passives can license Voice related modifiers (or, in other words, the modifiers which diagnose the presence of an implicit external argument), they must contain the Voice projection in their structure (cf. Section 4.4 above). Likewise, target state passives can co-occur with Voice related modifiers, however, these modifiers are only felicitous if they directly modify the state resulting from the underlying event (Alexiadou et al., 2015). Consequently, target state passives must also project Voice in their structure. The detailed modification patterns and the syntactic structures of the two types of adjectival passives are provided in Bondaruk and Rozwadowska (2018a), following the structures proposed for Greek adjectival passives in Alexiadou et al. (2015), and we will not repeat them here. Since both types of adjectival passives contain VOICEP in their structure,⁵⁴ and since stative Class II predicates have a complex ergative structure without any external argument, and hence without any VOICEP (cf. (90) above), it may be predicted that stative Class II verbs with accusative Experiencers cannot form either resultant state or target state passives in Polish. This prediction seems to be corroborated by the fact that the adjectival passives formed of stative Class II OE verbs are incompatible with agentive *przez* ‘by’-phrases, do not allow Agent-oriented adverbials and instrument phrases. This is demonstrated in (94) below:

- (94) *Marek jest (wciąż) zmartwiony przez Marię/ *celowo/*
 Mark.NOM is still worried.PFV by Mary *on purpose
podwyżkami cen.
 rises.INS prices
 ‘Mark is still worried by Mary/*on purpose/with price rises.’

54. The Voice projection present in the two types of adjectival passives is different and is projected in a different place in the overall sentence structure. In resultant state passives, the VOICEP is generated below the stativiser (ASPP), whereas in the target state passive, the VOICEP is placed above the stativiser (ASPP) and the AP (the label of the entire passive participle).

In (94), *przez* ‘by’-phrase is only possible if it refers to the cause of Mark’s worry, not to the Agent. The instrumental case-marked DP in (94), in turn, represents the T/SM, and does not correspond to the Instrument argument. The Agent-oriented adverbial *celowo* ‘on purpose’ is totally banned in (94). Since Voice-oriented modifiers are disallowed in the adjectival passive derived from stative OE verbs with accusative Experiencers, as in (94), the conclusion must be reached that the adjectival passive in this case lacks a VOICEP entirely (cf. Bondaruk & Rozwadowska, 2019, where it is demonstrated that adjectival passives formed of stative Class II OE verbs do not project either VOICEP or vP, but contain a stative passive participle in the sense of Embick 2004, where ROOTP is embedded within the stativiser, AsPP, cf. footnote 54). Since a VOICEP is missing in the adjectival passive derived of stative Class II OE verbs in Polish, this kind of passive cannot be classed as either target or resultant state one, which regularly host a VOICEP. Assuming that the complex ergative structure proposed for stative Class II OE verbs underlies the structure of the perfective passive participle found in the adjectival passive derived from verbs of this class, it comes as no surprise that VOICEP and the implicit external argument are absent in the perfective passive participle formed of these verbs, as the complex ergative structure lacks a VOICEP and an external argument altogether (cf. Section 4.3).

In contradistinction to stative OE verbs with accusative Experiencers, which can regularly form adjectival passives, stative OE verbs with dative Experiencers cannot serve as an input to adjectival passives, as confirmed by the ungrammaticality of (95) below:

- (95) **Marek jest zaimponowany przez Marię.*
 Mark.NOM is impressed.PFV by Mary
 ‘Mark is impressed by Mary.’

The reason why (95) is banned might be related to the claim, made in Sections 3.1.4. and 4.4. that the dative Experiencer of stative Class III OE verbs acts as an external argument, projected in Spec,vP. One may assume that the surface subject of adjectival passives originates VP-internally (cf. Bruening, 2014, for whom the internal argument of the adjectival passive is a null operator or a lambda abstractor; for a VP-external position of the surface subject of adjectival passives, cf. McIntyre, 2013), and is subsequently externalized, i.e. moved to Spec,TP. Then, the conclusion must be reached that the dative Experiencer which originates as an external argument, and hence is not VP-internal, cannot be externalised in adjectival passives like (95). This explains why stative Class III OE verbs resist adjectival passives. Consequently, the external argument position of the dative Experiencer, which has been argued for on the basis of its binding properties in Section 3.1.4, may be held responsible for the lack of adjectival, as well as verbal, passives (cf. Section 4.4) with stative Class III OE verbs in Polish.

4.6 Passivization of accusative and dative Experiencers – the summary

In Section 4, an overview has been offered of the passivization options typical of stative Class II and Class III OE verbs in Polish. It has been argued that stative OE verbs with accusative Experiencers can only form verbal passives if they have an agentive or eventive interpretation. Unambiguously stative Class II OE verbs resist verbal passives altogether. The immunity of stative Class II OE verbs to the verbal passive has been accounted for by appealing to their lack of an external argument. However, instead of being treated as unaccusative, these predicates have been associated with a complex ergative structure, in which both the Experiencer and the T/SM are VP-internal. The accusative case on the Experiencer is structural, and hence is valued by *v*, even in the absence of an external argument, which seems to invalidate Burzio's Generalisation. The complex ergative structure without any external argument, proposed for stative Class II OE verbs, has gained support from the fact that the adjectival passive these predicates give rise to cannot host any Voice-related modifiers, which would be the case if they had an external argument in their structure.

Stative Class III OE verbs are immune to both verbal and adjectival passives in Polish. It has been argued that OE verbs with dative Experiencers do not lend themselves to verbal passives, because the dative Experiencer is generated as an external argument, and therefore it cannot be externalized either in verbal or adjectival passives, which normally target VP-internal items. This way, the unavailability of verbal and adjectival passives formed of stative OE verbs with dative Experiencers has been shown to follow from the external argument status of the dative Experiencer, which has been proposed independently in Section 3.1.4 on the basis of its binding properties.

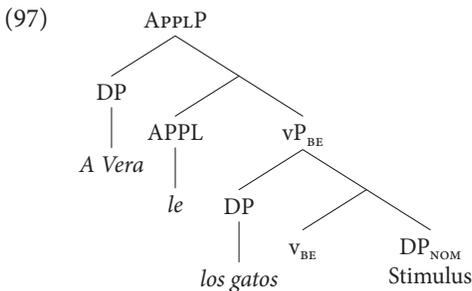
5. Derivation of T/SM-first and Experiencer-first orders with stative Class II and Class III OE verbs in Polish

In Sections 3 and 4 arguments have been provided for the specific syntactic positions that the accusative and dative Experiencer in Polish are first merged in, on the basis of their binding and passivization properties. Let us now try to derive the two surface positions they can be found in. The two positions in question involve the T/SM-first order and the Experiencer-first order, each of which is tackled in Sections 5.2 and 5.3, respectively. However, before turning to the derivation of the two surface word orders the two types of Experiencer can surface in, let us first, in Section 5.1, confront an alternative analysis, proposed for dative Experiencers, in which the Experiencer serves as a specifier of high APPLP.

5.1 Arguments against the Spec,APPLP position of dative Experiencers in Polish

Cuervo (2003, 2010) argues that dative Experiencers in Spanish are generated in the specifier position of a high APPLP, in the sense of Pylkkänen (2008), since there is no possession relation between the T/SM and the Experiencer, implied by the low applicative head. In support of her analysis, Cuervo (2003) puts forward two main arguments referring to the vP external position of the dative Experiencer, and the non-object status of the T/SM. First of all, the dative Experiencer, placed in the Spec,APPLP position, cannot be regarded as an argument licensed by the verb. According to Cuervo (2003), this claim is supported by the fact that the dative Experiencer is optional, in contradistinction to the T/SM, which is always obligatory. For Cuervo (2003), the T/SM does not represent an object, because it is constrained in a way uncharacteristic of objects, but typical of subjects. The restriction under consideration refers to the fact that the T/SM cannot be a bare (unmodified) noun in Spanish (cf. (96) below). For sentences with the dative Experiencer in Spanish like (96), Cuervo (2010, p. 29) puts forward the structure, reproduced in (97) below:

- (96) *A Vera le gustan *(los) gatos.*
 Vera.DAT CL.DAT like.3PL the cats
 ‘Vera likes cats.’



In (97), the Experiencer is licensed outside vP by the APPL head, which takes a state vP as its complement, and relates the Experiencer to the vP. The APPL head also assigns the dative case to the Experiencer in its specifier position. Moreover, Cuervo (2010) argues that when the nominative Theme is used as a sole argument of the psych verb, it can be in a predication relation with the verb, as confirmed by (98):

- (98) *Los gatos nunca molestan.*
 the cats.NOM never bother.3PL
 ‘The cats are never bothersome.’ (Cuervo, 2010, p. 33)

The possibility of establishing the predication relation between the nominative Theme and the psych verb in (98) seems to support the external argument position, viz. Spec,vP, of the Theme.

