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Anna Bondaruk
John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin
Bożena Rozwadowska
University of Wrocław
Wojciech Witkowski
University of Wrocław

Passivisation of Polish Object Experiencer Verbs vs. the Unaccusativity Hypothesis (Part 2)[1]

Abstract
The current paper is an attempt to provide a syntactic account of the immunity of Polish stative Object Experiencer (OE) verbs to verbal passivisation. In search for the syntactic structure of stative OE verbs, and the hierarchy of their arguments, it is demonstrated here that the evidence based on Condition A, pronominal variable binding, and Condition C effects is inconclusive, and hence does not allow us to determine which of the two arguments – the Experiencer or the Target/Subject Matter (T/SM) – is projected higher in the structure. It is then suggested that the answer to the question why stative OE verbs do not form verbal passives crucially relies on their having a complex ergative structure as in Bennis (2004), where both arguments are internal, while the external argument is missing altogether. At the same time, it is assumed after Landau (2010) that the Experiencer is projected higher than the T/SM.

Keywords
Object Experiencer verbs, unaccusatives, passivisation, complex ergative structure, binding, Polish

Streszczenie
Celem niniejszego artykułu jest wyjaśnienie braku możliwości tworzenia strony biernej czynnościowej od polskich czasowników stanu z nosicielem stanu w pozycji dopełnienia. W poszukiwaniu wyjaśnienia tego ograniczenia w strukturze składniowej w niniejszym artykule zastosowano testy dotyczące hierarchii argumentów predykatów psychologicznych.

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Efekty wiązania zaimków anaforycznych, zmiennych zaimkowych oraz wyrażeń referencyjnych (warunki A i C teorii rządu i wiązania) nie pozwalają na uzyskanie jednoznacznej odpowiedzi, który z dwóch argumentów – nosiciel stanu czy argument T/SM – zajmuje wyższą pozycję w zdaniu. Przyjmuje się więc za Landauem (2010), że to nosiciel stanu jest generowany wyżej w strukturze niż argument T/SM. W wyniku przeprowadzonej analizy stwierdzono, że polskie czasowniki stanu z nosicielem stanu nie są nieakuzatywne pod względem składniowym, a brak strony biernej czynnościowej dla tych czasowników jest pochodną ich złożonej struktury ergatywnej, w której nie występuje argument zewnętrzny, a oba wybierane argumenty są argumentami wewnętrznymi (Bennis 2004).

Słowa kluczowe
czasowniki z nosicielem stanu w pozycji dopełnienia, nieakuzatywność, strona bierna, złożona struktura ergatywna, wiązanie, język polski

The first part of this article, published in the previous issue of this journal (Bondaruk, Rozwadowska, Witkowski 2017), dealt with arguments to the effect that the immunity of Polish stative Object Experiencer verbs to passivisation cannot be accounted for by their unaccusativity. In the second part we explore further their syntactic structure. In section 6, an analysis of Condition A, C and variable binding effects is carried out in order to get some insight into the structural position of the Experiencer in relation to the T/SM argument. Section 7 offers a plausible answer to the question why Polish stative OE verbs do not form verbal passives, which crucially relies on their having a complex ergative structure, as in Bennis (2004). Section 8 concludes the paper.

6. The position of the Experiencer with respect to the T/SM for stative OE verbs in Polish

Let us recall from Part 1 that Landau (2010) derives the VP internal position of the Experiencer and the T/SM argument of stative OE verbs from the following two claims: (i) the accusative case of the Experiencer is inherent, and so it is assigned to an internal argument, and (ii) T/SM argument is structurally lower than the Experiencer. It has been shown in Part 1 that the accusative assigned to the Experiencer of a stative OE verb in Polish is structural. Consequently, the first link in Landau's reasoning does not hold for Polish. Let us now turn to the second component of Landau's argumentation, mentioned above, namely the claim that the Experiencer is structurally higher than the T/SM, and examine its validity against the Polish data. In order to check whether the Experiencer is structurally higher than the T/SM argument, three binding related aspects are analysed here. First, in section 6.1, the focus is on Condition A effects attested for Polish stative OE verbs. Then, in section 6.2, the way variable binding operates for stative OE verbs in Polish is investigated. Finally, in section 6.3, the behaviour of Polish stative OE verbs with respect to Condition C is examined.

6.1. Condition A effects with Polish stative OE verbs

Belletti and Rizzi (1988) argue that the Experiencer is higher than the Theme[2], because the former can bind the anaphor contained in the latter. This kind of binding is referred to in the literature as backward binding, and is illustrated in (1):

(1) a. Each other's supporters worried Freud and Jung. (Pesetsky 1995: 43)
b. *Each other's parents harmed John and Mary. (Pesetsky 1995: 44)

Sentence (1b), which hosts an agentive verb, does not allow for the anaphor *each other* to be bound by *John and Mary*, as an Agent is always higher in the structure than a Theme. However, in (1a), which hosts a stative OE verb, the anaphor *each other*, contained within the T/SM argument, may be bound by the Experiencer. This clearly indicates that at an earlier stage in the derivation the Experiencer must c-command the T/SM, and hence is structurally higher than the T/SM. However, the structural explanation just provided for the backward binding facts, illustrated in (1a), has been questioned on numerous occasions (Zribi-Hertz 1989; Bouchard 1992; Pollard and Sag 1992; Reinhart and Reuland 1993; Iwata 1995; Arad 1998; Cançado and Franchi 1999). It has been frequently pointed out that backward binding does not fall under Condition A, and is subject to a number of non-structural factors, such as discourse prominence, among others, which makes it similar to *picture*-anaphora. Consequently, backward binding is typically viewed as instantiating logophors (Sells 1987; Zribi-Hertz 1989), not anaphors proper.

