

Agreement with the post-verbal DP in Polish dual copula clauses

Anna Bondaruk

John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin

Polish shows an unusual ϕ -feature agreement in the so-called dual copula sentences (cf. Citko 2008), i.e. those copula clauses that, in addition to the verbal copula *być* ‘to be’, contain the pronominal copula *to*. Sentences of this type may belong to a predicational or specificational class (cf. Higgins 1979). In both predicational and specificational dual copula clauses, the verbal copula agrees with the item that follows it, not with the one that comes in front of it, whereas the pronominal copula remains invariable. The sentences in (1) and (2) below illustrate the way agreement works in these two types of clauses:

- (1) Ci mężczyźni to była /*byli drużyna
these men-nom-3rd pl cop was-3rdsg.f /*were-3pl team-3rdnom.sg.f¹
‘These men were a team.’ predicational
- (2) Drużyna to byli /*była ci mężczyźni.
team-3rd nom.sg.f cop were-pl /*was-3sg.f these men-nom.pl
‘A team was these men.’ specificational

In both (1) and (2), the verbal copula *być* agrees in person, number and gender with the DP that follows it, not the one that precedes it. The agreement pattern found in dual copula clauses differs from the typical verbal agreement attested in copula clauses with just a sole verb *być*, such as (3) below, where the verb agrees in ϕ -features with the preceding DP, not with the following one.

- (3) Ci mężczyźni byli /*była drużyną.
these men-3rd nom.pl were-pl /*was-3rd sg.f team-3rd instr.sg.f
‘These men were a team.’ predicational

Sentences (1) and (2) differ from (3) not only in agreement but also in case marking. The two DPs surrounding the copulas in (1) and (2) are marked for the nominative. In (3) the pre-verbal DP is in the nominative, while the post-verbal one bears the instrumental.

Φ -feature agreement with the postverbal DP (as in (1) and (2)) is attested in those predicational and specificational dual copula clauses that contain two 3rd person DPs. If, however, the preverbal nominal corresponds to a 1st or 2nd person pronoun, it always determines ϕ -feature agreement, as can be seen in (4) and (5) below:

- (4) Ja /ty to jestem/jesteś człowiek prosty.
I-nom/you-nom cop am/are man-3rd nom.sg simple
‘I am/you are a simple man.’ predicational
- (5) Człowiek prosty to jestem/jesteś ja/ty.
man-3rd nom.sg simple cop am/are I-nom/you-nom.sg
‘A simple man is me/you.’ specificational

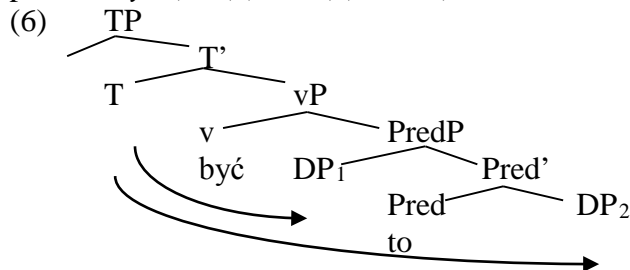
The agreement with the more marked 1st or 2nd person feature as in (4) and (5) follows from the person sensitivity, as proposed for Persian by Béjar and Kahnemuyipour (2014).

The aim of the paper is to offer an account of how agreement works in sentences such as (1) and (2) within the Minimalist Program of Chomsky (2008). It is demonstrated that Polish is distinct from other languages which show post-verbal agreement in specificational clauses, such as Italian (Moro 1997), Catalan, Portuguese, German, Dutch and Icelandic (cf. Heycock 2012, den Dikken 2014), in that ϕ -feature agreement with the post-verbal DP is found in this language not only in specificational, but also in predicational clauses such as (1) above. The analysis along the lines proposed by Moro (1997) and den Dikken (2006), which

¹ The following abbreviations have been used: cop – copula, f – feminine, instr – instrumental, nom- nominative, sg – singular, pl – plural.

relies on the predicate inversion in specificational clauses cannot be directly applied to Polish, as no DP inversion ever takes place in (1), which nonetheless shows agreement with the post-verbal item.

It is proposed in the paper that both (1) and (2) have the same underlying structure, depicted in (6) below, where PredP encodes the predication relation, *to* is in Pred and *być* in v. *To*, being a pronominal clitic, can move to the pre-verbal position, whereby it comes to precede *być* (cf. (1) and (2) above).



In (6) T is a multiple probe which probes both DPs simultaneously, and therefore DP₁ does not count as an intervener for the Agree between T and DP₂. T is equipped with unvalued uninterpretable ϕ -features and the uninterpretable EPP or Edge Feature (EF). It is proposed that the satisfaction of the latter does not depend on the valuation of the former (cf. Lasnik 2001, inter alia). Consequently, T can enter into multiple Agree with DP₁ and DP₂, probing the latter for ϕ -features, triggering the movement of the former to Spec, TP, and valuing the unvalued case feature of each of the two DPs as the nominative. The derivation just sketched underlies agreement in ϕ -features with the post-verbal predicate in predicational clauses such as (1).

In specificational clauses such as (2), the derivation proceeds in a similar way, i.e. T probes both DPs simultaneously, however, this time T probes DP₁ for ϕ -features, but it triggers the movement of DP₂ to Spec, TP. Since DP₁ in (2) represents a focus, and DP₂ corresponds to a topic, we suggest that DP₂ is targeted for Agree not only by T but also by C, which values the unvalued topic feature of DP₂ and triggers its movement to Spec, CP. As a result, the inverted predicate in specificational clauses ends up in an A- and A'-position and it shows both A- and A'-properties. The fact that DP lands in Spec, TP is supported by the impossibility of A-binding in sentences such as (7):

- (7) ?*[Swój najlepszy krytyk] to jest [każdy aktor].
 self's best critic cop is every actor
 'His own best critic is every actor.'

However, the inverted predicate can be long-distance moved, which is typical of A'-movement, cf. (8):

- (8) Mój przyjaciel_i chciałbym, [żeby t_i to był Marek].
 my friend I-would-like so-that cop was Mark
 'My friend I would like to be Mark.'

References

- Béjar, S. and A. Kahnemuyipour.** 2014. Non-canonical agreement in copular inversion vs. phi-sensitivity. Paper presented at Copula Workshop in Bologna 12th -13th March, 2014. **Chomsky, N.** 2008. On phases. In R. Freidin, C. P. Otero, and M. L. Zubizarreta (eds.), *Foundational Issues in Linguistic Theory. Essays in honor of Jean-Roger Vergnaud*, 134-166. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. **Citko, B.** 2008. Small clauses reconsidered: Not so small and not all alike. *Lingua* 118: 261-295. **den Dikken, M.** 2006. *Relators as linkers. The syntax of predication, predicate inversion and copulas.* (Linguistic Inquiry Monographs). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. **den Dikken, M.** 2014. The attractions of agreement, ms. CUNY. **Heycock, C.** 2012. Specification, equation and agreement in copular sentences. *Canadian Journal of Linguistics* 57 (2): 209-240. **Higgins, R.** 1979. *The pseudo-cleft*

construction in English. New York: Garland. **Lasnik, H.** 2001. A note on the EPP. *Linguistic Inquiry* 32: 356-362. **Moro, A.** 1997. *The raising of predicates. Predicative noun phrases and the theory of clause structure*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.