The modified version of Cuervo's (2003, 2010) account has been recently adopted to Spanish by Fábregas and Marín (2017) (cf. also the applicative phrase account of dative Experiencers by McGinnis, 1998; Adger & Ramchand, 2006; Kim, 2011, 2017; Jiménez-Fernández, this volume; see also Willim, this volume, for whom the dative Experiencer of the impersonal middle in Polish is located in the specifier of an APPLP). However, Fábregas and Marín (2017) point out that in Cuervo's (2003) analysis, in which the T/SM is generated in Spec,vP (cf. (97)), the T/SM, which is in a local relationship with the root, may be interpreted as experiencing the psychological state. To exclude this option, Fábregas and Marín (2017) suggest placing the T/SM in the complement position of a STATEP, adopted after Ramchand (2008), which functions as a complement of a high applicative head.

Cuervo's (2003, 2010) analysis has been recently adopted to Polish by Witkoś et al. (2017). Capitalising on the fact that the dative Experiencer is optional, as demonstrated in (99) below,⁵⁵ Witkoś et al. (2017) argue that the dative Experiencer does not function as an argument of the verb, and therefore sentences like (99) express the property of the T/SM.

- (99) *Te obrazy podobają się.*
 these paintings.NOM appeal REFL
 'These paintings are liked.'

The bare noun restriction, operative in the case of the T/SM co-occurring with the dative Experiencer in Spanish (cf. (96) above), cannot be tested in Polish, a language which lacks articles. Following Pesetsky (1982, pp. 69–74), Witkoś et al. (2017) note that distributive *po*-phrases can only be used in the object position of transitive verbs, in the subject position of unaccusative and passive verbs, and accusative expressions of duration. However, the distributive *po*-phrase seems to be unacceptable in the T/SM position found with the dative Experiencer, as in (100) below:

55. The dative Experiencer in English cannot be easily dropped, as confirmed by the unacceptability of (i) below, taken from Rákosi (2006, p. 124):

- (i) – Do you like working at weekends?
 – It doesn't appeal *(to me).

A different stance is taken by Grafmiller (2013, p. 51), who notes that verbs like *appeal to* do allow null Experiencers, as shown in (ii):

- (ii) The idea of uniting families appealed. (Grafmiller, 2013, p. 51)

Dative, as well as accusative, Experiencers can be regularly omitted in German (cf. Temme, 2014).

- (100) *??Jankowi spodobało się po gruszcze w skrzynce.*
 John.DAT appealed REFL PO pear in box
 ‘One pear in every box appealed to John.’ (Witkoś et al., 2017, p. 12)

The marginal status of (100) makes Witkoś et al. (2017) conclude that the T/SM argument of Class III OE verbs in Polish does not originate in the object position, but rather acts as a subject, as proposed in Cuervo’s (2010) structure in (97) above.

Let us now evaluate the validity of the arguments put forward by Witkoś et al. (2017) in support of the Spec,APPLP position of the dative Experiencer. Although the dative Experiencer can indeed be omitted, as in (99), it is projected in the syntax, because it can license secondary predicates, as in (101):^{56,57}

- (101) *Te obrazy podobają się tylko po pijanemu.*
 these paintings.NOM appeal REFL only while drunk
 ‘These paintings are liked while one is drunk.’

Landau (2010b, p. 359) argues that only strong implicit arguments, viz. PRO and *pro*, can license secondary predicates.^{58,59} Landau (2010b) also specifies that a

56. Overt dative Experiencers can regularly license secondary predicates, as can be seen in (i) below (cf. also Dziwirek, 1994, p. 144, and Szajbel-Keck, 2015, p. 63):

- (i) *Było mu żal całego świata po pijanemu.*
 was him.DAT pity all world.GEN while drunk
 ‘He felt pity for the whole world while he was drunk.’

57. Dative unintentional Causers, found with anticausatives, as in (i) below, can also be omitted, but they can never license the secondary predicate, as confirmed by (ii):

- (i) *Markowi zbił się kubek.*
 Mark.DAT broke REFL mug.NOM
 ‘Mark unintentionally broke the mug.’
- (ii) *Zbił się kubek (*po pijanemu).*
 broke REFL mug.NOM while drunk
 ‘The mug broke (*while drunk).’

Fraćkowiak (2015) argues that the dative unintentional Causer in Polish occupies the Spec,APPLP position. The grammaticality contrast between (101) and (ii) above argues against the Spec,APPLP position of the dative Experiencer.

58. According to Landau (2010b, p. 359), weak implicit arguments correspond to passive Agents and implicit objects.

59. Pitteroff and Schäfer (2019) argue that the implicit argument licensing the secondary predicate is not syntactically represented. Instead, they suggest that implicit arguments are just present at a semantic level and predication affects the variable of implicit arguments, in particular implicit agents, which they analyze in detail.

secondary predicate must be predicated of a DP. Following Landau (2010b, p. 380), we take the implicit dative Experiencer in (101) to be syntactically represented as *pro*. The *pro*, corresponding to the dative DP in sentences like (99) and (101) is interpreted as arbitrary, referring to people in general or to the impersonal *one*. As a result, the verb *podobać się* ‘appeal to’ must be viewed as bivalent, not monovalent, contrary to the claim made by Witkoś et al. (2017), for whom the dative Experiencer is not an argument of the verb.

Additionally, if the dative Experiencer were generated in Spec,APPLP, it would get its theta role from the APPL head, not from the vP, which indicates that the theta role of the Experiencer is not implied by the vP semantics (Wood & Marantz, 2017). This, again, is questionable in the light of the fact that the presence of the Experiencer is normally implied in the psychological state, denoted by the verb. Even in sentences like (99), where the dative Experiencer is missing, the psychological state is understood as holding of an unspecified individual or a group of individuals.

Let us now turn to the validity of the test based on *po*-distributive phrases, used by Witkoś et al. (2017) to prove that the T/SM argument found with dative Experiencers does not behave like the object proper. Cetnarowska (2000, 2002) observes that *po*-phrases do not show a uniform behaviour in the subject position of unaccusative predicates in Polish. Whereas verbs of motion, appearance and disappearance easily tolerate *po*-phrases in the subject position, as demonstrated in (102), verbs of change of state are much less felicitous with *po*-phrases as subjects, as illustrated in (103):

(102) *Na każdej grządce wyrosło po bratku.*
 on each flower.bed grew PO pansy
 ‘There grew a pansy in each flower bed.’

(103) *??Zemdlało po dziewczynie z każdego szeregu.*
 fainted PO girl from each row
 ‘A girl fainted from each row.’ (Cetnarowska, 2002, p. 60–61)

Since acceptability judgements concerning the occurrence of *po*-phrases in the subject position of unaccusative predicates in Polish are not uniform, it is very hard to draw any definite conclusions with respect to the object/non-object status of *po*-phrases in other contexts, including the T/SM argument of stative Class III OE verbs, as in (100) above. It seems that some intervening factors may influence the acceptability of *po*-phrases, which makes the test based on *po*-phrases not entirely fool proof. Moreover, even *po*-phrases in the object position of some transitive verbs do not sound felicitous. This is the case in (104) below:

- (104) ?*Wojsko potrzebowało po rekrucie z każdego okręgu.*
 army needed PO conscript from each district
 ‘The army needed a conscript from each district.’

The acceptability of (104) is very much like that of (105) below, which contains the dative Experiencer and the T/SM realised as the distributive *po*-phrase:

- (105) ?*Podobało nam się po uczniu z każdej klasy.*
 appeal us.DAT REFL PO pupil from each class
 ‘A pupil appealed to us from each class.’

Although the *po*-phrase in (104) is clearly an object of a transitive verb *potrzebować* ‘to need’, the sentence is slightly degraded, in a way analogous to (105). Therefore, it seems that the validity of the distributive *po*-phrase test to prove or disprove the object status of a given phrase is rather dubious.

To wrap up, it has been argued that the two arguments posited in favour of placing the dative Experiencer in the specifier position of a high applicative head, put forward in the literature, are problematic for Polish data. Although the dative Experiencer can be implicit, it can license secondary predicates, which makes it necessary for this kind of implicit argument to be projected in the syntax, and realised as a *pro* argument of the verb. The T/SM argument cannot be unquestionably treated as a subject of the vP, since the distributive *po*-PP test, which is meant to testify to the non-object status of the T/SM, is not entirely reliable.

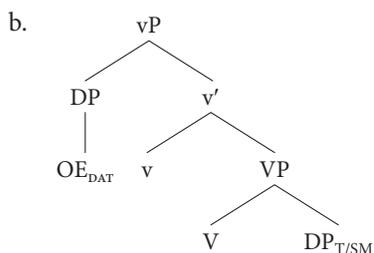
5.2 Deriving the T/SM-first order with stative Class II and Class III OE verbs in Polish

The discussion of the binding properties and the passivization patterns characteristic of stative OE verbs with accusative and dative Experiencers, carried out in Sections 3 and 4, has made it possible to posit the structures, as in (106a) (cf. (90) above) and (106b) below, for the respective stative Class II and Class III OE verbs in Polish.

