

Lektura uzupełniająca

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LUBELSKIE MATERIAŁY NEOFILOLOGICZNE • 1984

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On WH-Islands in Polish

Ever since the appearance of Ross /1967/ wh-island constructions have been of considerable theoretical interest to the linguistic inquiry pursued in the context of generative-transformational grammar. Particularly seminal in this regard has been Chomsky's /1973, 1977/ analysis of these structures in terms of the subadjacency principle. In /1/ we give a definition of the wh-island constraint - a condition which bars extraction from wh-island constructions /cf. Ross 1967/.

/1/ WH-Island Constraint

No constituent can be moved out of any clause containing a wh-phrase in COMP.

Given /1/, the ungrammaticality of the sentences presented below can be accounted for in a straightforward manner /t's are traces left by movement of wh-words into COMP; the /b/ sentences are the stipulated D-structures/:

- /2/*a. S[COMP who S[did you ask S[COMP whether S[Mary saw t₁]]]]
- b. S[COMP e S[you asked S[COMP whether S[Mary saw who]]]]
- /3/*a. S[COMP what₂ S[did you wonder S[COMP who₁ S[t₁ bought t₂]]]]
- b. S[COMP e S[you wonder S[COMP e S[who bought what]]]]
- /4/*a. S[COMP that₂ S[did you meet NP[the girl S[COMP who₁ S[t₁ bought t₂]]]]
- b. S[COMP e S[you met NP[the girl S[COMP e S[who bought what]]]]

In /2/ and /3/ the encircled wh-words have been extracted from the embedded clauses introduced by the respective wh-phrases, whether and who, violating /1/. /1/ has also been flouted in /4/. Indeed, what has been moved out of the relative clause containing who and by /1/ is ruled out as desired.

A different analysis of sentences such as /2/ - /4/ is proposed in Chomsky /1973 and 1977/ and subsequent works. The analysis rests on three premises:

- /5/ a. movement of wh-phrase takes place from COMP to COMP
- b. there can be only wh-word per COMP at a time
- c. wh-movement obeys subadjacency and strict cyclicity.

The definitions of subadjacency and strict cyclicity are presented in /6/ and /7/ respectively:

/6/ The Subadjacency Principle /Chomsky 1977:73/

[...] a cyclic rule cannot move a phrase from position X to position Y /or conversely/ in:

... X ... [α ... [β ... X ...]... X ... , where α and β are cyclic nodes. /The cyclic /bounding/ nodes for English are stipulated to be NP, S, for Polish - NP and \bar{S} /cf. Chomsky 1981//.

/7/ The Strict Cyclicity Condition /Chomsky 1965:146/

[...] no morphological material [...] can be introduced into a configuration dominated by S once the cycle of transnational rules has already completed its application to this configuration.

Given /6/ and /7/, the ungrammaticality of /2/ - /4/ can be accounted for as follows. The wh-word who, originating, as shown in /2b/, in the post-verbal position of see, must, in accordance with /5a/ be moved first to the COMP of the embedded clause. Since this is plainly impossible - the COMP in question already contains another wh-word, whether - who must therefore directly move to the COMP of the matrix sentence. In so doing, however, it crosses two bounding nodes, violating the subadjacency principle. The sentence is ruled out as desired. Turning to /3/, let us suppose that what, on its way to the COMP of the matrix sentence, has been moved first

to the COMP of the embedded clause. Again, who cannot be moved now to this COMP since this would violate /5b/. Alternatively, suppose that what has been moved first to the COMP of the embedded clause and further on - to the COMP of the matrix sentence thus making it possible for who to move to the empty COMP of the embedded clause. This being the case, movement of who would violate /7/ since the rule extracting what has already completed its application to this clause. Finally /4/. Extraction of what from the relative clause violates subadjacency because this wh-word, on its way to the COMP of the matrix sentence, crosses two bounding nodes: S and NP. The sentence is ruled out as desired.

Let us turn now to Polish data. In contrast to English, Polish admits multiple wh-movement and connected with it - doubly filled COMP. Thus /8/ and /9/ are perfectly grammatical:

/8/ \bar{S} COMP Kto₁ kog₂ gdzie₃ [t₁ widzial t₂ t₃]]

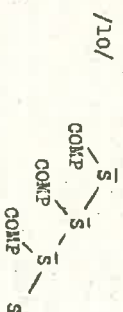
who him where saw
who saw whom where?

/9/ /Ja/ jestem ciekawy \bar{S} COMP Kto₁ kog₂ komu₃ S [t₁ przedsta-

wil t₂ t₃]]

I wonder who whom to whom introduced
I wonder who introduced whom to whom.

In view of the above the stipulated structure of COMP might look something like /10/



Assuming the COMP-proliferation hypothesis for Polish /cf. Wachowicz 1975, Toman 1981/, we should expect Polish equivalents of /2/ - /4/ to be grammatical. However, this turns out to be partly true. Consider:

/11/ \bar{S} COMP Kog_{1g} [chcialas' \bar{S} COMP komu₂ S [PNO przedstawi₁ t₂]]

who you wanted to whom introduce
who did you want to introduce to whom?

