



1-1-2004

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1 Introduction

Polish has always proven to be problematic for syntactic analyses, as it displays what is called “free” word order.² Thus, a simple sentence containing a predicate and two arguments can appear in all the forms shown in (1a-e):

- (1) a. Ania kupiła książkę.
Ann bought book
“Ann bought a book.”
b. Ania książkę kupiła.
c. Książkę kupiła Ania.
d. Książkę Ania kupiła.
e. Kupiła Ania książkę.
f. ?Kupiła książkę Ania.³

Such apparently optional free word order constitutes a challenge for the minimalist framework, especially given the claim that every syntactic transformation must be feature-driven. The question which I attempt to address in this paper is: Is this variety in Polish word order always induced by formal features and, if so, what is their nature? I will argue that most of the possible word orders are the result of the movement to topic and/or focus positions, which is indeed feature-driven.

¹I would like to thank Daniel Seely for his helpful comments on earlier versions of this paper.

²It should be noted that “free” does not mean completely unstructured and without restrictions: for example, a preposition can never be separated from its complement, as can be seen in (ii).

- (i) Janek pojechał do Warszawy.
John went to Warsaw
“John went to Warsaw.”
(ii) *Janek do pojechał Warszawy.
John to went Warsaw
“John went to Warsaw.”

³The slight unacceptability of (1f) will be dealt with later on.

2 Double Object Constructions

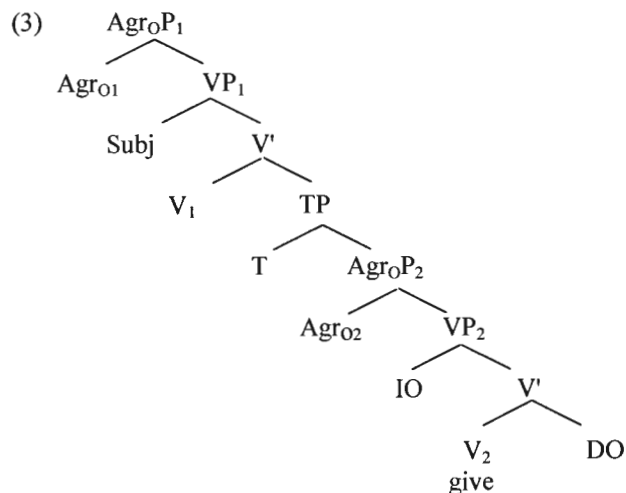
In order to gain better insight into the question of deriving multiple word orders, I take as a starting point double object constructions. Double object constructions are particularly useful since, due to a larger number of constituents, they allow us to more fully examine the order and dependencies of the lexical items in different configurations. In a simple double object sentence containing four lexical items *Jan dał Marii kwiaty* "John gave Mary flowers", out of the 24 logically possible word orders, 21 are well-formed:

- (2) a. Jan dał Marii kwiaty.
 John(NOM) gave Mary(DAT) flowers(ACC)
 "John gave Mary flowers."
 b. Jan Marii dał kwiaty.
 c. Jan dał kwiaty Marii.
 d. Jan kwiaty dał Marii.
 e. Jan Marii kwiaty dał.
 f. Jan kwiaty Marii dał.
 g. Marii Jan dał kwiaty.
 h. Marii dał Jan kwiaty.
 i. Marii Jan kwiaty dał.
 j. Marii kwiaty Jan dał.
 k. Marii kwiaty dał Jan.
 l. Marii dał kwiaty Jan.
 m. Kwiaty Jan dał Marii.
 n. Kwiaty dał Jan Marii.
 o. Kwiaty Marii dał Jan.
 p. Kwiaty dał Marii Jan.
 q. Kwiaty Jan Marii dał.
 r. Kwiaty Marii Jan dał.
 s. Dał Jan Marii kwiaty.
 t. ?Dał Marii Jan kwiaty.
 u. Dał Jan kwiaty Marii.
 v. *Dał kwiaty Jan Marii.
 w. *Dał Marii kwiaty Jan.
 x. *Dał kwiaty Marii Jan.