- (106) a.
-
- ```

graph TD
 vP --> empty[∅]
 vP --> v_prime[v']
 v_prime --> v[v]
 v_prime --> VP[VP]
 VP --> OE_ACC[OE_ACC]
 VP --> V_prime[V']
 V_prime --> V[V]
 V_prime --> DP_TSM[DP_T/SM]

```



In both structures provided in (106) above, the Experiencer is generated higher than the T/SM, which follows from the Thematic Hierarchy, reproduced after Landau (2010a) in (88) in Section 4.4. The question is whether there is any additional evidence that the Experiencer from its base position asymmetrically c-commands the T/SM. Kim (2017, p. 93) notes that in Korean the dative Experiencer takes scope over the nominative T/SM, whereas the reverse scope relation is not possible, which seems to argue in favour of a higher structural position of the dative Experiencer with respect to the nominative T/SM. It seems that Polish is different from Korean in that it is impossible to determine the hierarchical position of the Experiencer with respect to the T/SM in Polish on the basis of scope facts alone. This is so because no matter whether the Experiencer precedes the T/SM, as in (107) below, or follows it, as in (108), it is always the surface scope reading that is available, and no inverse scope interpretation is ever licensed.<sup>60</sup>

(107) *Jakiejś dziewczynie podoba się każdy chłopak.*  
 some girl.DAT appeals.IPFV REFL every boy.NOM  
 'Some girl likes every boy.'

(108) *Każdy chłopak podoba się jakiejś dziewczynie.*  
 every boy.NOM appeals.IPFV REFL some girl.DAT  
 'Every boy is liked by every girl.'

In (107), with the Experiencer marked for the dative, the only interpretation possible is the one in which there is one specific girl who likes every boy. Sentence (108) allows the reading in which *every* scopes over *some*, in which every boy is liked by some other girl. Consequently, both (107) and (108) only yield the surface scope readings. Surface scope has also a role to play in interpreting accusative Experiencers realised as QPs, as shown in (109) and (110):

60. Antonyk (2015) argues that Russian allows both the surface and inverse scope in sentences like (107). Luchkina and Ionin (2015) argue that inverse scope is only possible in Russian in OVS orders, in which the QP in the pre-verbal position is prosodically prominent.

- (109) *Jakaś luka w prawie martwi każdego polityka.*  
 some loophole.NOM in law worries.IPFV every politician.ACC  
 ‘Some loophole in the legal system worries every politician.’
- (110) *Każdego polityka martwi jakaś luka w prawie.*  
 every politician.ACC worries.IPFV some loophole.NOM in law  
 ‘Some loophole in the legal system worries every politician.’

Whereas (109) means that one specific loophole in the legal system worries every politician, (110) allows the interpretation in which every politician worries about a different loophole in the legal system. Thus, (109) behaves like (107), while (110) resembles (108). Since it is the surface scope that determines the way the quantifiers are interpreted, no matter whether the Experiencer precedes the T/SM or vice versa, the scope data like (107)–(110) do not bear on the problem of which argument – the Experiencer or the T/SM – is hierarchically higher than the other.

Let us now turn to the way the T/SM-first order is derived from structures such as (106a) and (106b). For the sake of concreteness, let us focus on the following data:

- (111) *Kłopoty finansowe martwią Marię.*  
 problems.NOM financial worry.IPFV Mary.ACC  
 ‘Financial problems worry Mary.’
- (112) *Wszystkie ubrania podobają się Marii.*  
 all clothes.NOM appeal.IPFV REFL Mary.DAT  
 ‘All the clothes appeal to Mary.’

In (111) and (112), the nominative T/SM precedes the accusative or dative Experiencer. The nominative T/SM in sentences like (111) and (112) controls  $\phi$ -feature agreement and may bind an anaphor within the Experiencer (cf. Section 3.1.5). Therefore, it must occupy a Spec,TP position. Since the accusative Experiencer is generated higher than the T/SM (cf. (106a) above), it intervenes and blocks Agree between the finite T and the T/SM in (111). The dative Experiencer in (112) does not intervene because the moment that T starts probing the Experiencer is no longer active, as its case feature has been valued as the dative. Moreover, the dative case of the Experiencer is inherent and as such it does not count for the purposes of the Defective Intervention Effect (Chomsky, 2000).<sup>61</sup> The inherent dative is assigned in a way suggested by Legate (2008), viz. it is the little *v* which assigns inherent case to its theta-marked specifier. In order to avoid the problem with the accusa-

61. Chomsky (2000, p. 148, fn. 87), following McGinnis (1998), specifies that inherent case is a “distinct phenomenon, ‘invisible’ to matching, as if inherent case inactivates the  $\phi$ -set”.

tive Experiencer intervention in (111), we follow Wiland's (2016) account, based on remnant movement, modelled on Belletti and Rizzi's (2012) proposal made for Italian. In a sentence like (111), whose vP has the structure shown in (106a), once V has moved to v, a remnant arises, which corresponds to a V'. The remnant moves to a specifier of FP, a functional projection situated above the vP, as can be seen in the schematic derivation of (111) provided in (113) below. Although V' is an intermediate projection, it can move, as proposed for a different intermediate projection, viz. Pred', by Adger and Ramchand (2003) in copular clauses in Scottish Gaelic (cf. also Bondaruk, 2013, who proposes T' movement in inverse copular clauses in Polish).<sup>62,63</sup> The remnant movement in (113) is a kind of smuggling, adopted by Collins (2005) in his analysis of English passivization.<sup>64</sup> The movement of the V' remnant, containing the T/SM, to Spec,FP in (111) (see (113)) makes the T/SM a closer goal for the T probe than the accusative Experiencer in Spec,VP. After Chomsky (2008), we assume that T inherits its  $\phi$ -features from C. T also inherits its EPP (or Edge Feature, henceforth, EF, as in Chomsky, 2008) from C (for a similar assumption cf. Błaszczak, 2007, p. 69; Citko, 2014, p. 57, fn. 31).<sup>65</sup> Hence, T functions as a probe which enters into Agree with the T/SM, whereby the latter has its case feature valued as the nominative, while the  $\phi$ -features of the former get valued as 3rd person plural in (113). Since T has an EPP (or EF), the DP that T has entered into Agree with, viz. the nominative T/SM, moves to Spec,TP. The unvalued case feature of the Experiencer *Marię* 'Mary.ACC' is valued as accusative in (113) by v, despite its lacking an external argument, which violates

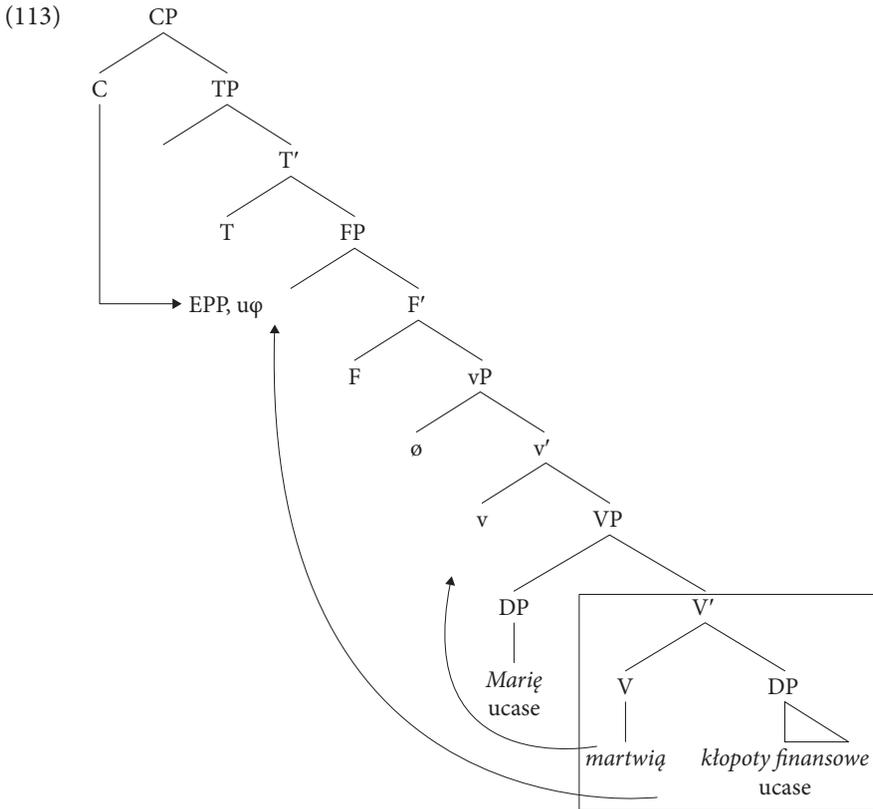
62. One reviewer notes that remnant movement of an intermediate projection is non-standard. Actually, following Adger and Ramchand (2003, p. 336, fn. 6), we believe that within a bare phrase structure, an intermediate projection is "a syntactic object just like any other and so may move [...]"