Let us now check if backward binding is attested in Polish. As noted in Rozwadowska (1992: 69), backward binding is not possible in Polish. In sentence (2) below the possessive anaphor *swój* 'self's' in the T/SM phrase cannot be bound by the accusative case marked Experiencer *Marka* 'Mark':

(2) *Swoje$_i$ dzieci /*Swoje$_i$ finanse martwią Marka$_i$.
*self's children$_{NOM}$ /*self's finances$_{NOM}$ worry Mark$_{ACC}$
His own children/his own finances worry Mark.'

Sentence (2) seems to be ungrammatical because the anaphor *swój* is subject-oriented, and the accusative DP cannot serve as a subject in Polish. Moving *Marek* 'Mark' to the clause initial position, where it could potentially c-command the anaphor, as in (3), does not improve the acceptability of the sentence:[3]

[2] Belletti and Rizzi (1988) refer to the second argument of OE verbs as Theme, not as T/SM.

[3] Sentence (3) clearly contrasts in grammaticality with a sentence like (i) below, which contains a SE verb *martwić się* 'worry':

(i) Marek$_i$ martwi się o swoje$_i$ dzieci / o swoje$_i$ finanse.
Mark$_{NOM}$ worries REFL about self's children /about self's finances
'Mark worries about his own children/his own finances.'

(3) Marka$_i$ martwią *swoje$_i$ dzieci /*swoje$_i$ finanse.
Mark$_{ACC}$ worry *self's children$_{NOM}$ /*self's finances$_{NOM}$
'His own children/his own finances worry Mark.'

(3) becomes acceptable only if the possessive pronoun is used instead of the possessive reflexive, as in (4):

(4) Marka$_i$ martwią [jego$_i$ dzieci] /[jego$_i$ finanse].
Mark$_{ACC}$ worry his children$_{NOM}$ /his finances$_{NOM}$
'His children/his finances worry Mark.'

In (4), *Marek* 'Mark' can co-refer with the pronoun *jego* 'his', since possessive pronouns in Polish can be bound by a non-subject (cf. Willim 1989: 70), in contradistinction to the possessive anaphor *swój*, which is strongly subject-oriented. The contrast between the anaphor *swój* and the possessive pronoun is visible in (5) and (6):

(5) Marek$_i$ opowiadał Ewie o swojej$_i$ /*?jego$_i$ pracy.
Mark$_{NOM}$ told Eve$_{DAT}$ about self's /*?his job
'Mark was telling Eve about his job.'

(6) Marek$_i$ opowiadał Ewie$_j$ o *swojej$_j$ /jej$_j$ pracy.
Mark$_{NOM}$ told Eve$_{DAT}$ about *self's /her job
'Mark was telling Eve about her job.'

In (5) the anaphor *swój* is bound by the nominative subject, but it cannot be bound by the dative object, as confirmed by the ungrammaticality of (6), where the anaphor is co-indexed with *Ewie* 'Eve'. The possessive pronoun, in turn, cannot co-refer with the subject, as demonstrated by the ungrammaticality of *jego* 'his' in (5), but can be bound by the dative object, as confirmed by the grammaticality of the possessive pronoun *jej* 'her' in (6). Consequently, it might seem that sentences (2) and (3) are ungrammatical, because the possessive anaphor *swój*, which is subject-oriented, is not bound by the subject, no matter whether the accusative DP appears as at the left periphery of the clause (3) or not (2)[4], while (4) is acceptable, as it contains the possessive pronoun c-commanded and bound by the non-subject. However, as observed by the reviewer, an alternative explanation of the ungrammaticality of (2) and (3) should be considered. In (2) and (3) the anaphor *swój* is contained within the nominative case marked DP. Since Polish lacks nominative anaphors, one

In (i) the Experiencer is marked for the nominative, and therefore it can bind the subject-oriented anaphor *swój* 'self's'.

[4] We leave it aside here where exactly the accusative case marked DP lands in sentences like (3) (cf. Witkoś 2008 for a possible analysis of the OVS word order in Polish). In section 6.2, arguments are provided that the accusative DP is scrambled to an A-, not an A'-position from which it can bind the pronominal variable (cf. example (19) below).

may claim that this fact underlies the ungrammaticality of (2) and (3), which can only be resolved once the anaphor is replaced with the pronoun in (3), as shown in (4). Sentence (2), in turn, remains ungrammatical even if instead of the reflexive anaphor, it hosts a possessive pronoun, as illustrated in (7):

(7) *?Jego$_i$ dzieci /*?Jego$_i$ finanse martwią Marka$_i$.
his children$_{NOM}$ /his finances$_{NOM}$ worry Mark$_{ACC}$
'His children/his finances worry Mark.'

In fact, the degradation effect on the bound reading of the pronoun, observed in (7), can also be found in structures with non-psych verbs, as in (8):

(8) *?Jego$_i$ dzieci utrzymują Marka$_i$.
his children$_{NOM}$ keep-up Mark$_{ACC}$
'His children keep up Mark.'

The decreased acceptability of (7) and (8) might be taken to result from the fact that the pronoun precedes its antecedent, which makes the bound interpretation harder to obtain. For Witkoś (2008), sentences such as (9) below, which closely resemble (7) and (8), are unacceptable, because Polish is subject to the Backward Pronominalisation Constraint, reproduced after Witkoś (2008: 318) in (9–10):

(9) *?Jego$_i$ mama kocha Piotra$_i$.
his mother$_{NOM}$ loves Peter$_{ACC}$
'His mother loves Peter.' (Witkoś 2008: 317)

(10) Backward Pronominalisation Constraint
(Pol) * ... [NP pron$_i$ N] ... > ... NP$_i$ … (Witkoś 2008: 318)

The constraint in (10) is a way to capture the so-called Anti-Cataphora Effects (henceforth, ACE), present in a number of Slavic languages, including Russian (Nikolaeva 2014) and Serbo-Croatian (Despić 2011, 2013). ACE arise in configurations in which a possessive pronoun preceding an R-expression cannot be co-referential with it even though the possessive does not c-command the R-expression from its overt position, as in (7)–(9). ACE will be discussed in more detail in section 6.2.