The main question is, again, how can we derive all possible word orders above; and can we derive the orders in a way that is compatible with fundamental tenets of Minimalism, particularly, the idea that operations are deterministically feature-driven?

My point of departure is the discussion of Icelandic object shift in Collins and Thráinsson (1996) (henceforth C&T), which represents a standard minimalist analysis of double object constructions.

C&T follow, among others, Holmberg (1991b), Falk (1990), Bures (1992a), Ottósson (1991, 1993), and Vikner (1991) in assuming the asymmetry of c-command relations between the indirect and direct object. They also follow Larson (1988) in assuming a version of VP-shell structures. In the face of two internal arguments, they propose two Agr_O projections, one of which is placed VP-internally, as it was proposed in Bures (1992a). C&T add also a VP-internal TP, which allows the derivation to be carried out in one cycle. Postulating a VP-internal T projection is supported by the proposals of Travis (1991, 1992a,b) who argues for the existence of an AspP/TP internal to VP on morphological grounds. The structure C&T assume is presented in (3), without the matrix Agr_SP and TP (IO = Indirect Object, DO = Direct Object).



For C&T, unlike Larson (1988), the upper verb in (3) is a causative to which V₂ adjoins in the course of derivation. This move assimilates double object constructions to causative structures of the type *John caused Mary to leave home*. However, whether the upper V is in fact a causative verb or not, is of no issue here, as it does not influence the analysis in this paper.

The derivation of a sentence like *Jan dał Marii kwiaty* (see (2a)) would

proceed as follows⁴: first, the verb adjoins to Agr_{O2}; [Spec, VP₂] and the complement of V₂ are now equidistant from [Spec, Agr_{O2}P₂], so the latter can move to [Spec, Agr_{O2}P₂] to check its ϕ -features against the V₂+Agr_{O2} complex.⁵ The complex [Agr_{O2},V₂] raises and adjoins to T, then [the new complex [T Ad V] raises] to V₁, and further to Agr_{O1}. Now both the direct object in [Spec, Agr_{O2}P₂] and the indirect object in [Spec, VP₂], being in the minimal domain of the same existing head chain ([Agr_{O2},V₂], t_{V2}), are equidistant from [Spec, Agr_{O1}P₁], so the indirect object can move there. Finally, the complex [Agr_{O1},V₁] adjoins to the already created complex [Agr_S,T₁]. Also, at some point in the derivation, the subject rises to the specifier of the upper TP or [Spec, Agr_SP] to satisfy the EPP (or, possibly, to check the strong D feature of Agr_S).

If the structure in (3) and the derivation can be adopted for Polish double object constructions, how can they be used to derive the attested multiple word orders presented in (2)? In the next sections, I will consider a number of possible answers to this question.

3 Multiple Spell-Out

Let us suppose what I initially term “multiple spell-out”, that is, that spell-out can apply after each and any transformational operation in the course of the derivation, therefore resulting in different word orders.⁶ This idea seems promising for deriving the variety of Polish word orders presented in (2) and will be now examined.

The initial structure prior to the application of any instance of Move α would be as in (4) and is, indeed, one of the possible word orders displayed in the Polish double object sentence.

(4) [_{VP1} Jan [_{VP2} Marii [_{V2} dał kwiaty]]]

⁴I assume after C&T that Merge applies before Move; since only contentful elements are merged together to build the structure (i.e. excluding empty positions), the specifiers of functional projections are created only as they are moved into.

⁵I follow Chomsky's (1995) definition of equidistance as in (i):

(i) γ and β are equidistant from α if γ and β are in the same minimal domain.

⁶It might rather be assumed that in Polish all formal features that necessitate overt movement (maybe with the exception of the +d feature on Agr_S) are only optionally strong, therefore resulting in different surface word orders. This notion of “multiple spell-out” is not to be confused with the cyclic spell-out as argued for in Uriagereka (1999) and Epstein & Seely (2002).

However, if spell-out applies now, the +d feature of Agr_SP, which is supposed to be strong universally, will remain unchecked and the derivation will crash. This can be avoided by moving the subject to [Spec, Agr_SP₁], which will not influence the surface configuration.