63. Wiland (2016, p. 161) proposes that in sentences like (111) the category called FP undergoes remnant movement. Wiland's (2016) FP comprises the V and the Theme argument, and it closely corresponds to the V' constituent postulated here (see (113) below). Wiland does not specify the exact label of the FP, so his analysis actually faces the same problem as regards remnant movement as the analysis proposed here.

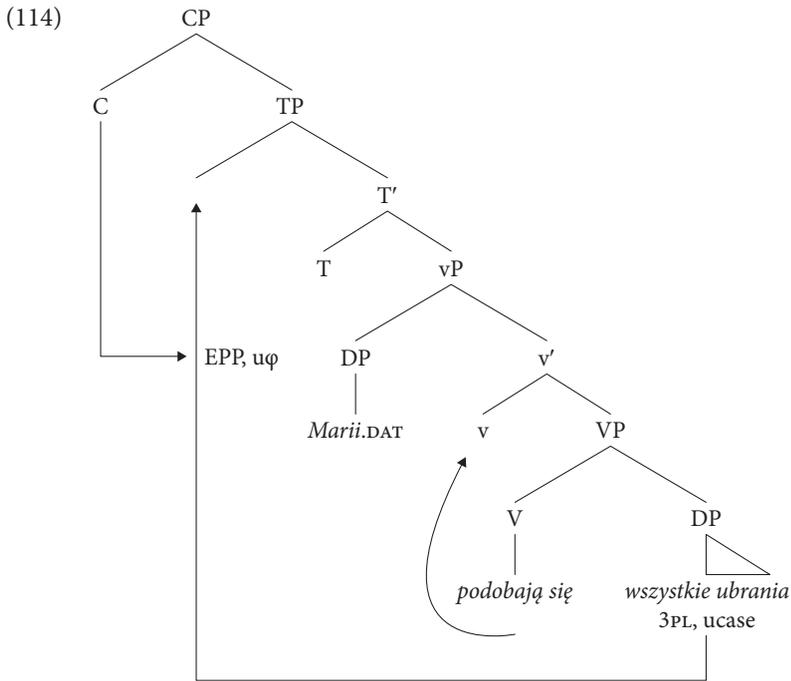
64. Like Collins (2005), we remain neutral as to what is the exact trigger of the movement of the remnant to Spec,FP.

65. Actually in Chomsky (2008) the EF (or the EPP) feature of T still remains mysterious and is quite different from the EF of the phase heads like C and v. The satisfaction of the EF of T is dependent on the prior Agree between T and the item that moves to its specifier. This is not the case with the EF of phase heads, either C or v. Consequently, the EPP feature of T is still very much an overt manifestation of an Agree relation established between the probe T and the relevant goal.

Burzio’s Generalisation (cf. Section 4.4). In (112), no remnant movement ever takes place, as the dative Experiencer does not block the movement of the T/SM, as has been noted above. In (112), whose schematic representation is provided in (114), the finite T, which has inherited its  $\varphi$ -features and the EF from C, probes the T/SM directly in its base position, and the Agree operation between the T and the T/SM results in the case feature of the T/SM being valued as the nominative, and the  $\varphi$ -features of T being valued as 3rd person plural.<sup>66</sup>



66. Jiménez-Fernández and Rozwadowska (2016) propose that the T/SM in sentences like (112) moves to Spec,CP, since it acts as a topic. This account makes it impossible to account for the fact that the nominative T/SM can bind anaphors within the dative Experiencer (cf. Section 3.1.5).



### 5.3 Deriving the Experiencer-first order with stative Class II and Class III OE verbs in Polish

Let us now turn to the derivation of the Experiencer-first order in sentences such as (115) and (116) below, which correspond to (111) and (112) above, respectively, with the T/SM-first order:

(115) *Marię martwią kłopoty finansowe.*  
 Mary.ACC worry.IPFV problems.NOM financial  
 'Financial problems worry Mary.'

(116) *Marii podobają się wszystkie ubrania.*  
 Mary.DAT appeal.IPFV REFL all clothes.NOM  
 'All the clothes appeal to Mary.'

As has been argued in Section 3.1.2, the Experiencer in the left periphery of the clause is associated with the A-topic interpretation, as in Jiménez-Fernández and Rozwadowska (2016). It has also been demonstrated in Section 3.1.2 that

the left peripheral Experiencer occupies an A'-position in both (115) and (116), which we take to be a Spec,CP, as in Jiménez-Fernández and Rozwadowska (2016), as well as Gogłóza and Łęska (2018). Neither accusative nor the dative Experiencer occupies Spec,TP, because it does not act as a quirky subject in Polish.<sup>67</sup> If the dative or accusative Experiencers were quirky subjects, they would be possible targets for A-movement.<sup>68</sup> Since accusative or dative Experiencers never undergo A-movement in raising structures, as demonstrated in (117) and (118) below, and it is always the nominative case marked T/SM that is affected by A-movement, the conclusion must be reached that the scrambled Experiencer does not end up in Spec,TP (for more evidence that the scrambled dative Experiencer in dyadic structures does not act as a subject in Polish, cf. Jiménez-Fernández & Rozwadowska, 2017).<sup>69</sup>

(117) \**Marię wydawało się martwić brak pieniędzy.*  
 Mary.ACC seemed REFL worry.IPFV lack.NOM money  
 'The lack of money seemed to worry Mary.'

(118) \**Marii wydawało się podobać obrazy Picassa.*  
 Mary.DAT seemed REFL appeal.IPFV pictures.NOM of.Picasso  
 'Picasso's pictures seemed to appeal to Mary.'

Both (117) and (118), in which the accusative or dative Experiencer has been raised, are ungrammatical, which clearly points towards the conclusion that neither of them acts as a quirky subject, placed in Spec,TP.

67. Citko et al. (2018) argue that the Labeling Algorithm of Chomsky (2013, 2015) prevents any non-agreeing XP from occupying the Spec,TP position. This is so because the non-agreeing XP that merges in the specifier of TP does not share any features with T, which makes the resulting syntactic object impossible to label. Therefore, Citko et al. (2018) propose that non-agreeing XPs land in either Spec,TopP or Spec,FinP.

68. Poole (2016) notes that quirky subjects do not control  $\phi$ -feature agreement, and hence only show a subset of subjecthood properties characteristic of canonical nominative subjects.

69. Sentences (117) and (118) become grammatical if the nominative T/SM raises, instead of the accusative or dative Experiencer, as shown in (i) and (ii) below:

(i) *Brak pieniędzy wydawał się martwić Marię.*  
 lack.NOM money seemed REFL worry.IPFV Mary.ACC  
 'The lack of money seemed to worry Mary.'

(ii) *Obrazy Picassa wydawały się podobać Marii.*  
 pictures.NOM of.Picasso seemed REFL appeal.IPFV Mary.DAT  
 'Picasso's pictures seemed to appeal to Mary.'

In (115) and (116), we assume that C transfers to T just its  $\varphi$ -features, without passing on its EF to T (for a similar idea in the context of existential clauses in Polish, cf. Błaszczak, 2007, p. 86; cf. also Germain, 2017 as well as Citko et al., 2018, who appeal to the Split Feature Inheritance, whereby unvalued  $\varphi$  features are passed down on T, whereas the EPP feature is retained by the Fin head in the expanded left periphery, as in Rizzi, 1997, et seq.). Consequently, T has just  $\varphi$ -features without any EF, while the EF is associated with C.<sup>70</sup> C and T in (116) and (117) probe in parallel. Both the Experiencer and the T/SM are accessible goals, because the vP, headed by a stative verb, does not count as a phase (Chomsky, 2008; Fábregas & Marín, 2017, p. 38). C probes the Experiencer, a goal closer to C than the T/SM.<sup>71</sup> As a result, the Experiencer moves to the specifier of CP, whereby it eliminates the EF of C. T, in turn, enters into Agree with the T/SM and this time there is no accusative Experiencer intervention in (116), because the Experiencer has moved to Spec,CP and its copy in Spec,VP does not count as an intervener, since on standard assumptions (cf. Chomsky, 2008), it is just the highest copy of the moved element that counts for intervention. In (115) and (116), T values the nominative case of the T/SM and has its  $\varphi$ -features valued by it. The T/SM remains in situ in (115) and (116), as T without an EF is incapable of attracting the item it has entered into Agree with to its specifier.<sup>72</sup> The clause final T/SM receives a focus interpretation. The valuation of the accusative and the dative case feature of the Experiencer in (115) and (116) proceeds in the way outlined for these two types of Experiencer in the structures such as (113) and (114) (cf. Section 5.2), viz. the accusative is valued in the course of Agree with v, whereas the little v values the inherent dative on the DP placed in its specifier. The schematic derivations of (115) and (116) are provided in (119) and (120), respectively.