The fact that anaphors lack the nominative case has been observed for a number languages, besides Polish, including English, Icelandic and Italian (cf. Brame 1977; Koster 1978; Anderson 1982; Maling 1984). However, 'the gap in the paradigm' hypothesis has been criticised by Rizzi (1990), who observes that the gap is too regularly attested in different languages to be treated as a mere coincidence. Instead, Rizzi (1990) argues that anaphors cannot be found in sentence positions associated with agreement. This statement corresponds to a descriptive generalisation which is referred to in the literature as

the Anaphor Agreement Effect (henceforth, AAE). Actually in Polish, like in English, only nominative case marked DPs determine agreement, and consequently an anaphor placed in the nominative case marked position may be regarded as illicit either as a result of the 'gap in the paradigm' hypothesis or the AAE, and it is impossible to discriminate between these two options on empirical grounds.[5] However, no matter which of the two options mentioned above is operative in sentences such as (2) and (3) above, the unacceptability of these sentences does not bear on the hierarchical position of an Experiencer in relation to the T/SM argument.

It has been noted above (see (5) and (6)) that anaphors are subject-oriented in Polish, whereas pronouns show anti-subject orientation. This might lead one to conclude that anaphors and pronouns are in complementary distribution in Polish. This, however, is only partly true, as there are cases in which the complementary distribution of anaphors and pronouns clearly breaks down. This commonly happens in sentences with dative Experiencers, as in (11) below:[6]

(11) Markowi$_i$ jest żal swoich$_i$ przyjaciół /jego$_i$ przyjaciół.
Mark$_{DAT}$ is sorry self's friends$_{GEN}$ /his friends$_{GEN}$
'Mark is sorry for his friends.'

In (11), both the possessive anaphor and the possessive pronoun, referring to the dative Experiencer *Markowi* 'Mark', are possible. Sentence (11) contrasts in grammaticality with (12) below, which also contains the dative Experiencer, but licenses only the anaphor, not the pronoun.

(12) Markowi$_i$ jest żal siebie$_i$ /*jego$_i$.
Mark$_{DAT}$ is sorry self$_{GEN}$ /*him$_{GEN}$
'Mark is sorry for himself.'

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[5] Rizzi (1990) observes that in Italian there is a way of overriding the AAE by resorting to default agreement, as can be seen in (i) and (ii) below, taken from Rizzi (1990: 18). Nonetheless, Polish in this context does not allow any default agreement, as confirmed by (iii).

(i) A voi importa solo di voi stesse.
to you$_{DAT.PL}$ matters$_{3SG}$ only of yourselves$_{GEN}$
'All that matters to you is yourselves.'

(ii) *A voi interessate solo di voi stesse.
to you$_{DAT.PL}$ matters$_{2PL}$ only of yourselves$_{NOM}$
'You are interested only in yourselves.'

(iii) Nas interesujemy /*interesuje tylko my sami.
us$_{ACC}$ interest$_{1PL}$ /*interests$_{3SG}$ only we$_{NOM}$ alone
'We alone interest ourselves.'

In example (iii) the verb shows φ-feature agreement with the 2nd person plural nominative pronoun *my* 'we', which co-occurs with the emphatic element *sami* 'alone'. It is impossible to use default agreement and an anaphor in (iii), as in the Italian example in (ii).

[6] We are grateful to the reviewer for drawing our attention to the data like (11).

The difference between (11) and (12) lies in the fact that the pronoun (either possessive or not) or the reflexive (either possessive or not) and its antecedent are co-arguments in the latter, but not in the former. The data analogous to (11) and (12), found in Russian, are analysed by Nikolaeva (2014). Nikolaeva (2014) argues that anaphors and pronouns are allomorphs of the same syntactic unit, called index, which is a referential element 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, depends on the application of reflexivisation rules.[7] In Nikolaeva's (2014) account, the lack of complementarity between reflexives and pronouns, as in (11), follows from the fact that an index of a non-co-argument may either stay in a position where it is subject to reflexivisation or may move higher, where it cannot be spelt out as a reflexive. However, in the case of an index being a co-argument of its antecedent, as in (12), the index always moves to the position where it is affected by reflexivisation. The details of the analysis are not relevant to our discussion, and can be found in Nikolaeva (2014: chapter 4).[8]

To sum up, it has been demonstrated that the accusative case-marked Experiencer cannot bind the anaphor contained in the T/SM argument in Polish. This, however, does not allow us to draw any conclusions concerning the possibility of backward binding, because the anaphor contained in the nominative case marked T/SM argument is banned on independent grounds, either by the fact that Polish lacks nominative anaphors or by the AAE. It has also been

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[7] In Nikolaeva's (2014: 68) analysis, reflexivisation is regulated by the following two rules:

(i) Co-argument Reflexivisation: if an index is at a reflexivisation site and is co-indexed with a specifier which is its co-argument, the index has to be realised as reflexive.

(ii) Reflexivisation 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 realised as reflexive.

The 'reflexivisation site' in (i) is defined as follows:

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

The index is realized as a pronoun if the two conditions in (i) and (ii) are not met. In other words, the pronominal realisation of an index is treated by Nikolaeva (2014) as an elsewhere case.

[8] However, the dative Experiencer co-occurring with the nominative T/SM behaves in a way analogous to the accusative Experiencer, illustrated in (2) and (3), i.e. it does not license the reflexive possessive pronoun, it only licenses the possessive pronoun, either on account of the gap in the paradigm or the AAE, as noted above. The data in (i) and (ii) below, taken from Jiménez Fernández and Rozwadowska (2017: 250), illustrate the binding options available in this case:

(i) *Jankowi$_i$ podoba się swoja$_i$ żona /swój$_i$ samochód.
John$_{DAT}$ please REFL self's wife$_{NOM}$ self's car$_{NOM}$
'John likes his own wife/his own car.'

