

Extraction of NP genitive complements out of relative clauses in Polish

A number of authors have argued that languages which lack articles, such as Serbo-Croatian (SC) do not have the DP layer (Corver 1992; Zlatić 1997; Bošković 2008; Despić 2011, to name but a few) which is the highest layer in the traditional noun phrase (TNP) of a language like English. This structural difference has an immediate consequence on the phase theory analyses of extraction out of an NP. According to the phase theory in which it is the highest projection in the extended domain of VPs, NPs, PPs, and APs that works as a phase, the gen complement of NP cannot undergo extraction since it violates anti-locality condition. The gen complement moves to the edge of an NP phase, but this movement is too short, as has been observed for SC in Zlatić (1997), see (1a). English, on the other hand, allows for *of*-genitive complement extraction (Chomsky 1986), example (1b).

This paper aims at explaining certain extraction facts found in Polish relative clauses (RCs) in which the gen complement of an NP is a relativized head noun (HN). Being an articleless language, Polish patterns with SC in that it does not allow for gen complement extraction out of an NP (2a), also in *wh*-questions (2b). However, when the same gen complement is an extracted HN of a relative clause, there appears to be a difference in acceptability judgements between the two structures, compare (2a) with (2c). Moreover, when the NP left in the relative clause occupies the position adjacent to the *wh*-pronoun *który* ‘which’, the judgements are even more favourable, compare (2c) with (2d). This study aims at analysing these facts within the ‘highest phrase is a phase theory’, supporting the analysis with the empirical data gathered in a survey involving a syntactic acceptability judgement task. The conditions will include sentences featuring regular extraction of an NP complement contrasted with the same type of extraction out of a RC. The latter will also be divided into relatives with NP adjacent to the *wh*-pronoun and the ones in which it appears in its base position.

- (1) a. **?Ovog studenta_i sam pronašla [NP sliku t_i]*
this_{GEN} student_{GEN} am found picture_{ACC}
‘Of this student I found the picture’
- b. *Of which city did you witness [DP the destruction t_i]?*
- (2) a. **?Tego studenta_i Jan znalazł [NP obraz t_i]*
this_{GEN} student_{GEN} John found picture_{ACC}
‘Of this student John found the picture’
- b. **?Którego studenta_i Jan znalazł [NP obraz t_i]?*
which_{GEN} student_{GEN} John found picture_{ACC}
‘Of which student did John find the picture?’
- c. *Student, którego <studenta>_i Jan znalazł [NP obraz t_i], zorganizował wystawę*
student_{NOM} which_{GEN} <student_{GEN}> John found picture_{ACC} organized exhibit
- d. *Student, którego <studenta>_i [NP obraz t_i]_k Jan [VP znalazł t_k], zorganizował wystawę*
student_{NOM} which_{GEN} <student_{GEN}> picture_{ACC} John found organized exhibit

'The student, whose picture John found, has organized the exhibit'

Selected references:

Bošković, Ž. 2008. What will you have, DP or NP? In *Proceedings of NELS 37*, ed. by E. Elfner and M. Walkow, 101-114. Amherst, MA: GLSA, University of Massachusetts. Bošković, Ž. 2014. Now I'm a phase, now I'm not a phase: On the variability of phases with extraction and ellipsis. *Linguistic Inquiry* 45(1): 27-89. Corver, N. 1992. Left branch extraction. In *Proceedings of 22nd Conference of NELS*, ed. by K. Broderick, 67-84. Amherst: GLSA, University of Massachusetts. Zlatić, L. 1997. The structure of the Serbian noun phrase. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas at Austin.