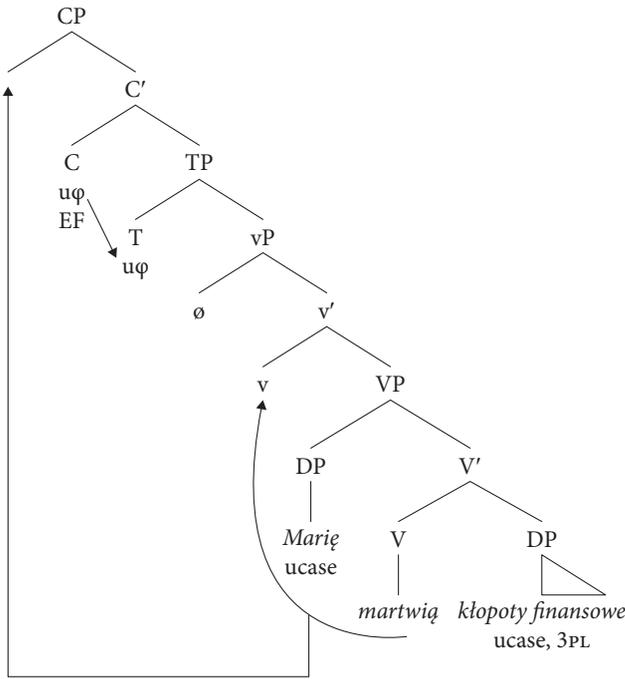
70. Similarly, Williams (2006) proposes that in structures with dative Experiencers in Russian, T has only  $\varphi$ -features, without an EPP-feature. For him, the dative Experiencer moves to Spec,LP, the projection generated above TP and equipped with the EPP-feature.

71. Closeness is defined as in Chomsky (1995) and reproduced in (i) below:

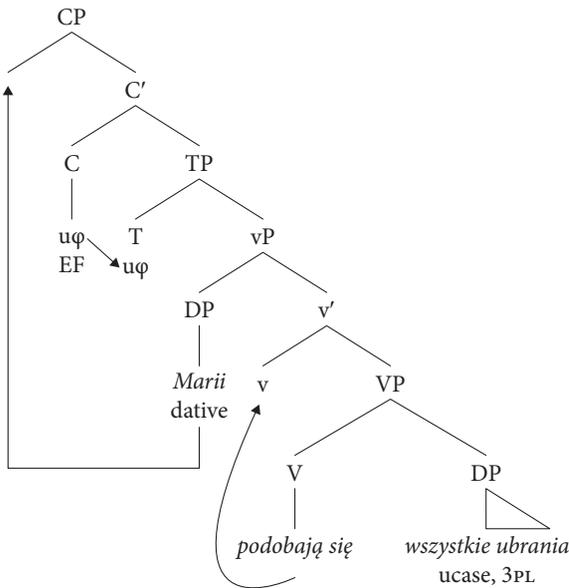
(i) G' is a closer Goal than G if G is c-commanded by G' (Chomsky, 1995, p. 311)

72. Gogłóza and Łęska (2018) assume that the T/SM moves to Spec,TP in sentences like (116). However, they leave it open how the T/SM-final word order is derived in sentences like this.

(119)



(120)



It is worth emphasizing that the derivation of Experiencer-first order, sketched in (119) and (120), has not relied on discourse-related features, such as topic or focus (for an analysis of Spanish structures with dative Experiencers, where the notions such as topic and focus are irrelevant in the syntax, but relevant at interfaces,

cf. Fábregas et al. 2017). This is a welcome step, as Chomsky et al. (2019) emphasise that relying on discourse-related features in overt syntax violates the Inclusiveness Condition (cf. Chomsky, 1995), which blocks introducing extraneous objects in the course of syntactic derivation. Any movement that occurs in (119) and (120) is triggered by an EF, and any information structure effects are treated as derived configurationally (cf. Chomsky et al., 2019, p. 27), viz. by means of interface rules interpreting configurations resulting from syntactic movement. One of the configurational approaches to Information Structure, found in the literature, is due to Slioussar (2007), proposed for Russian. Slioussar (2007) puts forward the principle in (121) below, which regulates the information structure of syntactic arguments:

- (121) If X is (re)merged above Y, the discourse entity corresponding to X is at least as accessible and at most as salient as the one corresponding to Y. If there are no independent reasons to merge X above Y, the discourse entity corresponding to X is more accessible and less salient than the one corresponding to Y.  
(Slioussar, 2007, p. 31)

In Slioussar's (2007) model, topic and focus are not grammatical notions, but result from the direct encoding of other notions, viz. relational accessibility and salience. Slioussar (2007) also states that the above-mentioned rule may be supplemented with some additional interface strategies to determine the salience/accessibility when nothing is encoded in syntax. Although an attempt to derive information structure effects at the interfaces seems to be worthwhile, it is beyond the scope of this chapter to work out how the configurational approach might work in the T/SM-first and the Experiencer-first orders, analysed in Sections 5.2 and 5.3, respectively.

## 6. Conclusions

The chapter has focused on the structure and derivation of sentences hosting stative OE verbs with accusative and dative Experiencers in Polish. In order to determine the structural position of the Experiencer argument with respect to the T/SM, the binding properties, as well as the passivization patterns of the two types of psychological predicates analysed here, have been examined. Two binding-related aspects have been scrutinised, namely, anaphor binding and pronominal variable binding. It has been observed that backward binding is not attested in Polish, because anaphors within the nominative T/SM are found in positions construed with agreement. This is blocked by a universally valid descriptive generalisation, called the AAE. It has been argued that dative Experiencers must be projected in Spec,vP, since they can bind subject-oriented anaphors once the AAE is controlled for. The fact that accusative Experiencers never bind anaphors has

served as evidence that they are projected VP-internally. It has also been shown that in the absence of convincing evidence that accusative and dative Experiencers are scrambled to an A-position, an alternative approach must be adopted, i.e. scrambling may be viewed as targeting Spec,CP, an A'-position. The nominative T/SM, in turn, may move to an A-position, as it can participate in forward binding, i.e. it can bind an anaphor contained within the clause final Experiencer.

The study of passivizability of stative Class II and Class III OE verbs has revealed that neither class of psych verbs in Polish under scrutiny can serve as an input to verbal passives. This fact has been accounted for by assuming that stative OE verbs with the accusative Experiencer do not project an external argument, either overt or implicit. Nonetheless, they have not been associated with an unaccusative structure, as they can assign the structural accusative case to the Experiencer. Instead, they have been provided with a complex ergative structure, as in Bennis (2004), in which both arguments are projected VP-internally. It has also been argued that *v* in the complex ergative structure can value the structural accusative of the Experiencer, even though it lacks an external argument, which testifies to the fact that Burzio's Generalisation may be violated in Polish. Consequently, stative OE verbs with accusative Experiencers have been demonstrated to be syntactically special, distinct from typical transitive Agent-Theme predicates. Stative OE verbs with dative Experiencers do not form verbal passives, either, and this has been shown to follow from the fact that dative Experiencers, being external arguments, projected in Spec,vP, cannot be promoted under passivization. The adjectival passives that are formed of stative Class II OE verbs do not license any Voice-related modifiers, which supports the claim that they lack an external argument altogether. Class III OE verbs do not give rise to adjectival passives at all, which results from the fact the dative Experiencer, acting as an external, not an internal, argument cannot be externalised in the passive. In a way similar to stative OE verbs with accusative Experiencers in Polish, Polish OE verbs with dative Experiencers are also syntactically special. It has been argued that dative Experiencers cannot originate in the specifier of a high applicative phrase, in contradistinction to unselected datives found, for instance, with anti-causatives. This is so, because they are subcategorized by a psychological predicate, even though they may be left implicit. When implicit, dative Experiencers can license secondary predicates and hence are taken to be projected in the syntax, not to be just active in semantics. All in all, the syntactic analysis of accusative and dative Experiencers in Polish has testified to the special status of stative OE verbs which cannot be easily subsumed under any attested verb class. However, this special syntactic status of stative OE verbs with accusative and dative Experiencers cannot be accounted for in a uniform way, and calls for two distinct syntactic structures, as has been proposed above.