(ii) Jankowi$_i$ podoba się jego$_i$ żona /jego$_i$ samochód.
John$_{DAT}$ please REFL self's wife$_{NOM}$ self's car$_{NOM}$
'John likes his wife/his car.'

Example (i) is analogous to (3), while (ii) closely resembles (4).

emphasized that although the subject orientation of anaphors and the anti-subject orientation of pronouns holds in the majority of cases, it sometimes breaks down. This makes it impossible to exclude backward binding, as in (2) and (3), on the grounds of the anaphor not being bound by the subject. All in all, the binding options attested for stative OE verbs, relating to Principle A, do not allow us to obtain any conclusive evidence as to the position of the Experiencer in relation to the T/SM argument in Polish.

6.2. Variable binding for stative OE verbs in Polish

Reinhart (2001: 2) observes that the bound variable reading is available for pronouns contained in the T/SM argument of stative OE verbs in English, as can be seen in (13), in which the pronoun is bound by the quantifier phrase, corresponding to the Experiencer:

(13) $[\text{His}_i \text{ health}]_j$ worries $[\text{every patient}]_i$. (Reinhart 2001: 2)

Sentence (13) clearly contrasts in grammaticality with (14), which does not contain a psychological verb, but an ordinary transitive predicate. The sentence in (14) represents a standard violation of Weak Crossover (Weak Crossover effects are analysed in English, by Chomsky 1981; Koopman and Sportiche 1982; Hornstein 1995, *inter alia*). In (14), the quantifier must undergo Quantifier Raising at LF in order to guarantee that the pronoun falls within its scope, whereby it crosses the pronoun, in violation of the Weak Crossover. Consequently, (14) is ruled out.

(14) *$[\text{His}_i \text{ doctor}]_j$ visited $[\text{every patient}]_i$. (Reinhart 2001: 2)

In fact, backward variable binding which is possible in (13) is also available for Class III OE verbs, as can be seen in (15):

(15) $[\text{His}_i \text{ solution}]_j$ appealed to $[\text{every student}]_i$. (Reinhart 2001: 3)

The availability of backward variable binding with stative Class II OE verbs and Class III OE verbs seems to support the unaccusative structure for both types of predicates. It is widely accepted that Class III OE verbs are unaccusative. Since they allow the variable in the T/SM to be bound by the quantifier in the Experiencer position, we may conclude that stative Class II OE verbs are also unaccusative. This, in turn, means that the quantifier phrase *qua* the Experiencer in (13) and (15) must underlyingly c-command and bind the pronoun, and therefore there is no need for the quantifier to undergo Quantifier Raising for the pronoun to fall within its scope, and consequently no Weak Crossover violation ensues. This account, however, heavily relies on the Experiencer of a stative OE verb being higher than the T/SM argument at an early stage in the derivation.

It is also worth noting that for Reinhart (1983) and Büring (2004), among others, bound-variable anaphora takes place if an argument c-commands the pronoun from an A-position. Viewed from this perspective, the Weak Crossover results from the fact that the element that has 'crossed over' has been moved to an A'-position, not to an argument position and is therefore unable to bind the variable. Consequently, A'-binding dependencies and pronoun binding configurations are kept strictly distinct.

Having shown that backward variable binding is possible in the case of stative English OE verbs, let us now check whether Polish stative OE verbs tolerate this kind of binding. It appears that Polish does not allow backward variable binding with stative OE verbs, as confirmed by (16):

(16) *[Jego$_i$ długi] martwią [każdego przedsiębiorcę]$_i$.
his debt$_{NOM}$ worries every entrepreneur$_{ACC}$
'His debt worries every entrepreneur.'

In (16), the possessive pronoun precedes, but does not c-command, the QP co-referential with it, and consequently, (16) seems to exhibit the pattern typical of ACE, depicted in (10) above and illustrated in (7)–(9). Consequently, in order to check whether the ungrammaticality of (16) follows from the failure of backward binding or rather ACE, the anti-cataphora effect must be controlled for. ACE disappear when the pronoun is embedded, as in (17) (cf. Witkoś 2008):

(17) [Informacje w prasie o jego$_i$ długach] martwią Marka$_i$.
information$_{NOM}$ in press about his debts worries Mark$_{ACC}$
'The information in press about his debts worries Mark.'

Likewise, the ungrammaticality of (16) changes considerably once the pronoun is embedded, as in (18):

(18) ?[Informacje w prasie o jego$_i$ długach] martwią [każdego
information$_{NOM}$ in press about his debts worries every
przedsiębiorcę]$_i$.
entrepreneur$_{ACC}$
'The information in press about his debts worries every entrepreneur.'

Although sentence (18) is not perfect, it is considerably better than (16), which clearly indicates that it is the anti-cataphora effect that underlies the ungrammaticality of (16).[9] The degraded status of (18) results from the WCO violation, as in this case the QP undergoes quantifier raising across the co-referential pronoun. However, WCO violations in Polish do not give rise to any strong

[9] Nikolaeva (2014) analyses ACE in Russian as violations of Condition C. We leave it for further research to verify the validity of this claim for Polish.

unacceptability (cf. Witkoś 2008, who notes that in OVS orders WCO effects are absent altogether, and they are mild in OSV orders in Polish).

It is also worth noting that variable binding may apply to any copy of the pronoun within an A-type chain, as proposed for English by Belletti and Rizzi (1988), and Lebeaux (2009), among others. Consequently, the nominative T/SM argument which ends up higher than the accusative Experiencer in structures hosting stative OE verbs, including sentences like (16), always c-commands the QP from its topmost position, no matter what the underlying hierarchy of the two arguments is. As a result, the QP contained within the Experiencer may end up c-commanding the pronominal variable within T/SM only when it undergoes Scrambling, as in (19):

(19) [Każdego przedsiębiorcę]$_i$ martwią [jego$_i$ długi].
every entrepreneur$_{ACC}$ worries his debtnom
'His debt worries every entrepreneur.'