Now, the verb *dal* can move out of the lower VP and into the VP-internal Agr_OP projection. After it adjoins to Agr_{O2}, the sequence in (4) changes to that in (5) (traces are used here purely for notational purposes to indicate the previous position of the element; it is possible that the movement leaves behind a copy of the moved part).

- (5) [Agr_{SP} **Jan** [Agr_{OP2} **dal** [VP₁ t_{Jan} [VP₂ **Marii** [V₂' t_{dal} **kwiaty**]]]]]]

The indirect object *Marii* in [Spec, VP₂] and the direct object *kwiaty* are both in the minimal domain of the trivial verb chain, and so are equidistant from [Spec, Agr_OP₂]. The indirect object can then move to [Spec, Agr_OP₂], giving the structure in (6).

- (6) [Agr_{SP} **Jan** [Agr_{OP2} **kwiaty** [Agr_{O2}' **dal** [VP₁ t_{Jan} [VP₂ **Marii** [V₂' t_{dal} t_{kwiaty}]]]]]]

(6) turns out to be another of the attested word orders in (2). The subsequent movement of the complex verb to T₂ has the following outcome:

- (7) [Agr_{SP} **Jan** [TP₂ **dal**+Agr_{O2} [Agr_{OP2} **kwiaty** [Agr_{O2}' t_{dal}+Agr_{O2} [VP₁ t_{Jan} [VP₂ **Marii** [V₂' t_{dal} t_{kwiaty}]]]]]]]]

Note that none of the two following movements of the complex verb, first to the upper V, and then to Agr_{O1}, will result in any word order changes to (7).

- (8) [Agr_{SP} **Jan** [Agr_{OP1} **dal**+Agr_{O2}+T₂+V₁ [VP₁ t_{dal}+Agr_{O2}+T₂ [TP₂ t_{dal}+Agr_{O2} [Agr_{OP2} **kwiaty** [Agr_{O2}' t_{dal}+Agr_{O2} [VP₁ t_{Jan} [VP₂ **Marii** [V₂' t_{dal} t_{kwiaty}]]]]]]]]]]

Now, since *kwiaty* is in [Spec, Agr_OP₂] and *Marii* is in [Spec, VP₂], both objects are again equidistant from [Spec, Agr_OP₁], being in the minimal domain of the chain [Agr_{O2}, t_{Agr_{O2}}]. Therefore, *Marii* can move to the specifier of the VP-external Agr_O projection. This move, however, presented in (9), will produce a surface word order identical to that in (4). Similarly, if next the complex verb adjoins to T₁ and/or Agr_S, the final surface word order will be just like that in (5).

(and possibly *dał* as well) all constitute the topic of the sentence, that means, are treated as “old” information:

- (11) *Marii kwiaty dał Jan.*
 Mary flowers gave John
 “It was John that gave Mary the flowers.”

A simple way to verify this intuition is by incorporating (11) into a question-answer adjacency pair. *Marii kwiaty dał Jan* is not a felicitous answer to the question about the event, it is, however, felicitous if we ask about one of the participants of the event, namely *Jan*.

- (12) Q: *Co się stało?*
 what REFL happened
 “What happened?”
 A1: **Marii kwiaty dał Jan.*
 A2: *Jan dał kwiaty Marii.*
- (13) Q: *Kto dał kwiaty Marii?*
 who gave flowers Mary
 “Who gave Mary the flowers?”
 A: *Marii kwiaty dał Jan.*

Also, in the answer in (13) *Marii* and *kwiaty* can assume the role of a topic, since they constitute “old” or “given” information by virtue of having been mentioned before in the question.

The functional reading imposes itself upon most of the word orders in (2). Let us assume that, along with the possibility of syntactically deriving four distinct surface word orders, the remaining set can be accounted for by functional reordering at the level of PF (or, possibly, at some level of functional structure which is nevertheless independent of syntax). In other words, let us suppose that at the PF/functional level lexical items, or their phonological content, move to positions that are associated with certain pragmatic status like topic and focus.