Finally, the derivation of the T/SM-first and the Experiencer-first order has been provided, couched within the Minimalist Program of Chomsky (2008). It has been proposed that the former word order arises once T inherits both the  $\varphi$ -features and the EF from C, and therefore not only undergoes Agree with the nominative T/SM but also attracts it to its specifier position. Since the accusative Experiencer is higher in the structure than the T/SM, the former blocks movement of the latter unless the T/SM moves as a part of the remnant above the position of the accusative Experiencer. In Experiencer-first word order, T inherits just the  $\varphi$ -features of C, while the EF is not passed onto T by C. This leads to the movement of the Experiencer to Spec,CP, and Agree in  $\varphi$ -features between the T and the T/SM, without the subsequent displacement of the T/SM to Spec,TP. The derivation of both orders available for the two types of OE predicates, offered in the chapter, has relied on the EF as the only movement trigger. No information structure features, such as topic or focus, have been involved in any movement operation. On the contrary, it has been suggested, following Chomsky et al. (2019), as well as Fábregas et al. (2017), that information structure must be derived configurationally, i.e. by interface rules applying to configurations resulting from syntactic movement. The syntactic analysis of stative Class II and Class III OE predicates, carried out here, has shown that accusative and dative Experiencers cannot be treated in a uniform way from the point of view of their first-Merge position. This conclusion seems to support the opinion voiced by Marantz (2013, p. 164) specifying that “languages exploit many options for the psychological predicates, leading to variability in expression of the “same” meanings cross-linguistically”.

## Funding

This research is funded by grant 2014/15/B/HS2/00588 from National Science Centre, Poland.

## References

- Adger, D., & Ramchand, G. (2003). Predication and equation. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 34, 325–360. <https://doi.org/10.1162/002438903322247515>
- Adger, D., & Ramchand, G. (2006). Psych nouns and predication. In C. Davis, A.-R. Deal, & Y. Zabbal (Eds.), *Proceedings of NELS 36* (pp. 89–102). Amherst, MA: GLSA.
- Alexiadou, A., & Anagnostopoulou, E. (2004). Voice morphology in the causative-inchoative alternation: Evidence for a non-unified structural analysis of unaccusatives. In A. Alexiadou, E. Anagnostopoulou, & M. Everaert (Eds.), *The unaccusativity puzzle. Explorations of the syntax-lexicon interface* (pp. 116–136). Oxford: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199257652.003.0005>

- Alexiadou, A., Anagnostopoulou, E., & Sevdali, C. (2014). Opaque and transparent datives, and how they behave in passives. *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics*, 17, 1–34. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10828-014-9064-8>
- Alexiadou, A., Anagnostopoulou, E., & Schäfer, F. (2015). *External arguments in transitivity alternations. A layering approach*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199571949.001.0001>
- Antonyuk, S. (2015). *Quantifier scope and scope freezing in Russian* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Sony Brook University.
- Arad, M. (1998). Psych-notes. *UCL Working Papers in Linguistics*, 10, 203–223.
- Babby, L. (1989/2002). Subjectless external subcategorization, and the Projection Principle. *Zbornik Matice Srpske za Filologiju i Lingvistiku*, 32, 7–40 (reprinted in *Journal of Slavic Linguistics*, 10, 341–388).
- Bayer, J. (2004). Non-nominative subjects in comparison. In P. Bhaskararao & K. Vekata Subbarao (Eds.), *Non-nominative subjects* (Vol. 1, pp. 49–76). Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/tsl.60.05bay>
- Belletti, A., & Rizzi, L. (1988). Psych-verbs and  $\theta$  theory. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, 6, 291–352. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00133902>
- Belletti, A., & Rizzi, L. (2012). Moving verbal chunks in the low functional field. In L. Brugé, A. Cardinaletti, G. Giusti, N. Munaro, & C. Poletto (Eds.), *Functional heads and the cartography of syntactic structures* (Vol. 7, pp. 129–137). Oxford: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199746736.003.0010>
- Bennis, H. (2004). Unergative adjectives and psych verbs. In A. Alexiadou, E. Anagnostopoulou, & M. Everaert (Eds.), *The unaccusativity puzzle. Explorations of the syntax-lexicon interface* (pp. 84–114). Oxford: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199257652.003.0004>
- Biały, A. (2005). *Polish psychological verbs at the lexicon-syntax interface in cross-linguistic perspective*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.
- Błaszczak, J. (2007). *Phase syntax: The Polish genitive of negation* (Habilitation dissertation). Universität Potsdam.
- Bondaruk, A. (2013). *Copular clauses in English and Polish. Structure, derivation and interpretation*. Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL.
- Bondaruk, A., & Szymanek, B. (2007). Polish nominativeless constructions with dative Experiencers: Form, meaning and structure. *Studies in Polish Linguistics*, 4, 61–99.
- Bondaruk, A., & Rozwadowska, B. (2018a). Heterogeneity of states in Polish stative passives. In W. Guz, & B. Szymanek (Eds.), *Canonical and non-canonical structures in Polish* (pp. 33–53). Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL.
- Bondaruk, A., & Rozwadowska, B. (2018b). Stative and eventive passives of Subject Experiencer verbs in Polish. *Poznań Studies in Contemporary Linguistics*, 54(4), 437–467. <https://doi.org/10.1515/psicl-2018-0019>
- Bondaruk, A., & Rozwadowska, B. (2019). Stative and eventive passives with Subject and Object Experiencer verbs in Polish. In A. Bondaruk & K. Jaskuła (Eds.), *All around the word. Papers in honour of Bogdan Szymanek on his 65th birthday* (pp. 47–78). Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL.
- Bondaruk, A., Rozwadowska, B., & Witkowski, W. (2017a). Passivization of Polish Object Experiencer verbs vs. the unaccusativity hypothesis (Part 1). *Studies in Polish Linguistics*, 12(2), 57–73.

- Bondaruk, A., Rozwadowska, B., & Witkowski, W. (2017b). Passivisation of Polish Object Experiencer verbs vs. the unaccusativity hypothesis (Part 2). *Studies in Polish Linguistics*, 12(3), 123–144.
- Bouchard, D. (1992). Psych constructions and linking to conceptual structure. In P. Hirschbühler & E. F. K. Koerner (Eds.), *Romance languages and modern linguistic theory* (pp. 25–44). Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/cilt.91.04bou>
- Brame, M. (1977). Alternatives to the tensed S and specified subject condition. *Linguistics and Philosophy*, 1, 381–411. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00353455>
- Bruening, B. (2014). Word formation is syntactic: Adjectival passives in English. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, 32, 363–422. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11049-014-9227-y>
- Bunčić, D. (2015). “To mamy wpajane od dziecka” – a recipient passive in Polish? *Zeitschrift für Slawistik*, 60(3), 411–431. <https://doi.org/10.1515/slwa-2015-0025>
- Burzio, L. (1986). *Italian syntax: A Government and Binding approach*. Dordrecht: Reidel. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-009-4522-7>
- Büring, D. (2004). Crossover situations. *Natural Language Semantics*, 12, 23–62. <https://doi.org/10.1023/B:NALS.000001144.81075.a8>
- Cetnarowska, B. (2000). The unergative/unaccusative distinction in Polish. In P. Bański & A. Przepiórkowski (Eds.), *Proceedings of GLiP-1* (pp. 35–46). Warszawa: IPI PAN.
- Cetnarowska, B. (2002). Unaccusativity mismatches and unaccusativity diagnostics from derivational morphology. In P. Boucher & M. Plénat (Eds.), *Many morphologies* (pp. 48–81). Somerville, MA: Cascadilla.
- Cheung, Chi-Han C., & Larson, R. K. (2015). Psych verbs in English and Mandarin. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, 33(1), 127–189. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11049-014-9259-3>
- Chomsky, N. (1981). *Lectures on government and binding*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Chomsky, N. (1995). *The minimalist program*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N. (2000). Minimalist inquiries: The framework. In R. Martin, D. Michaels, & J. Uriagereka (Eds.), *Step by step. Essays on minimalist syntax in honor of Howard Lasnik* (pp. 89–155). Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N. (2001). Derivation by phase. In M. Kenstowicz (Ed.), *Ken Hale. A life in language* (pp. 1–52). Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N. (2008). On phases. In R. Freidin, C. P. Otero, & M. L. Zubizarreta (Eds.), *Foundational issues in linguistic theory. Essays in honor of Jean-Roger Vergnaud* (pp. 134–166). Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press. <https://doi.org/10.7551/mitpress/9780262062787.003.0007>
- Chomsky, N. (2013). Problems of projection. *Lingua*, 130, 33–49. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lingua.2012.12.003>
- Chomsky, N. (2015). Problems of projection: Extensions. In E. Di Domenico, C. Hamann, & S. Matteini (Eds.), *Structures, strategies and beyond: Studies in honor of Adriana Belletti* (pp. 1–16). Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/la.223.01cho>
- Chomsky, N., Gallego, Á. J., & Ott, D. (2019). Generative grammar and the faculty of language: Insights, questions, and challenges. In Á. J. Gallego & D. Ott (Eds.), *Generative syntax: Questions, crossroads, and challenges. Special issue of Catalan Journal of Linguistics 2019*. (pp. 229–261). Retrieved from <<http://ling.auf.net/lingbuzz/003507/current.pdf>> (18 June 2017). <https://doi.org/10.5565/rev/catjl.288>
- Citko, B. (2014). *Phase Theory. An introduction*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139644037>