/12/ S[COMP Kogo₁ s[chcesz S[COMP gdzie₂ s[PRO zaprosić t₁ t₂]

Who do you want to invite

Who do you want to invite where?

/13/ S[COMP Kto₁ s[chcesz S[COMP żeby gdzie₂ s[t₁ poszedł t₂]

Who do you want that where /he/ went

Who do you want that he went where?

In contrast to /11/ through /13/, the sentences given below are totally unacceptable:

*/14/ Kogo sądzę, że gdzie Marysia zaprosiła t t ?

Who do I believe that Mary invited where

*/15/ Kogo Jan powiedział Marysi że Piotr Piotr spotkał t t ?

Who did John tell Mary that Peter met where ?

*/16/ Kogo Jan zapytał Marysię czy gdzie nie widać t t ?

Who did John ask Mary whether she did not see where?

*/17/ Kogo Jan przeczytał list, który onisyał t ?

Who did John read a letter which described?

John read a letter which described who?

A natural question to ask now is of course why multiple wh-movement is possible in /11/ - /13/ but crucially, not in /14/ - /17/ ?

Before we attempt to answer this question, we will have to make a comment on extraction out of Polish complement clauses in general. In conjunction with this consider the following examples:

*/18/ Komu powiedziałeś S[że Jan to dał t ?]
to whom did you say that John it gave

*/19/ Kto ci powiedział Jan S[t że S[t przyszedł] ?

Who did John say that John gave it to?

/20/ Kogo chcieli zrodzić S[PRO okraść t] ?

Who did the thieves want to rob t ?

/21/ Kogo chciałabyś S[żeby S[Maria zaprosiła t] ?

Who did you want that Mary invited?

What these sentences show is that:

- a. extraction from tensed clauses in Polish is impossible
- b. Polish admits extraction from infinitive and subjunctive clauses.

To account for the divergent behaviour of tensed clauses and the infinitive / and subjunctive/clauses in Polish we assume that Po-

lish complements display two types of structures:

/22/ a. NP[S[COMP S []]]

b. S[COMP S []]

Specifically, /22a/ underlies Polish tensed że-clauses while /22b/ represents the internal structure of infinitive and subjunctive żeby/aby-clauses /cf. Gajdo 1981, Kardała forthcoming/. Viewed from this perspective, the D-structures of /18/ through /21/ are essentially /23/ - /26/ respectively:

/23/ S[COMP e S[powiedziałeś NP[S COMP że S[Jan to dał komu]

/24/ S[COMP e S[Jan ci powiedział NP[S COMP że S[kto przyszedł]

/25/ S[COMP e S[zrodziliście ochciełi S[COMP S[PRO okraść kogo]

/26/ S[COMP e S[chciałabyś S[COMP żeby S[Marysia zaprosiła kogo]

As things stand now, the ungrammaticality of /23/ and /24/ stems from the fact that the respective movement of komu and kogo violates the subjacency principle.

Turning to /14/ - /17/ we shall claim that exactly the same mechanism is at work here. That is, multiple wh-extraction from Polish że-clauses is only a particular instance of movement out of these clauses in general and as such is constrained by the subjacency principle. Seen in this light, /14/ - /17/ are ungrammatical for precisely the same reason that /18/ - /19/ are.

How about multiple wh-extraction from infinitive complements? Assuming /22b/ to represent the internal structure of these complements we should expect multiple wh-movement from them to be possible. This is indeed borne out by /11/ - /12/ and /27/ - /28/:

/27/ Kogo komu chcesz S[PRO przedstawić t t] ?

Who to whom you want to introduce,

Who do you want to introduce to whom?

/28/ Kto kogo chce S[PRO t pobić t] ?

Who whom wants to beat up

Who wants to beat up whom?

Let us turn next to multiple wh-extraction out of subjunctive żeby-clauses. Again, taking /22b/ to be the internal structure of

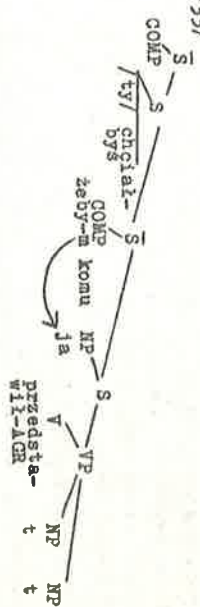
the Polish subjunctive clauses one might conclude that multiple wh-movement from these complements should be allowed. Unfortunately, this is not the case as the following examples clearly demonstrate /cf. /21//:

- */29/ Kogo komu chcesz s[zleby m gl przedstawił t t]
- Who to whom you want that I introduce
- Who do you want me to introduce to whom?
- */30/ Kto z kim chciałbyś s[zleby s [t porozmawiał t]
- Who with whom you want that talk
- Who want who to talk to whom?