This analysis does have certain serious shortcomings. First, some of the word orders in (4)-(10), which we were able to derive in the syntactic component, also carry pragmatic information, which can be associated with both focus and topic. The only truly “neutral” reading is the one in (5) or (10); *Jan dał Marii kwiaty* is the only felicitous answer to the question *What happened?* (cf. the adjacency pair in (12)). Why would pragmatic information be encoded sometimes by syntactic movement, which is presumably feature-driven, and sometimes by PF reordering? Such phenomenon seems to be

highly irregular. It could be argued, however, that the functional reading is somehow forcefully “superimposed” on the word orders in (4), (6), (7), (8) and (9), treating the elements in positions different from neutral as functionally extraposed.

Even if we succeeded in circumventing this first obstacle, we have to now face another, perhaps even more severe problem. Let us consider the following binding contrasts:

- (14) a. *Ania oddała jego_i siostrze każdego chłopca_i.
Ann returned his_i sister every boy_i
“Ann returned every boy to his sister.”
b. Ania oddała każdego chłopca_i jego_i siostrze.
Ann returned every boy_i his_i sister
“Ann returned every boy to his sister.”
- (15) a. Ania oddała każdej kobiecie_i jej_i książkę.
Ann returned every woman_i her_i book
“Ann returned every woman her book.”
b. *Ania oddała jej_i książkę każdej kobiecie_i.
Ann returned her_i book every woman_i
“Ann returned every woman her book.”

If we assume that the Quantifier Raising applies at LF, as in May (1985), the direct object in (14a,b) should end up c-commanding the indirect object and the quantifier phrase that is the direct object should be able to bind the pronoun that is part of the indirect object *jego siostrze*. Clearly, such binding is prohibited only in (14a), a strange result, given that (14a) and (14b) should ultimately have the same LF structure. Similarly, the indirect object *każdej kobiecie* in (15a,b) should in both cases c-command and bind the direct object *jej książkę* at LF after QR has applied. Discarding the idea of QR (or of its influence on binding) does not improve matters much; the LF structure is then (10), in which the indirect object always c-commands the direct object. This would incorrectly predict (14b) to be ill-formed, and (15b) to be well-formed. The only possible solution lies then in the assumption that binding relationships are evaluated not at LF, but at spell-out, which readily explains the contrasts in (14) and (15). If binding “counts” only at spell-out, then all instances where an anaphor is not c-commanded by its antecedent in the surface representation should be ill-formed, and they are, as can be seen in (14) and (15).

With this in mind, let us turn to examining sentences containing topic and/or focus elements. Since movement to the topic and focus position is, by hypothesis, a PF-only reordering, it should not have any influence on the

binding relationships established at spell-out. On the other hand, there are three non-neutral word orders that are derived by means of syntactic transformation, and therefore are also (unintentionally) associated with additional pragmatic information. In these three cases, presented again in (16), the binding relations should conform to the surface word order.

- (16) a. Jan Marii dał kwiaty.
 John Mary gave flowers
 "John gave Mary flowers."
 b. Jan kwiaty dał Marii.
 c. Jan dał kwiaty Marii.

Now, consider (17) and (18):

- (17) *Jan dał jej_i książkę każdej kobiecie_i.
 John gave her_i book every woman_i
 "John gave every woman her book."
 (18) *Jej_i książkę Jan dał każdej kobiecie_i.
 her_i book John gave every woman_i
 "John gave every woman her book."

(17) displays word order identical to this in (16c). We can assume therefore that it is derived syntactically and its binding relations, established at spell-out, are correctly predicted to be ill-formed. However, in the sentence in (18), *her book* is supposed to move to the topic position only at PF, so this reordering should not influence binding. The possible answer here could be that (18) originated, by applying PF movement, from a spell-out sequence that was itself ill-formed, like (17). The well-formedness of (19) could be explained in the same way; we could conclude that it was derived by PF movement from a spell-out representation that was well-formed to start with.

- (19) Jej_i książkę każdej kobiecie_i dał Jan.
 her_i book every woman_i gave John
 "It was John that gave every woman her book."