Following Witkoś (2007, 2008), who analyses OVS orders in Polish, we may assume that the quantifier phrase in (19) is moved to an A-position, from which it c-commands and A-binds the variable. The question is why no Weak Crossover violation arises in (19) if one assumes that the quantifier crosses the pronoun on its way (cf. Nikolaeva 2014:102, who notes that in Russian scrambling also makes variable binding possible and does not trigger WCO violations). After Witkoś (2008), who analyses the effects of scrambling combined with *wh*-movement in Polish,[10] we assume that in (19) the quantifier phrase undergoes scrambling to an A-position, and hence does not trigger a Weak Crossover violation (we leave it aside here how exactly sentences like (19) are derived, for a possible derivation of OVS sentences, cf. Witkoś 2008). The movement of the quantifier phrase in (19) extends the binding domain, and makes the bound variable reading available for the pronoun.[11] Consequently, the grammaticality

[10] Witkoś (2008: 316–317) argues that sentences with the OVS word order, as in (i) below, are exempt from the Weak Crossover, because the scrambled object first moves to an A-position before targeting an A'-position.

(i) [Którego chłopca]$_i$ zawołała [jego$_i$ matka] t$_i$?
which boy$_{ACC}$ called his mother$_{NOM}$
'Which boy did his mother call?'

The data like (i) are also analysed by Wiland (2016). Wiland argues that no Weak Crossover effects arise in sentences such as (i) because the object never moves across the subject. The derivation he proposes for sentences 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 *wh*-phrase to the left periphery of the clause. The object moves from within the moved TP, and hence never crosses the subject, and therefore no Weak Crossover violation ever ensues.

[11] Likewise, stative SE verbs allow the possessive pronoun in the Experiencer phrase to be bound by the quantifier phrase in the T/SM argument if the quantifier moves to the clause initial position, as can be seen in (i):

of the bound interpretation of the pronoun in (19) depends on the application of scrambling, and provides no clues as to the hierarchical ordering of the two arguments with respect to each other.

Finally, let us note that the variable contained within the Experiencer of a stative OE verb may be bound by the quantifier placed in the position of a T/SM argument, as in (20):

(20) [Każdy samochód]$_i$ cieszy [swego$_i$ właściciela].
every car$_{NOM}$ pleases its owner$_{ACC}$
'Every car pleases its owner.'

In (20) the nominative quantifier phrase can bind the variable within the accusative case marked Experiencer, as this time the quantifier phrase, being a subject, has moved to an A-position and therefore it can A-bind the subject-oriented anaphor.

To recap, the variable binding data analysed in this section indicate that both ACE and WCO effects delimit the availability of the bound interpretation of the pronominal variable. Scrambling of the QP, in turn, licenses the bound interpretation, which has allowed us to conclude that the scrambled quantifier lands in an A-position, and is hence exempt from the WCO. However, the variable binding facts analysed here do not make it possible to draw any conclusions concerning the position of the accusative Experiencer with respect to the nominative T/SM argument.

(i) Każdego$_i$ kocha jego$_i$ matka.
everyone$_{ACC}$ loves his mother$_{NOM}$
'Everyone is loved by his mover.'

In (i), the verb *kochać* 'love' is clearly transitive, and the nominative case marked phrase certainly originates higher in the structure than the T/SM argument. Since (i) is grammatical, in a way similar to (19) above, we must conclude that the bound interpretation of the variable depends on the scrambling of the quantifier to a clause initial position, not on the underlying position of the two arguments. Cf. (i) with (ii) below:

(ii) *?Jego$_i$ matka kocha każdego$_i$.
his mother$_{NOM}$ loves everyone$_{ACC}$
'His mother loves everyone.'

In (ii), where the quantifier remains in situ, the bound interpretation is impossible to obtain. A pattern similar to that found in (i) and (ii) above can also be attested in German, as shown in (iii) and (iv), taken from Temme and Verhoeven (2014: 16):

(iii) dass jeden seine Mutter mag
that everyone$_{ACC}$ his mother$_{NOM}$ loves
'that his mother likes everyone'

(iv) *dass seine Mutter jeden mag
that his mother$_{NOM}$ everyone$_{ACC}$ loves
'that his mother loves everyone'

Consequently, scrambling extends the binding domain for pronominal variables in both Polish and German. In Tagalog, as noted by Richards (2013), it is topicalisation, not scrambling, which makes it possible for the pronominal variable contained in the subject to be bound by the object.

6.3. Principle C effects with stative OE verbs in Polish

If one takes an Experiencer to be structurally higher than the T/SM argument, the way Landau (2010) does, then Condition C effects are expected to arise if the pronoun in the Experiencer position binds the R-expression within the T/SM. In order to test the validity of this prediction, let us analyse (21) below:

(21) ?[Medialna wrzawa wokół [Marka i Ewy]$_i$] zupełnie ich$_i$ nie
media uproar$_{NOM}$ around Mark and Eve completely them$_{ACC}$ not
interesuje.
interests
'The media uproar surrounding Mark and Eve does not interest them completely.'

Example (21) is slightly degraded for some native speakers of Polish, while for some other it is perfectly acceptable. This might indicate that underlyingly the accusative Experiencer does not c-command the R-expression within the T/SM argument, and therefore no Condition C violation arises in (21). However, this conclusion seems to be unwarranted in the light of the fact, noted by Willim (1989: 82), that Condition C effects sometimes arise in Polish even if the pronoun does not c-command the R-expression with which it is co-referential.[12]

If we place an R-expression in the Experiencer position, as in (22), the Experiencer may be co-referential with the pronoun contained within the T/SM:

(22) [Medialna wrzawa wokół nich$_i$] zupełnie nie interesuje
media uproar$_{NOM}$ around them completely not interests
[Marka i Ewy]$_i$.
Mark$_{ACC}$ and Eve
'The uproar surrounding them in the media does not interest Mark and Eve at all.'