- Citko, B., Germain, A., & Witkoś, J. (2018). If you cannot agree, move on! On labels and non-nominative subjects. *Glossa*, 3(1), 28, 1–46.
- Collins, C. (2005). A smuggling approach to passive in English. *Syntax*, 8, 81–120. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9612.2005.00076.x>
- Cuervo, M. C. (2003). *Datives at large* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). MIT.
- Cuervo, M. C. (2010). Some dative subjects are born, some are made. In C. Borroni, M. Español-Echevarría, & P. Prévost (Eds.), *Selected proceedings of the 12th Hispanic Linguistics Symposium* (pp. 26–37). Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.
- Despić, M. (2011). *Syntax in the absence of determiner phrase* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Connecticut.
- Despić, M. (2013). Binding and the structure of NP in Serbo-Croatian. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 44, 239–270. [https://doi.org/10.1162/LING\\_a\\_00126](https://doi.org/10.1162/LING_a_00126)
- Despić, M. (2015). Phases, reflexives and definiteness. *Syntax*, 18(3), 201–234. <https://doi.org/10.1111/synt.12031>
- Dziwirek, K. (1994). *Polish subjects*. New York, NY: Garland.
- Embick, D. (2004). On the structure of resultative participles in English. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 35(3), 355–392. <https://doi.org/10.1162/0024389041402634>
- Everaert, M. (1991). Nominative anaphors in Icelandic: Morphology or syntax. In W. Abraham, W. Kosmeijer, & E. J. Reuland (Eds.), *Issues in Germanic syntax* (pp. 277–305). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Fábregas, A., & Marín, R. (2017). Datives and stativity in psych predicates. Retrieved from <<http://filcat.uab.cat/clt/datives/abstractsdat/fabregasmarin.pdf>> (20 April, 2020).
- Fábregas, A., & Marín, R. (2020). Initiators, states and passives in Spanish psych verbs. In B. Rozwadowska & A. Bondaruk (Eds.), *Beyond Emotions in Language. Psychological verbs at the interfaces*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. (this volume) <https://doi.org/10.1075/la.263.04fab>
- Fábregas, A., Jiménez Fernández, Á. L., & Tubino-Blanco, M. (2017). What's up with dative Experiencers? In R. E. V. Lopes, J. Ornelas de Avelar, & S. M. L. Cyrino (Eds.), *Romance languages and linguistic theory 12: Selected papers from the 45th Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages (LSRL), Campinas, Brazil* (pp. 29–48). Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/rllt.12.03fab>
- Fox, D., & Sauerland, U. (1996). Illusive scope of universal quantifiers. In K. Kusumoto (Ed.), *Proceedings of NELS 26* (pp. 71–85). Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Fraçkowiak, E. (2015). *Understanding situation and viewpoint aspect in Polish through dative anticausative constructions and factual imperfectives* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Ottawa.
- Germain, A. (2017). *Non-nominative subjects in Russian and Lithuanian: Case, argument structure and anaphor binding* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Washington.
- Giorgi, A. (1984). Toward a theory of long distance anaphors: A GB approach. *The Linguistic Review*, 3, 307–361. <https://doi.org/10.1515/tlir.1984.3.4.307>
- Gogłóza, A. (2018). Peeling of subject case: Marked subjects in Polish. In A. Bloch-Rozmej, & A. Bondaruk (Eds.), *Studies in formal linguistics: Universal patterns and language specific parameters* (pp. 91–111). Berlin: Peter Lang.
- Gogłóza, A., & Łęska, P. (2018). Binding by objects in Polish DOCs and *please*-type double object unaccusatives – Testing theoretical accounts. *Poznań Studies in Contemporary Linguistics*, 54(4), 509–540. <https://doi.org/10.1515/psicl-2018-0021>

- Grafmiller, J. (2013). *The semantics and syntactic choice. An analysis of English emotion verbs* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Stanford University.
- Haegeman, L. (1986). The double object construction in West Flemish. *The Linguistic Review*, 5, 281–299. <https://doi.org/10.1515/tlir.1986.5.4.281>
- Haider, H. (1985). The case of German. In J. Toman (Ed.), *Studies in German grammar* (pp. 65–101). Dordrecht: Foris. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110882711-005>
- Hornstein, N. (1995). *Logical form: From GB to minimalism*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.
- Iwata, S. (1995). The distinctive character of psych-verbs as causatives. *Linguistic Analysis*, 1–2, 95–120.
- Jiménez Fernández Á. L. (2020). The information structure of high and low datives and their psychological import. In B. Rozwadowska & A. Bondaruk (Eds.), *Beyond Emotions in Language. Psychological verbs at the interfaces*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. (this volume)
- Jiménez Fernández Á. L., & Rozwadowska, B. (2016). The information structure of Dative Experiencer psych verbs. In B. Cetnarowska, M. Kuczok, & M. Zabawa (Eds.), *Various dimensions of contrastive studies* (pp. 100–122). Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego.
- Jiménez Fernández Á. L., & Rozwadowska, B. (2017). On subject properties of datives in psych verbs: A comparative approach. *Acta Linguistica Academica*, 64(2), 233–256. <https://doi.org/10.1556/2062.2017.64.2.4>
- Johanessen, J. B. (1993). *Coordination. A minimalist approach* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Oslo.
- Johanessen, J. B. (1998). *Coordination*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jurczyk, R. (2015). The logical-semantic content of subject: A configurational view from syntax and LF. *Poznań Studies in Contemporary Linguistics*, 51(1), 89–131. <https://doi.org/10.1515/psicl-2015-0004>
- Kibort, A. (2004). *Passive and passive-like constructions in English and Polish* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Cambridge.
- Kim, K. (2011). High applicatives in Korean causatives and passives. *Lingua*, 121, 487–510. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lingua.2010.10.001>
- Kim, K. (2017). Non-oblique syntax for a dative experiencer in Korean. *Linguistic Research*, 34(1), 77–106. <https://doi.org/10.17250/khisli.34.1.201703.003>
- Klimek, D., & Rozwadowska, B. (2004). From psych adjectives to psych verbs. *Poznań Studies in Contemporary Linguistics*, 39, 59–72.
- Koopman, H., & Sportiche, D. (1982). Variables and the Bijection Principle. *The Linguistic Review*, 2, 139–160. <https://doi.org/10.1515/tlir.1982.2.2.139>
- Koster, J. (1978). *Locality principles in syntax*. Dordrecht: Foris. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110882339>
- Kratzer, A. (1996). Severing the external argument from its verb. In J. Rooryck & L. Zaring (Eds.), *Phrase structure and the lexicon* (pp. 109–137). Dordrecht: Kluwer. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-015-8617-7\\_5](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-015-8617-7_5)
- Kratzer, A. (2000). Building statives. *Proceedings of Berkley Linguistics Society*, 26, 385–399. <https://doi.org/10.3765/bls.v26i1.1131>
- Kučerová, I. (2012). Grammatical marking of givenness. *Natural Language Semantics*, 20(1), 1–30. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11050-011-9073-y>
- Landau, I. (2000). *Elements of control. Structure and meaning in infinitival constructions*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.