Such reasoning suffers from one major logical error: by freely reordering the elements at PF, it is possible to derive (19) from a representation that is ill-formed, just as it is possible to derive (18) from an underlying well-formed representation. A single surface sequence would then have different grammatical status, depending on the underlying representation. In reality, though, the grammaticality judgements on these cases are consistent.

As has been shown, the binding data suggests that the variety in the Polish word order cannot in any case be explained by multiple spell-out alone, nor as an interaction of multiple spell-out and PF reordering. It seems that the existence of multiple spell-out is not supported in Polish. In the following sections, I will therefore assume only one point at which spell-out can apply, and continue to examine the topic/focus interactions.

5 Functional Reordering Revisited

If we were to restrict the derivation to a single spell-out and no functional reordering, the outcome would be disastrous: we would end up with only one possible word order instead of twenty-one. Allowing additionally the functional rearrangement of elements at PF will not, however, enhance our position: since there will be only one syntactic representation to which PF movement may apply, all the resulting word orders should therefore “inherit” the grammatical status of that representation.

Now, what is the most probable candidate for the spell-out representation? I follow Witkoś (1998) in assuming, contra Borsley and Rivero (1994), that in Polish the verb (except in the conditional constructions) does not reach any of the IP projections overtly, that is, it does not leave VP before spell-out. Moreover, my initial assumption is that the spell-out representation should reflect the most “neutral” word order, that is, the one in (2a), repeated here in (20). In the course of derivation, there is in fact one stage that fulfils both these conditions, as shown in (21).

- (20) Jan dał Marii kwiaty.
John gave Mary flowers
“John gave Mary flowers.”

- (21) [_{AgrS} **Jan** [_{AgrOP2} **dał** [_{VP1} t_{Jan} [_{VP2} **Marii** [_{V2'} t_{dał} **kwiaty**]]]]]

Note that the Agr_o projection hosting the verb is VP-internal, so the verb does not leave VP. If this is indeed the single spell-out representation, and if all other word orders are derived by applying PF movement, then all variants derived from (22) should be ill-formed, and all derived from (23) should be well-formed, irrespectively of the surface order of constituents.

- (22) *Zosia oddała jego_i rodzicom każdego chłopca_i.
Sophie returned his_i parents every boy_i
“Sophie returned every boy to his parents.”

- (23) Kasia odesłała każdemu chłopcu_i jego_i listy miłosne.
 Kate sent-back every boy_i his_i letters of-love
 "Kate sent every boy back his love letters."

In fact, as was already argued in section 4, such regularity in binding relations does not exist. After we rearrange constituents in (22), we get the following, perfectly well-formed sentence:

- (24) Każdego chłopca jego rodzicom oddała Zosia.
 every boy_i his_i parents returned Sophie
 "It was Sophie that returned every boy to his parents."

Also, we can deprive (23) of its grammatical status by moving the direct object *jego listy miłosne* to the sentence-initial position:

- (25) *Jego_i listy miłosne Kasia odesłała każdemu chłopcu_i.
 his_i letters of-love Kate sent-back every boy_i
 "Kate sent every boy back his love letters."

It seems then that all the binding data conspire to disprove the proposal that the movement to the topic position and/or the movement to the focus position are strictly limited to the phonological level. The evident conclusion to draw is that at least one of them, if not both, has to be syntactic, i.e. applying in overt syntax and motivated by the existence of some formal features. Next, I will examine the possibility of both topic and focus movement taking place within syntax.

6 Topic Phrase and Focus Phrase

I start out with the assumption that both movement to topic and movement to focus position apply within the syntactic component and that there exist Topic Phrase and Focus Phrase whose heads host formal features, let us call them +topic and +focus, which are responsible for the movement.

If so, where are the projections in question? Looking at the linear word order, elements in the topic position are always sentence-initial and focus is always sentence-final. In order to determine their relative configuration in the syntactic structure, we have to find out which one c-commands the other.