In (22), the pronoun embedded within the T/SM phrase does not c-command the R-expression, either in its base or derived position. The R-expression in (22) does not seem to bind the pronoun, either, since the sentence is perfectly licit, without violating principle B, which would be the case of the Experiencer c-commanded the T/SM underlyingly. Consequently, the grammaticality of (22) might suggest that the Experiencer does not c-command the T/SM. However, if Principle B is treated as applying to the topmost copy of the pronoun (i.e. S-structure position in Belletti and Rizzi's 1988 account), then the grammaticality of (22) might result from the fact that in its ultimate landing site, the pronoun is not c-commanded by the Experiencer. All in all, we conclude that

[12] Willim (1989: 82) analyses sentences like (i) below, which are judged by many as unacceptable:

(i) ?Ta recenzja książki mojego brata$_i$ zupełnie go$_i$ załamała.
this review$_{NOM}$ of-book my brother's completely him$_{ACC}$ devastated
'This review of my brother's book devastated him completely.'

neither (21) nor (22) throw any light on the structural position of the Experiencer of stative OE verbs with respect to the T/SM.

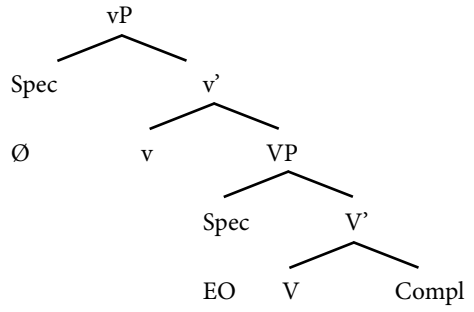
To sum up, in section 6, it has been demonstrated that Conditions A and C, as well as pronominal variable binding, do not provide any conclusive evidence as to the structural position in which the accusative Experiencer of stative OE verbs in Polish is placed in relation to the nominative T/SM argument. The lack of backward anaphor binding and the impossibility of binding a pronominal variable within the T/SM by the accusative Experiencer realized as a QP follow from either ACE or the AAE, and have no bearing on the structural hierarchy of the two arguments. Condition C effects cannot be relied on to determine the position of the two arguments of stative OE verbs, either. Consequently, in the analysis offered in section 7, we maintain the thematic hierarchy, adopted by Landau (2010), where the Experiencer of stative OE verbs is structurally higher than the T/SM argument.

7. The complex ergative structure of Polish stative OE verbs

In the foregoing discussion, arguments have been provided that stative OE verbs in Polish are not unaccusative. However, the question still remains why these predicates do not form verbal passives. We believe that the reason is that these predicates lack an external argument, but since they are not unaccusative (with two arguments generated VP-internally as in Belleti and Rizzi 1988; Landau 2010), they must have a different kind of structure. We assume that it is the complex ergative structure proposed by Bennis (2004).

Based on Dutch data, Bennis (2004: 107) argues that OE verbs have a complex ergative structure, depicted in (23), where EO stands for an Object Experiencer and the other argument is referred to as a Theme:

(23)



THEME (Bennis 2004: 107)

Bennis (2004) argues that the OE (his EO in (23) above) has a structural accusative case and for this reason he postulates that v in complex ergative structures, such as (23), acts as an accusative case assigner, despite the fact that it lacks an external argument. This is a violation of Burzio's Generalisation, which is not a problem for Bennis' analysis, as he considers Burzio's Generalisation to be empirically wrong. According to Bennis (2004: 107), the derivation of the complex ergative structure like (23) proceeds as follows: both arguments in (23) move in order to check their case features; the OE moves in order to check its accusative case and adjoins to vP; V moves to v, and the V-v complex moves to T, which makes it possible for the Theme to move to Spec, TP without triggering a locality violation; the Theme ends up in Spec, TP, where it checks the nominative case. This way, by positing a complex ergative structure, and by rejecting Burzio's Generalisation, Bennis is capable of accounting for the structural accusative on the OE. Bennis' (2004) analysis is similar to Belletti and Rizzi's (1988) account in that in the former as well as in the latter, both arguments of OE verbs are internal, and the Experiencer is generated higher than the Theme. However, Bennis' account is advantageous in comparison with Belletti and Rizzi's analysis, as it is free from the dubious assumption that Belletti and Rizzi make concerning the inherent status of the accusative case borne by the OE.

We believe that Bennis' (2004) account can be applied to Polish stative OE verbs. However, before turning to the detailed derivation of these verbs, let us first consider the possibility, mentioned by one of the reviewers, that stative OE verbs in Polish might, in fact, host an implicit internal cause in Spec, vP. The reviewer observes that there are other structures which show the structural accusative in the absence of the external argument, such as (24) below:

(24) Marię zemdliło po śniadaniu.
Mary$_{ACC}$ nauseated after breakfast
'Mary was nauseous after breakfast.'

The accusative in (24) turns into the genitive under negation, as confirmed by the grammaticality of (25), and hence is structural:

(25) Marii nie zemdliło po śniadaniu.
Mary$_{GEN}$ not nauseated after breakfast
'Mary was not nauseous after breakfast.'

Structures similar to (24) in Russian are analysed by Lavine and Franks (2008). They argue that sentences like (24) contain an implicit external cause, and hence do not give rise to a violation of Burzio's Generalisation, as they assign the accusative in the presence of the implicit external argument. Consequently, for Lavine and Franks (2008) verbs like *nauseate* in Russian, which appear to be monadic, are in fact dyadic. It seems that Polish sentences like (24) may

also host an external cause, which may sometimes be overt, as in (26), where the cause corresponds to the *od* 'from'-phrase:[13]

(26) Marię zemdliło od ciastek.
Mary$_{ACC}$ nauseated from cakes
'Mary was nauseous from cakes.'