The ungrammaticality of these sentences is even more surprising in view of the grammatical /13/. If /13/ is grammatical, why should /29/ and /30/ be bad? The key to this puzzle lies with the Case Theory and the Case Filter.

- /31/ Case Assignment /Chomsky 1981/
 - a. NP is assigned nominative case if governed by AGR
 - b. NP is objective if governed by a verb
 - c. NP is genitive in NP —
- /32/ The Case Filter
 - *N is lexical but receives no case.

Given /31/ and /32/, the ungrammaticality of /29/ and /30/ can be accounted for as follows. Below we present a tree diagram of /29//See also Glejgo 1981, Kardała forthcoming for the analysis of such sentences//:



The argument is based on the observation that the NP ja appearing in the embedded clause cannot be assigned case either by AGR or by the governor-clitic -m attached to the complementizer zleby. In particular, ja cannot receive case from AGR because coindexing is not possible between this pronoun /the first ps. sg/ and AGR expressing the 3rd ps. sg. Nor can ja be assigned case by the go-

verning -m, as shown by the arrow, because the wh-word komu intervenes between this governor and ja. Ja receives no case then and by /32/ the sentence is ruled out as desired.

In conclusion, both English and Polish sentences introduced by wh-phrases are islands. However, due to the existence of multiple wh-movement in Polish, the conditions on wh-extraction from wh-islands in Polish are less stringent. Specifically, although these conditions disallow extraction from tensed and subjunctive clauses, they freely admit it in the case of infinitive complements. Further, whereas multiple wh-extraction from tensed je-clauses is prohibited by subadjacency, multiple wh-movement from subjunctive complements is barred by the Case Theory and the Case Filter.

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Streszczenie

Celem pracy jest analiza konstrukcji zdaniowych określanych terminem "wysp" /island constructions/ w języku polskim w odniesieniu do tzw. wielokrotnego ruchu fraz pytających /multiple wh-movement/. O ile w języku angielskim ruch taki jest niemożliwy z uwagi na to, że pogwałca on zasadę jednego węzła kategoriálnego /the subadjacency principle/ i zasadę ściślejszej cykliczności /strict cyclicity/, w języku polskim, chociaż niemożliwy w zdaniach osobowych typu że- i zdaniach typu -żeby-, jest dopuszczalny w zdaniach bezokolicznikowych. Wynika to zarówno z wewnętrznej budowy tych zdań jak też ogólniejszych, uniwersalnych zasad. I tak, wielokrotny ruch fraz pytających w zdaniach typu że- jest ograniczony przez zasadę jednego węzła kategoriálnego, natomiast w zdaniach trybu łączącego -żeby- - przez teorię przypisanania przypadka /Case theory/. Ruch wielokrotny ze zdań bezokolicznikowych jest możliwy bowiem jest on zgodny zarówno z wyżej wymienioną zasadą jak też z teorią przypisanania przypadka.

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Grażyna Kosyła

Próba charakterystyki porównawczej
leksyki polskiej i węgierskiej

1. Podstawowym celem tej pracy jest przedstawienie niektórych ważniejszych podobieństw i różnic między leksyką polską a węgierską. Ich znajomość może być pomocna w procesie nauczania i uczenia się języka polskiego przez Węgrów i węgierskiego przez Polaków. Praca ma również pewien aspekt teoretyczny wiążący się z typologią językową, która, według określenia W. Ciembrowskiego¹, "zajmuje się określeniem ogólnych kategorii lingwistycznych jako podstawy klasyfikacji języków niezależnie od ich pochodzenia /genealogii/". Dodatkowym bodźcem do podjęcia takiego zadania może być brak opracowań z zakresu analizy konfrontacyjnej zasobu leksykalnego omawianych tu języków. Z tego względu praca ma jedynie charakter próbny, rekonstruacyjny. Oparcie jest głównie na intuicji własnej autora. Dokładniejsze badania, zwłaszcza statystyczne, mogą potwierdzić lub sprostować sformułowane tu tezy.

W pracy pomijam całkowicie zagadnienia ściśle gramatyczne. Dotyczy ona wybranych zjawisk z pogranicza leksykologii, słownotwórcstwa i semantyki. Obiekt badań jest tym bardziej interesujący, że chodzi tu o dwa języki należące do różnych rodzin językowych, chociaż narodziły się one z tymi językami mieszkającą w bliskim sąsiedztwie, a słownictwo obu języków wykazuje wiele elementów wspólnych. To podobieństwo leksykalne jest wynikiem działania różnych przyczyn semantycznych.

2. Omawiane tu języki można salicytycznie s punktu widzenia zasobu leksykalnego do wspólnej ligi języków europejskich. Wątpliwość kulturowa dała w sferach podobne rozczłonowanie pól semantycznych i wyrazowych. Odstępstwa od tej zasady są nieliczne i dotyczą przede wszystkim słownictwa peryferyjnego, rzadkiego, swiżanego głównie