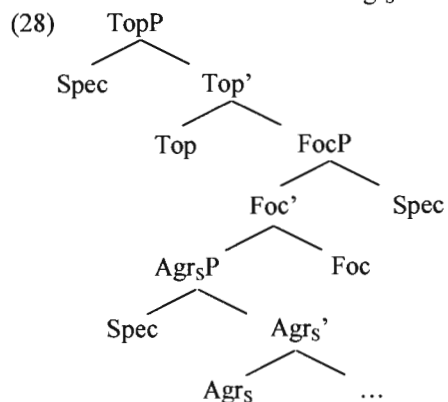
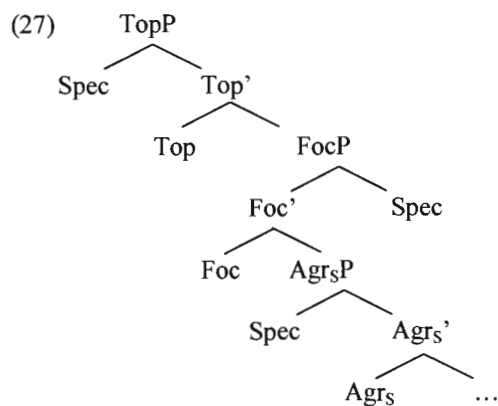
- (26)a. Każdej kobiecie_i Jan oddał jej_i książkę.
 every woman_i John returned her_i book
 "John returned every woman her book."

- b. *Jego, matka posłała do sklepu każdego chłopca.
 his mother sent to shop every boy
 “His mother sent to the shop every boy.”

In (26a) the quantifier phrase *każdej kobiecie* c-commands and binds the anaphoric pronoun in *jej książkę*, and the sentence is well-formed. On the other hand, (26b) is ungrammatical, as the anaphor *jego* fails to be c-commanded by *każdego chłopca* which has moved to the focus position. It can be concluded from this contrast that focus position does not c-command the topic position (which explains ill-formedness of (26b)), but it is the topic position that c-commands the focus position (which accounts for the grammaticality of (26a)).

There are two ways in which it can be implemented in the structure. The first possibility is that the Focus Phrase, which I will term for the time being FocP, is a complement of the lower VP, that is, the lowest syntactic projection. This would explain the fact that linearly, focused elements are always sentence-final and would also account for the c-command relations. However, at the same time it implies that movement to this position is rightward and downward, which is explicitly forbidden in the current minimalist framework (Chomsky 1995).

Another possibility is that Topic Phrase (TopP) c-commands all other projections (with the exception of CP) and immediately dominates FocP. Such an approach towards focus/topic projections is widely assumed and was advocated, among others, in Rizzi (1995). However, to achieve the surface sequence in which the focused element is sentence-final, the specifier of the focus phrase (being the landing site for the moved element) needs to be positioned to the right of the intermediate Foc' projection, as shown in (27). Now, such asymmetry, involving the order of only the specifier and the intermediate projection, seems extremely suspicious. It can be remedied if we assume that FocP is in fact head-final, and that the specifier position is created only as it is moved into, just like the specifiers of all functional categories (I assume it after C&T). Then, it is more natural to suggest that the specifier will be created in a place reflecting the order of the head of the projection and its complement, that is, that the whole projection is left-branching. This option is presented in (28).



There also exists a third option, which we will now investigate in some detail. First, we have to realise that topic and focus are by their nature complementary, that is, there is no *new* information without *old* information to contrast it with. It could therefore be possible that the sentence-final position of the focused elements is due to everything else than the focus moving to the sentence-initial topic position, as it is presented in (29). The focus phrase could then be just a regular, right-branching projection.

(29) [_{TopP} NP1 NP2 V [_{FocP} NP3]]

However, before we commit ourselves to that view, we need to analyse the properties of the topicalised and focused elements in some detail.

6.1 Topic

The pragmatic notion of topic is defined as representing “old” or “given” information in a sentence, which forms a context for the introduction of “new” information that the focus is usually associated with. If the direction of the definition can be reversed, and all the “old” information in a sentence, even when represented by more than one lexical item, can be thought of as topic, and if the topic position is indeed realised syntactically as TopP, then there must be some means to accommodate within this projection multiple lexical items that constitute the topic. In the answers to the question Q in (30), there are two topicalized elements, *Marii*, and *kwiaty*, since this is the “given” information mentioned in the question, as opposed to *Jan*, which clearly is the focus in A1 and A2, being the “new” information provided by the speaker.