Consequently, Lavine and Franks' (2008) account seems to be perfectly applicable to Polish sentences like (24) and (26), where in the former the external cause is implicit, while in the latter, it is explicit. However, we believe that the claim that stative OE verbs in Polish host an implicit internal cause, made by the reviewer, gives rise to some problems. Although for a number of linguists, including Pylkkänen (1999) and Arad (1998), stative OE verbs represent cases of internal causation, the presence of an internal cause does not increase the valence of the stative OE verbs.[14] Consequently, stative OE verbs are dyadic, hosting an Experiencer and a Theme, corresponding to an internal cause, i.e. some kind of perception eventuality that triggers the mental state. If one wanted to treat stative OE verbs in Polish as hosting an implicit internal cause, along the lines proposed by the reviewer, one would have to claim that stative OE verbs in Polish can be triadic, projecting an Experiencer, a T/SM and an implicit internal cause. Although, at first glance, it might seem that there are cases in which stative OE verbs appear with three arguments, as illustrated in (27), taken from Biały (2005: 73), they do in fact show that the T/SM role may be split between two items:

(27) Nagroda$_i$ cieszy Marię swoją$_i$ wartością.
prize$_{NOM}$ delights Mary$_{ACC}$ its value$_{INSTR}$
'The prize delights Mary with its value.'

Although it might seem that in (27) the nominative DP functions as an internal cause and the instrumental DP acts as a T/SM argument, this analysis cannot be maintained. Biały (2005) argues that the instrumental DP is possible with stative OE verbs only if it contains an anaphor co-referential with the surface subject. This is confirmed by (28) below:

(28) Historia interesowała Marka (?*tematem wojen).
history$_{NOM}$ interested Mark$_{ACC}$ topic$_{INSTR}$ of-wars
'History interested Mark (*with the topic of wars).'

In (28) the instrumental DP cannot be taken to be co-referential with the nominative DP, and the sentence is highly degraded, in comparison with (27).

[13] Actually, Lavine and Franks (2008) treat the *from*-phrase in the Russian equivalent of (26) as a Source, which may be either overt or implicit.

[14] For Pylkkänen (1999), stative OE verbs are internally caused, whereas non-stative OE verbs are externally caused.

Consequently, Biały (2005) concludes that the argument of stative OE verbs in the instrumental describes inherent properties of the T/SM, and therefore does not represent an independent argument of a stative OE verb, which is hence dyadic.[15] Biały argues that in contradistinction to stative OE verbs, agentive OE verbs can host three independent arguments, as shown in (29), taken from Biały (2005: 94):

(29) Sąsiad rozbawił mnie tym pytaniem /za pomocą tego pytania.
neighbour$_{NOM}$ amused me$_{ACC}$ this question$_{INST}$ /with help this question
'My neighbour amused me with this question/by means of this question.'

Arguably, in (29), the instrumental argument is not co-referential with the nominative DP, but the sentence is perfectly licit, in contradistinction to (28), which seems to indicate that in this case the instrumental represents an independent argument of an agentive OE verb. Biały (2005) argues that the instrumental DP in (29) represents an Instrument, whose occurrence depends on the presence of the external agent argument.[16] The Instrument role of the instrumental DP in (29) is manifested by the fact that the paraphrase with the instrument PP, i.e. *za pomocą tego pytania* 'by means of this question' is perfectly licit. Although Biały provides more differences between the argument structure of stative and non-stative OE verbs, we cannot dwell on them here due to space limitations, and the interested reader should consult Biały's (2005: 93–96) work.

Following Biały's (2005) arguments presented above, we conclude that there are no grounds for positing an implicit internal cause in stative OE verbs. These verbs are just dyadic predicates, with an Experiencer and a T/SM argument, lacking any internal cause, be it overt or covert.[17] Since the postulation of an external argument with stative OE verbs lacks any empirical support, we cannot resort to this idea just to avoid violating Burzio's Generalisation (Burzio 1986). Actually, a number of exceptions to Burzio's Generalisation have been observed in the literature (see Haider 1985; Haegeman 1986; Woolford

[15] Biały's (2005: 73) conclusion gets additional support from the fact that the content of the instrumental DP, as in (27) above, can be realized within its antecedent nominative DP, as illustrated in (i):

(i) Wartość nagrody cieszy Marię.
value$_{NOM}$ of-prize delights Mary$_{ACC}$
'The value of the prize delights Mary.'

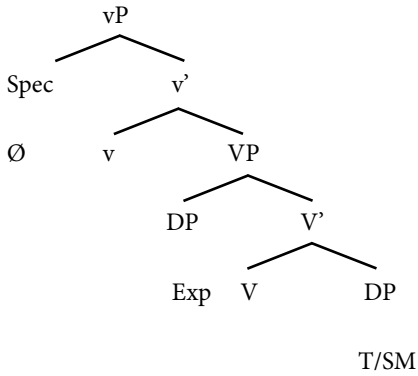
[16] Since the instrumental DP represents an Instrument, not a T/SM, there is no violation of the T/SM restriction of Pesetsky (1995) in (29).

[17] Similarly, Klimek and Rozwadowska (2004) argue that stative OE verbs are dyadic and demonstrate that structures which on the surface have three satellites involve the possessor relation between the subject and the instrumental DP. They suggest that the whole DP, including the possessor, constitutes the T/SM argument of an OE verb. Żychliński (2013: 139–147), on the other hand, provides examples which seem to contradict the dyadicity of OE verbs, but he explicitly states that his objections concern non-stative object Experiencer constructions, thus are similar to example (29).

1993, 1997, *inter alia*), which have given rise to a number of reformulations of the Generalisation, which radically depart from the original. It is beyond the scope of this paper to evaluate these proposals (cf. Woolford 2003).

Let us now turn back to Bennis' (2004) complex ergative structure in (23), which, slightly changed, is reproduced in (30) below.