- Landau, I. (2010a). *The locative syntax of Experiencers*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Landau, I. (2010b). The explicit syntax of implicit arguments. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 41(3), 357–388. [https://doi.org/10.1162/LING\\_a\\_00001](https://doi.org/10.1162/LING_a_00001)
- Laskowski, R. (1998). Kategorie morfologiczne języka polskiego – Charakterystyka funkcjonalna [Morphological categories of Polish – Functional characteristics]. In R. Grzegorzczkowska, R. Laskowski, & H. Wróbel (Eds.), *Gramatyka współczesnego języka polskiego. Morfologia*. [Grammar of the contemporary Polish language. Morphology] (pp. 151–221). Warszawa: PWN.
- Lavine, J., & Franks, S. (2008). On accusative first. In A. Antonenko, J. F. Bailyn, C. Y. Bethin, & J. Toman (Eds.), *Formal approaches to Slavic linguistics 16* (pp. 231–247). Ann Arbor, MI: Michigan Slavic Publications.
- Lebeaux, D. (2009). *Where does Binding Theory apply?* Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press. <https://doi.org/10.7551/mitpress/9780262012904.001.0001>
- Legate, J. (2008). Morphological and abstract case. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 39, 55–101. <https://doi.org/10.1162/ling.2008.39.1.55>
- Luchkina, T., & Ionin, T. (2015). The effect of prosody on availability of inverse scope in Russian. In M. Szajbel-Keck, R. Burns, & D. Kavitskaya (Eds.), *Proceedings of the 23rd Formal Approaches to Slavic Linguistics, UC Berkley* (pp. 418–437). Ann Arbor, MI: Michigan Slavic Publications.
- Maling, J. (1984). Non-bounded reflexives in Modern Icelandic. *Linguistics and Philosophy*, 7, 211–241. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00627706>
- Marantz, A. (1984). *On the nature of grammatical relations*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Marantz, A. (2013). Verbal argument structure. Events and participants. *Lingua*, 130, 152–168. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lingua.2012.10.012>
- Marín, R., & McNally, L. (2011). Inchoativity, change of state, and telicity: Evidence from Spanish reflexive psychological verbs. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, 29, 467–502. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11049-011-9127-3>
- McGinnis, M. (1998). *Locality in A-movement* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). MIT.
- McIntyre, A. (2013). Adjectival passives and adjectival participles in English. In A. Alexiadou & F. Schäfer (Eds.), *Non-canonical passives* (pp. 21–42). Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/la.205.02mci>
- Miechowicz-Mathiasen, K., & Scheffler, P. (2008). A corpus-based analysis of the peculiar behavior of the Polish verb *podobać się*. In J. Witkoś & G. Fanselow (Eds.), *Elements of Slavic and Germanic grammars. A comparative view* (pp. 89–111). Frankfurt: Peter Lang.
- Munn, A. B. (1987). Coordinate structure and X-bar Theory. *McGill Working Papers in Linguistics*, 4(1), 121–140.
- Nikolaeva, L. (2014). *The secret life of pronouns* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). MIT.
- Pesetsky, D. (1982). *Paths and categories* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). MIT.
- Pesetsky, D. (1995). *Zero syntax: Experiencers and cascades*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Pesetsky, D. (2010). *Russian case morphology and the syntactic categories*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- de O A Petersen, M. C. (2016). *On Experiencers and minimality* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation) University of Maryland.
- Pitteroff, M., & Schäfer, F. (2019). Implicit control cross-linguistically. *Language*, 95(1), 136–184. <https://doi.org/10.1353/lan.2019.0016>
- Poole, E. (2016). Deconstructing subjecthood. Retrieved from <<http://ling.auf.net/lingbuzz/003197>> (20 April, 2020).
- Postal, P. (1971). *Cross-over phenomena*. New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

- Pylkkänen, L. (2008). *Introducing arguments*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.  
<https://doi.org/10.7551/mitpress/9780262162548.001.0001>
- Rákosi, G. (2006). *Dative Experiencer predicates in Hungarian*. Utrecht: LOT Publications.
- Rákosi, G. (2015). Psych verbs, anaphors and the configurationality issue in Hungarian. In K. É. Kiss, B. Surányi, & É. Dékány (Eds.), *Approaches to Hungarian. Vol. 14. Papers from the Piliscsaba conference* (pp. 243–263). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.  
<https://doi.org/10.1075/atoh.14.10rak>
- Ramchand, G. (2008). *First phase syntax*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.  
<https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511486319.003>
- Reinhart, T. (1983). Coreference and bound anaphora: A restatement of the anaphora questions. *Linguistics and Philosophy*, 6, 47–88. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00868090>
- Reinhart, T. (2001). Experiencing derivations. A paper presented at SALT 11, New York.  
<https://doi.org/10.3765/salt.v11i0.2845>
- Rizzi, L. (1990). On the anaphor-agreement effect. *Rivista di Linguistica*, 2, 27–42.
- Rizzi, L. (1997). The fine structure of the left periphery. In L. Haegeman (Ed.), *Elements of grammar* (pp. 281–339). Dordrecht: Kluwer. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-011-5420-8\\_7](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-011-5420-8_7)
- Rozwadowska, B. (2012). On the onset of psych eventualities. In E. Cyran, H. Kardela, & B. Szymanek (Eds.), *Sound, structure and sense. Studies in memory of Edmund Gussmann* (pp. 533–554). Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL.
- Sigurðsson, E. F., Šereikaitė M., & Pitteroff, M. (2018). The structural nature of non-structural case: On passivization and case in Lithuanian. *Proceedings of LSA*, 3.31, 1–15.
- Slioussar, N. (2007). *Grammar and information structure. A study with reference to Russian*. Utrecht: LOT Publications.
- Sundaresan, S. (2014). Revisiting the anaphor agreement effect: A new pattern from Tamil. In A. Assmann, S. Bank, D. Georgi, T. Klein, P. Weisser, & E. Zimmermann (Eds.), *Topics at InFL* (pp. 499–526). Leipzig: Universität Leipzig.
- Szajbel-Keck, M. (2015). *Secondary predication in Polish* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of California.
- Tajsner, P. (2008). *Aspects of the grammar of focus*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.
- Temme, A. (2014). German psych-adjectives. In A. Machicao, A. Nolda, & A. Sioupi (Eds.), *Zwischen Kern und Peripherie: Untersuchungen zu Randbereichen in Sprache und Grammatik* (pp. 131–156). Berlin: De Gruyter. <https://doi.org/10.1524/9783050065335.131>
- Temme, A., & Verhoeven, E. (2017). Backward binding as a psych effect: A binding illusion? *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft*, 36(2), 279–308. <https://doi.org/10.1515/zfs-2017-0011>
- Wiland, B. (2016). Le charme discret of remnant movement: crossing and nesting in Polish OVS sentences. *Studies in Polish Linguistics*, 11(3), 133–165.
- Williams, E. (2006). Subjects of different heights. In J. Lavine (Ed.), *Proceedings of Formal Approaches to Slavic Linguistics, The Princeton Meeting 2005* (pp. 409–418). Ann Arbor, MI: Michigan Slavic Publications.
- Willim, E. (1989). *On word order: A government-binding study of English and Polish*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.
- Willim, E. (2020). The Polish impersonal middle with a dative as a syntactically-derived experience construction. In B. Rozwadowska & A. Bondaruk (Eds.), *Beyond Emotions in Language. Psychological verbs at the interfaces*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. (this volume)
- Witkoś, J. (1993). The theory of X-binding and some aspects of scrambling in Polish. *Poznań Studies in Contrastive Linguistics*, 28, 153–180.
- Witkoś, J. (2003). *Movement and reconstruction: Questions and Principle C effects in English and Polish*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.

- Witkoś, J. (2008). On the correlation between A-type scrambling and lack of weak crossover effects. *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia*, 44, 297–327.
- Witkoś, J. (2013). Visser's Generalization and c-command condition on control. In A. Bondaruk, & A. Malicka-Kleparska (Eds.), *Ambiguity. Multifaceted structures in syntax, morphology and phonology* (pp. 317–345). Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL.
- Witkoś, J., Łęska, P., & Dziubała-Szrejbrowska, D. (2017). Positioning the dative and accusative arguments through binding. Paper presented at Linguistics Beyond and Within Conference, 18–19 October, 2017, Lublin.
- Witkoś, J., Dziubała-Szrejbrowska, D., & Łęska, P. (2018a). Binding as Agree and Index Raising: The case of Polish accusative object Experiencers. *Poznań Studies in Contemporary Linguistics*, 54(4), 469–507. <https://doi.org/10.1515/psicl-2018-0020>
- Witkoś, J., Łęska, P., Dziubała-Szrejbrowska, D., Gogłóza, A., & Meyer, R. (2018b). Datives and accusatives as binders in a grammar of subject-oriented reflexives. Paper presented at FASL conference, Stanford, May 4–6 2018.
- Wood, J., & Marantz, A. (2017). The interpretation of external arguments. In R. D'Alessandro, I. Franco, & Á. Gallego (Eds.), *The verbal domain* (pp. 255–279). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Woolford, E. (1993). Symmetric and asymmetric passives. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, 11, 679–728. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00993017>
- Woolford, E. (1997). Four-way cases systems: Ergative, nominative, objective and accusative. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, 15, 181–227. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1005796113097>
- Woolford, E. (1999). More on the Anaphor Agreement Effect. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 30(2), 257–287. <https://doi.org/10.1162/002438999554057>
- Zabrocki, T. (1981). *Lexical rules of semantic interpretation*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu im. A. Mickiewicza w Poznaniu.
- Zoerner, C. E. (1995). *Coordination: The syntax of andP* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of California.
- Zribi-Hertz, A. (1989). A-type binding and narrative point of view. *Language*, 65, 695–727. <https://doi.org/10.2307/414931>
- Żychliński, S. (2013). *On some aspects of the syntax of Object Experiencers in Polish and English* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Adam Mickiewicz University.