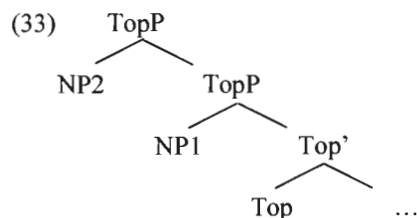
- (30) Q: Kto dał Marii kwiaty?
 who gave Mary flowers
 “Who gave Mary flowers?”
 A1: **Marii kwiaty** dał Jan.
 Mary flowers gave John
 “It was John that gave Mary flowers.”
 A2: **Kwiaty Marii** dał Jan.
 flowers Mary gave John
 “It was John that gave Mary flowers.”

In theory, the accommodation of more than one item could be achieved in two ways: either through the recursion of the TopP projection, or through some kind of multiple adjunction to a single TopP. Another look at the binding facts suggests that the latter solution is more preferable. Consider (31) and (32):

- (31) **Każdego chłopca_i jego_i siostrze** oddała Ania.
 every boy_i his_i sister returned Ann
 “It was Ann that returned every boy to his sister.”
 (32) **Jego_i siostrze każdego chłopca_i** oddała Ania.
 his_i sister every boy_i returned Ann
 “It was Ann that returned every boy to his sister.”

Surprisingly, (32) is well-formed, even though *jego siostrze* linearly precedes *każdego chłopca* by which it should be c-commanded in order to be properly bound. I would like to assume that the first NP moves to

[Spec,TopP] and other topic NPs adjoin to TopP, giving rise to mutual c-command between the moved NPs. Therefore, the anaphoric pronoun is in fact c-commanded and bound by its antecedent, rendering the sentence grammatical. The structure would look like in (33). In this structure, both the specifier of TopP and the adjoined position are occupied by NPs. However, pragmatic topicality is not restricted to NPs only; anything can be “old” information, including verbs, adverbials, etc.



For example, in (34) below, the verb is clearly “old” information, as it was mentioned already in the question. Is it possible that it also moves to the topic position? It is rather improbable that the verb, being a head, moves to the specifier of the topic phrase, or to an XP-adjoined position, as this would violate the Structure Preservation Principle. However, it could in theory move to the head of the topic phrase.

- (34) Q: Kto oddał każdego chłopca_i jego_i siostrze?
 who returned every boy_i his_i sister
 “Who returned every boy to his sister?”
 A1: Każdego chłopca_i oddała jego_i siostrze Ania.
 every boy_i returned his_i sister Ann
 “It was Ann that returned every boy to his sister.”
 A2: *Jego_i siostrze oddała każdego chłopca_i Ania.
 A3: *Oddała jego_i siostrze każdego chłopca_i Ania.
 A4: *Oddała jego_i siostrze każdego chłopca_i Ania.

This is in fact supported by the data in (34): the ungrammaticality of A2 is the major proof that the verb cannot move to [Spec,TopP] or adjoin to TopP and that in this case only *his sister* moved, landing in a position outside the area c-commanded by *every boy*. If the verb could replicate that movement, in A2 everything apart from the focused NP *Ann* would be in TopP, and should display mutual c-command.

Instead, the verb is in the head of the topic phrase and only the elements to its left can take advantage of the mutual c-command, as in (35):

- (35) a. [_{TopP} Każdego chłopca_i [_{TopP} jego_i siostrze [_{Top} oddała Ania]]].
 every boy_i his_i sister returned Ann
 “It was Ann that returned every boy to his sister.”
 b. [_{TopP} Jego_i siostrze [_{TopP} każdego chłopca_i [_{Top} oddała Ania]]].

We can then conclude that TopP is a projection c-commanding the remaining projections and that it can host more than one element, either in its specifier or in adjoined positions, and that it can also host a verb adjoined to its head.