(30)



The structure like (30) has already been applied to Polish OE verbs by Klimek and Rozwadowska (2004). It has also been adopted for stative OE verbs in Brazilian Portuguese by Petersen (2016: 116), except that for Petersen it is the T/SM that is generated higher than the Experiencer. The structure in (30) lacks an external argument, which explains why it is impossible to form verbal passives of stative OE verbs in Polish and many other languages, including Brazilian Portuguese (Petersen 2016). The accusative is assigned by v in the absence of an external argument, as in Bennis (2004), so Burzio's Generalisation must be abandoned. The T/SM argument must move to T across the Experiencer, which violates locality.[18] To prevent this violation, we might follow Wiland (2016), who opts for a remnant movement of the constituent containing a T/SM to a projection XP, generated above vP. Wiland (2016) takes this movement to be a kind of smuggling, first proposed by Collins (2005). The remnant movement of this kind has also been adopted for Italian OE verbs by Belletti and Rizzi (2012). The movement of the V+T/SM string to the position outside vP makes T/SM a closer goal to T than the Experiencer.[19,20] Subsequently, it is T/

[18] No locality problem arises in Landau's (2010) analysis, even though for him an Experiencer is generated higher than the T/SM. In Landau's model, Experiencers are oblique, and therefore they do not intervene in the DP movement to Spec, TP.

[19] Just like Collins (2005) in his smuggling-based account of English passivisation, we remain agnostic as to what triggers the movement of V+T/SM to Spec, XP.

[20] The V+ T/SM string is not a maximal projection, but a V'. Movement of a non-maximal projection is possible since we believe, following Adger and Ramchand (2003: 336, ftn. 6), that within a bare phrase structure-type theory, an intermediate projection is "a syntactic object just like any other and so may move [...]".

SM that undergoes Agree with T and moves to Spec, TP to satisfy the EPP-feature of T (cf. Wiland 2016 for arguments that extraction from within the moved remnant is possible). As a result, the derivation of (31) below, proceeds in the way schematised in (32):

(31) Problemy rodzinne martwią Marka.
problems$_{NOM}$ family worry Mark$_{ACC}$
'Family problems worry Mark.'

(32) [$_{TP}$ problemy rodzinne [$_{XP}$ [$_{V'}$V+ ~~problemy rodzinne~~] [$_{vP}$ v-martwią [$_{VP}$ Marka
problems family ~~problems family~~ worry Mark
[$_{V'}$~~martwią problemy rodzinne~~]]]]]
~~worry family problems~~

In (32), the V+T/SM sequence is first attracted to Spec, XP, generated above vP, and subsequently the T/SM is extracted higher to Spec, TP to become the surface subject.[21]

To sum up, the complex ergative structure postulated by Bennis can be successfully adopted to Polish. Since both arguments of Polish stative OE verbs are generated within a VP, and predicates of this type lack an external argument altogether, the complex ergative structure is well suited to explain why stative OE verbs do not form verbal passives in this language.

8. Conclusions

The paper has aimed to check whether the inability to form verbal passives by stative OE verbs in Polish can be derived from the fact that they have an unaccusative structure. An analysis that clearly links the failure of stative OE verbs to passivise with their unaccusative status has been first proposed by Belletti and Rizzi (1988), and then adopted by Landau (2010). An attempt has been made here to test the predictions of Landau's analysis against the relevant Polish data. First of all, it has been shown that Polish represents a Type A language in Landau's typology, because eventive OE verbs can form verbal passives in this language, in contradistinction to stative OE verbs which resist verbal passives altogether. However, the inability of Polish stative OE verbs to form verbal passives does not seem to point towards their having an unaccusative structure. It has been demonstrated that Landau's claim that the

[21] Tajsner (2008) argues that to avoid a locality violation in sentences like (31), the T/SM argument first moves to a specifier of vP, which is then treated as an A-position. Just like in the remnant movement scenario adopted in the main text, it is not at all clear what triggers the movement of T/SM to Spec, vP. Tajsner notes that the T/SM must move to Spec, vP to avoid spell out at the vP phase level. However, a vP without a specifier to start with should not count as a phase (Chomsky 2000, 2001).

accusative case of the Experiencer is inherent, which provides support for the unaccusative status of stative OE verbs, is unjustified for Polish. The accusative case of the Experiencer of stative OE verbs in Polish is structural, not inherent, which clearly argues against the unaccusativity of stative OE verbs in this language. Furthermore, stative OE verbs in Polish cannot co-occur with expletive subjects, which casts doubts on their alleged unaccusative status. The binding effects based on Condition A, Condition C and variable binding do not allow us to draw any conclusive evidence as to which argument of stative OE verbs is structurally higher than the other. The analysis presented in the paper has argued specifically against unaccusativity being the reason why stative OE verbs do not passivise in Polish, and generally against the unaccusative status of this class of verbs in Polish. The reason why stative OE verbs in Polish cannot form verbal passives follows from the complex ergative structure they have, in which both arguments are VP internal, and the external argument is never projected, as originally proposed by Bennis (2004). The complex ergative structure is seemingly reminiscent of the unaccusative structure put forward for OE verbs by Belletti and Rizzi (1998). However, the former differs from the latter by positing that v in the complex ergative structure is capable of checking the accusative case of an OE, in violation of Burzio's Generalisation, and hence it is well-suited to account for the structural accusative case borne by OEs found with stative OE verbs in Polish.

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Anna Bondaruk
Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski Jana Pawła II
Al. Racławickie 14
20-950 Lublin
[bondaruk(at)kul.pl]

Bożena Rozwadowska
Uniwersytet Wrocławski
Instytut Filologii Angielskiej
Kuźnicza 22
50-138 Wrocław
[bozena.rozwadowska(at)uwr.edu.pl]

Wojciech Witkowski
Uniwersytet Wrocławski
Instytut Filologii Angielskiej
Kuźnicza 22
50-138 Wrocław
[wojciech.witkowski (at)uwr.edu.pl]