6.2 Focus

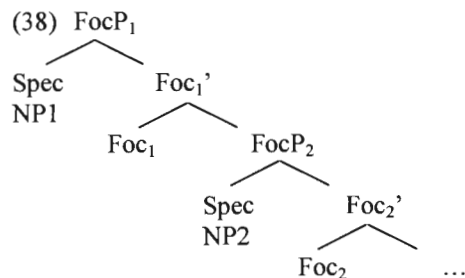
Having examined the movement to TopP, let us now turn to the focus. Since FocP can also accommodate more than one element, it might be proposed that it is achieved in the same way as in the topic phrase, that is, by movement to [Spec,Foc] of one item and multiple adjunction to FocP of the remaining ones. Therefore, we would expect the same results where binding is involved: an anaphoric pronoun should be c-commanded by a quantifier phrase irrespectively of their linear order.

It turns out, however, that this is not the case. Consider (36) and (37), both of which answer the question *Who bought whom the books?*

- (36) Książki kupił każdemu chłopcu_i jego_i brat.
 books bought every boy_i his_i brother
 “Every boy was bought books by his brother.”
 (37) *Książki kupił jego_i brat każdemu chłopcu_i.
 books bought his_i brother every boy_i
 “Every boy was bought books by his brother.”

The pronoun *his* in (37) fails to be c-commanded by *every boy* and the sentence is out. The mutual c-command is clearly not at work when it comes to the relationships between the focused elements, therefore excluding the multiple adjunction option.

However, there is another type of structure to accommodate multiple elements, which we mentioned before, and it is the recursion of the whole projection, as presented in (38). Then the relationship between focused NPs is such that NP1 can c-command and bind NP2, but not the other way around, which explains the contrast in (36) and (37).



Like with topicalisation, verbs also can move to the focus position, so we can assume that they adjoin to the head of the focus projection. When a verb and an NP are focused elements in a sentence, the verb follows the noun in the surface representation, as we could expect. This is shown in (40).

- (39) Q: Co Jacek zrobił z samochodem?
 what Jack did with car
 “What did Jack do with the car?”
 A: [_{TopP} Jacek [_{TopP} samochód [_{FocP} **sprzedał**]]].
 Jack car sold
 “Jack sold the car.”
- (40) Q: Co kto zrobił z samochodem?
 what who did with car
 “Who did what with the car?”
 A: [_{TopP} Samochód [_{FocP} Jacek [_{Foc'} **sprzedał**]]].
 car Jack sold
 “Jack sold the car.”

The remaining question is: what drives the movement to topic and focus positions? We have posited the existence of a single topic phrase, for which there seems to be good evidence, and so it is natural to assume that its head possesses a feature +topic that attracts arguments with the same feature for checking. Since there can be multiple topics and we have only one topic phrase, it is possible that the +topic feature on the head of TopP does not delete after checking, making it possible to attract more than one argument. This is not an unusual story: similar accounts have been proposed for the treatment of multiple wh-questions. Just like the +Q feature in wh-questions, it is plausible that the +topic feature is LF-interpretable (as it conveys some semantic information, similar to quantification) and so does not need to delete.

It is also plausible that the +focus feature is not LF-interpretable, as it is not associated with any necessary semantic information. The information that a lexical item is “new” in the discourse is not required to process a sentence at LF. Any element that is not marked as “old” is, by default, new information. Therefore, the +focus feature is a purely formal feature in that it does delete after checking; this is the reason why there is one +focus feature for every focused NP in the sentence, and each of these features projects its own focus phrase.

7 Summary and Conclusions

In this presentation I examined the variations of word order in Polish double object sentences. I attempted to account for these variations using the current minimalist analysis of double object constructions as presented in Collins and Thráinsson (1996). I argued that multiple spell-out, even with additional functional reordering, is not enough to explain all possible word orders. It has been shown that different word orders carry different pragmatic information: sentence-initial position is associated with the topic, and sentence-final position with the focus of the sentence. On the basis of binding facts, I conclude that both the topic position and the focus position are realised syntactically. The movement to these positions is motivated by features: the topic phrase carries a +topic feature that can be checked by multiple XPs that adjoin to the maximal projection. On the other hand, there can be more than one +focus feature in the structure and each of them will project its own phrase.

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